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Residualisation as an Explanatory Theory of Educational Inequalities: an Exploratory Analysis of Schools in the Glasgow Region.

Colin Joseph Mack M.A. (Hons.)

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

School of Social and Political Sciences
College of Social Sciences
University of Glasgow

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on an understanding of the State and its implications for social equalities promised through the education system. Studies of educational inequalities tend to focus on either social class inequalities and their effects on education or inequalities generated within the education system itself. Whilst there are a few studies on the historical genesis of the modern state education system (e.g. Green, 1990; Archer, 2013), the State itself is an invisible backdrop: there are no studies of educational inequalities which look at the State in state education. The main contribution of the thesis then is in developing an account of the State in the education system, which explains educational inequalities in a way that is neither reducible to class inequalities alone nor to inequalities generated within the education system itself.

The reason for developing such an account relates to an impasse of sorts in sociological and educational theory. Namely, in explaining why, given the widespread consensus on the importance of education in generating social equalities, such little progress has been made. The sociologist Diane Reay (2010: 396) expresses the paradoxical nature of this:

So we are confronted with a conundrum. How is schooling to be understood in relation to social class?

The contribution of the thesis to explore why this is not the right question to ask and why the relations between schooling and social class in themselves are necessary but not sufficient to explain educational inequalities. The answer to what these other relations are is itself an answer to a gap in educational theory, therefore. And the answer is provided by the addition of the State.

Methodologically, the approach is a Critical Realist one. This means an ontological focus on structures and their causal powers which generate actual events. And since this ontological level cannot be accessed directly, it means - at the epistemological level - developing a theoretical model based on the relevant structures and causal powers involved in the research object. This is then applied to a concrete empirical case, enabling the explanatory model to be validated or, in most instances, modified and augmented to a greater or lesser

degree. This methodological sequence of retrodution-retrodiction-retrodution (or Real-Empirical-Real) shapes the structure of the thesis as follows:

- Retrodution: In Chapters 2-4, the building of a theoretical model of systemically linked inequalities, expanding the concept of residualisation in the housing literature.
- Retrodiction: Working out the specifics of applying this theoretical model in terms of a Critical Realist research design (Chapter 5) to a specific empirical case, using the secondary schools of Glasgow Region (Chapters 6-10).
- Retrodution: Returning to that initial theoretical model enables an integration of the empirical findings and, at the same time, the refinement and augmentation of it into a final, causal model (Chapter 11), which explains the persistence of educational inequalities in terms of structures and their causal powers.

Theoretically, no one approach is applied as one of the contributions is to build a new approach. This is done through retaining David Lockwood's (1964) account of the conflict model of strategic-functionalism found in Karl Marx and developing it. It is developed by adding in the State as the key relation missing. In doing so, Lockwood's model is elaborated in two ways. Firstly, his account of a core institutional order is developed through an account of institutional compatibilities in the Varieties of Capitalism (VOC) literature (Hall and Soskice, 2001). Secondly, his account of contradiction is developed through Claus Offe's (1984) structural Marxist approach to the crisis management of the State. The latter supplies the critical relation missing in both Lockwood and the VOC literature: the State. Thirdly, the structural relations of a Liberal Market Economy (LME) in the VOC literature combined with Offe's structural analysis of the post-Keynesian state means the final elaboration: the LME State. It is argued that this is what produced the phenomenon of residualisation analysed in the housing studies literature in the early 1980s (for example, Forrest and Murie, 1983), and is just one specific instance of the residualisation produced in residual, LME States more generally, a process which is cumulative in its linked poverty traps. It is this then that is used to explain educational inequalities. Empirically, the main finding is that there is a quasi-privatisation of the state secondary system in Glasgow Region, despite the distinctiveness of Scottish

Education and its commitment to the welfare state. The key implications of this and the thesis overall are:

- Theoretically, an alternative approach to educational inequalities. It also points to a way beyond the theoretical impasse in the sociology of education and a route past the overreliance on Bourdieu, as well as a move past the functionalist issues in the simplified Marxist Base-Superstructure model. In addition, addressing the omission of the State in the skills literature and the VOC literature means a contribution to these other two literatures.
- Methodologically, better theoretical conceptualisation of this problem based on structures of System Integration and the State would enable approaches that are *necessarily* multidisciplinary, taking into account the cumulative nature of inequalities, which cannot be explained by a focus on schooling or social class alone. This requires developing a better understanding of how inequalities work in modern states and a move away from education alone being able to solve them.
- Empirically, this opens up a potential programme of research which enables further testing of the theoretical model of residualisation within Scotland and the UK. Further, extending this from countries in the UK to a more comparative international approach, such as in those regimes identified in the Varieties of Capitalism literature, would develop the theory of systemic poverty traps in Liberal Market Economic States. It would also help to develop a better understanding of the relation of the State to education and develop a better understanding of state education more generally.

Finally, in terms of the ‘story’ of the thesis, the conundrum of how schooling is to be understood in relation to social class is instead replaced with how education is to be understood in relation to the state.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Print name: COLIN MACK

Signature:

Chapter 1: Introduction

The importance of education in creating social mobility and social equality has been a prevalent idea and enjoyed a well-established consensus since at least the 1990s, when boosting participation rates in higher education became a policy goal and, with New Labour, education became the main route to social inclusion. Before even this, Daniel Bell (1974), described the coming of a knowledge economy where the post-industrial need for skills meant a new meritocratic breaking of the link between class origin and class destination. Both education and social class were now related in a new way, the former now providing the means to escape the latter rather than have one's life chances determined by it. And yet, nearly forty years on and despite this established relation, educational inequalities have persisted across these four decades. The sociologist, Diane Reay (2010: 396), summed up this paradoxical state of affairs:

Schools have been held up as both the means of achieving equality in society but also as centrally implicated in the reproduction of inequalities. So we are confronted with a conundrum. How is schooling to be understood in relation to social class?

It might well be asked, therefore: how has the relation been understood in sociology and education?

Three Broad Approaches

The ways that schooling has been understood in relation to social class could be summarised into three broad approaches. Firstly, the Marxist account. The basic functionalist account is that schools deliver the needs of the capitalist economy in terms of trained workers. As will be shown later in the chapter, more sophisticated accounts tend to bring in the agency of teachers and pupils and mediating cultural dimensions such as the language used within schools (Bernstein, 1979), the hidden curriculum (Bowles and Gintis, 2011), as well as the self-elimination of the working classes themselves (Willis, 2006). All of these accounts, amount to an internal sorting of working classes and middle classes in relation to schooling or *through* it.

The second broad approach is the cultural capital account of educational inequalities. Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1984; 1998) argued that economic advantages alone cannot account for middle class advantage in the education system and that educational ability was in fact misrecognised cultural capital i.e. as inherited and socialised cultural knowledge like films or theatre; cultural artefacts like books; and, from home environment and social milieu, linguistic aptitude and the ability to argue, reason and manipulate concepts. These are precisely the things rewarded in the educational system. The use of the concept of cultural capital, and its application in educational systems different from France, has extended it and Bourdieu's concept of habitus into many different contexts. For example, middle class parental 'hot housing' and concerted cultivation through extra-curricular activities and private tutoring, as well as parents' own abilities to help with homework, negotiate with schools, and understand the educational system. Since the decline of the Marxist approaches of the 1970s (Rikowski (1996, 1997), Bourdieu's is arguably now the dominant paradigm today in understanding the relation between schooling and social class.

The third approach could be characterised as the education-based policy approach, which focuses on how market principles advantage middle class parents in relation to schooling and comes from a variety of social science disciplines. One of the main literatures here is on school choice, coming from the Education Acts in Scotland and England in the 1980s. Ball et al. (1995), for example analysed, using Bourdieusian concepts, how the market principle of individual choice benefited middle class parents who had the economic and cultural capital to make those choices and which created distinct categories of schooling along class-based lines.

This third approach was taken up in the Scottish literature on the implications of the Education Act 1981, where the focus was on the effect of school choice on school segregation (see for example Echols and Wilms, 1995). Market based education policies meant that educational inequalities were increasingly shaped by social divisions outside the education system. This is an approach that has continued in various ways considering other market-based aspects such as performance management of schools and the use of both national and international benchmarks, and the effects this has had (for example, see Gillies,

2013). Human geographers have also focused on the spatial implications of social segregation: for example, looking less at social class but at the relationship between area-based distributions like deprivation and the distribution of schools, again often linking it to urban policy and market principles (see Pacione 1997, for example). The relation between schooling and social class is therefore based on how market-based educational policies *increase* social divisions within the educational system.

Bell's thesis: the economy *and* social class and schooling

This above list is not meant to be exhaustive but instead summarises the main approaches which have been dominant in explaining the relation between social class and schooling up to recent times. However, understanding the conundrum between social class and schooling, as Reay terms it, means moving past the simple relation between social class and schooling and, in doing so, moving past the three broad approaches.

To do so and to understand why this is necessary means returning to the idea that schools and the education system more generally are considered *as a means of achieving social equality*. Reay's formulation is not quite correct however or at least only partially so. The importance placed on the education system was neither originally focused on education nor contributing to social equality alone rather it was shaped by the needs of the economy. Bell (1974) originally argued for a general 'upskilling' within the context of a post-industrial economy. The argument was that a post-industrial economy required knowledge workers, who required higher level skills than previously when the economic base was largely industrial. Changes in the structure of the economic system meant changes in the structure of the class system: to meet the skills needs of the post-industrial economy, there needed to be more skilled workers, and to get more skilled workers, the traditional class origin-class destination trajectories of industrial workers needed to be broken, meaning there would be no barrier to the acquisition of the new skills needed for the post-industrial economy. And this meant that education, if it could be made increasingly available to all, would be the means to effect this breaking of the origin-destination link.

And in breaking this link, a meritocracy would be established via the education system. Those who wished to acquire high skills would be able to become socially upwardly mobile as a result. Gaining qualifications through the education system would mean individuals being judged on their merits rather than their class origin.

As these ideas were embraced within policy, the focus on education, education, education meant that the link between the economy and social equality was crystalised. The key link was skills not education: the latter was only the means. On the one hand, it was believed that higher skills accredited through the education system would lead to economic productivity. Producing high-skilled workers would mean employers adapting to take advantages of the new supply via a supply-push effect.

And on the other, lower level employability skills would lead to increased social inclusion through participation in the labour market. As a result, education, or rather skills accredited through the wider educational system, became a 'social panacea' (Keep and Mayhew, 2010). Both economic productivity *and* social equalities were ensured.

This is not merely a reminder of the original context, it is *the* central relationship that Reay has omitted and reduced to the relation merely between schooling and social class. Economic productivity and social equalities are not the lucky accident of a focus on education and the need for an updated account of it in modern post-industrial society: they exist as a result of a functional requirement of the economic system. This missing relation is primary: as above, *changes in the structure of the economic system meant changes in the structure of the class system*. The full set of relations then is the economy *and* social class and schooling. The question then is: if the economy should generate more equality through the education system, as Bell argued and recent policy suggests, then in light of the persistence of inequalities:

- Does it do so in the way anticipated?
- Does it do so at all?

Restoring the full set of relations and posing those questions might be the key to unravelling Reay's conundrum. It might also help to understand inequalities in a way that is prevented by Reay's formulation by formulation of persistent inequality as a problem of schooling and social class. But to move past these three broad approaches means first returning to the current dominant approach: the Bourdieusian approach to schooling and social class.

1.1 Bourdieu and the State

The starting point for this thesis was an interest in educational inequalities, sociology and the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Despite Bourdieu's work and consequent influence on the literature of educational inequalities however, I did not feel his explanations were *completely* convincing, rather they were partial explanations or, perhaps, that I just did not fully understand them. Ultimately, I came to think that his approach in terms of fields and an underlying social space which was translated into the logic of these fields meant it precluded any investigation of the relations *between* fields and therefore of the wider systemic links within which the 'relative autonomy' of the education system functioned (Bourdieu et al., 2000; Bourdieu, 2000b: 9-32) or *that* it functioned within a wider system.

Bourdieu investigates housing (Bourdieu, 2010) and education (for example, Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu et al., 2000) but never investigates housing *and* education. Further, Bourdieu's concepts (habitus, capital, fields, social space, symbolic domination) are all *agent* based: capital is possessed by agents agonistically competing in objective spaces structured by possession of capital. His concept of structure is therefore one of *relations between agents*, not between parts of the social system. When Bourdieu comes to look at the State for example, his approach to structures as functional parts becomes more obvious: so at the same time he realises there *are* functional systemic parts of the State, which he calls the 'left hand' and the 'right hand' (Bourdieu, 2000a; Bourdieu 2010), he dissolves these structures into a bureaucratic field of agents (Bourdieu, 2010), or conceptualises the State itself as a meta-field and central bank of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2018). There are no relations between 'parts' in Bourdieu, therefore; 'objective structures' are objective relations

between *agents*, structured by *agential* possession of capital. Thus Bourdieu's book '*Social Structures of the Economy*' [own emphasis] and its title epitomises his approach.

This means, in the final instance, Bourdieu is therefore unable to explain, within the limits of his concepts, *why* economic capital or cultural capital are predominant within a given social system. This, I began to feel, was only explicable by an understanding of the wider system within which they functioned. That is, that there were prior structures to the ones identified in Bourdieu.

However, educational theories which draw upon influences outside of social class and the education system itself are widely viewed as functionalist (see for example, Welch, 1985), with education seen as a 'cog in a given machine' (ibid: 11). Another prevalent part-whole analogy is the biological one, as in the human body. Applying this, parts of society form an integrated whole and can only be understood in relationship *to* the whole and, above all, its 'contribution to the maintenance of the society' (Harambalos and Holborn, 2013: 954). In simple terms then, explanations become of the following type: because X then Y, where X is the whole and Y is the part. Because another part of the wider social system requires skills, the education system must supply skills. Or because the social system as a whole requires well-integrated citizens, then the education system must train and supply them.

These arguments have been easily dismissed by demonstrations of the 'relative autonomy' of the education system (Bourdieu et al, 2000; Bourdieu, 2000b: 9-32 as above, for example) and also on historical grounds: functionalist arguments on the State's need for a developed education system have been shown to be incorrect; education systems developed beforehand (see for example, Green, 1990).

However, in looking at the historical argument, there is no reason why the State might not use education systems in a functional sense. The fact it did not originally does not preclude any such subsequent usage. In looking at the 'relative autonomy' argument, the limits of that relativity are not examined in

any precise way. Further, given Bourdieu's 'dissolving' of State structures, it may well be that its relativity is circumscribed precisely *by those very structures of the State*.

This led to a second theoretical starting point: on *State* education. As will be argued, supply-side human capital theories mean modern governments, and ultimately States, *use* the education system: in policies relating skills to the delivery of economic and social benefits; in outlining a global race for skills, and the implications for productivity and standards of living; in positioning education systems as Archimedean levers in the creation of high-wage, high-skill societies and Knowledge Economies. All of this is a *de facto* functionalist use of the education system. Thus if State education has become functional, how does educational theory, which has made functionalism redundant, approach its own functionalism? This forms the basis of the first research question, outlined later. The answer would logically lie in an investigation of the State and State education: this forms the basis of the final research question.

It should be noted, however, that some Marxist educationalist theories (for example, Bowles and Gintis, 2010; Willis, 2006) do attempt to relate 'parts of the system' but this is confined to the relation between the education system and the economy/labour market. Rikowski (1996, 1997) argues that this is premised on the base-superstructure model (B/SM), mistakenly attributed to Karl Marx: thus economy (base) and education system (superstructure). He argues that this generates functionalism within such theories, which others (Apple, 1985; Giroux, 1984) 1985) have attempted to escape through the concept of 'relative autonomy' in Althusser (2014) and Bourdieu (ibid: 558). Apple (1985: 27-29) argues, for example, that the role the school plays as a state apparatus is related to 'the core problems of accumulation and legitimation' (ibid: 28) but that the 'relative autonomy of culture' (ibid: 27) means there can be forms of resistance that contradicts the needs 'of the economic apparatus'. In other words, students and teachers can resist government policy and employer demands. It is therefore functionalist in the final analysis (based on the B/SM model) but tries to attenuate this through a space for the relative autonomy of the education system understood as cultural autonomy of some of its agents (teachers, pupils).

The internal degeneration of Marxist educational theory (Rikowski, 1997: 551) is located in 'interlinked debilitating problematics', prominent among which is the base/superstructure model, functionalism and relative autonomy. The thesis does not attempt to create a Marxist account *per se* but argues a route to theoretical progress, regardless, is through the State: an understanding which transcends the base/superstructure model or state as apparatus, and is developed in Chapter 4. It also argues for a route beyond the functionalism that is derived from the base/superstructure model, as is also explained in Chapters 2-4. Ultimately then, the theoretical starting point of Bourdieu and an understanding of what is arguably missing has led to the State and State education.

The next sections outline some key concepts used in the thesis before going on to outline its aims, research questions and overall structure.

1.2 An ontological distinction: System and Social Integration

In Critical Realism, social structures are made up, ontologically, of relations. However, this thesis argues that there are two kinds of relations in social structures: one between societal parts and one between societal agents.

A seminal article by David Lockwood on System and Social Integration (Lockwood, 1946) is the basis for this ontological distinction. What he calls System Integration is the relations between *parts* of the social system. And structures have what Critical Realists would call causal properties. The causal properties of System Integration are that of compatibility and contradiction. Social Integration is the relations between *agents*, the causal properties of which are cooperation and conflict. *Thus if social structures are made up of relations, there are two distinct kinds of social structures.*

Lockwood argues that Marx is the only sociologist who has an account of both: namely, his theory of value and, more generally, of dialectical materialism (System integration) which gives rise to class conflict (Social integration). Lockwood argues that Marx develops an account which looks at their interaction.

As Mouzelis notes (1998), Lockwood does not attempt to combine the two into an overarching theory. He is merely attempting to explain what Marx is doing. Nor does he describe this in ontological terms. However, this thesis *does* attempt to combine them and through an ontological distinction based on Lockwood's paper. Drawing on Critical Realism (particularly Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach), the account of educational inequalities will look at the interaction of these two Structures on the Educational System in producing inequalities:

Figure 1.1 Approach to educational inequalities based on Archer's morphogenesis approach

Structure 1: System Integration

Structure 2: Social Integration

Structural Elaboration: within the Educational System itself

Most accounts of educational inequalities tend to focus on either:

- Structure 2: Class inequalities within society which then affect educational outcomes (Social Integration);
- Structural Elaboration: the educational system itself (e.g. differences in teacher quality, subject choices) as internal or isolated structure.

It should be noted at this point that such approaches and their contributions to understanding educational inequalities are not being critiqued *per se*; rather it is argued that they are partial explanations, ultimately. This thesis therefore introduces System Integration, firstly, and then, secondly, how System and Social Integration interact in producing Structural Elaboration.

1.3 Residualisation: A concept containing the two ontological structures

Initially, looking at the housing literature as part of my PhD, I became particularly interested in what was an older concept from the 1970s and early

1980s, consequent upon the restructuring of the State: that of residualisation. In particular, its definition in the housing studies literature:

1. A *restructuring* of the State, seen in the creation of a more residual welfare state, facilitated through the selling of council housing.
2. The consequent *stigma* that emerged, with council housing no longer something that working class people valued or were proud to have.

There is no *theoretical* attempt to resolve the link between (1) and (2) within the housing studies literature or the working out of a causal relationship: it is merely descriptive in other words, but it has described two distinct and separate ontological structures:

1. One of System Integration (state restructuring of the welfare state, facilitated by the housing market; tenure restructuring): that is, a (re)organisation of *parts* of the system.
2. One of Social Integration (class conflict): differential class practices and attitudes *of agents*.

Their ontological separation is apparent in their different properties: Stigma is a property of agents and their social classifications; state restructuring is a property of system parts (of the Welfare State, relations to the economy and the State more generally). However, the fact that one (System Integration) has an effect on the other (Social Integration) led to the basic thesis: *System integration causes or conditions Social Integration*

In simple terms and retaining the example, State (re)structuring causes or exacerbates class conflict. What is residualised needs to be avoided and classes have differential resources for being able to do so. If this is correct, then any account of class inequalities in education must be caused or conditioned by a prior structure (System Integration), residualisation in its original sense being a paradigmatic example.

1.4 *De facto* and *De Jure* equality and The State

The focus of the thesis was on state secondary education; however, the *State* has simply been taken for granted as a marker between state and private education and largely confined to an invisible backdrop. In reading about the State however, it was a political sociologist Claus Offe (Offe, 1985: 170-173) who analysed the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* equality. Inequalities can be encoded formally within law (*de jure*): for example, hierarchies of the Middle Ages where inequalities were clearly visible. But, also, explicit *equalities* can be encoded within law (*de jure*), which nevertheless led to actual inequalities (*de facto*). This relates back to Reay's (2010: 396) conundrum:

Schools have been held up as both the means of achieving equality in society but also as centrally implicated in the reproduction of inequalities. So we are confronted with a conundrum. How is schooling to be understood in relation to social class?

This conundrum is the focus of the thesis. Based on the paradigmatic case of residualisation, the answer to be developed is that this conundrum cannot be understood in relation to social class alone. The distinction between *de jure* equality and *de facto* inequality expresses a relationship: between System Integration and Social Integration respectively, which is explored within the thesis. The question is not why equality of opportunity (*de jure*) still leads to inequalities in state education systems but why it should be thought capable of solving them in this way in the first place.

The explanation given in the thesis is shown in **Figure 1.2** below; namely, that equality of opportunity is a functional requirement of the State (System Integration), which exacerbates class conflict, leading to middle-class avoidance of residualised State schools (working class and/or large proportions of ethnic children), particularly by the more precarious lower middle-class, who have less resources than more affluent middle-class fractions. The result is used to explain inequalities within the education system.

Figure 1.2 System Integration (*De jure* equality) and Social Integration (*De facto* inequality)

Structure 1: System Integration (State and formal equality of opportunity)

Structure 2: Social Integration (Class and *de facto* inequalities)

Structure Elaboration: *De facto* educational inequalities in formally equal educational system

However, there are certain questions regarding the State and, from a System Integration perspective, why formal equality is necessary that requires development before this account can be produced fully. This will be discussed in Part 1 (Chapters 2-4), which puts forward a theoretical framework for understanding the State and the relation of education to it. And if the answer above is correct, there is also the question of why class conflict has largely disappeared from political discourse. In both cases, it will be argued that both are functionally necessary, particularly in liberal market economies like the UK.

1.5 Aims and Questions

The overall aim of the thesis is to explore Reay's conundrum (2010: 396):

The relationship between the educational system and social class inequalities is one of the most fundamental issues in the sociology of education. Schools have been held up as both the means of achieving equality in society but also as centrally implicated in the reproduction of inequalities. So we are confronted with a conundrum. How is schooling to be understood in relation to social class?

The main research question therefore, is a slight modification of Reay's conundrum:

Why does the education system, given equality of opportunity and a formally equal state secondary school system, still produce inequalities, and to the extent that they do?

The approach is through what was referred to as residualisation and therefore this leads to the **second question**:

Can educational equalities be understood as a series of systemically linked residualities?

Since residualisation, it will be argued, is created by residual welfare states, which themselves function within State structures, this brings the State back into State education. The **final question** then is:

Why is the education system thought able to correct inequalities generated by the wider system?

The gap that the thesis is attempting to solve is a theoretical gap: namely, understanding the conundrum of educational inequalities in a new way, through understanding these in relation to residual liberal market economy States. And, relatedly, that there is a need for educational theory that enables an analysis of education inequalities in a joined up way that is neither solely within the educational system, social class or the functionalist economy-education link. It is also an empirical gap: in that, some of the data used and analysis of it has not been carried out in Scotland, either recently or at all.

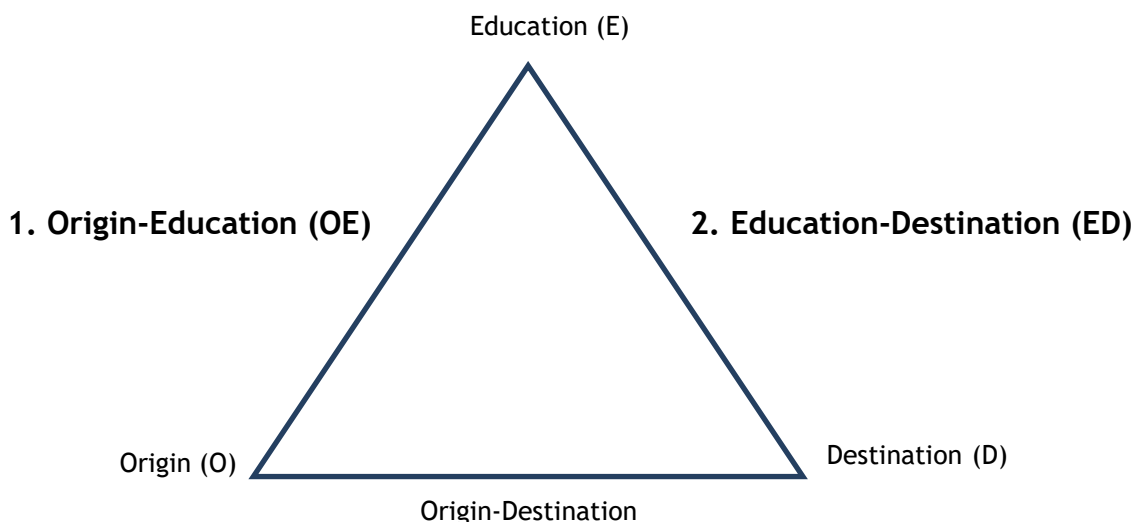
The intended contribution to knowledge is the need for a political-economy or system-level approach to understand the role of the education system within the larger social system, here a liberal market economy state like the UK. It is a relational approach like Bourdieu's but, unlike Bourdieu's conception of relations as objective structures of social integration (cooperation and conflict based on agent's capital), it is a relational one based on objective structures of *institutional parts* (compatibility and contradiction based on the type of economy and the role of the State). It is also one which attempts to bring the State back to the forefront of State education and, in doing so, an attempt to explain its functional use of education in a way that itself is not functionalist. In doing so, it attempts to give a more systematic theoretical basis for multi-disciplinary approaches to educational inequalities that, once again, does not merely focus on the part (the education system), or social class, and does not concentrate on pair links (housing-education, economy-education).

1.6 The Thesis Outline

The approach to research design draws on John H. Goldthorpe's analyses of 'Education Based Meritocracy', which is another way of viewing the educational conundrum (Reay, 2010) of *de facto* inequality. This conceptualises a process

(Origin-Education-Destination or OED) as two movements: Origin-Education, or how social origins lead to educational inequalities; and, secondly, E-D, or how educational attainment leads to differential labour market outcomes. His argument essentially is that, contrary to policy intentions, the education system has not broken the link between Origins and eventual occupational Destination as intended.

Figure 1.3 Goldthorpe's operationalisation of 'Education-Based Meritocracy'



Source: Goldthorpe, 2003; Bukodi and Goldthorpe, 2019

Goldthorpe focuses on social class differences (social class origins and destinations). However, this looks at the OED process through residualisation, as described earlier, understood as the interaction of the two social structures of System Integration and Social Integration. Part 2 of the thesis looks at an empirical Glasgow Region Case Study. The hypothesis to be developed is that residualisation takes place both at both O, E, and D. Namely, that:

1. The housing market (O) determines access to state schools and class competition over them. This draws on the well-established findings of residential segregation and school attainment. For those in social housing and, particularly, areas where there are high concentrations of social housing, they are already residualised not only within the housing market but, through the catchment area system, in access to available schools (OE).

2. The results of this residential segregation and competition to avoid residualisation (largely, by lower middle classes) mean *internal differentiation* within the formally equal state secondary school system (E), or a residualisation within the schooling system: schools to be avoided by those with the resources and subsequent marginalisation of those who do not. This leads to variations in school quality.

3. The results of this leads to, firstly, differential school attainment and, secondly, differential school leaver destinations (D). Residualisation here manifests itself as the difference between those who go on to Higher Education and those who do not.

The hypothesis is further refined and it is argued that these residualities are interlinked: with one, conditioning the other. This is set out more fully in **Figure 1.4**, which in terms of methodology combines Archer's Morphogenetic approach with Goldthorpe' Education Based meritocracy. The research design which results, separates the two phases of Origin-Education and Education-Destination, operationalising residualisation in each phase via two analytical cycles of Archer's morphogenetic sequence. What this ultimately enables is for the two phases to be linked back up in *an evaluation of the overall Origin-Destination link*.

Figure 1.4 Research Design of the thesis

Phase 1: Origin-Education

Structure 1: System Integration
Housing in Glasgow Region

+

Structure 2: Social Integration
Middle-Class avoidance of
social housing

=

Structural Elaboration

Internally differentiated
structure of state secondary
schools

+

Structure 2: Social
Integration
Social Class differences in
attainment

=

Structural Elaboration
Social Class differences in
school leaver destinations

*What is structurally elaborated
in Phase 1 then becomes
Structure 1 in Phase 2*

Phase 2: Education-Destination

Part 1 of the thesis develops an account of System Integration. Specifically, Chapter 2 introduces System Integration and Social Integration through an analysis of Lockwood's (1964) seminal article. Here the importance of understanding their differences is explained and how the two interact. It is concluded here that the concept of System Integration requires further conceptual development. In order to develop an account of System Integration further, the next two chapters focus on its causal powers of compatibility and contradiction. Chapter 3 develops the former through the Varieties of Capitalism literature, and the concept of institutional compatibilities. Chapter 4 develops the concept of contradiction primarily through the work of Claus Offe (1984). Having done so, the conceptual or theoretical framework is developed.

This then leads to **Part 2**, which attempts to build a theoretical model of residualisation. Chapter 5 outlines the methodological principles based on Critical Realism in the first part of the chapter, building a model from them. The second part then builds a research design which can apply this model to a specific case study, here Glasgow Region. The institutional compatibilities of UK LME States are mapped, as it were, to various poverty traps and it is explained how these institutional compatibilities are to be operationalised.

Part 3 of the thesis then applies the model. Chapter 6 explores the housing system through a spatial analysis of owner occupation, social housing and private rented housing in Glasgow Region. Chapter 7 explores how social class interacts with this by an analysis of school choice within the region through Mumsnet data. The interaction of System Integration (Chapter 6) and Social Integration (Chapter 7) is then explored in Chapter 8, through an analysis of school quality via Education Scotland inspectorate reports. This completes the first empirical Origin-Education phase of empirical analysis.

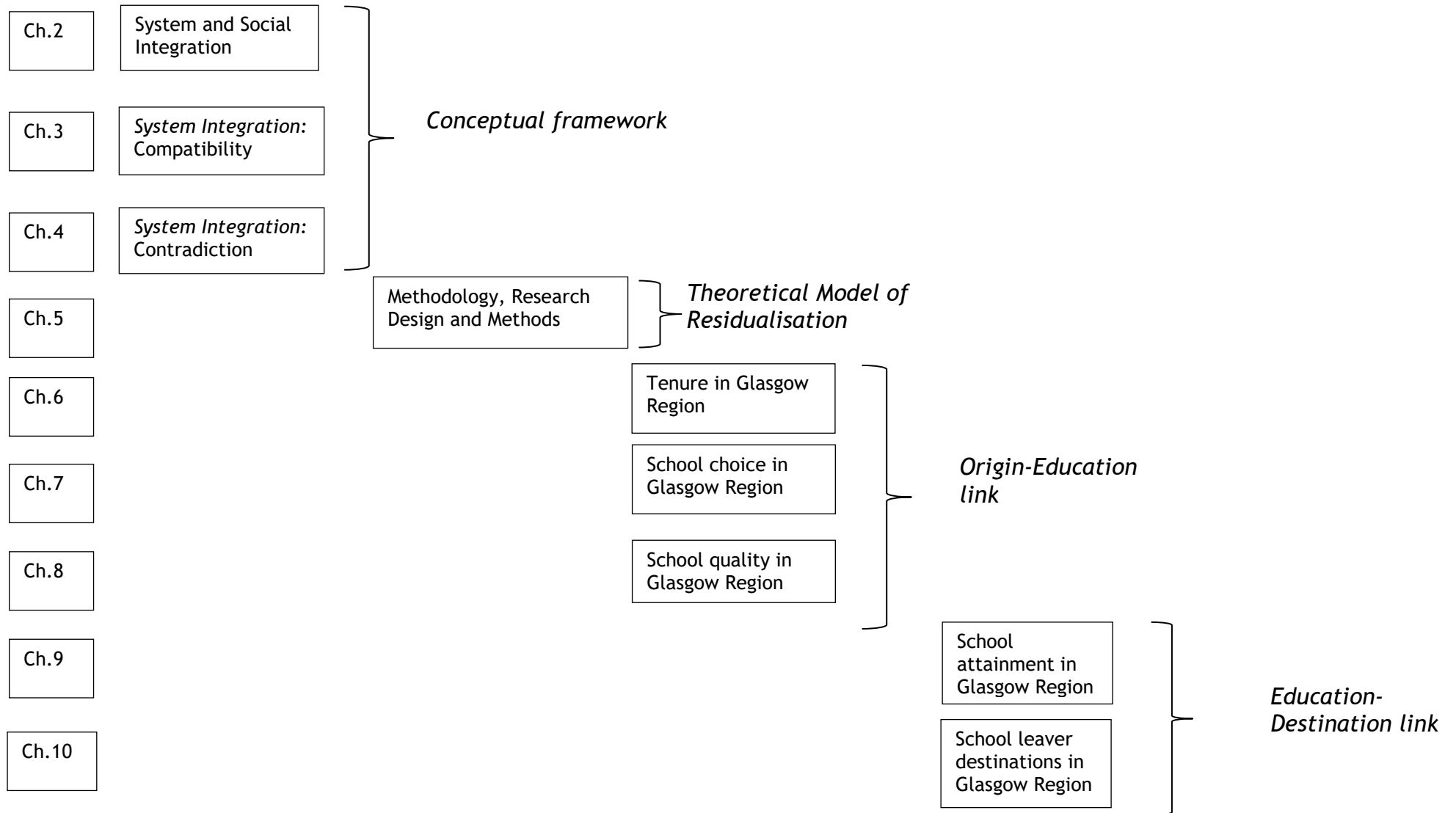
The second phase is that of Education-Destination. The differentiated education system in Chapter 8 functions as the starting point for this phase. In Chapter 9, school attainment is analysed before Chapter 10 analyses school leaver destinations. The interaction of the education system in Chapter 8 (System

Integration) with social class avoidance of the vocational track in Chapter 9 (Social Integration), results in the systematic differences of academic and vocational trajectories within the region in Chapter 10. This finishes the empirical chapters of the thesis, the application of the theoretical model and therefore **Part 3** of the thesis.

The Conclusions chapter brings together both phases of the empirical research design (Origin-Education and Education-Destination) and applies the theoretical model (Chapter 5) and underlying conceptual framework (Chapter 2-4) to it. It then completes the methodological circle described in Chapter 5 of retrodution-retrodiction-retrodution by integrating the initial model and empirical findings into a final causal model. This is then used to answer the three research questions before the contribution to knowledge is outlined and recommendations given for further research.

A map of the thesis and its associated chapters up until the Conclusion is outlined in **Figure 1.5**. This is revisited in the Conclusion also, where the final Conclusions chapter is added along with the methodological process.

Figure 1.5 Map of the thesis



A Note on the Approach to Social Class

The approach taken to class in this thesis is elaborated from the conflict model of structuralist functionalism in Lockwood (1964). The essential insight is from Karl Marx: in that the systemic (production) generates classes (relation to means of production). Class, ultimately then, is a relation between what Lockwood terms System Integration and Social Integration; where the former determines the structure of class relations. In Lockwood's model, the nature of any social system (structural functionalism) is that it contains a structural contradiction (see Chapter 2); this systemic contradiction generates social conflict between classes (conflict).

The issue for the thesis is that of class being more granular than Marx's or Lockwood's definition of class as broad, organised groups (e.g. bourgeoisie, proletariat) which are organised in terms of their own interests. The very argument of the thesis later is that political residualisation has, to a large degree, neutralised class and thinking of it in such terms. To understand Social Integration or social class today requires understanding the class position of agents in ways that are not available in either Marx's or Lockwood's conceptions.

This means utilising the class theories that *are* available and the thesis draws on two broad approaches:

1. The Weberian approach: Class as a relation between agents *and* part of the social system (the market): Sociologically, class is *the relation* of the individual to the market (as in Weber, 1947) or, more specifically, to the occupational structure of the labour market (Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006).

This theoretical position is used in the thesis when the agent's class is defined in relation to the market, therefore. That middle class parents are able to access better schools in the state system is to define their better relation to the market *vis a vis* the working classes: first, generally, their position in the labour market (in what they are able to earn); and more specifically, their position in the

housing market (what they are able to buy). However, middle class parents are not organised *as* a class against the working class. Thus as individual agents their overall class can be defined in relation to the market and the opportunities which are afforded by it.

2. The Bourdieusian approach: Class as a relation between agents alone:

Bourdieusian class theory conceptualises class not as organised classes but as discrete positions in social space, structured by the volume and composition of economic and cultural capital. Capital can only be possessed by agents, however. Here class is exclusively a relation between agents. In Bourdieu, the part of the social system that generates economic capital in the first place (the labour market, say, as in Goldthorpe) is removed but the structuring principle remains: as such, class is a space of objective (i.e. structured) relations between agents.

In this thesis, this conception of social class is used when an agent's class is defined in relation to others of the same broad class. Bourdieu's concept of class fractions *within* a class (defined by varying volume and structure of capital), enables an analysis of middle-class fractions in Chapter 7 and, in particular, the fact that *quasi-privatisation* is the strategy of those lower-middle class fractions which do not have enough economic capital to exit the state education system.

It is also used when the relation to the market alone is not a sufficient explanation. Cultural capital is an important explanatory factor in school choice in Chapter 7 also: as knowledge of the housing system and of areas, and knowledge of the school system and education system more generally.

Each of these conceptions of class provides the tools to define how individualised middle class agents act, without conceptualising them acting *as* an organised class or as a homogenous class with uniform class practices. However useful, each have their own limitations:

1. The Weberian approach: agent and part: the part (the market or the labour market) needs to be set within the relations of which it functions *as* a part.

2. The Bourdieusian approach: agents alone: the approach to class used in the thesis is that we cannot understand class in terms of agents alone (or groups of them, organised as classes or not). It therefore needs to be understood in relation to the overall system (Limitation 1 above).

The approach to class based on Lockwood lies in understanding the relation between the functional parts of the social system in a way that the central structural contradiction between them explains the nature of class conflict. In the Weberian approach, the approach to class is via one part of the social system only: the market. No contradiction *between* parts is possible, therefore. In the Bourdieusian approach, the notion of parts is removed and Bourdieu has no use for contradiction in his work. Both are problems of System Integration, an account of which is developed more fully in Chapter 2: here it can be said, however, that one does not have an adequate account (the Weberian approach) and one does not have an account at all (the Bourdieusian approach).

Such limitations do not mean, however, that these approaches need to be discarded. It is not therefore a case of picking a specific class theory but in understanding what their principles are in relation to System and Social Integration and choosing which one helps to understand the class position of agents in a way that is not available in Marx or Lockwood. Having an approach to class that combines *both* System and Social Integration allows us to see these limitations at the same time as it allows us to see where these theories can still be most fruitfully applied in relation to such an approach.

Chapter 2: System Integration and Social Integration

2.1 Normative Functionalism and System Integration

The starting point for developing a theory of educational inequalities is Lockwood's article (1964) on System Integration and Social Integration, a distinction which has proven influential (see Archer, 1996; Mouzelis, 1989, 1992, 1997, 1998). The article essentially is a critique of the sociological theory of normative functionalism, the essential argument of which might be summarised as follows: Institutions can be seen as structures constituted by various interrelated 'norms' and roles. The structure of society therefore, as these interrelated institutions, can be seen as the totality of social relationships, which adhere to these norms and roles. Shared values or 'norms' are what integrates societies, and any aberrations or conflict are attributed to deviance.

In constructing his critique, Lockwood develops the distinction between System and Social Integration. Firstly, in terms of Social Integration, he argues that 'norms' are not supported by every strata of society and that, as a result, power and conflicts of interest are left out of the theory. And, thus, that Social Integration involves not merely consensus but conflict. Secondly, he distinguishes Social Integration from System Integration, and argues that normative functionalism has confused Social Integration (how agents behave) with System Integration (how societal parts relate and function together). As a result, they reduce institutions (as parts) to their institutional patterns of behaviour (rules and norms) and conflate social order with system order.

Lockwood's argument is that both must be kept separate. He illustrates this in terms of social change, by which he means a change in a society's 'core institutional order' (ibid: 370). He observed that there could be a low degree of Social Integration (e.g. a lot of class conflict) without causing any structural change to a society's core institutional order (System Integration). At the same time, there could be a low degree of System Integration (e.g. overproduction, financial crisis or, soaring rates of unemployment and inflation perhaps) and a high degree of Social Integration (cooperation and consensus rather than conflict).

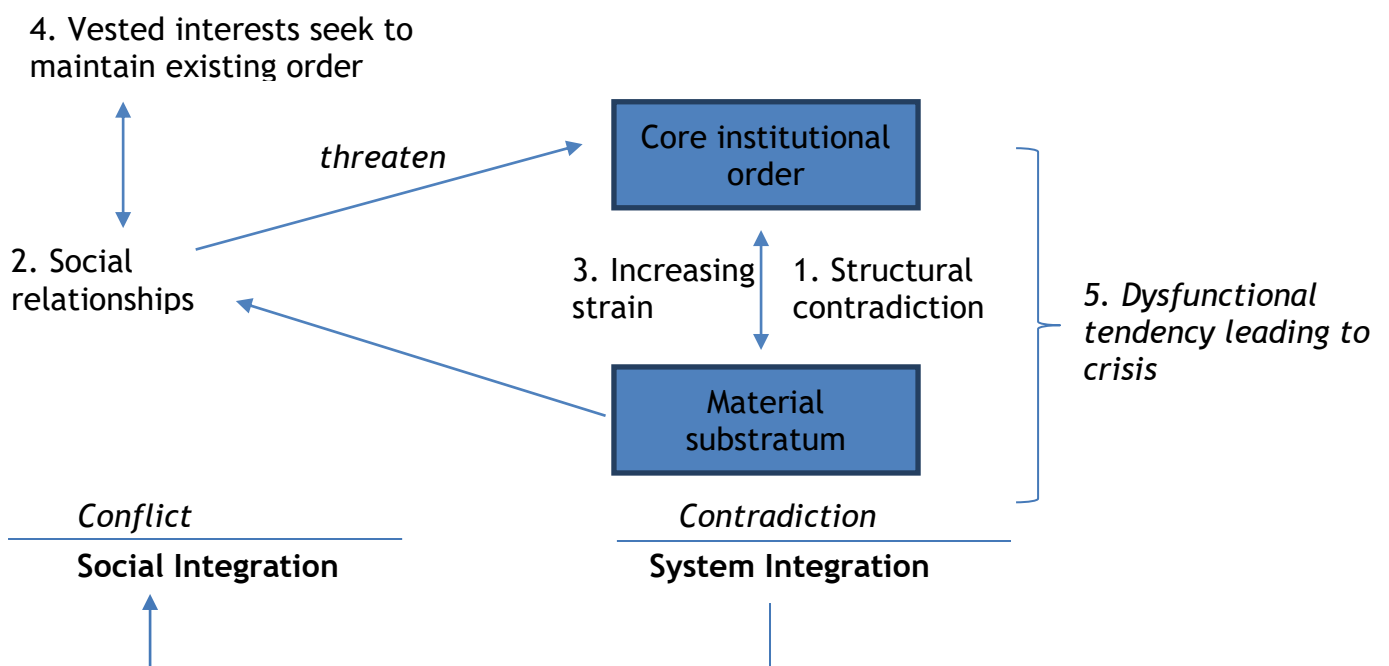
There were two ways of looking at integration and therefore societal change and stability. And this meant that parts and people need to be kept separate theoretically, a distinction he develops through his account of Marx.

2.2 Structural Functionalism and Marxism

Despite his critique of normative functionalism, Lockwood argues there is still a need for what he calls a ‘general’ or ‘structural’ functionalist theory (ibid: 370, 375) in explaining social change. And that there is also still a need for an account of class conflict. Marx, he argues, in being able to separate out both System Integration and Social Integration, is able to have a theory of both.

To build this argument, Lockwood argues there is an important overlap between ‘general’ or ‘structural’ functionalism and the Marxist theory of social change: namely, that of *structural contradiction*. In explaining societal change as changes in a society’s core institutional order, Lockwood moves towards the concept of crisis. And, in explaining social change through crises within systems, Lockwood argues for a series of steps, outlined in **Figure 2.1** below.

Figure 2.1 Lockwood’s explanation of Marx’s theory of system and social integration



The series of steps are explained in more detail below:

1. Structural contradiction between material substratum and core institutional order: The *structural contradiction* is the functional incompatibility between the dominant institutional order of a social system and its material base. Marx's economic theory, for example, looks at the contradiction between the forces of production (things and persons used for purposes of production e.g. equipment, knowledge, person, tools, technology) and the relations of production (roles in production in terms of how owners and non-owners are related to the system of social class, ownership being concentrated in one class of society), which become institutionalised in the property system (private ownership).

2. Social relationships emerge which threaten the core institutional order: According to Lockwood, Marx believed that contradiction implies that the material means of production (e.g. industrial technology) favours a set of potential social relationships (e.g. socialist ownership), which constitute a threat to the existing social relationships institutionalised in the property system (private ownership). This structural contradiction (System Integration) creates class conflict (Social Integration).

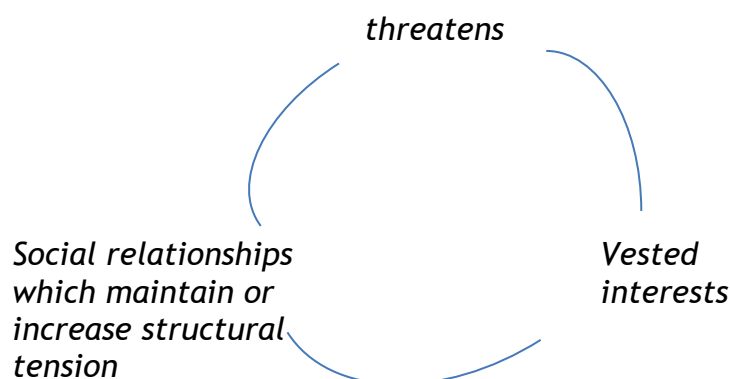
The actualisation of these potentially conflictual relationships is determined by the success with which those with vested interests in the existing order are able to resolve the functional incompatibility between the material means of production and the property framework (institutionalised legal and political rights). Thus it can be seen how social conflict, ultimately class conflict, is generated by structural contradiction between 'parts' of a society.

3. Increasing systemic strain: In resolving this, however, the existing system and therefore the contradiction is maintained and increases, resulting in increased strain.

4. Vested interests maintain the existing order: Those who benefit from the existing order will continue to strive to maintain it. In doing so, these compensating measures inadvertently perpetuate the "deviant" social

relationships which threaten it, since they emerge, and benefit, from its maintenance and ongoing function.

Figure 2.2 Vicious circle of social disintegration (leading to change of core institutional order)



Therefore the success of vested interests in maintaining the given institutional order simultaneously maintains or magnifies its structural contradiction. But doing so leads, unintentionally, to further actualisation of the potential social relationships of the system, and a cycle of disintegration leading to eventual institutional change. In the meantime, the cycle of social disintegration persists as long as the functional incompatibility of the system persists.

5. Structural contradiction leads to crisis: In capitalism, *the contradiction (or functional incompatibility)* arises from the inability of private property institutions to accommodate the capacity of the industrial system. *The focal point* of strain is “overproduction”. Further, this leads to the theory of the “crisis mechanism”. This demonstrates how the internal contradictions of the mode of production are intensified to the point of breakdown by the development of productive forces.

The essential argument then is that System Integration explains Social Integration through the concept of *structural contradiction*. However, Marx’s view of System Integration is limited to the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production. Lockwood argues, however, that the idea of a contradiction or a strategic functional problem is of general relevance and can be extended therefore more generally outwith Marxist theory. He thus extrapolates

his model of Marx, using the examples of Patrimonialism and Totalitarianism. This is summarised in **Table 2.1.** in a more schematic form.

In doing so, this structural-functional analysis and its use of related concepts can be summarised thus: that there is a functional incompatibility or contradiction between a core institutional order and its material base; it thus creates a 'strategic functional problem' or 'steering problem' understood as a problem of System Integration. This then creates conflicts of interest and points of tension, understood as a problem of Social Integration. Both are separate. System Integration and Social Integration interact, but it is the *structural contradiction* of System Integration which conditions, as it were, or is the matrix for the latter. This interaction ultimately produces social change understood as a transformation of the core institutional order or the 'institutional structure of a social system' (ibid: 370).

The purpose of this exegesis is that *understanding this model and its related concepts means it can potentially be applied to modern institutional orders*, like advanced capitalism. This, ultimately, is what is attempted in the thesis. Before this is done however, the System Integration-Social Integration distinction can be further developed further from Lockwood's initial work: both, theoretically, as an ontological distinction; and as an understanding of inequalities more generally.

Table 2.1 Lockwood’s model of Marx applied to other core institutional orders

	Patrimonialism	Totalitarianism	
Dominant or core institutional order	Bureaucracy	Party Bureaucracy	Structural contradiction
<i>Tendency</i>	<i>Centralisation</i>	<i>Absence of social organisation outside the party</i>	
‘Material substructure’	Subsistence economy	Industrial economy	
<i>Social relations implied</i>	<i>Decentralisation</i>	<i>Latent interest groups of class character</i>	
Strategic functional problem	Maintaining a taxation system to meets the material needs of a bureaucracy in a subsistence economy with centrifugal tendencies	Maintaining control of party bureaucracy over the industrial bureaucracy <i>and</i> secure the part against vested interest groups of the managerial elite but without undermining the conditions of industrial efficiency	
Conflicts of interest	Bureaucratic centre, officialdom, landed magnates, peasantry	Workers, Soviet bourgeoisie, party officials	
Focal points of tension	<p>Actualisation of social relations (i.e. decentralisation):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landowners wanting tax immunity • Peasants seeking tax relief • Local officials with different interests than central bureaucracy 	<p>Actualisation of social relations (i.e. formation of class interests):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lines of stratification forming • Worker protest and opposition • Interest groups with their basis in industrial substructure (as a result of rapid industrialisation) seeking to (a) strive for autonomous corporate existence or (b) subvert the party bureaucracy from within 	

2.3 Developing an ontological distinction

Lockwood's distinction (1964: 371) between Social and System integration is clearly summarised in terms of their differences:

“Whereas the problem of social integration focuses attention upon orderly or conflict relationships between *actors*, the problem of system integration focuses on the orderly or conflictual relationships between the *parts* of a social system.”

Critical Realism argues that structures have causal properties or powers (Danermark et al., 1998). Ontologically, we see two different kinds of structures identified in Lockwood's distinction: one where the components are actors or agents and the relations between them are structured in such a way that rise to *conflict or cooperation*; and one where the components are institutional parts of the social system, and the relations between them are structured in such a way that rise to compatibility ('a system of interdependent parts', *ibid*: 371) and contradiction (a 'lack of fit', *ibid*: 378; 'structural contradictions', *ibid*:376) . They are different *kinds* of structures and thus have different causal properties and powers. Thus System Integration and Social Integration, ontologically, exist and behave in different ways as can be seen from **Figure 2.3** below

Figure 2.3 Social and System Integration: ontological characteristics

	Social Integration	System Integration
Positive	Cooperation	Compatibility
Negative	Conflict	Contradiction
Relations	Between actors	Between parts of the social system
Structure	Norms and rules (normative functionalism)	Marx's capitalist system

This is important analytically because it identifies two different ontological structures which are often conflated (as in normative functionalism) when they should be kept separate (as in Marx). But it has wider relevance too, in regard to

social class and educational inequalities. Though they are totally different theories, Bourdieu's concept of 'objective structure' as outlined in the introduction chapter, ontologically speaking, is the same as normative functionalism in that its structures are purely those of Social Integration: it is a structure which exists 'objectively' between *agents*. In reducing 'parts' of the State structure to a bureaucratic field (Bourdieu, 2010), and, indeed, more generally (the *social structures* of the economy), he effects the same conflation Lockwood critiques, therefore. Since Bourdieu focuses entirely on ontological relations of Social Integration it can be seen he has no use for the concepts of contradiction or compatibility¹.

However, if Lockwood is correct, then it is necessary to understand System Integration in order to understand Social Integration: or, it is necessary to understand the institutional structure of a social system in order to understand the class conflicts of interest within it. And the ways they interact. Thus in developing a theory of social inequalities, there needs to be a prior understanding of System Integration, which conditions the nature of class conflict ('conflicts of interest', 'points of tension'), and the imbalances of power which result in those very inequalities. If the interaction of 'parts' and their structural contradictions cause class conflict, then, ultimately, social class inequalities in education cannot be understood *solely* through social class. They must be partial accounts, in the final instance: necessary but not sufficient explanations. Similarly, the interaction of parts means moving beyond explanations which lie purely at the level of the part (the education system) if not to risk attributing to the part what more properly applies to the whole. And, as a core institutional order or institutional structure, it means moving beyond simple functional pairs like education-economy or education-housing. Thus rather than just accounting for societal change, the distinction can be used to expand upon the notion of inequalities and thus leads to a theoretical gap: *Why is there no System Integration account of educational inequalities, or rather an account of social class inequalities (in education) which is informed by system integration or the 'institutional structure of the social system' (ibid 370)?*

¹ Homology replaces compatibility, meaning the underlying structure of social space (Social Integration) being translated into the logic of a field (Social Integration). As in the introduction, there is no relations between fields and thus no possibility of System Integration.

Lockwood's concepts of System Integration and Social Integration thus enables him to critique their conflation in normative functionalism, whilst providing an implicit critique of Bourdieu. It also enables him to elucidate Marx's theory of social change through a 'view of system integration particularly relevant to conflict theory'. There are two corollaries.

Firstly, Lockwood maintains a need for a structural functionalist theory which is capable of understanding the relations of institutional parts (the 'core institutional order') and the central contradiction and steering problem between them. In other words, there is a need for some sort of functionalism: '... here the perspective of general functionalism would still seem to be the most useful instrument' (ibid: 370). To understand System Integration then, "[what] is missing is the system integration focus of general functionalism" (ibid 375).

Secondly, the vested interests of the core institutional order and the conflicts created in opposition is, in Marx, class conflict. There is a need to understand class conflict and therefore the inequalities which result from a prior understanding of System Integration, or the relations between different institutional parts. Thus some sort of functionalist understanding of System Integration is necessary to understand class inequalities.

"The strategic-functional problem sets the stage for the characteristic conflicts of interest that arise..." (ibid: 380)

But modern sociological approaches, including educational sociology, eschew functionalist approaches. Hence the theoretical gap.

2.4 Summing up

Mouzelis (1998) notes that Lockwood does not try to develop his concepts of System and Social integration into a broader theory. However, in order to address such a gap and develop a different approach to educational inequalities, this is what the thesis attempts. Since educational inequality is generally theorised in terms of relations between competing agents and their differential resources, this can only be a partial explanation if System Integration conditions Social Integration. Thus, we also need to look at the structures of the former, and therefore we need to understand:

1. What is the strategic functional problem of modern advanced capitalism or welfare capitalism?
2. How is this related to education as 'part' of this system?
3. How are educational inequalities best understood once we have understood the structures of System Integration and how are they related to Social Integration?

To progress such a theory from Lockwood's account, requires elaborating its two causal properties of *compatibility* and *contradiction*. The approach taken here is to develop this through the literature in the next two chapters by:

- **Compatibility:** using the concepts of institutional compatibilities and the Varieties of Capitalism literature (Hall and Soskice, 2001);
- **Contradiction:** using the Marxist literature of the State, particularly the work of Claus Offe (1984, 1985).

The former develops Lockwood's account of general functionalism into one of path-dependent, mutually reinforcing institutional compatibilities. The latter develops Lockwood's account of structural contradiction, where the State is absent in Marx and therefore Lockwood's 'core institutional order'. The concept of the State is also missing in the Varieties of Capitalism literature, where there is no explanation of how its compatibilities are secured and maintained. Thus, it brings the State back into state education by: firstly, understanding education as an institutional compatibility and moving beyond the reductive normative functionalism eschewed. And, secondly, understanding that a system of compatibilities produces contradictions, which the State must manage. And thus how education system is used to resolve some of those incompatibilities. Or, rather, it moves beyond the material substratum-core institutional contradiction to understand how both are subsumed within the structures of the State. Chapter 3 therefore develops Lockwood's concept of System Integration through developing an account of its causal power of compatibility.

Chapter 3: Compatibility as Institutional Compatibilities

The concept of compatibility is explored in this chapter through the Varieties of Capitalism literature (Hall and Soskice, 2001), which develops the concept of institutional compatibilities into distinct varieties of capitalism. It is also explored through the Knowledge Economy thesis (Bell, 1974). Both result in different explanations of the education system in the distribution of opportunities. In one, a ‘universal upskilling’ thesis (Smith and Thompson, 1998; Thompson and Warhurst, 1998; Bradley et al. 2000; Lloyd and Payne, 2003a), or what Goldthorpe critically terms Education Based Democracy (Goldthorpe, 2003; Bukodi and Goldthorpe, 2019), leads, via the mediation of the education system, to a weakening of the association between class origin and class destination. In the other, it leads, for some, to a ‘poverty trap’, where the distribution between skills and earnings is understood differently (Estevez-Abe et al., 2001). Both theses however neglect the structure of demand. By looking at the skills literature and, in particular, the political economy of skills literature, the Varieties of Capitalism thesis is shown to be partly corroborated but also some of its limitations revealed. In doing so, this ultimately results in the need for a theory of the State, as outlined in Chapter 3. Overall, however, it can be seen that the concept of compatibility is a critical one in understanding how modern education systems are assumed to function within society and how they have been seen in policy over the past few decades. It thus becomes an important exploration of the main research question.

3.1 Introduction

Developing an account of compatibilities as ‘interdependence of parts’ and the notion of a ‘core institutional order’ is one that has, arguably, only been fully elaborated in the Varieties of Capitalism (VoC) literature, building on the concept of institutional complementarity. It does not draw upon Marxist theory in its understanding of capitalism, which is mainly the background or system within which relations between institutions are organised. They *are* organised however into ‘core institutional orders’ to borrow Lockwood’s term, resulting in the two differing ‘varieties’: namely, of Liberal Market Economies and Coordinated Market Economies. Thus, instead of characterising core institutional

orders, as in Lockwood, as differences *between* different social systems (e.g. Patrimonialism, Totalitarianism), the VoC literature characterises them as differences *within* one: namely, capitalism, which *itself* produces different core institutional orders. This is the first advance upon Lockwood. The second, and most important, is that what is separated in Lockwood, as core institutional order and material substratum, is here combined.

3.2 Compatibility as Institutional Complementarity

The literature on institutional complementarity in comparative institutional analyses of capitalism (Amable, 2000, 2003, 2016; Aoki, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2013; Boyer, 2004; Deeg and Jackson, 2007; Hall and Soskice, 2001; Hopner, 2005) looks at the interaction of institutions and how their reciprocal influence enhances or compensates for each other, resulting in an ‘institutional matrix’ or ‘national model’ (North, 1990), seen as a framework of interrelated national institutions (Amable, 2000: 657).

Following North (1990: 3), Hall and Soskice (2001: 9) define institutions as:

a set of rules, formal or informal, that actors generally follow, whether for normative, cognitive, or material reasons, and organizations as durable entities with formally recognized members, whose rules also contribute to the institutions of the political economy

Amable (ibid: 648) defines institutions as:

... 'humanly devised constraints imposed on human inter-action', [which] are the rules of the game(s) where individual agents are the players.

In the VoC literature, this distinction is developed, contrasting rules and practices, (Amable and Palombarini, 2008) where a firm, say, as individual agent will choose a certain strategy (practices) but which itself will be shaped overall by the economy, labour market, legal regulations and so on it works within (rules). Thus an institution, like a labour market or financial system, defines what kinds of actions are possible or probable or not.

These institutions do not exist in isolation, however, as Hall and Soskice point out in relation to the political economy. Thus Aoki (1994) in his work on institutional complementarities, for example, argues that long-term employment

is more probable where the financial system is prepared to invest in over longer term, that is without being affected by shorter term profit cycles. Activity in one institutional sphere supports or enables certain activities in another.

Hall and Soskice (2001) take this type of institutional complementarity and their reciprocal relations (labour market, firms and financial system) and extend it to all institutions of the political economy. The systems of reciprocal institutional relations which result create a more or less coherent 'core institutional order' (to borrow Lockwood's term) within capitalism. Two ideal types are identified: a coordinated market economy (CME) and a liberal market economy (LME).

These two systems are elaborated from taking the firm as the unit of analysis, and by then attempting to understand their routes to competitive advantage. Hall and Soskice (2001) show that these vary systematically by virtue of the structure of their reciprocal institutional relations. Their main argument is that markets are institutions that support relationships of particular kind. In CMEs, the route to profit is through high value-added products targeted at niche export (as well as domestic) markets, involving workers highly skilled across a range of varying tasks (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 250). In Hall and Soskice's model, this is due to the nature of the relations between institutions, which is based on coordination and collaboration. There is coordination between firms, which enables a sharing of information and longer-term strategic interaction between them. There is collaboration with other relevant agents, such as employer representatives and trade unions, which affects the character of industrial relations. It thus enables the development of more corporatist institutions, which means agents can make credible commitments to each other and reduce uncertainty. Long term strategic planning and reduced uncertainty can then facilitate collaborative relations between firms and banks, which means long-term financing and investment. With long-term investment in their firms or industries, long-term strategic planning, coordination and sharing of information between firms, this also enables the creation of a vocational skills system. Firms therefore are able to invest in skills themselves by training their own employees (firm-specific skills) or, with the industrial relations and coordination between firms available, invest in industry specific skills, industry standard setting and

the creation of industry-specific qualifications. All of which results in high value-added product market strategies.

By contrast, in LMEs, the route to profit is not through advantage in quality but advantage in cost. The principle here is competition between firms rather than coordination. This lack of coordination means longer term credible commitments between firms are more difficult to make. A lack of information sharing between firms means instead this needs to be provided through publicly assessable information such as balance sheets and stock markets. The lack of direct coordination and collaboration between firms means competition and vulnerability to mergers and takeovers. This often means replacing longer term investment with shorter term investment and profits, and companies having to compete in often rapidly changing markets. This means greater uncertainty and therefore a lack of longer-term investment from banks. The lack of longer-term finance and changing markets in times of downturn can mean labour may need to be shed and therefore this results in deregulation of labour markets and easier ways to hire and fire labour. A consequence then is a lack of collaborative industrial relations, and a tendency to corporate rather than corporative structures. Long-term strategic planning is less possible as a result.

All of which means firms are less likely and less able to invest in the long-term skills of their own employees, as they may be poached by other firms. As a result, skills and training systems are complementary to more fluid and flexible labour markets. This results in general skills systems produced by mass education systems, with little involvement from employers, and general skills which are transferable *across* firms and industries rather than firm-specific or industry specific. This means the product marketing strategies available in CMEs are not available in LMEs. Product market strategies using standardised production methods tend to compete on cost in mass markets rather than quality goods in niche markets. Work organization, rather than emphasizing flexible tasks or teamwork among highly skilled workers, will be based upon a more rigid and conventional division of tasks. This results in less worker rights, and further reinforces labour market deregulation.

There are several important points which can be drawn out from these two relational systems of institutional compatibilities. Firstly, there is a theoretical advance on Lockwood. Rather than separating the core instructional order and the economy (or material substratum), the economy and its main mode of coordination *structures the core institutional order*. Secondly, these reciprocal institutional relations also mean an advance on functionalism. It is not that the system as a whole requires the part to behave in a certain way, and it is not that one part affects another part necessarily in a direct way (education-economy and marketisation of the former) - though this may be so - but that these institutional complementarities mutually reinforce each other in a way that takes in first order and second order relations: thus in an LME, a deregulated labour market is reinforced, in the first order, by lack of long-term finance and firm collaboration; this creates a need to focus on short-term profits and competition, which creates a need to hire and fire at certain points; this means a disincentive for firms to invest in skills, which results in skills systems which, in the second order, create transferable skills, which then reinforce these more fluid labour markets. Thus instead of a simple functionalism, a system of these relations lead to a certain system coherence which structures *a path-dependence* for firms: it is not that one part prescribes action in another; rather that certain courses of action are more or less possible. Thirdly, these complementarities are not deterministic:

... there are limits to the institutional isomorphism that can be expected across spheres of the economy... the importance to institutional development of historical processes driven by considerations other than efficiency will limit the number of complementarities found in any economy. (Hall and Soskice, 2001:18)

As sets of institutional compatibilities tend to converge however, more definite institutional practices can be identified *as such*. This means a more theoretically sophisticated way of understanding System Integration and its causal power of compatibility as an 'institution matrix' or relational system of mutually reinforcing institutional compatibilities. Finally, education systems are implicated in a wider system of compatibilities and, further, they *are* one of those institutional compatibilities, given the importance Hall and Soskice attribute to skills systems. It would follow then that the education system rather than having a 'relative autonomy' or *in addition to this*, would necessarily be implicated in this 'institution matrix'. The next section explores this further.

3.3 Institutional Complementarities and the Education System

The argument about general skills systems in LMEs complementing more fluid and deregulated labour markets is developed by Estevez-Abe et al. (2001), who extend this argument from the skills system to the welfare state and to education. Their argument is dense and is summarised here as it is important in developing a System Integration account of education and inequalities, and what will be further developed as the concept of residualisation in Chapters 4 and 5.

The basic thesis is that there are ‘welfare production regimes’. Regulation of the labour market (wage protection, employment protection) and the welfare state itself (unemployment protection) influence how employers are able to compete in markets. For example, LMEs require more deregulation. For individuals however, the absence or presence of such protections means higher or lower labour market risk and dependence on particular employers means increased vulnerability to market fluctuations. Workers will only make such risky investments when they have some insurance that their job or income is secure. More labour market protection means workers are more willing to invest in firm- and industry-specific skills. Thus, welfare states support these vocational skills systems. Where these protections do not exist or are not provided, as in LMEs, the alternative to specific skills are general skills: portable and transferable in the event of labour shedding. The welfare state therefore is not contrary to the economy (understood as decommodification as in Esping-Andersen, 1990), or as a source of labour market rigidity, but is in fact complementarity to it.

General skills systems produce weakly institutionalised school-to-work pathways as, unlike in CMEs, employers are not involved in creating links with schools and distinct school-to-work pathways (firm-specific skills) or being heavily involved in creating or influencing the content of qualifications and ensuring their quality (industry-specific skills). Since employers in a firm-specific skill system carry out initial job training, school leavers have a chance of building careers as skilled workers. This gives non-academic pupils a strong incentive to work hard in school. By contrast, in general skill systems, they have

little incentive to do well at schools which promote or privilege academic routes.

Vocational tracks are devalued. Because of the absence of a clear firm- or industry-specific links, and because of the lack of labour market value they therefore can create, vocational pathways are devalued. Employers see young school leavers (16-17) seeking employment as more likely to be ‘low-achieving, or below average in terms of personal qualities such as application and perseverance’ (Wolf, 2011). Equally, for those ‘pushed’ into vocational qualifications through lack of opportunity in the labour market, general skills vocational qualifications do not add much value to the worker. Potential workers therefore have to demonstrate their competence in terms of general scholarly achievement, and getting a tertiary degree becomes an essential component: assumed to provide the higher cognitive skills which the modern knowledge economy demands.

At the top end of the ability distribution, **a general education system offers the largest returns to those with advanced graduate and postgraduate degrees².** These returns tend to be more modest in specific skills systems because a large number of companies depend more on industry-specific and firm-specific skills than professional degrees or broad academic qualifications. General skill systems, therefore, reward those students who are academically talented in terms of labour market entry, not through being given the chance to build careers as skilled workers (firm-specific and industry-specific). Distribution of academic aptitude thus translates into distribution of skills, and consequently into a very skewed distribution of earnings. As a consequence, academically weak students in general skill regimes are worse off than their counterparts elsewhere: they are more likely to be trapped in low-paid unskilled jobs. This is what Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) call a ‘poverty trap’.

² See Wolf (2011: 30) on the established understanding of educational returns: ‘The more education you acquire, and the more qualifications you obtain, the higher your earnings are likely to be, and the lower your chances of unemployment. This explains the huge growth in demand for university places...’ And also: “The English labour market offers very high returns to degrees, in absolute and relative terms, compared to most other European countries. It also offers very low returns indeed to low-level vocational qualifications obtained in educational institutions or training schemes.... In other words, *many English low-level vocational qualifications currently have little to no apparent labour market value*” (ibid: 31) [emphasis in original]

The notion of a 'poverty trap' develops the System Integration concept further in that *institutional complementarities potentially produce inequalities or poverty traps*; or, more specifically, that general skills systems in LMEs produce them. Two such poverty traps are identified: implicitly *the vocational track within a general skills system* and, explicitly, *the lower end of the labour market*. Further, these are facilitated by more residual welfare states, which support more deregulated labour markets. This poses an interesting question: since in LMEs, there is a clearer imbalance between labour and capital than in CMEs, do the complementarities of deregulated labour markets, more residual welfare states etc. produce a *series* of systemically generated poverty traps? This helps to advance an understanding of the second main research question: firstly, because inequalities can be understood, potentially, as systemically produced; secondly, because if they are produced by a *system* of relational institutional complementarities, then it is reasonable to posit that these may be *linked in a systematic way*.

However, being able to move from systems of compatibilities to inequalities relies on a weakness within the Varieties of Capitalism theory. Estevez-Abe et al.'s argument (ibid) is an *agent based* one: the individual needs insurance in a more precarious labour market (without un/employment protection) through general skills (in lieu of a vocational system). But the agent has now changed, or changes back and forth: it thus moves somewhat ambiguously from the *firm* as unit of analysis to the *individual*.

This highlights what can be seen, however, as a more general ontological confusion in the Varieties of Capitalism theory generally. Hay (2020) more recently has argued this in relation to Weber's ideal types, however it can be stated more simply in terms of Lockwood's distinction between System and Social Integration. As the basic unit of analysis, the firm is an agent: it acts within a path-dependent system, trying to secure a competitive advantage. An agent can be understood neither solely as an actor (as in Lockwood) or in terms of *human* agency but more generally as that which acts and has agency (e.g. an individual, a firm, a corporation, a government). Varieties of Capitalism thus tries to elaborate a theory of System Integration (a mutually reinforcing system of institutional *compatibilities*) from Social Integration (the agent or firm,

competing or collaborating). This is the same conflation analysed by Lockwood in his analysis of normative functionalism. Nevertheless, the conflation is instructive as the move from *firm to system* in Hall and Soskice (2001), and more specifically in Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) from *firm to individual*, is precisely what raises the theoretical possibility that institutional compatibilities produce individual inequalities; and more specifically, they produce educational inequalities in two senses: *within* the education system (via vocational and academic routes) and *through* the education system itself (in poorer labour market outcomes). Importantly, however, both can only be understood within the system of institutional complementarities.

3.3.1 The High Skills Economy and Bell's Thesis

Understanding compatibility through the VoC literature then has led to an advance on how educational inequalities might be considered in relation to System Integration. But if this is one way, then another more prevalent account suggests the opposite: this is thesis of the Knowledge Economy (Bell, 1974) and its more modern variants (Giddens, 2000; Leadbeater, 2000; Castells, 2010). Bell's thesis of the Knowledge Economy is another account of institutional complementarities or, rather, *an* institutional complementarity in that the changing nature of the economy requires higher skills. In this account, the meritocratic gain of qualifications through the education system will lead to a weakening or breaking of the link between social origins and social destinations (Bukodi and Goldthorpe, 2019: 91). In other words, Bell relates the organisation of the economy - or its reorganisation - to individual outcomes, as in Estevez-Abe et al. (2001), but instead finds increased equalities; or rather than poverty traps, more social fluidity.

To understand this discrepancy better and to evaluate both accounts in more detail means taking account of another weakness of Estevez-Abe et al.'s argument (ibid): namely, that it is a *supply-side* one. The distribution of skills is linked to the distribution of earnings, thus higher attainment leads to higher earnings but it thus neglects *the structure of demand*, and the labour market, therefore. Doing so in this section will therefore help, firstly, better understand the nature of Estevez-Abe et al.'s poverty trap of low-skilled, low-paid jobs in LMEs; secondly, evaluate the Knowledge Economy thesis or the more recent High

Skills Economy variant³ in relation to LMEs; and thirdly, further evaluate the limitations of the VoC thesis. The main issue is the apparent contradiction: LMEs do not lead to high-skills economies in the VoC literature, since they compete on cost; and work organisation tends towards standardisation, with Hall and Soskice (2001: 20) explicitly categorising the USA and UK as LMEs. For decades however, Governments in the UK, beginning most clearly with New Labour and more recently still, have implicitly followed Bell's thesis: see, for example, O'Donovan (2020) on UK governments over the last twenty years, and see also the present government's UK Innovation Strategy (2021).

3.3.2 The Skills Literature: The Supply-Push Thesis

The high-skills, knowledge-based economy emerged as a policy consensus in the 1990s (Lloyd and Payne, 2003a; Wolf, 2003; O'Donovan, 2020) and a critical literature was developed in response from the late 1990s/2000sⁱ. One of its main threads is summarised by what Keep (2014) has called the Supply-Push model of skills (HM Treasury, 2002; Leitch Review of Skills, 2006). This model assumes that the expansion of skills will create its own demand; and that more highly skilled people result in more jobs requiring higher skills.

Thus policy makers have insisted that a high skills, high value-added economy can be achieved mainly through initiatives aimed at improving the supply of skills and qualifications, mainly through an expanded education system (Lloyd and Payne, 2002b: 368). Policy makers increasingly saw skills and, relatedly, education and training as the answer to both economic *and* social problems (Blair, 1996), tackling not just international competitiveness, economic growth and productivity on the economic side (see for example Coates and Hay, 2000), but unemployment, social exclusion and inclusion (Levitas, 2005; Keep and Mayhew, 2010) on the social side. Blair (2000) argued that 'the new knowledge economy is here and it is now' and that through 'education, education and education' (Blair, 1996) knowledge would lead to 'better growth, better employment and social cohesion' (Blair, 2000).

³ See for example BBC News (2021), *Boris Johnson on the high wage, high skill economy* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-58814707> Accessed 31/10/2021

'Universal upskilling' (Keep and Mayhew, 1999; Grugulis et al., 2004; Keep, 2005) meant therefore the use of the education system. In particular, this meant using qualifications as a proxy for skills (see for example, Leitch Review of Skills, 2006; HM Treasury, 2011; James et al., 2013). O' Donovan (2020: 254) summarises its functional implications in policy at the time:

Educational improvements would equip more and more people to participate in knowledge-intensive work, which would encourage innovative businesses to invest, which would lead to an ever-increasing number of knowledge-intensive jobs, with more and more people enjoying the higher incomes associated with those jobs.

The Knowledge Economy therefore created the possibilities for a more meritocratic school system and better overall social equality (Brown and Lauder, 1991). All of which meant that the supply-side approach to problems of demand changed some of the functions of education: it was now an important lever in the need to raise skills, which had a variety of positive economic and social outcomes. A position which has largely remained unchanged, and which successive governments have simply 'doubled down on' (O'Donovan, 2020: 263).

Alternative Routes to Competitiveness

However, it has been argued that such an approach neglects structural weaknesses in the British economy, which limit demand for skills (see Finegold and Soskice, 1988; Brown and Lauder, 1996; Keep and Mayhew, 1999; Coates, 2000). Finegold and Soskice (1988) termed this the UK's 'low skills/low quality equilibrium'. Similar to the VoC literature, this argues that competitive advantage can be secured on cost and work intensification rather than quality and that the high skills route is not the only path to economic competitiveness in advanced capitalist economies (Ashton and Green, 1996; Keep and Mayhew, 1997).

What is more, there are other alternatives to profit and growth other than forms of 'neo-Fordism' and 'cost-cutting' (Cutler, 1992). Takeovers and mergers, for example, and relatedly acquiring monopoly power, as well as investing overseas (Green and Sakamoto, 2000; Keep, 2006). Many of the bigger organisations having a multi-national basis, and with the option of investment abroad noted,

there is even less interest in local and national investment needed to support a high skills route (Lloyd and Payne, 2003: 94).

This has implications for labour market demand. Nolan and Slater (2003) describe an hourglass shape as the emerging occupational structure in the UK: with growth in knowledge-intensive sectors and knowledge work supported by an ever-expanding number of lower-level service jobs (ibid: 279). Holmes and Mayhew (2013) also argue there that while there has been a large growth in occupations at the top end of the scale, there has been an increase in some occupations at the bottom end of the scale. Green (2001) classifies the UK as high skills/low skills model, with international and American evidence confirming this (Autor, Katz, and Kearney 2006, 2008; Goos and Manning 2007; Autor and Dorn 2013; Michaels, Natraj, and Van Reenen 2014; Goos et al., 2014). This polarisation of skills and the ‘lovely’ and ‘lousy’ jobs (Goos and Manning, 2007) which are generated still provides a competitive basis for success therefore (Green, 2001: 123; Lauder, 1999). But it undermines the distributional argument of the Knowledge Economy thesis. Finegold (1999) is more explicit: high-skill sectors are essential for wealth development but he admits that they will only employ a small minority. A more recent argument suggests these same sectors *also* support and help generate the creation of lower-paid jobs (Lee and Clarke, 2017).

Overall, therefore, looking at the structure of demand rather than supply helps better explain Estevez-Abe et al.’s ‘poverty trap’ of low paid, low skilled jobs.

3.3.3 A Political Economy of Skills

The skills literature thus exposes the weakness of the Knowledge Economy thesis: its neglect of the wider ‘institutional matrix’ (North, 1990). In contrast to the ‘light touch’ employer regulation in the UK (Steedman, 2001; Fuller and Unwin, 2003; Keep and Payne, 2003; Keep and Mayhew, 2004; Keep, 2020), Ashton and Green (1996) argue that high skills formation cannot be separated from industrial and trade policy influencing employer demand for skills. Lauder (1999) argues for a more active State in tackling demand but, at the same time, he also cites obstacles to this such as business short-termism, the vested interests of the City (see also Hutton, 1995) as well as global regulation of

capital movements. Keep's argument draws upon Scandinavian rather than Anglo-Saxon growth models (Keep, 2000:8), including long-term financing, job redesign and income redistribution. Strengthening job quality and a more equitable income structure would both reduce poverty and boost spending power, which he argues is necessary to sustain the Scandinavian model based on quality and more expensive production. As a result, it would form a potent obstacle to employer low product market strategies based on cheap, standardised goods.

What Keep alludes to, Lloyd and Payne (2002a, 2002b, 2003) tackle more directly by asking the question: What would the *institutional* conditions be for moving the UK onto a high skills trajectory? Here they move to what might be called more specifically, a political economy of skills. Their answer is a fundamental change in the nature of the UK's economic and political institutions and a rebalancing of capital-labour relations (ibid: 2003: 93). In other words, though not referencing the VoC literature, they are, in effect, suggesting changes to the way an LME, like the UK, operates. In evaluating the likelihood of this, they link the skills debate back to the longer-term problems of UK relative economic decline; in particular, the UK finance-industrial capital relationship (Hutton, 1995; Albert and Haviland, 1997; Green and Sakamoto, 2000; Coates, 2000) and what elsewhere has been called the Anglo-Liberal growth model (Hay, 2013), with key features being the absence of any attempts to modernise Britain's manufacturing base and a bias towards underinvestment (Fine and Harris, 1985; Elbaum and Lazonick, 1986; Coates, 1995, 2000). Thus the skills literature, although separate from the VoC literature, comes to the same conclusion: that the institutional basis for a High Skills Economy is not possible in an LME.

And one final weakness of the VoC literature is exposed in the skills literature: the need to move the unit of analysis from the firm to the State in an understanding of the compatibilities of this 'institution matrix'. Ashton and Green (1996: 39) argue it is essential to have an adequate conception of the State in a political economy of skills, seeing it as an arena where different class interests are struggled over, with capitalist interests normally dominant (1996:40). By focusing on the firm, this is absent in the VoC theory. Further,

Lloyd and Payne (2002a: 378) argue that the role of the State is under-theorised or rather 'un-theorised' in the skills literature itself. They argue that the possibility of a High Skills Economy would require an institutional environment incorporating at least three key elements (Lloyd and Payne, 2003: 93-4).

First, it would require '*fundamental institutional resetting*' (ibid: 93): namely, moving the UK towards a long-term approach, which requires major reforms to the UK's financial institutions and systems of corporate governance that privilege shareholder interests over all others (see also Lloyd and Payne, 2002b: 368-369). Ultimately this means reforming a financial, City-driven model of capital accumulation geared towards short-term shareholder value and destructive of 'long-term investment in people, plant and technology'. In other words, it would require reforming the institutions of capital.

As a result, and secondly, *it would need to encompass reform to the State structure itself* (Lloyd and Payne, 2003: 93), in particular the 'City-Bank-Treasury nexus', where monetary and fiscal orthodoxy works to the detriment of the needs of the UK's industrial base. Thus it would require reforming the structures of the State.

Finally, they identify the lack of agency in helping or forcing firms shift 'up market', given other routes to profit. Thus *there would need to be strong regulation of employers and labour markets, as well as the development of collective institutions* (both of employers and unions), to deliver training commitments, minimum standards and measures to support firms attempting higher product market strategies. Further, a stronger role for trade unions in workplace reorganisation, translate these strategies into high quality jobs, which involve a broad range of skills, more autonomy and better development opportunities.

Their three key elements can be ultimately therefore as: the institutions of capital, the institutions of labour, and the institutions of the State. Their central insight then is that, contrary to the Supply-Push thesis, tugging at one part of the system, namely the skills system, unravels the very system of which that is a part. Which is essentially the VoC thesis. Thus Lloyd and Payne identify many of

the same institutional complementarities as the VoC literature and, in effect, argue that only by effecting a shift from LME to CME is a High Skills Economy possible.

In doing so, they point out several weaknesses of the VoC theory. Firstly, they implicitly point out a fundamental weakness in the VoC literature and its theory of compatibilities: the absence of the State and the role of the State as producing those very compatibilities. Offe (2015: 9), for example, argues that role of the state in capitalism means that it must be in place first because:

... virtually every move “free” market participants make in pursuing their interests is licensed, mandated, regulated, promoted, guaranteed, subsidized, protected, legally formalized etc.”

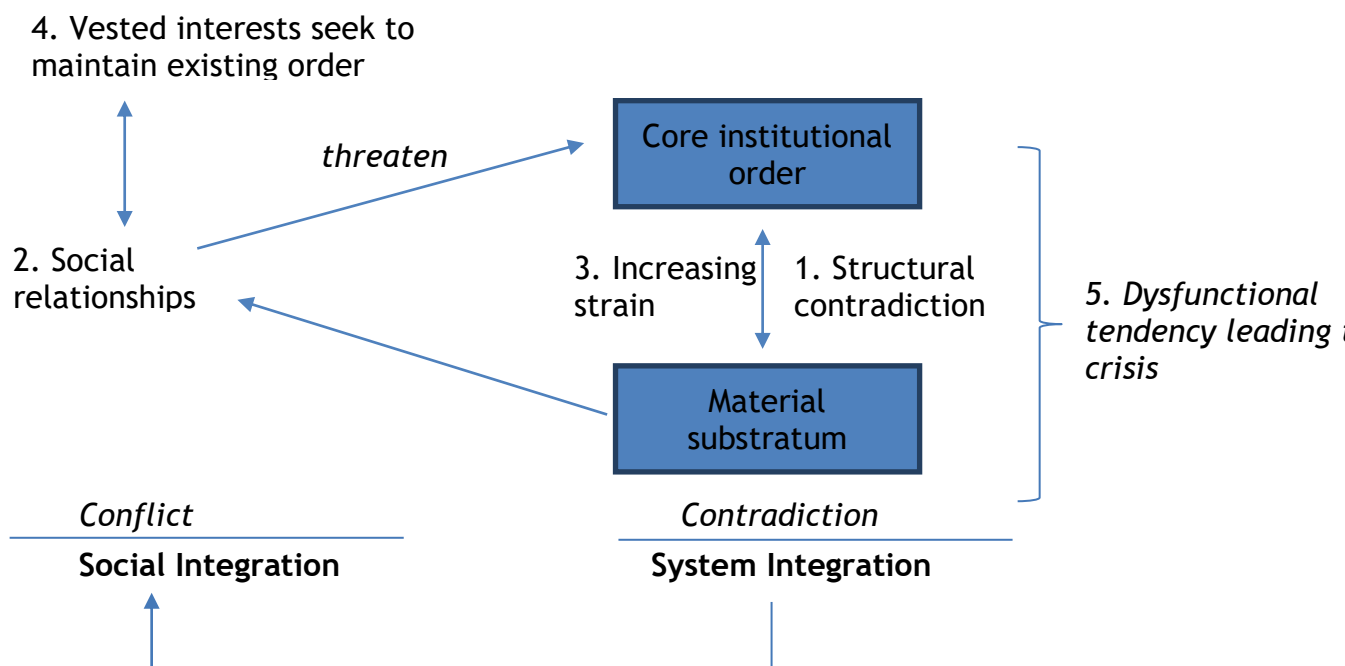
However, rather just functioning as institutional preconditions, it can be argued from the skills literature that the structures which emerge in LMEs, for example, *are* State structures, whose compatibilities are maintained by them, and therefore that different varieties of capitalism mean *different varieties of State capitalism*. In other words, institutional compatibilities do not simply cohere or converge in a self-organising fashion. They require to be shaped by States.

Further, these two different varieties (CME/LME) mean, firstly, a different balance of capital and labour: in LMEs for example, deregulated labour markets, more corporate than corporatist structures, less coordinated industrial relations etc. And, secondly, a different balance of the composition of capital as financial and industrial capital: in LMEs, as short term profits and shareholder accountability, mergers and takeovers, overseas investments use of stock markets; and the lack of long-term investment in industry etc. Thus CMEs/LMEs could also thus be characterised not merely as differing modes of coordination and competitive advantage but as *structural differences* in capital-labour and financial-industrial capital, around which institutional complementarities cohere, shaped by the structures *of* the State and the restructuring *by* the State: for example, in the post-Keynesian restructuring of the State in the late 1970s, which was also a restructuring of the capital-labour and financial-industrial capital relations. Lastly, like Ashton and Green (1996), Lloyd and Payne (2002b: 387) argue that vested class interests, particularly the interests of capital,

resulting from the balance of capital as financial and industrial capital make this an unlikely prospect.

Returning to the conceptual diagram of Lockwood's argument helps to clarify the nature of what has happened:

Figure 2.1 Lockwood's explanation of Marx's theory of system and social integration



The VoC theory combines the core institutional order and the material substratum (the economy), with the economy shaping the nature of the core institutional order. Whilst this is arguably an advance on the concept of complementarity and a simple base/superstructure functionalism, their combination means any *structural contradiction* disappears: rather than any opposition between capital and labour, and financial capital and industrial capital, what arguably emerges are the compatibilities which are structured by this very opposition, but with the opposition removed. Further, the fact that the economy itself rather than regulating the nature of other institutions itself has to be regulated by the State is made in Chapter 4. Finally, the vested class interests produced by financial and industrial capital and the resistance to change of the existing order is also missing. The VoC thesis is therefore solely an

account of System Integration *as* compatibility. Thus, Lockwood's argument of the need to account for both is thus still relevant in this instance.

Drawing out these important points results in an important critique of the VoC thesis: its focus on the firm as unit of analysis results in the omission of State and class interests. Given the effort involved in moving from an LME to CME, Lloyd and Payne argue that a change in the structure of the state is necessary to reset these institutional compatibilities, thus the conclusion can be drawn that *it is the State, in the final instance, which produces such compatibilities*. If institutions are the 'rules of the game' (Amable, 2000: 648), then the coordination of these across different institutional spheres could only be through a central institution like the State. A political economy of institutional compatibilities in VOC theory leads, through the political economy of skills literature, to need for a such a theory. Thus to understand the role of the education system in the production of inequalities as in Estevez-Abe et al. (2001), requires a better understanding of the State.

3.4 Conclusion

The various arguments of the chapter can be drawn together. Developing an account of System Integration in this chapter meant developing an account of *compatibility*. This involved exploring the concept of institutional complementarity and its development in the Varieties of Capitalism theory, where it progressed beyond a simple functionalist account into a 'core institutional order', with a predominant form of coordination and path-dependencies. In doing so, this facilitated an initial investigation into the main research question, which explores the conundrum of why educational systems do not function in the way assumed. Two accounts of complementarity were explored in relation to the education system and its distributional implications: through the VoC thesis and the Knowledge Economy thesis. One led to poverty traps and the other to increased social fluidity and, in its more modern form (the High Skills Economy) 'universal upskilling' rather than the low-paid, low skilled regions of the labour market identified by Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) as a poverty trap.

Comparing these two accounts meant also comparing the VoC thesis and the skills literature. The conclusions which emerged were: Firstly, a better understanding of the nature of Estevez-Abe et al's (ibid) poverty trap of low-skilled, low paid- jobs in LMEs. What is explained as a poverty trap is explained *in supply side terms* as a position in a skewed distribution of earnings. However, it is only by understanding the structure of demand in LMEs, that this skewed distribution can be fully understood in terms of competitive routes to advantage for firms in *both* high/low skills, something not evident in the VoC theory. And which is ultimately necessary to explain Estevez-Abe et al's labour market poverty trap.

Secondly, an evaluation of the Knowledge Economy or the High Skills Economy thesis in relation to LMEs. Thus, from the previous it can be seen that the High Skills Economy thesis does have some sort of bearing in reality (as a *High Skills/Low Skills* economy). However, in its insistence on an *overall* high skills trajectory, the literature bears out the LME theory that low cost routes to profit are prevalent, and indeed built into the institutions which create this path-dependent route. The High Skills Economy thesis parts company with reality in that, through its Supply-Push thesis, it assumes that production of skills into that institutional system will change the very structure of that institutional system, when the political economy of skills literature points to a need to change that institutional structure *first*, and the great effort required. It ultimately argues that what is required is an institutional resetting into what might be called a different variety of capitalism; and that this can only be done through the changes to the structures of the State, the institutions of capital and the institutions of labour. Thus the implication was drawn that *complementarity*, more specifically institutional compatibilities, are secured and maintained by the State, and structured by the capital-labour relation and the financial-industrial capital relation. Bell's Knowledge Economy thesis therefore is indeed a simple functionalist one (*X requires Y*, a Knowledge Economy requires High Skills) tied to a distributional argument, as it precisely neglects the fundamental finding of the VoC thesis: an institutional structure of compatibilities.

Estevez-Abe et al. (ibid) thus find that these compatibilities produce distributional outcomes different to the one presumed by Bell's thesis. And with

the further implication that these produce ‘poverty traps’. The main research question thus points towards exactly this type of discrepancy. The second research question looks at the possibility of a series of linked ‘poverty traps’. The mutually reinforcing nature of institutional complementarities points to exactly that. The third research question asks why, if this is so, the education system is thought capable of solving these. Thus to understand this question better, as well as these compatibilities and the role of the education system in the ‘institution matrix’, means better understanding the role of the State and therefore of state education.

ⁱ The skills literature could be said to have three strands: the Varieties of Capitalism (VoC) literature, the Vocational, Education and Training (VET) literature, and the “political economy of high skills” (e.g. Ashton and Green, 1999; Lauder, 1999; Lloyd and Payne, 2000a, 2000b). Whilst the VET literature and the “political economy of high skills” overlap to a great degree, there has been less overlap with the VoC literature.

There have been some recent exceptions: Lloyd and Payne’s (2016) latest work comparing areas of the service sector provides an empirical analysis of some of their central insights from the early 2000s. Here, however, they use the VoC literature (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Estevez-Abe et al., 2001) in their arguments on national institutions and their analytical framework for the book (detailed in their third chapter). Another recent exception is Lauder (2020), who explicitly incorporates the concepts of liberal market economies and coordinated market economies from the VoC literature in relation to his arguments on higher education and paid work.

The VET literature more generally however, has not particularly connected with the VoC literature or particularly moved on in its central concepts. Keep (2020) for example, mainly applies his existing insights to newly emerging policies, questioning why ‘successive governments have fallen back on expanding the HE sector as the main way to boost skill levels’ (ibid: 500) and focusing on lack of employer willingness to train and the importance of demand.

In these intersections or lack of them, what has been lost is the ‘un-theorised’ State (Lloyd and Payne, 2002a: 378). Despite the initial coverage in Ashton and Green (1996) and Lloyd and Payne’s work on this explicitly (2002a, 2000b, 2003), there has been no longer term work on its development. Even in Lloyd and Payne’s (2016) most recent work, they focus on national institutions and do not develop their arguments on the State.

Thus, despite the continuing relevance of the Supply-Push thesis, the skills literature seems largely to have exhausted itself at the moment. Perhaps simply due to the imperviousness of policy to academic debate (Keep, 2020) and the now well entrenched acceptance of the Skills-Push thesis. More recently, O’Donovan (2020) has contributed to the knowledge economy debate but his conclusions are somewhat underwhelming: namely, that something more is required than the conventional supply-side understanding.

It is the contention of the chapter that firstly, the main arguments and insights that were made in the late 1990s and 2000s still remain very relevant: hence the focus on this literature of that time. And secondly, that the need to develop the 'un-theorised State' would be central in reenergising the skills literature: it is a pity therefore that recent developments towards the VoC literature have not retained the very element that is missing in that literature.

Chapter 4: Contradiction: Bringing the State into State Education

4.1 Introduction

The Varieties of Capitalism (VoC) literature provided a broader theoretical basis to residualisation than that previously given in the housing literature. A Liberal Market Economy (LME) has institutional compatibilities that, between these mutually reinforcing system parts, create systemic ‘poverty traps’ or what this thesis calls residualisation: because these ‘poverty traps’ are specifically created by or created in relation to a residual welfare state, itself an institutional compatibility in what the VoC literature calls a Liberal Market Economy. What was missing however, Chapter 3 argued, was an account of how these institutional compatibilities converged or how an equilibrium was reached. The political economy of skills literature pointed to an ‘un-theorised’ State. And, implicitly, the institutions of capital and labour within this particular configuration of the ‘institutional matrix’ in Liberal Market Economies, where there was a predominance of financial capital over industrial capital. These structural differences however disappeared into an account of compatibility only.

This chapter therefore attempts to theorise the State in relation to these structural differences. In doing so, it develops the other causal power of System Integration: contradiction. The State is the coordinating factor in a system of institutional compatibilities, it will be argued, but compatibilities produce contradictions, which the State has to solve. In developing this account, the concept of residualisation is developed further, and specifically in relation to education through what has been called asset-based welfare. Finally, understanding the contradictions of States in Liberal Market Economies or what might be called an *LME State*, helps to explore the principle of equality of opportunity and the role of education systems in helping to ‘resolve’ those contradictions. It thus expands understanding of all three main research questions.

Given the relational approach to social structures described in the introductory chapter, the first part of this chapter attempts to understand the State in

relational terms and make an argument for the continuing relevance of the concept. In the second part, it attempts to further the understanding of contradiction through Offe's work (1984), specifically on the contradictions of the welfare capitalist state and its 'crisis of crisis management' (ibid: 35-64). In the final section, it follows up the predominance of financial capital over industrial capital argued in Chapter 3 with an account of financialisation of the economy in the post-Keynesian UK State. What is argued is that the new approach of an LME State to legitimation is *legitimation through accumulation*. The important relations of the education system to this are explored. First, however, is the need to better understand the structures of the *LME State*.

4.2. Defining the State in relational terms

Hay (1996: 9-12), in summarising previous literature on the State, describes three kinds of definitions: as nation, as territory and as institution:

1. State as nation: as a symbolic imagined community
2. State as territory: a bounded sovereign terrain
3. State as institution: as a set of practices or apparatuses coordinated through some central point.

One common approach to the definition of the State is the idea of a *locus* - either a central point or bounded area - as in one and two above. Another, not detailed by Hay, is an instrumental one: the State as an instrument for the bourgeoisie or dominant fractions of society (Domhoff, 1979, 1990; Miliband, 1969). Neither of these are consistent with a Critical Realist approach to be described more fully in Chapter 5. This requires looking at structures and relations rather than people (agents, classes) or places (locus). Greenberg and Page (cited in Borchert and Lessenich, 2016: 118) suggested the central task of any state theory is to understand "why the state does what it does".

Understanding what a thing does (an event), from a Critical Realist perspective, means understanding the structures which cause those events to occur. Theoretically, it requires the State to be defined in relational terms, therefore. The purpose of this chapter then is to define the State in such terms, and in such terms consistent with the basic principles of Chapter 2: System and Social

integration. Supporting this approach is Dunleavy and O'Leary's argument (2009: 1) that the state is not a material object but conceptual abstraction. Further, Hay et al. (2006: 4) argues that the state is seen, by those who deploy it as a concept, in structural *and* institutional terms:

Our conception of the state has not developed in isolation from the development of the institutions we associate with the state. We cannot consider one without the other.

The chapter combines the institutional (Chapter 3) with the structural: or supplying a structural theory of the State to the concept of institutional compatibilities underpinning the VoC literature. From Chapter 2, System Integration has, ontologically, two properties: compatibility and contradiction. Though the VoC literature is reliant on compatibilities it cannot account for how these are coordinated or how a path-dependency actually comes about; equally, it cannot account for how or why it may come apart. In both cases, the State ensures coordination (or institutional compatibilities) and resolves contradictions and therefore is central to any System Integration account of the functional compatibility of systemic institutional parts.

4.2.1. The relevance of a Marxist theory of the State

The relational theory of the State given here is based on Claus Offe's account of the contradictions of the welfare state (Offe, 1984), which was itself based not on and in a modern UK Liberal Market Economy but in a Keynesian welfare state of the late 70s and early 80s, albeit one that was restructuring. So before arguing for its continuing relevance, it is necessary to justify why the State is still relevant *generally* and then, in particular, why a Marxist theory of it.

4.2.2 The continuing relevance of the State

One of the main challenges to the relevance of the State has been due to impacts of globalisation, and the flow of international capital, purportedly leading to the decline power of the nation-state. And yet when crisis has occurred the continuing relevance of the nation-state has been made plain. In relation to the flows of capital, which resulted in the financial crash of 2008, Borchert and Lessenich (2016) argue that it was the State that was the lender of first and last resort. One of the central insights of Marxist state theory is that

economic crises such as in 2008 becomes displaced to the political sphere, becoming political crises, the management of which, in an era of globalisation, falls to the nation-state. And more recently still in relation to COVID-19, where the nation-state has had to become a more obvious crisis manager still. Hay advances two further arguments. Firstly, he critiques the international perspective (Hay 2006:15), which undermines the fact that, for many, the nation-state is still very relevant.

In all likelihood people will continue to live, as they do now, in territorially-bounded communities governed primarily by state institutions on which they continue to confer legitimacy, and which they continue to regard as responsible in the first instance for the social and economic context in which they find themselves.

The more recent events of Brexit, for example, shows that the nation-state still remains strong for some as both nation and territory.

Further, he critiques the globalisation thesis on two fronts: firstly, in its empirical reality as globalisation or regionalisation (Hay and Wincott, 2012: 79-96), finding more evidence for the latter (when looking at trade, foreign direct investment and labour migration within Europe); and secondly, as representation: here his argument (Hay, 2002: 2002-2004) is that globalisation in itself does not imply the decline of the nation-state but can in itself be used *politically* as a strategic argument for its rolling back. Thus if the idea of nation-state decline is accepted, *the very belief* facilitates the flow of capital, declining corporation tax and further cuts to the welfare state in facilitating inward investment and a flexible workforce.

4.2.3 The continuing relevance of State Theory and Marxist State Theory

In light of this, it might be thought that State theory might be a burgeoning area of research. The 2008 financial crisis, for example, has sparked renewed interest in the role of the state in capital accumulation (Borchert and Lessenich, 2016; Alami and Dixon, 2020). These has also been more recent arguments that large-scale state interventions in the capitalist economy are not only compatible with neoliberalism but may even be one of its defining characteristics (see Davies, 2014; Mirowski, 2014; Schmidt and Woll, 2014; Stahl, 2019; Berry, 2022). And

yet, theoretical developments have been sparse, aside from a feminist theory of the State and the post-structuralist deconstruction of its very notion (Hay et al., 2006). Despite signs of a renewed interest, Alami and Dixon (2020) contend that some of the most important theoretical advancements concerning the State happened in the 1970s-1980s, their reasoning being that the Marxist analyses of a change in State regime from Keynesian to neoliberal state not only allowed theorizing of this change itself but, at a more abstract level, a more conscious focus on the structure of the capitalist State.

Alami (2021) argues however that, with very few exceptions, much of the literature on State capitalism uses the concept as a heuristic device, without an actual theory of the State behind it. And, in terms similar to Greenberg and Page (1990), argues there is a need to focus on the 'essential features and basic functions that all states must perform' (Alami and Dixon, 2021: 84). In describing the 'new state capitalism' as pretty much 'business as usual' (Alami, 2021: 2) and in Marxist terms (capitalist accumulation, along with the political management of crises and crisis tendencies) he argues for the modern relevance of the State theories of the 1970s and 1980s. His argument is that the theoretical advancements were spurred by the transition in State regimes from Keynesian to neoliberal and, given the lack of theoretical advance since, there is much benefit from looking at them in a contemporary perspective (ibid: 2-3).

If there is the continuing relevance of the Marxist theory of the State, there is also the continuing relevance of Offe's theory and concepts. Alami's (2021) reference to 'political management of crises and crisis tendencies' can only be an implicit reference to Offe (1984). More recently, Borchard and Lessenich (2016) argue that Offe's theory is more relevant than ever, developing this from an account of the financial crisis of 2008 and subsequent politicisation of it through austerity. Finally, Offe himself (2015) uses his relational theory of the State in an analysis of the contradictions and double binds of the European Union.

The chapter will attempt to fill this 'missing link' (Alami and Dixon, 2020: 90), arguing for a 'robust' theory (ibid) in Offe's Structuralist Marxist theory of the state, and its ongoing contemporary relevance (Borchard and Lessenich, 2016;

Offe, 2015). By building upon it from the perspective of the concept of a Liberal Market Economy (LME), it seeks to avoid the charge of heuristic wooliness (Alami and Dixon, 2020: 84), giving state capitalism a specific theoretical meaning in terms of its ‘essential features and basic functions’ in a Liberal Market Economy State⁴.

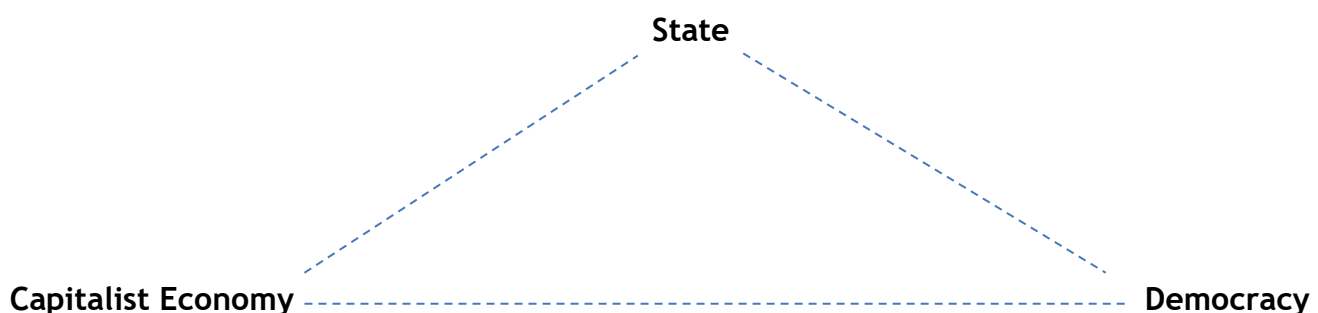
The gap here noted in both contemporary accounts of the State and in the absence of a theory of the State in the Varieties of Capitalism literature is *a fortiori* a gap in the educational literature, with little discussion of the State in the educational literature except in relation to the origins of educational systems and their structures (Green, 1990; Archer, 2014) and nothing in relation to educational inequalities, except for a recent application of Archer’s approach to the Norwegian educational system (Archer et al., 2022).

4.3. The State as System Integration: Offe’s Crisis Capitalism

4.3.1 Relations between Capitalism, State and Democracy

Claus Offe’s theory of the welfare capitalist state of the 1970s sees the State as the apex in a triangle containing capitalism and democracy, which Borchard and Lessenich (2016: 22-47) call a ‘magic triangle’:

Figure 4.1 Triad of State, Capitalism and Democracy

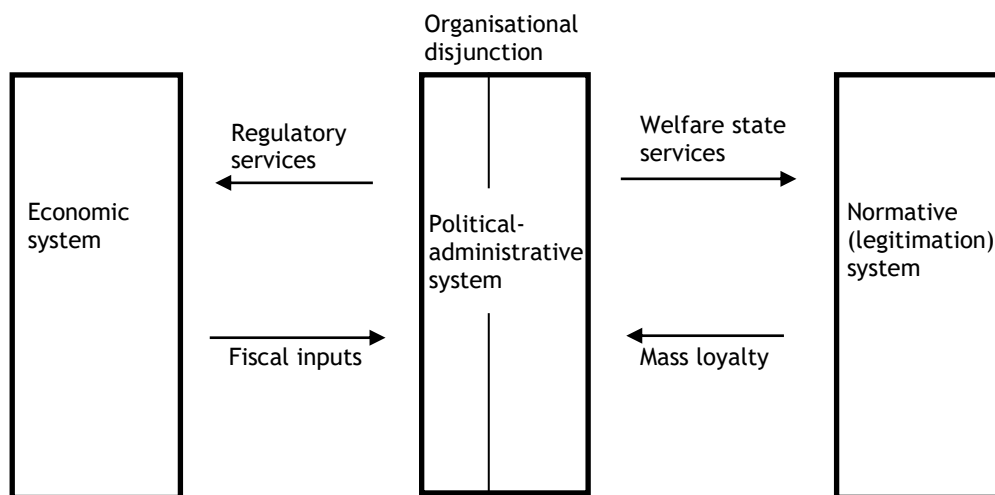


Source: adapted from Borchard and Lessenich (2016: 22-47)

⁴ Used rather than the more common but more heuristic ‘neoliberal’ to more specifically contextualize it within the Varieties of Capitalism literature and the associated concept of institutional compatibilities.

The kinds of relations here are not between the owners of production and the workers as agents (Social Integration) but the “logical” ones (ibid: 29) between the accumulation and legitimation functions of the capitalist state. In other words, they are the *structural* relations between parts: that is, of System Integration. This triad, in its detail as in **Figure 4.2** below, show the relations between three subsystems (Offe, 1984: 52): the economy, the political-administrative system (the democratic-representational, and the administrative, legal and bureaucratic structures of the state) and the normative (legitimation) system, being the institutions of state welfare operating within civil society (Hay, 1996: 58).

Figure 4.2 Three subsystems and their relations



Source: Offe, 1984: 52

The economic system is dependent upon the political administrative system (the ‘State’ narrowly defined as the middle bloc as opposed to its more encompassing relational definition) for the provision of ‘regulatory services’⁵ and economic management. The State takes decisions in the collective interests of capital rather the individual interest of any particular capitals (O’Connor, 1987: 99-107), making decisions that would remain untaken: in this function, it is ‘ideal collective capitalist” (Engels, 1878; Block, 1988; Borchert and Lessenich, 2016: 30). The “accumulation” function of the modern State relates to its being a *capitalist* State, based on the Marxist conception of the capitalist economy as a

⁵ ‘... every move “free” market participants make in pursuing their interests is licensed, mandated, regulated, promoted, guaranteed, subsidized, protected, legally formalised etc.’ Offe (2015: 9)

permanent process of capital accumulation. The State is constantly being pushed to intervene in order to secure a prosperous economy, smooth out any economic slowdowns, and remove potential barriers to continued growth. In turn, via taxation, the economic system transfers value back to the political-administrative system. The modern State as a capitalist State, then, is tied to the functional requirements of this accumulation process.

At the same time however, the State needs to secure both the legitimacy of itself and the economic system, in order to contribute to carry out the regulatory services of the latter and receipt of tax revenues. Firstly, public support for a regime will decline unless accumulation continues to take place (Carnoy, 2016), Secondly, the public must have a willingness to accept political decisions and have faith in the legitimacy of the institutions producing them. To do so, the State provides a range of welfare services, which modify the inequalities of market outcomes and, through these welfare interventions, regulate civil society. Ideally, a consensual civil society continually confers legitimacy on the State allowing it to continue its *primary* function of economic regulation (Offe, 1984: 51-7; Habermas, 1975: 5, 46-7; Pierson, 2006: 58-62).

And yet, given the crisis prone nature of capitalist economies (Held, 1984: 326), this rarely happens. Here Offe draws on Habermas (1975) and the idea that modern State interventionism is logically and historically opposed to the ideology of market liberalism⁶. Habermas instead argues that the logic of capitalism tends to require *ever more* political decisions with regard to the economic sphere, not less. This, in turn, requires a growing functional need to justify these decisions vis-à-vis those affected by and meant to accept them. This bumping down the chain is what Habermas calls “the logic of crisis displacement”. Economic crises become the responsibility of the political system, given its position as ideal collective capitalist. Economic crises are therefore displaced and become political ones⁷: not a failure of the capitalist economy but now a failure in *State regulation* of the capitalist economy, which now potentially gives rise to withdrawal of legitimation, of mass loyalty and the

⁶ See above regarding the modern rediscovery of state intervention in neoliberal economies.

⁷ This is, in effect, a very particular definition of political-economy: the politicisation of the economy, the politicisation of economic crises being one such of example.

withdrawal of support for a particular State regime rather than of capitalism itself (like the Keynesian Welfare State in the late 1970s). Drawing upon Habermas, the relational structure and dependencies of these three sub-systems is plain: accumulation needs and legitimation demands go hand in hand; the capitalist economy calls for state intervention, which itself calls for democratic backing. There are systemic relations between the parts then, which constitute the structure of the State.

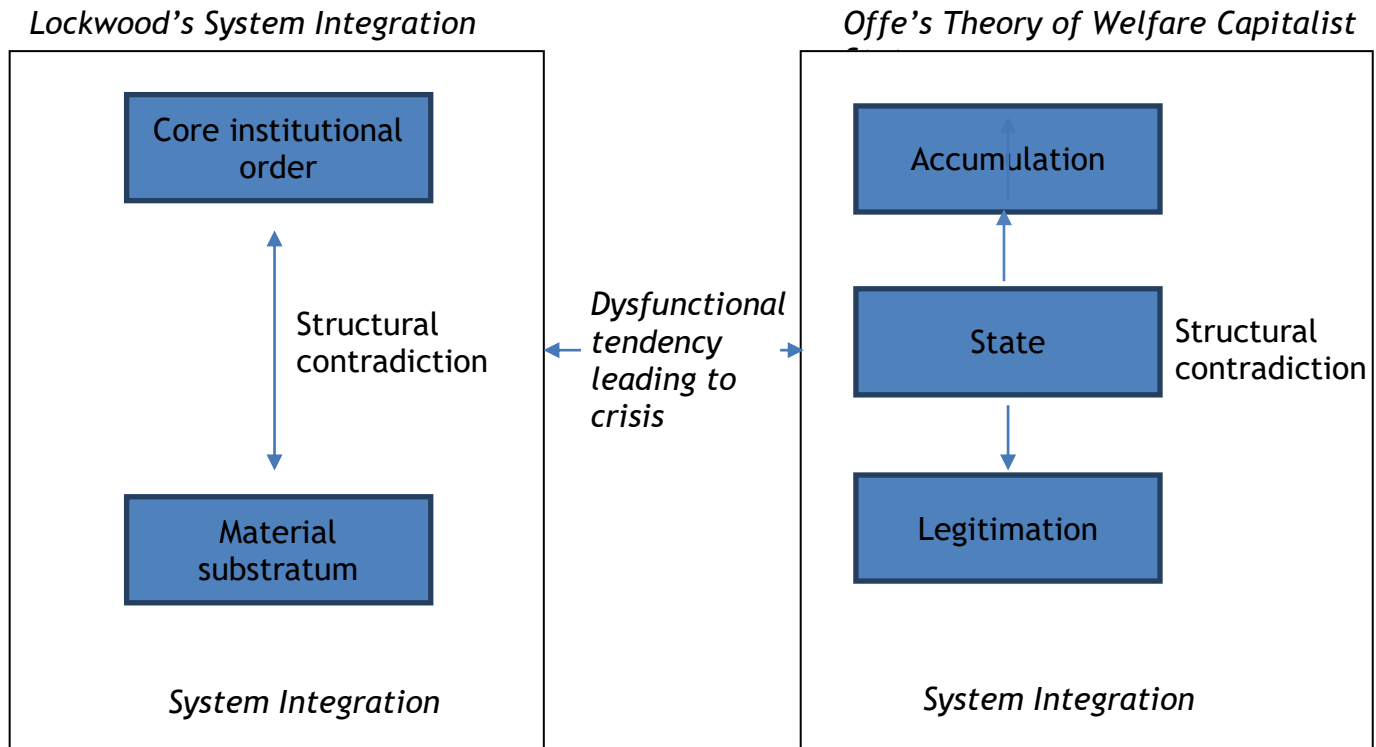
4.3.2 Contradiction

For Offe however, the most serious problem is that these two functions (capitalist accumulation and societal legitimation) are contradictory (Offe, 1984: 57-61; O'Connor, 1973; Wolfe 1977; Keane, 1978; Bowles and Gintis, 1982, 1987). The state is caught between the capitalist logic of accumulation and the democratic logic of legitimation, which are conceived of as two conflicting (sub)systems, and two conflicting logics cross-cutting in the sphere of the political-administrative system. One is based on commodification, and one is based on decommodification, meaning there are two principles of rationality at work.

This creates, what Lockwood calls a Steering Problem. In Chapter 2, Lockwood's concept of System Integration between a core institutional order (e.g. party bureaucracy, patrimonialism) and a material substratum (economic accumulation) resulted in a structural contradiction. The institutional compatibilities of welfare capitalism are ensured by the missing element in Lockwood's account: the State. However, this results in a different kind of structural contradiction in modern States: between accumulation and legitimation. The Steering Problem of a welfare capitalist state is that in being required to engage in multiple forms of both economic and social planning, then, its administrative actions are worn out between contradictory standards of rationality:

“...It must simultaneously conform to its basic legal principles, its functions, and the declared interests of its clients and reference groups” (Offe 1985: 316).

Figure 4.3 Lockwood and Offe's structural contradictions



The political-administrative system must strike a balance between what Bourdieu calls the left hand and right hand of the State (Bourdieu, 2000a; Loyal, 2017: 15, 107). To do so, the political-administrative system develops an internal “organizational disjunction” (Offe, 1984:52, see Figure 4.2 previously) meant to isolate conflicting demands for State action from each other and to allow for processing them separately. This tension is only temporally alleviated by a functional separation of tasks within the State’s political-administrative system, with the basic contradiction unresolved, assuming instead a latent form (Hay, 2006: 60). In trying to fire-fight between two competing logics, the State essentially sticks its fingers in the holes of two dams in a perpetual ‘crisis of crisis management’ (Offe, 1984: 36-64) where problems are postponed and policies of today may have unforeseen consequences later: “... the state is, by design, continually snared between the multiple contradictions of [democratic] capitalism” (Jones and Ward 2002:479).

This results not in an all-seeing and omnipotent State but a State with ‘limited rationality’ (Offe, 1985: 300, 306; Borchard and Lessenich, 2006: 54-58), which is accentuated by its own internal structural division (i.e. problems of

coordination between the two separate ‘hands’ of the State). Essentially, the welfare capitalist State lacks the ‘capacity to achieve the level of rationality in decision making functionally required for capitalist development and democratic support’ (ibid: 49). And, given this limited rationality and inability to see the big picture, this means quick fixes and an overall lack of strategic coordination. Thus any time the State intervenes, it cannot be entirely sure of the consequences. Further, the policies and interventions it does make or needs to make can themselves be undermined by the two sub-systems (accumulation and legitimation) it looks to stabilise. In trying to stabilise ‘democratic capitalism’ therefore, it is undermined by both elements of democracy and capitalism, two contradictory rationalities *as well as* its own ‘limited rationality’. Offe (1985: 300, 306) therefore develops the ‘ungovernability’ and ‘overload’ theses, commonly used as an argument for right-wing state retrenchment, into a more complex thesis on the ‘inescapable phenomena of crisis’ (Borchard and Lessenich, 2016: 26).

4.3.3 Crisis and Offe’s Exhaustion Thesis

This structural “double bind” (ibid: 27-29) of the State, dealing with competing and contradictory logics of action, means it cannot resolve problems in either side’s favour. It cannot afford to ignore the needs of capitalism but nor can it afford to ignore the demands of social groups within the democratic process (ibid: 28). Thus Alford and Friedland (1985:435) describe the state as permanently “torn” between capitalism and democracy, between its accumulation and its legitimation function.

Ultimately, this ‘steering problem’, the fire-fighting by the State and the accumulation of unresolved steering problems (Habermas, 1975: 7) can result in crisis, when these accumulated problems can no longer be resolved within the system itself: the state fails to reconcile conflicting demands between economic regulation and social cohesion; for example, where economic crisis then leads to a legitimation crisis, with confidence in the political system undermined

Offe’s theory was that in late capitalism ‘all possible forms of organization have, in principle, already been developed and appropriated: that is, that “the available repertoire of institutional possibilities” (Offe, 1972: 337) for

moderating the crisis tendencies of capitalism is “categorically exhausted” (ibid:24). What remained was a combination and recombination of existing mechanisms to stabilise the economic system and, similarly, to legitimate its claim to authoritative decision-making powers (Offe, 1984). This, in itself, meant a greater propensity to system crisis as the resources available within the system became increasingly obsolete and inadequate.

And yet this exhaustion thesis (Borchard and Lessenich, 2016: 41) has not come to pass. Crises are normally associated with problems of accumulation in Marxist theories but what is more important here, however, is that “categorical exhaustion” is a general diagnosis in Offe’s writings that is not confined to the organization of capital accumulation *but to legitimation*, and its two mechanisms of representative democracy, or of “competitive party democracy,” as Offe puts it (1984: 179-206), and of the Keynesian welfare state. This is important because the use of the welfare state in the new LME State regime created a new approach to accumulation and legitimation, the next section will argue, which explains why this exhaustion thesis did not come to pass.

This does not mean that Offe’s contribution itself is obsolete. Rather as Amali (2021) points out, the state theorists of the 1970s-1980s both focused on the conjunctural changes as well as, theoretically, the structural relations of the State. Therefore, even if the former has not been accurate, his latter theory of the State is still very much relevant and can itself explain where and why Offe’s conjunctural analysis did not come to pass. Having brought in the State in this section, the focus turns to a State in a Liberal Market Economy rather than a Keynesian Welfare State.

4.4. A UK Liberal Market Economy State: the Steering problem

Having outlined Offe’s relational theory of the State, this section combines it with the Varieties of Capitalism literature. In regards to Offe’s ‘exhaustion thesis’, Borchard and Lessenich (2016: 41) throw out the following suggestion, although it is undeveloped:

If there is a candidate that might stand as a challenger to the thesis, this would certainly be financialization, that is, a change in the basic structure of capitalism from industrial production and related services to financial products.

Streek (2014) similarly argues that this structural change was unforeseen in the 1970s.

In contrast to Offe's exhaustion thesis, this section argues that as the Keynesian Welfare State came to a crisis which resulted in a withdrawal of legitimation and resulted in a transition of State regime to a Liberal Market Economy, there was a change in the basic structure of capitalism. As a result, the State gained *pace* Offe a new repertoire in regard to accumulation and legitimation. It had the same steering problem but a different means to tackle it. If the Keynesian Welfare State relied on two mechanisms of legitimation (party democracy and welfare state), it was the latter in the new Liberal Market Economy state regime, through asset-based welfare, that helped facilitated a new legitimatory repertoire.

4.4.1 Residualisation and Housing: Cornerstone of the new Welfare State

Initially, this new approach was evident in relation to what was called the residualisation of council housing. Residualisation was defined by Malpass and Murie (1982: 174) in the following way:

... the process whereby public housing moves towards a position in which it provides only a 'safety net' for those who for reasons of poverty, age or infirmity cannot obtain suitable accommodation in the private sector. It almost certainly involves lowering the status and increasing the stigma attached to public housing.

One aspect of this residualisation was a reduction in provision (Forrest and Murie, 1983: 457), with the selling off of better housing stock, leaving a reduced quality of stock (*ibid*). Relatedly, the other aspect was the lowered social status and increased stigma attached to council housing. This dual definition is returned to in Chapter 5.

In regards to the first aspect, the literature here describes not merely a reduction in council housing alone but the wider relations of welfare state restructuring. Firstly, Forrest and Murie (1983: 463) argue that the costs of

industrial restructuring were borne by the public sector through, for example, a reduction in social housing; a politicisation of economic problems readily explicable by Offe's theory.

It is not processes within housing such as the relative sizes of the tenures or housing quality which is producing a residual council sector. It is the product of broader social and economic processes (ibid: 466)

However, they were unable to theorise any further or more specifically than the welfare state and 'broader social and economic processes'.

Secondly, Malpass (2004, 2008) argued that housing was facilitating a restructuring of the welfare state and was indicative of a new direction: it was a cornerstone of the new welfare state instead of a 'wobbly pillar' (Torgersen, 1987). Thirdly, Murie (1996) later identified the reduction of housing as part of larger project of moving towards a more residual welfare state.

However, in the period since 1979, welfare state restructuring has been significant and more radical than elsewhere in Europe. If the post-war redistributive, integrative welfare state had already been eroded, the changes of the 1980s went further in the direction of creating a liberal welfare state. (Murie in Musterd and Ostendorf, 1996: 124)

Thus he identifies one of the institutional compatibilities of what the VoC literature calls a Liberal Market Economy (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 50-52):

Virtually all liberal market economies are accompanied by 'liberal' welfare states, whose emphasis on means-testing and low levels of benefits reinforce the fluid labor markets that firms use to manage their relations with labor (Esping- Andersen 1990).

The focus of the housing studies literature was more empirical however and, without reaching further than an untheorized welfare state⁸ (Malpass, 1985) or a broad use of Marx (Forrest and Murie, 1983), it did not connect with the work of the State theorists of the 1970s-1980s. It did however connect the residual nature of council housing to an increasingly *residual welfare state*, one that was moving towards a restructuring of the Keynesian regime (Malpass, 2004, 2008).

⁸ Murie (2013) does however critically engage with Esping-Andersen but more so, and perhaps with Titmuss (1958) in mind, to contest the applicability of de-commodification to a UK housing sector and welfare state where tax relief and other subsidies can also be seen as a form of social security in addition to direct provision. However, there is no engagement with a theory of the state itself; again, it is confined to the welfare state.

In doing so, they implicitly connect residualisation to the wider structures of the state and, given the nature of institutional complementarities, pose the question: in a more residual Liberal Market Economy, was the nature of residualisation confined to council housing alone?

4.4.2 Financialization: a new growth model

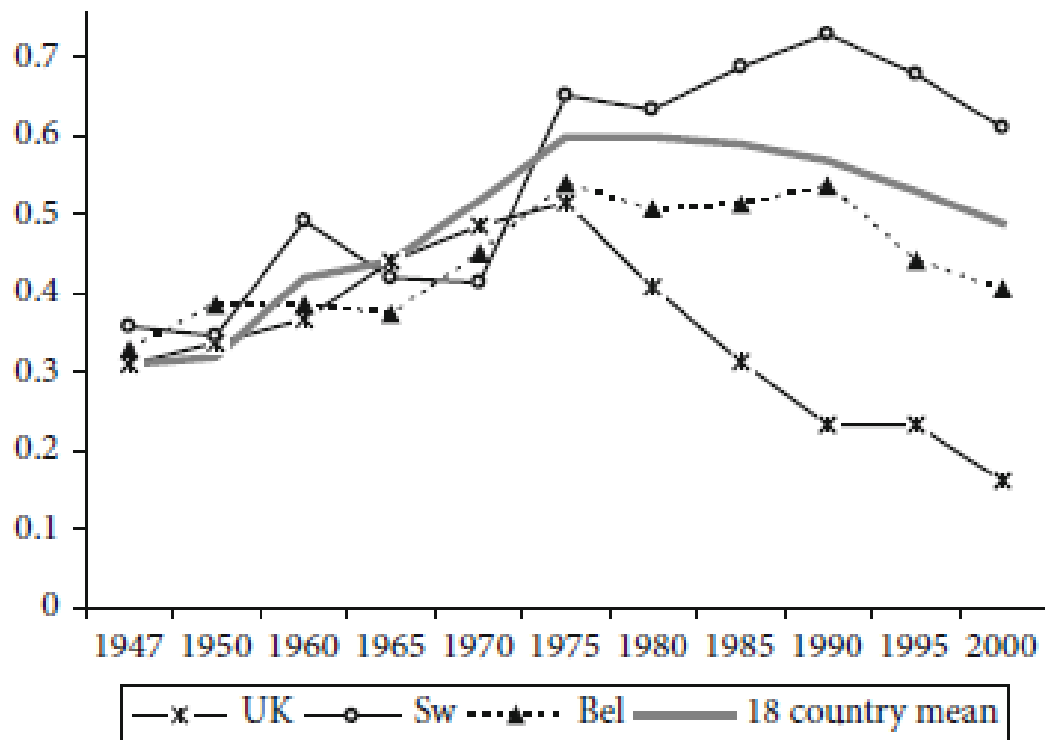
However, this residualisation of social housing and its associated stigma (Malpass and Murie, 1982: 174) along with the Right-to-Buy meant this initial restructuring had unforeseen consequences. In the political-economy literature, Hay (2013: 23) argues that the consequent expansion of home ownership, backed by low interest rates, low inflation gave rise to he calls the “Anglo-liberal growth model”⁹.

Hay’s argument is that initial market reforms in the 1980s led accidentally (Crouch, 2008, 2009; Hay, 2013) to a new growth model: one that substituted State intervention in the economy for one led by consumer-debt. And a financialization of the economy facilitated through the housing market. That is, the role played formerly by public debt stimulating demand in the economy in a Keynesian welfare state is instead performed by private debt (Hay, 2009: 27). Malpass argued that housing facilitated a restructuring of the welfare state. This helps to develop Malpass’s argument: the replacement of State intervention with individual provision through home ownership meant credit could be secured against rising property prices, driving this new growth model. The housing market had consequences not just for the welfare state, as in the housing studies literature, but the economy.

And unlike the housing literature, residualisation was not confined to the reduction of council housing. Some, in fact, have suggested that the UK was perhaps where retrenchment of the welfare state since 1980 has proceeded furthest (Ellison and Pierson, 2003: 6; Esping-Andersen, 1996: 10, 15). This can be seen more clearly in **Figure 4.4** below:

⁹ As a simpler term, he argues, than Crouch’s privatised Keynesianism (Crouch, 2009)

Figure 4.4 Divergence in retrenchment: unemployment benefits as income replacement ratios, 1947-2000



Source Hay, 2013: 31

Figure 4.4 shows to what extent unemployment benefits replaced net income, expressed as a ratio of one to the other. Comparing Britain, Sweden and Belgium in the post-war period, it shows clearly the change in direction the UK welfare state took. Hay suggests a similar pattern for sickness insurance and the value of public pensions (ibid: 31-32). Hay argues that this ‘growing residualism’ has its origins in the ‘variety of capitalism’ to which the British political economy was transitioning to, namely the liberal market economic variety. Thus ‘residualism’ was part of State restructuring along liberal market economic lines, structurally requiring certain institutional compatibilities including the principle of market coordination and, as a corollary, a residual welfare state.

This new and accidental growth model facilitated the legitimation of the latter as it then allowed a number of public and social policies predicated on this model: specifically, what is termed ‘asset-based welfare’ (ibid, 28-32). This was an approach to welfare that encouraged citizens to acquire appreciating assets

(mainly, but not solely, as houses) that would fund their welfare needs: in particular, the idea that the citizen bore the primary responsibility for ensuring adequate funds for retirement and ill-health. Hay's argument is that the new growth model and residualism went hand in hand: increasing asset ownership through the housing market meant legitimating the reduction in benefits, with asset-based welfare promoted as a form of partial compensation.

4.4.3 Education as asset-based welfare

If the wider concepts of the chapter are applied to this argument, then in the financialisation of the economy and the 'Anglo-liberal growth model' which resulted, the State found a new accumulation strategy. In asset-based welfare it had found a new legitimisation strategy. In the new UK LME state, policies were not directed towards either economic management and social planning: now they became *both*. Rather than two distinct rationalities (commodification and decommodification); the market principle (commodification) now covered each of them: what was good for the economy was good for society and the individual, gaining mass loyalty¹⁰. In other words, contrary to Offe's 'exhaustion thesis' a new repertoire had emerged: legitimisation *through accumulation*. They now went and worked together.

However in the literature, asset-based welfare is seen in terms of housing. The argument here is that education can be seen in these terms also and is another form of asset-based welfare. The relationships are set out in **Table 4.1** below. Firstly, if we look at asset-based welfare structurally, it entails relations between the economy, state and welfare state, where the restructuring of the economy enables the LME state to pursue policies which legitimate the restructuring and further residualisation of the welfare state:

¹⁰ And further legitimating retrenchment of the welfare state. Castles (1998) points out that there was a 'big trade-off' between housing and welfare, something also developed later in the varieties of financial capitalism literature, which noted that increased welfare spending was less favourably viewed by homeowners as it raised inflation (and thus more expensive monthly mortgage payments).

Table 4.1 Education as Asset-Based Welfare

		<i>Accumulation</i>				<i>Legitimation</i>	
	Period	Asset	Economy	Market	Capital	Welfare Residuality	Principle of Legitimacy
Housing	1970s/1980s	Financial	Financialization	Housing	Financial	Social housing	Equality of opportunity
Education	1980s/1990s	Cultural-Financial	Skills and productivity. Supply of skilled labour (inward investment)	Labour	Human	Unemployment (creeping conditionality through welfare to work) and labour market protection (self-insurance of risk through education system)	Equality of opportunity

This can be seen more clearly in that buying a house means both (a) a reduction of social housing initially and (b) later, more consciously, with increased home ownership, the means of making pensions and sickness insurance (Hay, 2013), for example, more residual through as asset-based welfare. It is further legitimised in that asset-based welfare and access to housing was widened: it was based on a formal equality of opportunity. That is, based on certain conditions like financial means, no one was precluded access. Finally, the restructuring at the System Integration level had consequences at the Social Integration level (of agents and classes), whether intended or not: stigma (Malpass and Murie, 1982) and avoidance of what had been residualised based on class-based resources for doing so.

There are the similar structural relations involved in education. It is important however to understand education in its less euphemised forms as *skills*, where its functional relation to the labour market and role as human capital is plain. Firstly, (a) an increase in higher and further education and (b) later, more consciously, as asset-based welfare, the means of making employment and unemployment, for example, more residual. That is, by providing an asset (a credential), which protects the individual in the labour market (see Chapter 2), education facilitated the reduction of unemployment and employment protection: in other words, what had been provided by the welfare state and protected through representative bodies like unions could now be individually provided through the education system. It is further legitimised in that access to education was widened, expanding into a mass Further Education/Higher Education system in the 1990s: it was based on equality of opportunity. Finally, the restructuring meant stigma and avoidance: firstly, it meant more legitimacy for policies directed against the unemployed; secondly, it meant middle-class avoidance of the residual, which included the vocational system¹¹ (see Tomlinson, 2005).

One of the mutually reinforcing institutional compatibilities required in an LME at the system level is a residual welfare state, which itself mutually reinforces

¹¹ 'A major need of the middle classes has always been to avoid the relegation of their children to vocational and practical training' (Tomlinson, 2005: 176). See chapter 8, in avoidance of the vocational and avoidance of the poor.

other parts of that system. This has meant a mutually reinforcing set of residualities at the level of agents and classes as shown in **Table 4.2** below. These institutional compatibilities are what lead to an interlinked series of residualities, which directly undermine the equality of opportunity required to legitimate the systemic restructuring.

Some further analysis is required. Firstly, the reduction of one aspect of the welfare system alone is not sufficient to be categorised as residualisation, as in the housing literature: it is the total effect on the system: *increasing* education provision (and thus public spending), facilitated other aspects of residuality like the ‘creeping conditionality’ of unemployment. *Decreasing* social housing did likewise. Secondly, the asset in question need not function primarily as a financial one. What is required structurally is that it have a market where it can be cashed in, thus substituting for welfare provision. For education, the asset is some form of certification which can be cashed in on the labour market. In this regard, only housing and education can function as asset-based welfare: in terms of the traditional five pillars of welfare, unemployment and employment protection cannot be cashed in on a market; they are protections against it. And health neither has a market (in terms of being private like the labour market and housing market) nor public support for its privatisation¹² (legitimacy).

Both housing and education relate to the economy in that both are forms of capital: housing a form of financial capital; education, in its functional economic sense, human capital. And in functional terms (System Integration), asset-based welfare does something unique: it alleviates the double bind or steering problem of the State in a new way. It solves both at once. Housing contributed to the financialization of the economy (accumulation) and also secured support (legitimacy) through individual homeownership. Education purported to contribute to the creation of a high-skill, high productivity economy (accumulation) and therefore rising living standards (legitimacy) through individual skills certified through the education system.

¹² This does not mean parts of it can be privatised or quasi-privatised through public-private partnerships.

Table 4.2 System Residuality and Stigma

	<i>System Integration</i>				<i>Social Integration</i>
	Restructuring into an LME	Means	Institutional compatibilities	Welfare Residuality	Stigma/Avoidance of
Housing	Residual welfare state	Decrease in social housing	Financialization of economy through increased home ownership	Social housing	Social Housing (and those areas containing it)
Education	Residual welfare state	Increase in education: mass HE/FE sector	Labour market flexibility, corporate governance based on short-term investment	Unemployment (creeping conditionality through welfare to work) and labour market protection (self-insurance of risk through education system)	Vocational System (best protection against labour market risk is through higher education)

And in policy later ('education, education and education', Blair 1996) became a 'social panacea' (Keep and Mayhew, 2010), with the neologism workfare¹³, showing at a linguistic level what had been combined at a functional level for the State: the single rationality of commodification or market-coordination simultaneously solved problems of accumulation and legitimation¹⁴.

This combination is, arguably, only possible in an LME, and it is worth pausing to recap some of the principles of an LME as defined in the Varieties of Capitalism literature (Chapter 2):

1. Corporate Governance: competitive relations meaning less corporate coordination, a focus on shorter-term profitability, mergers and acquisitions.
- 2 Industrial relations: reliant mainly on the market relationship between individual worker and employer, highly fluid labour markets influence the strategies pursued by both firms and individuals in liberal market economies.
3. Education and training systems: generally complementary to highly fluid labour markets.

These institutional compatibilities are plain: firm relations based on competition are subject to shorter term fluctuations in share price and ownership, requiring at times rapid change, and therefore a flexible workforce to remain competitive in such environments. This means a highly fluid labour market requires a compatible education and training system: a reliance on general skills and certification rather than firm or company-specific skills. And, also, a residual welfare system in terms of unemployment protection and employment protection since the welfare system needs to be compatible with the type of economic system and its principle means of coordination (see Estevez-Abe et al.,

¹³ 'We believe work is the best form of welfare', New Labour (1997). Hansard Debates for 30 Jun 1997:

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199798/cmhansrd/vo970630/debtext/70630-02.htm>
Accessed 30/10/2021

¹⁴ At least on a policy level and at least for a while.

2001 in Chapter 3¹⁵). From the point of view of firms, companies are loath to invest in either in-house training or apprenticeship schemes imparting firm-specific or industry-specific skills respectively, where they have no guarantees that other firms will not simply poach their trained staff or apprentices without investing in training themselves. Higher and Further Education are normally provided by institutions offering formal education, therefore. From the perspective of workers facing short job tenures and fluid labour markets, career success also depends on acquiring the general skills that can be used, potentially at least, in many different firms. Higher and Further education systems stress 'certification' in general skills therefore rather than the acquisition of more specialized competencies (firm or industry specific), since the institutional means are unavailable in the latter case. All of which means that education systems are a key supporting institutional compatibility in a Liberal Market Economy. And, for the State in an LME, education itself has become an important form of asset-based welfare and thus a means of facilitating a residual welfare state and asset-based welfare approach to accumulation and legitimation.

4.4.4 Equality of Opportunity as Legitimation

Finally, what has to be noted is that the legitimation of both housing and education is based on *de jure* equality of opportunity (the right to buy, the right to an education, the right to progress based on meritocratic reward) not *de facto* equality of resources. Institutionally, equality of opportunity is functionally required by an LME State for legitimation purposes; it is formally required at the System Integration level not an actual commitment to distributive justice or an equality of outcome¹⁶:

So we must create a country where there are new opportunities for everyone - millions of points of opportunity. Opportunities for work and the qualifications for work... And I make no apologies for saying

¹⁵ “Young people are less likely to invest in specific skills if the risk of loss of employment opportunities that require those specific skills is high. Employers who rely on specific skills to compete effectively in international markets therefore need to institutionalize some sort of guarantee to insure workers against potential risks. Without implicit agreements for long-term employment and real wage stability, their specific skills will be under-supplied.” (in Hall & Soskice, 2001: 145)

¹⁶ The other side of equality of opportunity is evident here however: ‘Everybody has a duty to take part in society’ (Harman, 1997). That is, where there are potential consequences in not taking up the opportunities provided.

government has a responsibility in creating this new ladder of opportunity - a new ladder of opportunity from the school to the workplace. This will allow the many, by their own efforts, to benefit from the opportunities once only open to a few. (Brown, 1997)¹⁷

Though this has solved the problem at the level of System Integration and meant Offe's 'exhaustion thesis' has not come to pass, there is still a problem. In combining the opposing rationalities of accumulation and legitimation, commodification and decommodification, into the sole market principle of commodification and into a single rationale, there is the unresolved question of *actual* inequalities. Since the rationality of decommodification was the principle that corrected or offset the inequalities of the market, then what happens when only the market principle remains? Borrowing terms from Marshall (1992), it is possible to say that the new legitimation strategy (for a residual welfare state) has been the substitution of the civil right of the market (individual freedom, property rights) couched as a social right (equality of opportunity). But the latter cannot alleviate the former as they are now based on the same principle and rationality: theoretically, equality of opportunity cannot correct inequalities whilst at the same time producing them.

What the substituted market principle *can* do however is stimulate competition under formally equal rights (of access, opportunity etc.). However what asset-based welfare does is both increase the stripping back of the welfare state, creating residualisation and, in doing so, creates the means (class resources) to avoid it (for some), enhancing the poverty trap for others unable to. At the level of System Integration, reduction of social housing facilitated the residual welfare state; at the level of Social Integration (agents), it led to stigma and avoidance of residualisation. And therefore to class conflict, not as channelled politically through representative parties and representative bodies such as unions¹⁸, but through differential means of avoidance and, for those able to access market-based provision, differential means of its appropriation: a system of residualisation and stratification to paraphrase Forrest and Murie (1983:

¹⁷ And more recently 'Promoting opportunity across the UK is "our mission as Conservatives", Boris Johnson has told his party conference', BBC News (2021)

¹⁸ Note that Forrest & Murie (1983) also call this 'political marginalisation', which is related to residualisation in the council housing sector. This concept is taken up in the Conclusion chapter.

465¹⁹), which results from the functional changes to the structure of the LME State. It does so because of:

- System Integration: A stripping back and creation of a residual welfare state (creating structural residualisation), which leads to;
- Social Integration: An avoidance of that stripped back, based on class resources to do so.

Simply put: when we align System Integration (formally equality) with Social Integration (actual inequality), the outcome is inequality. And that is because formally equal opportunities are differentially appropriated based on class resources. In more formal terms, the necessary but not sufficient conditions have been provided. What is functionally required for the LME State (e.g. residual welfare state, asset-based welfare) creates inequalities; yet some of these functional requirements (like asset-based welfare) are themselves based on the idea of equality.

Separating out the two separate meanings of *de jure* and *de facto* ontologically helps to understand this problem:

Table 4.3 Ontological Levels of Equality Types

Ontological Level	Equality
System Integration	<i>De Jure</i>
Social Integration	<i>De Facto</i>

Offe (1985: 170-172) makes a similar observation: equality can be enshrined institutionally but still give rise to inequality. This also helps to explain Reay's (2010: 396) conundrum, which also functions as the main research question:

The relationship between the educational system and social class inequalities is one of the most fundamental issues in the sociology of education. Schools have been held up as both the means of achieving equality in society but also as centrally implicated in the reproduction of inequalities. So we are confronted with a conundrum. How is schooling to be understood in relation to social class?

¹⁹ '... increasing differentiation and stratification'

The conundrum *is* one because schooling is only being understood at the level of social class (Social Integration). The explanation of this chapter is that two meanings of equality and two different ontological levels are being conflated. *De jure* equality of opportunity increases class competition to appropriate these opportunities (stratification) and avoidance of those who cannot (residualisation and avoidance of stigma). In theoretical terms, *de jure* equality of opportunity (System Integration) leads to *de facto* inequality (Social Integration). Thus the ‘limited rationality’ which Offe attributes to the State is evident here: in solving its Steering Problem of accumulation and legitimation through their combination, the problem is not so much resolved as postponed, creating a new (latent) ‘Steering Problem’: a system which produces poverty traps is the same system which attempts to solve them. Importantly, education has become one of the main ways to do this.

And yet the contradiction imminent in this is apparent in that the education system is a key institutional compatibility of an LME State. In looking at what was required to produce a high-skills, high-productivity economy²⁰ Lloyd and Payne argued that it took no less than a new model of capitalism, with the roots of Britain’s skills problem in its institutional structures (ibid: 385): of its economy, the financialization of the latter, and a State dominated as a result by the Treasury and City. The model, they argue, is based on short-term returns and maximisation of shareholder value. None of these lead to a high-skills, egalitarian economy. And yet these institutional features are precisely those identified by the VoC model of a Liberal Market Economy.

Central to our argument is that such an alternative [i.e. a high-skills alternative] would require a volte face in relation to the existing neoliberal growth paradigm and its replacement with a more socially progressive competitiveness contract between the state, capital and labour. (ibid: 388)

In other words, a high-skills economy is systemically impossible under the current LME model; instead, it requires a different one entirely and therefore a new set of institutional compatibilities.

²⁰ See BBC News (2021) on Boris Johnson’s recent pledges here.

The same argument can be applied to education, especially since it is a euphemised term for skills. Its similar transformation into a more progressive, egalitarian structure would ultimately be impossible as it would threaten the institutional compatibilities of the system as a whole. 'De-residualizing' vocational education from a second-best poverty trap (see Chapter 3) would take (1) a different cooperative governance regime based instead on long-term investment; (2) a labour market based on employer investment and involvement in skills development rather than reliance on public spending on general skills, which itself would require state intervention (3) and, relatedly, a system therefore not based on mass education. In other words a different principle of coordination and, ultimately, a different State regime. As it stands, it is education - as a relational part of the whole, as a functional compatibility of LMEs - which produces systemic inequality; and it is this part which is being isolated as capable of producing the equality which this system itself has created. This is why it has been necessary in this first part of the thesis to build the systemic framework within which education sits.

4.5 Conclusion: The Steering Problem resolved: Education and Skills

A theory of the State has been shown to be necessary in understanding how the compatibilities and contradiction of an LME is coordinated and managed. In doing so, it has enabled a combination of the Varieties of Capitalism literature (Chapter 3) with this one, combining them both in accordance with the theoretical principles of System and Social Integration of Chapter 2.

Given the ground-breaking work of the State theorists of the 1970-1980s (Alami, 2021) and in particular Claus Offe's contribution and its ongoing relevance (Borchard and Lessenich, 2016; Offe, 2015; Alami, 2021), his crisis theory of the state has been used here not so much for its conjunctural insights but for a relational theory of the capitalist state, one which it has been argued can be used to analyse some of Offe's own predictions as well as key developments since.

Equally ground-breaking was the housing literature of the early 1980s, which noticed one of the important ways the initial restructuring of the welfare state manifested itself. Residualisation has been expanded from the housing literature

to be a more encompassing relational term referring to the creation of a residual welfare state in a Liberal Market Economy, relating it to the State and the Economy. Offe's theory has helped clarify these relations through the State's functional roles of accumulation and legitimation and how these can be applied to a Liberal Market Economy like the UK and how residualisation and asset-based welfare can be related to them.

The argument facilitated by this framework is that the State has solved its steering problem, described in Chapter 2 (Lockwood), in its transition to a Liberal Market Economy (Chapter 3) through combining them: legitimation *through accumulation*. Offe's concept of 'limited rationality' has been evident in relation to Hay's argument that the new 'Anglo-Liberal Growth Model' was stumbled upon by accident. A model which has its origins partly in the initial residualisation of social housing and, more generally, through the increase in home ownership, which facilitated a financialisation of the economy. This new accumulation strategy (as it more consciously became) led to policies facilitating a residual welfare state, policies which legitimated its reduction through the substitution of individual provision in the form of an asset.

Traditionally associated with housing, this chapter has argued that education is the other form of asset-based welfare. As a form of capital (human) captured in ownership of an asset (an educational credential) able to be cashed in on a market (the labour market) it works as asset-based welfare in that it insures the individual against risk in the labour market: as unemployment protection in a residual welfare state as employability certified in a credential; and as employment protection in a flexible labour market as general skills rather than firm- or sector-specific skills. And in doing so, facilitates both a residual welfare state and flexible labour market as a key institutional compatibility of Liberal Market Economies.

This new approach combined accumulation and legitimation: housing was good for the individual and it was good for the economy; education (as skills) functions in the same way. Access to asset-based welfare was formally equal thus enhancing its legitimacy appeal. And, with education, the idea extended further from formal equality based on equality of opportunity and its

institutionalisation through formally equal systems to actual equality through meritocracy and its various cognates. Therefore, the contradiction highlighted here - namely, institutional equality and factual inequality - is part of a more general contradiction an LME State faces between accumulation and legitimation.

What the framework of this first part of the thesis has attempted to do is to show how the education system is *part* of a system (Chapter 2) and a system of a particular kind (Chapter 3). As part it supports and mutually reinforces other parts. To understand education's function as a part of that system requires a theory of the State, and its functional roles in relation to accumulation and legitimation. In combining both of these, it ensures compatibility in an LME. But contradictions still remain. Offe's theory of the State argue that it never really resolves problems but merely postpones them. When that system as a whole creates inequality and, at the level of its own integration is based on the principle of competition as in LME States, there is no part in isolation which can resolve it. It can merely be mitigated temporally at best. And this, arguably, is what the State does. Instead of asking why education does not produce equality, we might ask instead why we think it should. The answer, given the limited rationality of the State, suggests that this is, within the limitations of resources and available strategies to it, a plausible solution. Equally, instead of asking why education does not produce equality we might also ask instead: what would be the conditions necessary for it to do so? The conclusion was that when we tug at one central institutional compatibility, the rest starts to unravel also. As part of a relational system, the condition is ultimately a different set of institutional compatibilities. In other words, education as a plausible solution to inequalities is in fact systemically impossible. Realising this reveals the contradiction of the State, which itself has not found a solution to its Steering Problem but only a temporary and plausible one.

This chapter and the preceding two have now developed the conceptual framework, thus completing Part 1 of the thesis: *building a theory of System Integration*. The importance of System Integration in understanding the education system and educational inequalities has been argued, along with a development of the two causal elements or powers of compatibility (Chapter 3)

and contradiction (Chapter 4) from Lockwood's initial account (Chapter 2). This has led to an account of a specifically *LME State* and the role the education system plays within it. In doing so, residualisation has been extended from its original sense in the housing studies literature through a residual welfare state, and how the education system helps mutually reinforce this institutional compatibility. The next chapter functions as Part 2 of the thesis: *constructing a model of residualisation*. This formalises residualisation as theoretical model based on the principles of Critical Realism. Having done so, it can then be applied to an empirical case. Chapter 5 therefore outlines this process.

Chapter 5: Methodology and Research Design

5.1 Methodology and Methods

Theoretically, this thesis takes a Critical Realist approach. In terms of the structure of the chapter, firstly, the methodological procedure derived from this approach is outlined. Secondly, the empirical research design is outlined and why a Case Study is necessary. And then finally, the nature of the Case Study explained.

5.1.1 Methodological Procedure

Following Danermark et al. (2019), a Critical Realist approach generally uses the following process:

1. Real-Actual-Empirical >> Structural Analysis
2. Structural Analysis (Abstraction) >> Causal Analysis
3. Causal Analysis >> Retrodution and Retrodiction
4. Retrodution and Retrodiction >> Methods and Data

As a brief summary: Critical Realism starts with a stratified ontology (Real-Actual-Empirical), where the level of the Real exerts causal powers via structures and their causal mechanisms, which are experienced or observed at the Empirical level. The object of research is explaining the latter with the former, by understanding the causal powers exerted by structures and the causal mechanisms.

Methodologically, this entails analysing these structures (*Real-Actual-Empirical* leading to *Structural Analysis*) by building a theoretical model (Theoretical Abstraction). A *Structural Analysis* leads to a *Casual Analysis*, because the former identifies structures and causal mechanisms. Causality in Critical Realism however is not the result of statistical significance, using correlation and covariance; it is applying a theoretical model to an empirical case, in such a way that it explains the Empirical Level in terms of the Real Level.

Abstracting from the messiness of a concrete empirical case like this, to reveal its underlying structures is called retrodution. This analysis however needs to be tested 'on the ground', as it were, otherwise it remains merely a model in theory, rather than a model which explains. Testing or validating that abstracted model in its empirical, everyday messiness, is called retrodiction.²¹ *Retrodution and retrodiction* are the framework for causal inference. In simple terms, theory and practice are integrated, since any theoretical model is necessarily modified, re-evaluated and perhaps even rejected by the data; and any methods applied to the data, required by the nature of the causal mechanisms of the model. This methodological circle is built on a key assumption: that an inductive analysis of empirical data does not ever yield a theory; statistical correlation does not *explain* anything in the Critical Realist sense. Therefore, in this view, in analysing data we only ever move from theory to theory. Causality comes from theoretical extrapolation therefore not from empirical extrapolation.

If retrodution is theory, in this simple explanation; retrodiction is practice. The nature of retrodiction is using an empirical, concrete case. This methodological approach to causal powers, leads naturally to a Case Study approach. Since Critical Realism is not a specific methodology (*like* a Case Study approach) but more a meta-theory (how to approach a methodology using certain theoretical principles) it is both methodology and methods agnostic: neither can be pre-determined (e.g. Phenomenology = qualitative methods). Rather it is the causal mechanisms identified (through abstraction) which determine the methods to be used, which can either be extensive (e.g. quantitative), intensive (qualitative) or both: that is, *depending on the nature* of the causal mechanism or mechanisms being investigated. Similarly, the nature of the data used depends on the previous. Overall, a summary outline could be constructed as follows:

²¹ Retrodution and retrodiction are somewhat similar to deduction and induction, respectively, as forms of inference but in the context of structures and causal mechanisms.

Table 5.1 Outline of Methodology and Methods based on Critical Realist Principles

Critical Realism	Methodology	Methods
Real-Actual-Empirical Levels >>	Structural Analysis >>	Theoretical Abstraction
Causal Powers >>	Retroduction and Retrodiction; Case Study >>	Intensive and Extensive (Qualitative and Quantitative)

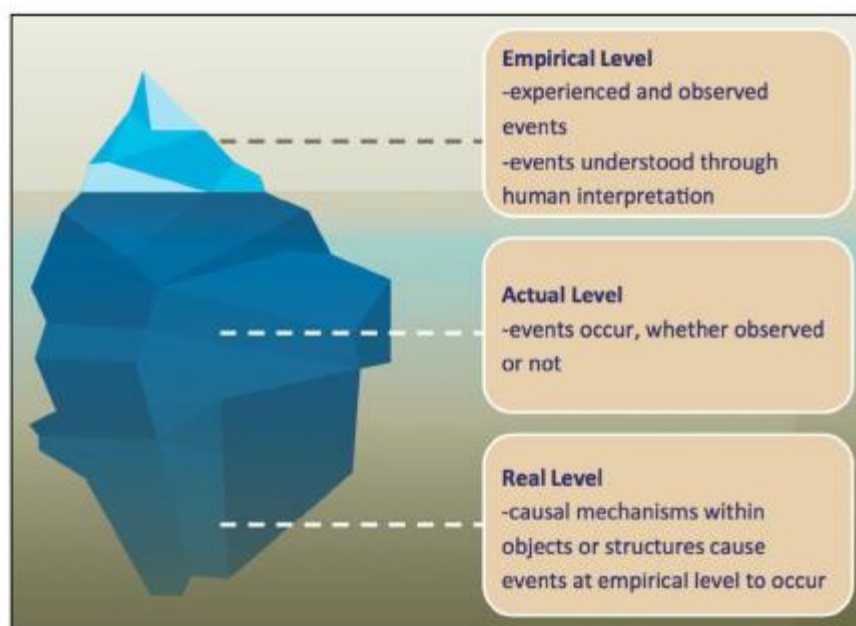
Note: '>>' above is used as a simply shorthand, meaning 'leading to'

This summary and its assertions are expanded upon and argued for in more detail in the sections below.

5.1.2 Real-Actual-Empirical (Structures and mechanisms)

Critical Realism draws ontological distinctions between the Real, the Actual and the Empirical as in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1 Iceberg metaphor for a Critical Realism ontology



Source: Fletcher, 2017: 183

Events observed or experienced in the in the Empirical world are traced back to the Actual, which is where events occur regardless of whether they are perceived. This distinction helps immediately separate Critical Realism from philosophical traditions like Idealism (there are only ideas in our heads without an external reality) or sociological ones like Social Constructionism (there is no reality, only

our constructions of it; or rather these constructions *are* what is real). For Critical Realism, the tree still makes a sound in the empty forest. The sun is still hot regardless of my beliefs or experiences. In other words, reality is not determined by my experience or knowledge of it: theories change but that does not produce any change the underlying reality. There is no causal relation backwards to the Real. To confuse knowledge about reality with that underlying reality is called an ‘epistemic fallacy’ (Bhaskar, 2008). The separation of Empirical and Actual is a logical consequence of this: the sun can be hot (Actual) whether or not we believe it or experience it²² to be so (Empirical).

What makes events happen (whether perceived or no) in the Actual and Empirical levels are underlying structures and causal mechanisms. And this, ontologically, is the level of the Real. Perhaps more simply it can be seen as twofold: the Real and the Actual-Empirical, with the latter a finer sub-distinction required to deal with the problems outlined above. In other words, there is cause (Real) and effect (Actual-Empirical).

The approach in Chapter 1 was, implicitly, a relational one. Structures are relations structured into wholes: parts are integrated in such a way that the whole has causal powers which the individual parts in isolation do not. These causal powers (of wholes or structures) are called emergent powers and the phenomenon called emergence; which, in more everyday parlance, we might call being greater than the sum of its parts. In order to understand events (Actual-Empirical), it is necessary to understand their causes in the Real: in other words, to understand their underlying Structures and their causal powers. Therefore, this methodological approach was used to identify the causal powers of System Integration and Social Integration as compatibility/contradiction and cooperation/conflict, respectively.

Another clarification is required, however: what is the difference between structures and causal mechanisms? Note from **Figure 5.1**, causal mechanisms are

²² Stretching the analogy somewhat, say I live in a cold country.

found *within* structures. Elder-Vass (2012: 18) provides a clear explanation using the analogy of a torch:

... (i) that the torch has a causal power to shine a directed beam of light; (ii) that this power depends upon a mechanism, a process in which the parts of the torch - the battery, the bulb, the wiring that connects them, the switch, the case, and the curved mirror surrounding the bulb - interact with each other; (iii) that this mechanism in turn depends upon the properties or powers of the parts, such as the ability of the filament of the bulb to emit light when an electrical current passes through it and the ability of the switch to close the electrical circuit...

The causal power is created by individual parts working together to produce an effect; this creates, say, the light bulb to shine. This is a causal mechanism. This causal mechanism then works with other causal mechanisms (the wiring, the battery etc.): the total effect is the emergent causal power to shine a directed beam of light. The relation then between Structure and causal mechanism is itself part to whole.

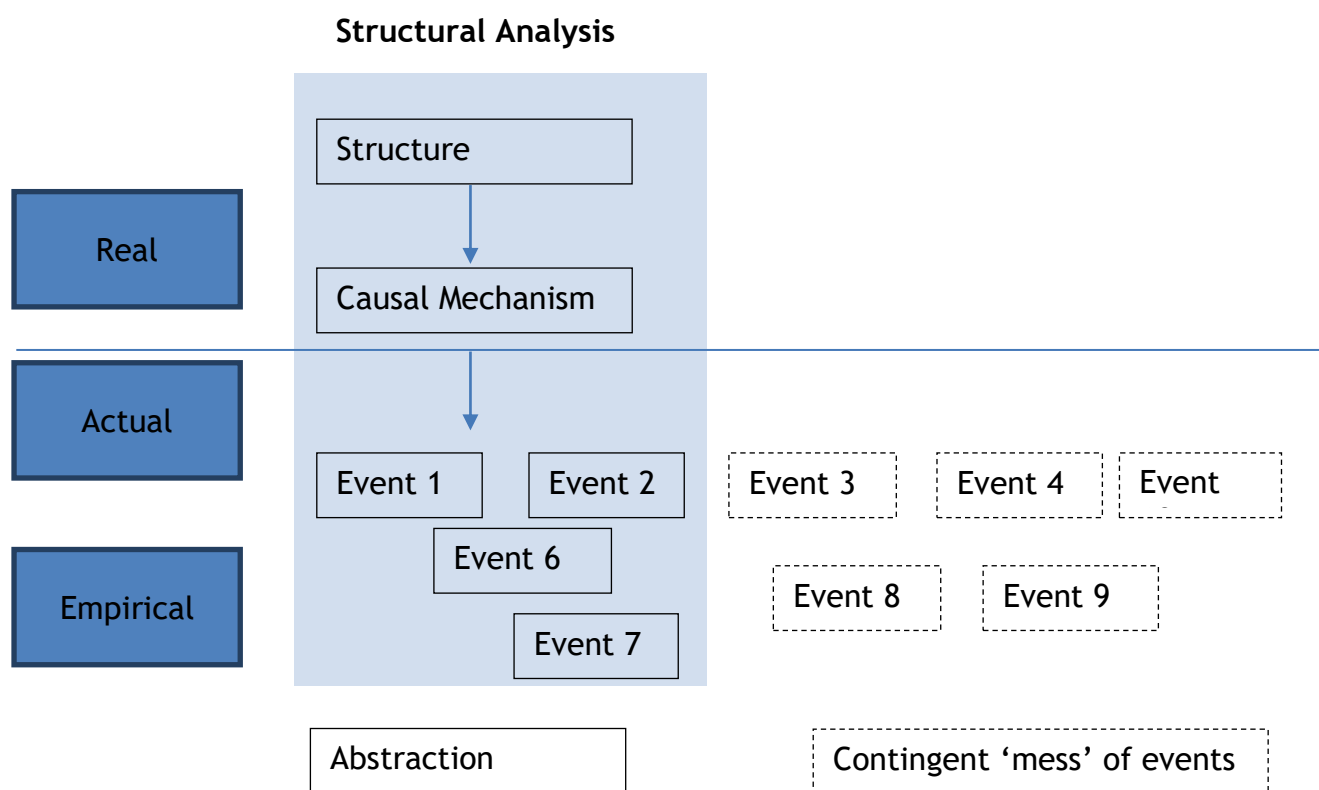
The causal power of the torch however can be frustrated by other causal powers: the causal power of water getting into the battery, say. This is another reason for a distinction between the Actual and the Empirical: different causal powers might be triggered at the level of the Real, but one might negate the other, meaning that at the level of the Empirical (I wait for my torch to switch on...) nothing happens. Events thus may happen but not be perceived. Alternatively, different causal mechanisms may amplify each other, creating an observed effect. Or may interact creating a different effect entirely. The goal of social science (for Critical Realism) is to be able to trace back observable events to underlying Structures and causal mechanisms.

5.1.3 Structural Analysis: The role of abstraction

Since events observed in the everyday world (the Empirical) do not come with causal explanations, the process of tracing the latter to the former requires, methodologically, structural analysis (Danermark et al, 2019, 37:65). Analysing the

underlying structures and causal mechanisms at play entails abstraction²³: separating out, isolating or emphasising one particular aspect of a phenomenon, in order to understand or retrace the path, as it were, from the Real to the Empirical.

Figure 5.2 Structural analysis: abstracting out a model and ‘constructing the object’



Since the Empirical world is messy, as it were, perhaps entailing several processes going on at once, perhaps modifying, amplifying, cancelling out or having no effect, this includes separating out the essential from the inessential or contingent. A Critical Realist analysis therefore is built around this understanding

²³ Also a method used extensively by Marx in his dialectical approach (see Ollman, 2003); and also one used by Bourdieu, which he calls ‘constructing the object’ (see an extensive treatment in Bourdieu et al., 1991). Since neither are Critical Realists, this method is not one exclusive to Critical Realism and found in relational ontologies like Realism and Rationalism (see for example, Vanderberghe, 1999 in relation to Bourdieu). Any relational ontology is faced with what relations to isolate out or abstract; doing so is constructing the object, in Bourdieusian terms.

of natural necessity (Bhaskar, 2008: 154-175) as opposed to logical necessity²⁴ - in other words, what *necessarily happens as a result of the structures of objects*. Abstractions aim at determining these necessary and constitutive properties in different objects, thus determining the nature of the object.

5.1.4 Causation and Correlation

This is what leads to a causal analysis. Having eliminated the unnecessary and the contingent (or understood its role in a process as such); having isolated the important Structure(s) and causal mechanisms involved; and the kinds of events where these have been 'triggered', it abstracts out a model for testing.

Causation in Critical Realism is based on the philosophical distinction between natural necessity rather than logical necessity. Causing something else is about uncovering the causal powers in a structure. Its research object is not statistical correlation but understanding causal mechanisms²⁵. To do so requires understanding how a structure works by virtue of its nature; how it *necessarily* acts (natural necessity) and therefore ultimately an aspect of how Reality is constituted.

Using statistical techniques to establish correlations and covariance at the Empirical level does not explain anything at the level of the Real. It merely collapses the latter to the former. This is not causation therefore, as no causal powers have been identified. The kind of generalisation is also different. For positivists, the aim is empirical generalisation: Knowledge of a limited amount of events is extrapolated to, and is assumed to be valid for and generalised to, a larger population. But, in Critical Realism. this is not a structure at the level of the Real; it is, ultimately, a distribution at the level of the Empirical. Theoretical generalization, by contrast, identifies and conceptualizes fundamental structures, which can causally explain in term of how thing necessarily act by virtue of their nature and structures.

²⁴ As in problems of logic for example: if A, then B.

²⁵ This does not mean that quantitative techniques cannot be used.

5.1.5 Inference: Retrodiction and Retrodiction

The framework for causal inference or generalisation is the use of retrodution and retrodiction, which is similar to deduction and induction, and their respective methodological directions of downwards and upwards, but now in the context of a Critical Realist ontology of causal powers.

A critical realist model of an explanatory social science should be guiding the research in the identification of the causal mechanisms generating events, and the examination of how different mechanisms cooperate and, under specific circumstances, contribute to the production of concrete events and processes. (Danemark et al, 2019: 129)

The process of identifying causal mechanisms and creating abstractions is retrodution. Actually examining them though 'under specific circumstances' is retrodiction. Despite the technical terms (used, presumably to distinguish them from deduction and induction), it is generally well understood elsewhere:

To construct an object [of research] is to construct a model, but not a formal model destined merely to turn in a void, rather a model intended to be matched against reality (Bourdieu, 1992: 45)

Retrodution ('understanding of the causal capabilities of the interacting entities', Elder-Vass, 2012: 19) must be validated by successfully applying this to a retrodictive case or cases.

Since inference is the movement from the particular to the general, retrodution and retrodiction can be understood as a framework in the following way:

- A prior Structural Analysis abstracts out the structure(s) and causal mechanism(s) at the level of the Real: *Retrodution (General)*
- This is applied to a specific case or cases: *Retrodiction (Particular or Specific)*

It might be thought that this is not inference as it General to Specific. However, there is a third step:

- Using the retrodictive case or cases to validate the abstracted model (*Specific to General*)

The movement of inference is therefore restored.

The problem here is scepticism, however: that is, if you built a model, you already have the result, as it were, or know what it should be - you just need to find the right data to confirm it. Bourdieu et al. (1991: 214) calls this potentially circular argument, the ‘methodological circle’:

“Progress in the theory of the object leads to progress in the method, the adequate application of which requires refinement of the theory, which alone can control the application of the method and explain, why, and in what respect, the method works.”

This ‘methodological circle’ can be simplified in Critical Realist terms:

1. Structural Analysis (abstraction) clarifies what empirical approaches are required (retroduction) and what types of data to be used;
2. Applying the model empirically (retrodiction), leads to adjustments, modifications and rejections of aspects of the model²⁶. It *refines the theory or model*.
3. Doing so, helps to *refine the methods* being used. For example, if the model consistently throws up unexpected results. It may then require a re-think of some aspect of the model; or the prospect that this the wrong *method* for understanding this causal mechanism (or, alternatively, the wrong data e.g. using too little cases or the wrongly selected cases). But it is the abstracted theory alone which can guide this, not the data or the results.
4. The re-application of the method, in light of the adjusted model, means a deeper link between theory and method. It is a ‘methodological circle’.
5. As a result, if the method “works”, it is because it is validating or invalidating an underlying model or an aspect of it; not because, say, it is statistically significant. And this is possible only with the integration of theory and practice, general and specific, retroduction and retrodiction.

²⁶ It may well lead to a rejection of the model. But that is a problem with the Structural Analysis stage/Abstraction stage not an undermining of the ‘methodological circle’ as an approach.

The scepticism of looking for results to confirm a model is the result of a separation between theory and practice: the methodological circle has been broken. Inductively, empiricists start with looking for results with a pre-established method (e.g. some statistical procedure). And *then* look for a theory to explain these results. Or, deductively, start with a theory (normally an already established one) and then look to 'test' by establishing hypotheses and establish whether these are supported or falsified by analysing some data. Again, theory (already pre-established) is separated from practice. And the method already decided upon.

Inference then in Critical Realism works firstly by establishing an abstracted model or theory of the Real (or an aspect of it, rather). The process of applying this in specific circumstances, also enables the backward movement towards generalisation (via the model) and back to specifics again. This circular process is used throughout the research however and is not two separate operations.

5.1.6 The Problem of Data

Another consequence of a Critical Realist approach is the problem of data. Data is not looked for at the outset; rather a model established. Constructing the object in this way effects, in Bourdieu's terms, a 'break' with the preconstructed (Bourdieu et al, 1991; Bourdieu, 1992). Bourdieu makes the distinction between social problems and sociological problems (Bourdieu, 1992:42). The former are already formed and well understood in common sense (AIDS, juvenile delinquency are some of the examples he gives, although most social and policy problems could be presumably similarly understood). The problem with the former is that, for the social scientist, they come pre-constructed with 'categories of unconscious construction' (ibid: 44). Using the terms of Critical Realism, they are already pre-formed at the Empirical Level. The 'epistemological break' Bourdieu often refers to is, ultimately, the break with the Empirical Level and the need for a Structural Analysis at the level of the Real.

Once a sociological (rather than social) problem is constructed however, the problem of data begins. The first issue is the issue of available data. Since it has

not been constructed in the sense described, it comes replete with the pre-constructions and assumptions which generated it in the first place:

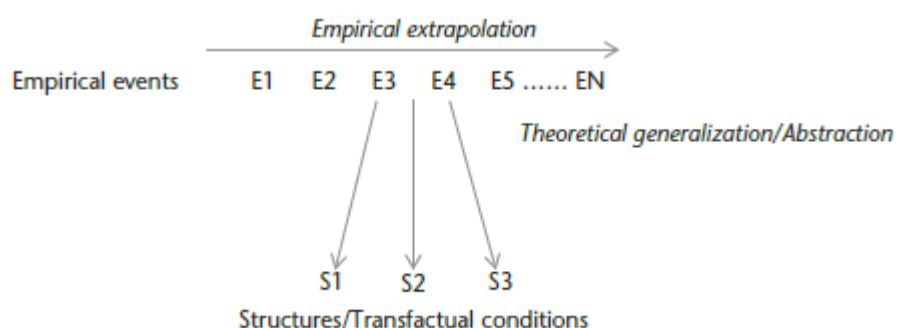
When you are within the preconstructed, reality offers itself to you. The given gives itself in the form of the notorious data (Bourdieu, 1992: 44)

The first problem then is that what data is available is only partly suitable and, in addition, its assumptions need to be uncovered. Other possibilities are that either there is no appropriate data for your constructed object or that it is unsuitable.

This leads to a second problem: rather than having one pre-made dataset, several might be required. Bourdieu illustrates this with the variety of data available on the *individual* Grande Ecoles and their internal structures (ibid; Bourdieu, 1998). However, his constructed object was *the relations which existed between them*; their ‘objective structure’, where little or no data existed. As a result, he needed to use a variety of data (quantitative and qualitative) creatively in accordance with his constructed object. The thesis faces a similar problem in that the constructed object, residualisation in the wider sense previously described, has no dataset to hand. What is more, it is hypothesised that it is linked across domains (housing, education, labour market), potentially requiring several datasets.

But a third problem is the nature of how that data is used. Firstly, the use of data in Critical Realism is different as **Figure 5.3** shows:

Figure 5.3 Two types of generalisation



Source: Danermark et al., 2019: 100

The aim of using data is not empirical extrapolation (E1, E2 etc.) but abstraction (S1, S2 etc.). As described earlier, not using a sample or sub-population to generalise to a population, which the former is designed to represent; rather, it is for validating an abstracted model at the level of the Real. Critical Realism (ibid: 101) distinguishes between these two:

- Empirical categories constituted by a sub-population of individuals sharing a formal property (e.g. age, gender). Empirical generalisations are effected by the use of empirical categories.
- Abstract concepts (social integration, alienation, residualisation) referring not to populations of individuals but universal structures and mechanisms. These transfactual conditions are effected by the use of abstract concepts.

The focus on the latter in Critical Realism means one important corollary is that individuals and populations are not the unit of analysis. Therefore, there is no requirement to have a linked dataset of individuals from birth to education to labour market to understand the structures and causal mechanisms of residuality in causing educational inequality. Although educational inequality *is* experienced by individuals, generalisation is about the structures which cause this; not about the populations which experience it. The units of analysis in the thesis are ultimately the ontological structures of System Integration and Social Integration, and their interaction which, it is theorised, result in residualisation. What is aimed at is theoretical generalisation therefore not empirical extrapolation. Therefore, another corollary is that statistical significance, as empirical extrapolation from populations, is not the aim.

Finally, what may be statistically insignificant may not be insignificant in a Critical Realist causal analysis. Bourdieu et al. (1991: 218-220) term this ‘proof by a system of convergent probabilities’:

... it is not the statistical strength of a particular dataset but the ‘concatenation of evidence’ which means it is stronger than its weakest links; stronger even than its strongest link.

The ‘concatenation of evidence’ from a series of apparently unrelated datasets at the Empirical level, nevertheless guided by a theoretical model of structures (and relatedly transactional conditions like Social Integration, System Integration, Residualisation) at the level of the Real account for this. This can be seen in formal logic also, which perhaps better explains this. Mackie’s INUS cause (1965:246), for example:

An insufficient but necessary part of a condition which is itself unnecessary but sufficient for the result

In other words, a piece of evidence on its own might be seem redundant but actually be needed (*necessary*) as part of another piece of evidence which *does* cause the result (*sufficient*). Further, as Mahoney et al. (2009, p. 124) describe it:

The individual causal factors are neither necessary nor sufficient; *rather, they are part of an overall combination* that is sufficient for the outcome. [own emphasis added]

Here a statistically insignificant result in isolation when *combined with other data* can create or cause (i.e. is sufficient for) an outcome or event to happen. It might better be described not as statistically insignificant (for empirical extrapolation to individuals and populations) but nonredundant (Kay and Baker, 2015²⁷) at the level of theoretical generalisation. A combination of nonredundant causes (neither necessary nor sufficient on their own) *is, arguably, impossible to pick up however without a theoretical model* and only by rejecting the empiricist focus on statistical significance.

Note however that the analogy of logic (and logically necessity) has been used only to illustrate, bearing in mind Critical Realism looks at natural necessity.

Nevertheless, it clarifies the terms ‘concatenation of evidence’ and ‘proof by a system of convergent probabilities’ in terms of how data is used. In terms of the thesis, the various datasets that will be used in the empirical chapters of the thesis therefore have an underlying methodological rationale: a model is created first, then the data sought, building up a ‘proof by a system of convergent probabilities’.

²⁷ It is an insufficient but nonredundant part of an unnecessary but sufficient condition for E.

5.1.7 A summary of previous chapters: A basic theoretical model

The model of a Liberal Market Economy State explored in Chapters 3-4 is itself an abstraction, which separates out certain aspects (certain forms of economic organisation as a path to competitive advantage, and the institutional compatibilities necessary to support this). What has been attempted in Chapters 2-4 therefore is a structural analysis. Chapter 2 has attempted to distinguish between two ontological structures: System and Social Integration. In looking at the former, it abstracts relations between parts of a social system; rather than between the agents within it, argued earlier to be called System Integration. A structure has causal powers. For System Integration, these are the powers of contradiction and compatibility; for Social Integration, cooperation and conflict.

Chapter 3 has explored System Integration in more detail as a neglected causal power in producing educational inequalities. The structure of Liberal Market Economies, and the institutional compatibilities which constitute them as such, result in a series of related 'poverty traps'. These are *systemic* in that they are not the outcome of agents' choices or class conflict over resources as such (Social Integration). They would be created by such a system regardless, due to *natural necessity*: the result of the very structures of an LME. Chapter 4 develops this as an account of an LME State, producing these institutional compatibilities and, at the same time, having to deal with the contradictions they produce.

However, class conflict over resources and agents' choices (or lack of them) mean that the ability to avoid these systemically related poverty traps is differentially distributed. Here, there is another abstraction: Social Integration. There are therefore two processes at work:

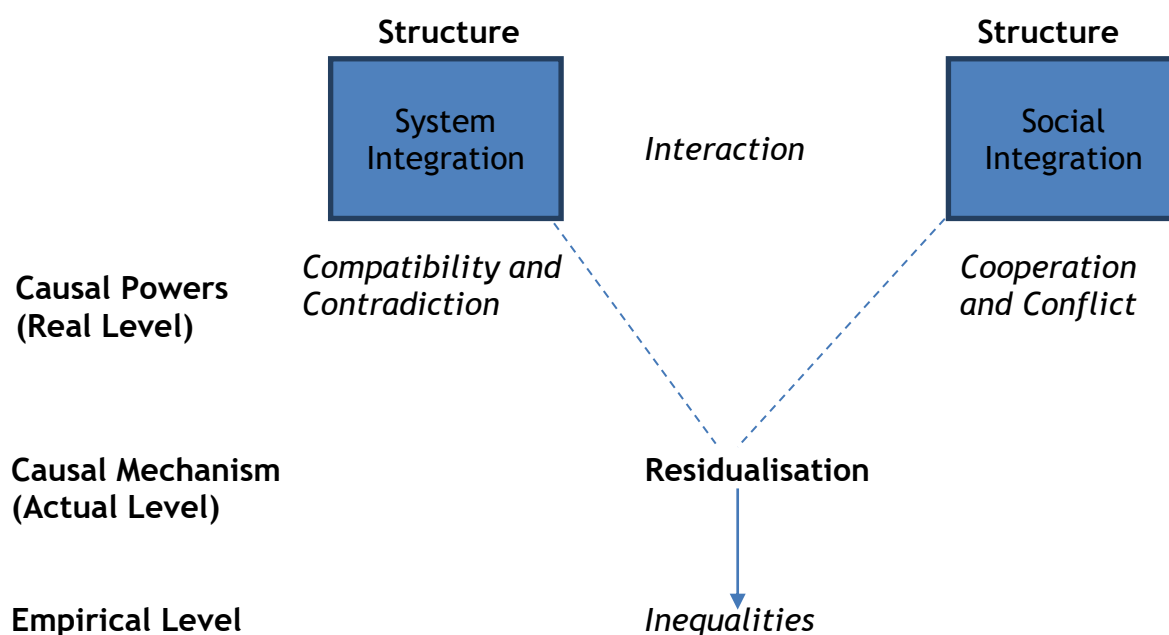
1. Something is made residual (System Integration in a Liberal Market Economy)
2. Something is residualised, due to associated stigma and strategies of avoidance (Social Integration and class structures in an LME State)

In effect, it gives an ontological basis to the traditional definition of residualisation (Malpass and Murie, 1982: 174) as:

1. Residual systems (System Integration)
2. Associated class stigma (Social Integration)

Chapters 2-4 then result in a basic theoretical model as in **Figure 5.4** below:

Figure 5.4 A basic theoretical model of residuality



How this is actually being applied in the thesis can be summarised thus: the investigation into educational inequalities (at the Empirical Level) has led to an abstracted theoretical model. At the level of the Real, residualisation is based on two Structures: System and Social Integration. Their *interaction* and more specifically the interaction of their causal powers results in a *causal mechanism*: residualisation.

Earlier it was argued that causal mechanisms are found *within* structures, summarising Elder-Vass (2012: 18):

- (i) that the torch has a *causal power* to shine a directed beam of light; (ii) that this power depends upon a *mechanism*, a *process in which the parts of the torch...interact with each other*; (iii) that this mechanism in turn depends upon the properties or powers of the parts...

This model argues however that this specific causal mechanism is found *between* structures. These two structures, as ‘parts’ now as it were, interact or, more specifically, their causal powers interact. Residualisation, as causal mechanism, thus ‘depends upon the properties or powers of the parts’. The ‘process’ of their interaction means the causal power to create systemic inequalities: systems in themselves do not create inequalities, rather the conditions for them; social classes, perhaps more controversially, do not create inequalities in themselves, they require systems or prior systemic conditions to act or be structured through. What can be observed at the Empirical level is a series of ‘poverty traps’. The theoretical model however posits that these are related systemically, being generated *by and from the same system*, which itself can be understood as a system of mutually linked and reinforcing institutional compatibilities: this is the bigger meaning of residualisation as opposed to its being merely applied to social housing in the late 1970s²⁸. They are *causally* linked:

Figure 5.5 Causal linkage of residuality

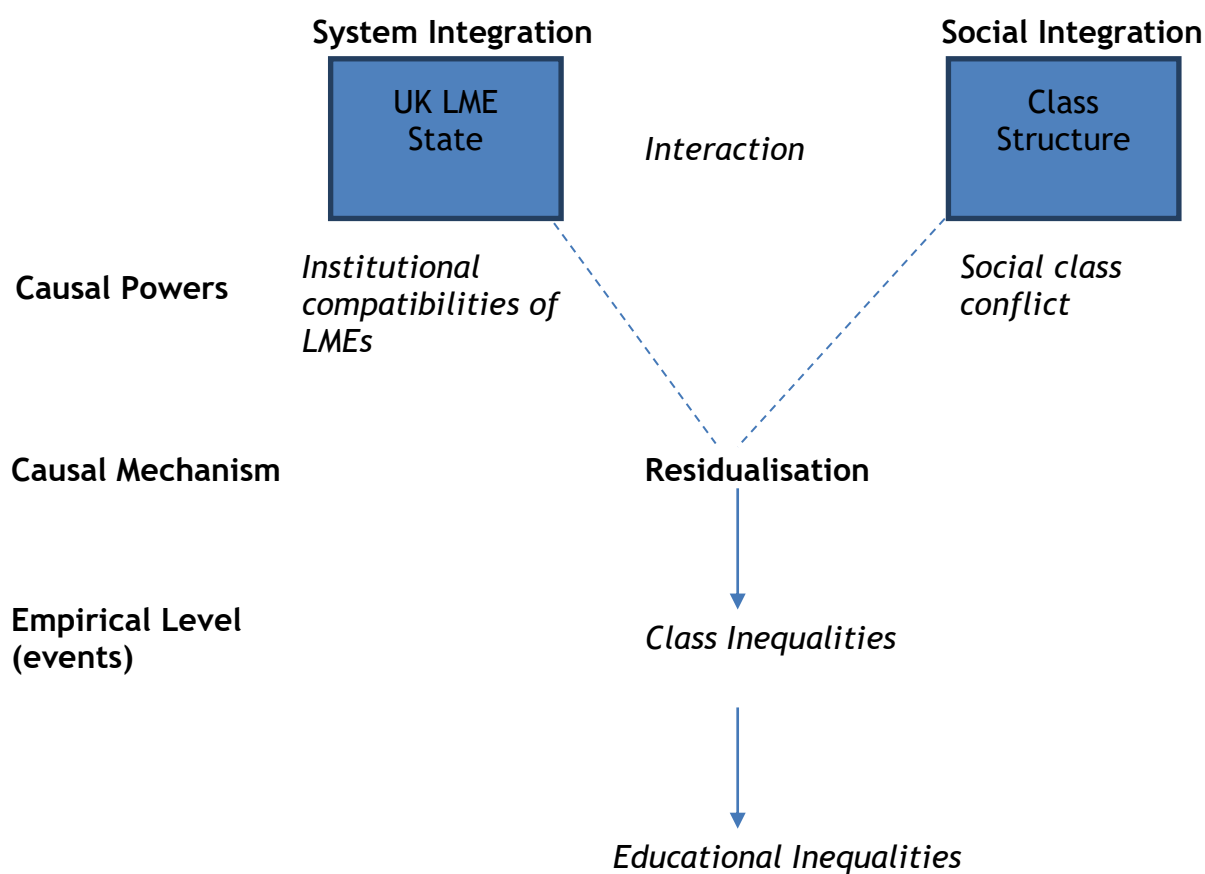
Poverty Trap 1 >> *Poverty Trap* >> *Poverty Trap*

Figure 5.6 below shows this in more empirical terms, where the institutional compatibilities of the residual *UK LME State* (System Integration) and associated class resources (Social Integration) result in residualisation, which is a causal mechanism in class inequalities and, therefore, educational inequalities also. Rather than describing inequalities generally, or other specific forms of inequalities (gender, ethnicity²⁹) it explains the specific nature of *class* inequalities in residual LME States and in terms of how they are produced by the specific parts of it. As before, these ‘poverty traps’ are hypothesised to be cumulative and are not merely generated in and through the education system.

²⁸ Though Forrest & Murie (1983: 466) argue about wider processes resulting in “*different but related forms of marginalization*” and residualisation of council housing being part of this.

²⁹ Though these may well interact.

Figure 5.6 A basic theoretical model of residuality



Finally, these compatibilities have generated a contradiction in terms of the legitimation function of the State: the system which generates these inequalities in systemic ways requires to be legitimated in a way that does not implicate the system itself.

The challenge then is how to apply this model in a particular empirical case. The nature of the *structures* involved and the *causal mechanism* which results requires what Critical Realists call intensive and extensive methods (Danermark et al., 2019: 169-180), or, more commonly, mixed methods. This is because:

- Understanding residualisation as ‘poverty traps’ in specific circumstances and times and places requires extensive methods: namely, a quantitative or statistical analysis of their empirical distributions, these empirical distributions

being understood as the result of the structures of System Integration and Social Integration.

- Understanding class strategies for choosing or avoiding areas or schools, requires intensive methods; or an in-depth qualitative analysis of the deliberations made.

As a result of the mixed methods approach, different methods will be required. Also, a related series of poverty traps requires that different datasets are required to cover those different points. These datasets and the specific methods used to analyse them are described in the relevant chapters, therefore.

5.2 An Approach to Residualisation

Given the theoretical model outlined previously, the next stage is a research design which enables it to be applied empirically to a specific case.

5.2.1 Methodology: Methodological Approach to Residualisation

If a research design could be conceived as a series of problems to solve then:

- 1. Interaction: Residuality is the interaction of two ontological structures.**
The problem of research design is how to incorporate this. Archer's analytical dualism (Archer, 1995) is used in a modified form for this purpose.
- 2. Interlinking: Residuality is the causal linkage of systemic poverty traps.**
The problem of research design is how to test the theoretical model from which this derives. Goldthorpe's Education-Based Democracy model (Goldthorpe, 2003; Bukodi and Goldthorpe, 2019) is used for this purpose.

In effect, combining Archer's analytical dualism and Goldthorpe's Education-Based Democracy model results in the research design used for the empirical work.

5.2.2 Building a Research Design

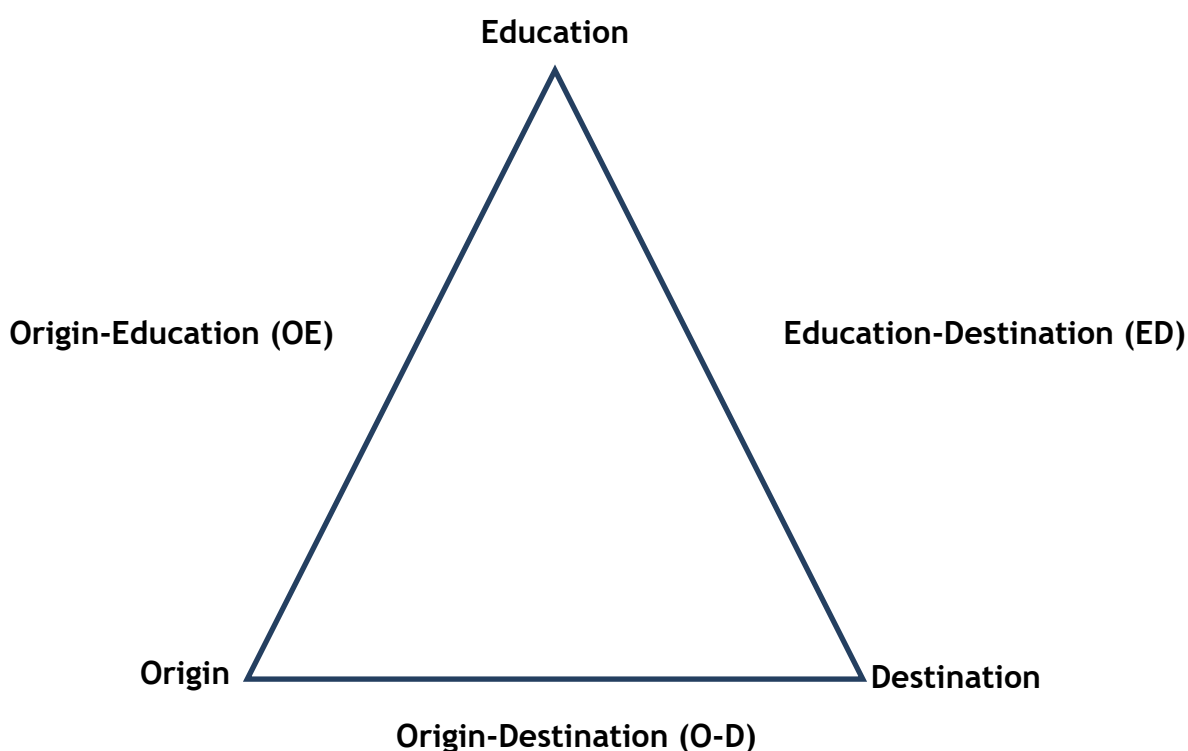
Two methodologies are adapted and combined to produce the research design used here. Firstly, Goldthorpe's operationalisation of Education-Based Meritocracy, based on the breaking of the link between social class origin and social class

destination. Secondly, Archer's analytical dualism, which argues that agency and structure must be separated for empirical and analytical purposes.

5.2.3 The meritocratic triangle: Approaching interlinking causality

Bell's Knowledge Economy thesis argues for more social fluidity through the education system, based on merit rather than ascription. Goldthorpe (2003) coins this 'Education Based Meritocracy'. In doing so, he is the only one to operationalise how meritocracy might actually be investigated in a concrete way. He does so by breaking the overall Origin-Destination link into two components: namely, Origin-Education and Education-Destination, which enables a quantitative approach based on large-scale cohort studies. Goldthorpe's model looks like this:

Figure 5.7 Goldthorpe's OED triangle of 'Education Based Democracy'



Source: Goldthorpe, 2003; Bukodi and Goldthorpe, 2019

In order to assess the Origin-Destination link (OD) overall and whether it is weakening over time, he conceptually breaks this up into:

- **Origin-Education (OE):** to what extent social origins predict educational attainment;
- **Education-Destination (ED):** to what extent educational attainment predicts destination

The Origin-Education link allows Goldthorpe to analyse whether class still influences educational success and thus whether overall the relationship is being broken. The Education-Origin link however is what enables him to test the meritocracy thesis: whether hard work and credentials leads to occupational success as Bell's theory of the new knowledge society predicts. His findings is that it does not because of the other resources classes have to do well in the labour market (social 'polish', connections etc.) and also the fact that there are competing logics: a political will to use the education system as a lever in social mobility (without having, presumably, to actually change the structures which produce them) *and* the logic of employers, which is different to the political one: cultural capital and social capital (to use these in the loosest sense) may have great productive value to employers in addition to or in lieu of qualifications. There is no necessary connection between the politicians' view and the employers' view in Goldthorpe's findings. Finally, all things being equal in terms of qualification success (at the intermediate levels), working class students are less likely to proceed onto higher and further education.

However, Goldthorpe's account is based on Social Integration alone: it focuses on agents; for example, agents' social origins, agents' educational attainment and destinations. The challenge is to incorporate this with a System Integration account. This is where the modified analytical dualism comes in.

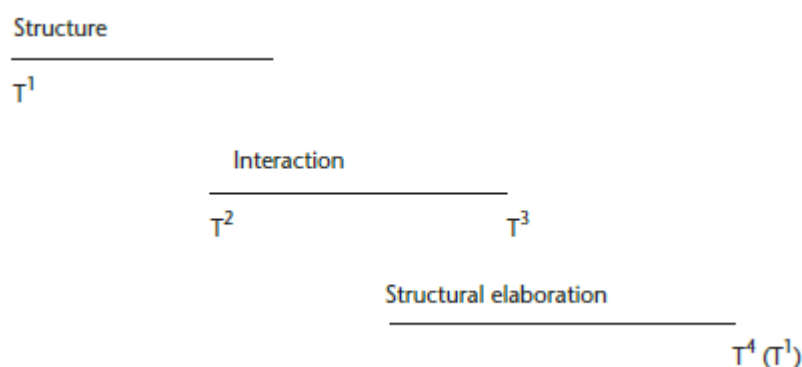
5.2.4 Analytical Dualism: an approach to interaction

Archer's analytical dualism is a methodological approach to empirical analysis based on the separation of agency and structure for analytical purposes³⁰. To analyse agency and structure at a given point, and their interaction means having

³⁰ Ultimately, this is a theoretical point too: see for example Archer's concept of central conflation where agency and structure is combined, a criticism she levels at Bourdieu (see Archer, 2003; and Elder Vass, 2007).

to separate them. If they are conflated, there is no way of doing so; there is no way to know whether the effects being analysed are that of agency, structure or their interaction. In an actual situation, these would be happening at the same time because, at any situation or point in time, past structures are brought to bear. Archer's answer to this is time. We can analytically separate out the agent and the structure because they operate on or at different levels of time. For Archer, structures *pre-date* agency.

Figure 5.8 The interplay of structure and agency in Archer's analytical dualism



Source: Archer (1995: 76)

Analytical dualism has three elements therefore (Archer, 1995):

- First, that social structure *precedes* in time the actions that lead to its reproduction or transformation. You cannot change or maintain something that does not exist, so the structure has to be there first. A social structure raises conditions in the form of limitations and possibilities for agents' actions.
- Secondly, agents' actions and interactions occur within these conditions, called *interaction*.
- Lastly, structural elaboration occurs *after* the actions that give rise to it. The interaction results in the structure in question being reproduced or transformed.

At T^1 , there is social structure; at T^2 - T^3 there is interaction of human agency with structure. T^4 is the structural elaboration or the consequences of human action upon structures (they are changed, modified, conserved etc.). $T^4(T^1)$ means this is

not linear but *cyclical*. This is an important element, the implications of which are taken up in the Conclusion chapter.

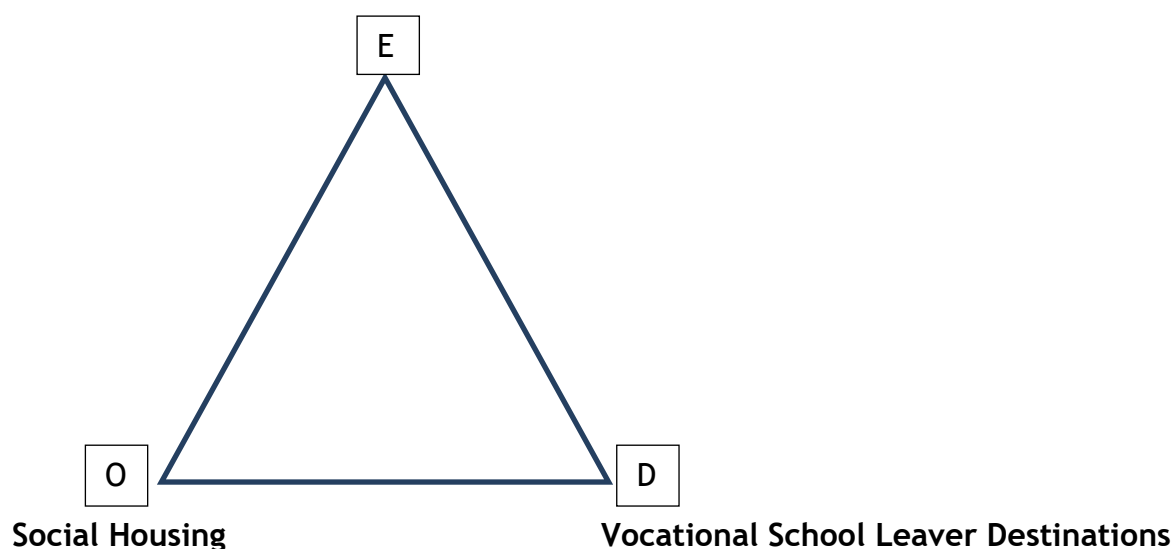
5.2.5 Research Design: Residuality

The research design here brings these two together. Firstly, the structures of Social Integration in Goldthorpe's model are replaced with System Integration. More specifically this is done through substituting for an institutional compatibility of Liberal Market Economies. For *origin*, social class is replaced with *social housing*. Firstly, this acts as a proxy for a *residual welfare state*, one of the main institutional compatibilities of a Liberal Market Economy, and more specifically, an LME State. Secondly, as in Chapter 4, it is one of the two asset-based forms of welfare along with education. Origins here are residential, in the empirical sense but also structural and systemic: where you start in the LME *social system*, and whether you are residualised to begin with through the initial poverty trap of social housing. This becomes the first point of the causal chain to be analysed.

For *destination*, labour market occupation is replaced with school leaver destination. Firstly, this acts as a proxy for the labour market and, to a lesser extent, a problem of data³¹. Secondly, and more importantly, the result of an emphasis on general education in Liberal Market Economies as shown in chapter 3, means a devaluation of the vocational track. The poverty trap here is a leaver destination into Further Education.

³¹ At the time of this thesis, there was no linked dataset of students to eventual labour market destination in Scotland. Although, this kind of quantitative analysis as per previous is not what the thesis is attempting to do.

Figure 5.9: Modification of Goldthorpe for purposes of causal analysis: linked poverty traps



In other words, institutional compatibilities are mapped to the triangle to understand how they produce linked ‘poverty traps’.

Table 5.2 A System Integration approach to the Origin-Destination link

	Origin	Destination
Institutional Compatibility	Residual Welfare State	General Skills System
Empirical Operationalisation	Social Housing	Vocational School Leaver Destinations
Residualisation	<i>Poverty trap</i>	<i>Poverty trap</i>

This integrates both Chapter 3 (General Skills Systems) and Chapter 4 (Residual Welfare State) therefore, which enables an exploration of the second research question:

- Can educational equalities be understood as a series of systemically linked residualities?

Finally, although the aim of the thesis is not to analyse the internal structures of educational systems, it does aim to understand how the education system mediates or, going further, *itself* contributes and ‘adds to’ the cumulative nature of residualisation. Therefore:

Agency are replaced with the interaction of System Integration and Social Integration. If residualisation works in terms of two distinct ontological structures (System and Social Integration) then, to analyse their interaction, an analytical separation is required as Lockwood originally argued. The first phase of the research design now looks like this:

Figure 5.11 Origin-Education Phase of Research Design

Structure 1: System Integration

T¹

Interaction: System and Social Integration

T²

T³

Structural Elaboration

T⁴ (T¹)

Here the housing system is the proxy used for the residual welfare state: this is Structure 1 (T¹). The interaction of housing with class attitudes to school choice (areas to avoid) is analysed at T²-T³. The causal result (T⁴) is the consequences for a formally equal education system as a potentially residualised system of schools for some and stratification for others. And this resulting system of schools at T⁴ *becomes Structure 1 in the next phase*: in other words, as per T⁴(T¹), the two phases become linked:

Figure 5.12 Education-Destination Phase of Research Design

Structural Elaboration from previous now becomes Structure 1 i.e. T⁴ (Phase 1) previously now functions as T¹ (in Phase 2)

Structure 1: System Integration

T¹

Interaction: System and Social Integration

T²

T³

Structural Elaboration

T⁴ (T¹)

Here the *de facto* education system which results (T¹) in the Origin-Education phase now functions as Structure 1 in the Education-Destination phase. The

interaction of this with social composition of the school is analysed at T^2 and T^3 through school attainment. The school leaver destinations which emerge (T^4) complete this phase. Putting both together, enables a *causal analysis* in the Critical Realist sense of structures: whereby, *Phase 1 (Origin-Education)* becomes the cause and *Phase 2 (Education-Destination)* the effects:

Figure 5.13 A Causal Analysis from the Research Design

CAUSE		EFFECTS
Origin-Education	>>>	Education-Destination

Overall, the three points of residualisation are then: social housing, 'poorer' schools and vocational leaver destinations. For the Origin-Education phase, the avoidance of certain areas creates 'poorer' schools; for the Education-Destination phase, 'poorer' schools create higher proportions of school leavers on vocational tracks. These would be the assumptions being made. And, overall, that formally equal school systems are undermined through the avoidance of residualisation, creating itself a residualisation within the school system.

The linked residualities to analyse are:

1. A welfare system which creates a spatial system through housing (Origin)
2. That (1) creates a residualised school system (Origin-Education)
3. That (2) creates residualised school leaver destinations (Education-Destination)

The Origin-Education link (1,2) will analyse the institutional compatibilities working on a formally equal school system and to what extent it produces one which is in fact (*de facto*) unequal: as measured by school and area differences in school attainment and quality. The Education-Destination link (2, 3) will analyse the results of this within the school system: here measured by school and area differences in school leaver destinations. Any circularity (T^1 - T^4) can then be analysed. This more empirical focus now leads to the case study.

5.3 The Case Study: Glasgow Region (and West of Scotland)

The case study is the Glasgow College Region (Regional Skills Assessments, 2022), defined as three local authorities: Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire. The need for an empirical analysis has already been described and the methodological requirement for a retrodictive case or cases. But a few questions require further clarification:

1. Why a case study: and not a comparative analysis of case studies, say?
2. Why *this* one: why not a comparative analysis of countries, or different parts of Scotland?

The answer to the first question is initially a pragmatic one: namely, of scope for the thesis. In order to apply a theoretical model in the way anticipated takes depth, and also a variety of data. This is best worked through on a single case initially rather than across several of them, which multiplies data sources and analyses of them. Thus, this does not preclude a comparative case study approach once the initial model has been refined. Secondly, there is a theoretical answer: namely, that comparison is not required as such. Or that there is no *a priori* reason the study of structures and causal mechanisms is unable to be validated with a single in-depth case. Theoretically, there is nothing which requires a methodological comparison to achieve this. And given that the Scottish secondary education system is formally equal, in theory, then a single case would suffice. Explanatory power may be enhanced (or the model further refined) by incorporating more cases, given the parsimony of working this out in-depth initially; but equally, it may not.

The answer to the second question is partly answered, therefore. But why Glasgow Region? Why not Scotland as a whole³²?

The interest of the thesis is in Glasgow City. There are several reasons for this:

³² The West of Scotland was the initial proposal; Scotland as a whole or within Scotland might have been a possibility. However, Scotland broadly was always the assumed parameter of focus.

- Glasgow City has the highest levels of deprivation: the Multiple Index of Deprivation might be regarded as a preconstructed object (reducing Structures to the Empirical level of spatial distributions; created as a policy instrument using quantitative methods as in Chapter 8, and separated into preconstructed policy domains like housing, employment etc.) but it potentially functions as a useful proxy for residualisation (given the need to be both cautious and creative with 'given' data).
- Glasgow has the highest number of welfare claimants: given the importance of a residual welfare state in a Liberal Market Economy, this is an important focus.
- Scotland has distinguished itself culturally from England and the UK by its commitment to the welfare state, and structurally to an extent with devolved powers being attributed to it. This poses an interesting case therefore: of whether a stated commitment to welfare in a residual welfare state Liberal Market Economy reduces those residualities. Or rather, when a residual welfare state is part of larger system (LME), whether (a) it works independently from that system given more structural autonomy and cultural will (b) whether it exerts effects nevertheless as a system (LME) regardless - and perhaps in contradiction to - its avowed and explicit intentions as an independent part. Simply put, to what extent can the part work separately from the whole?

Glasgow City in itself then is an important focus of residualisation; something not evident at the national level.

Although the focus is on Glasgow City, the ontological approach employed in the thesis is a relational one, however; that is, constructing an object as an abstraction of the full and relevant system of structures and relations in order to avoid misattributing to the part what properly pertains to the whole. For this, the isolation of Glasgow City is misleading and particularly in an understanding of educational inequalities. Glasgow (we might say, as opposed to Glasgow City) as a relational whole is more evident when looking at Glasgow Region. Bearing in mind that local authority boundaries are themselves the subject of conflict, Glasgow City is abutted by two local authorities, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire, which have traditionally had:

- Among the highest attainment rates in Scotland by local authority;
- Some of the highest performing individual schools in the Scotland;
- The highest proportion of school leavers going on to Higher Education (as measured by the School Leavers Destination Survey by local authority).

It might be argued that focusing on Glasgow Region, as an extreme case, is itself misleading. Would these differences be found elsewhere in Scotland, say? Firstly, as the most populous region in Scotland, it is more representative in the literal sense than any other region. Secondly, at times the thesis refers to the West of Scotland for context as a broader comparator, given the extreme polarisation within Glasgow Region i.e. of the type, is Glasgow City so low or are East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire so high? But, ultimately, the selection of the case is *theoretical*; it is not an empiricist approach. The region functions as a 'limiting case' whereby the extremes of the distribution reveal the underlying structuring principles *of* that distribution³³. By focusing on where educational inequalities are most extreme, a structural Critical Realist analysis can hope to fully test the model constructed and uncover the relations constituting these inequalities. It is thus not intended to be representative in the empiricist sense but to represent best and in most fully realised form the structural relations which may only be apparent in an attenuated or partly realised form elsewhere. And, by comparing this limiting case *to* other regions, can thus reveal that these structures *are* partly realised in other regions or to what extent they exist.

Finally, Glasgow City more than any other local authority in Scotland, could be identified as a 'post-industrial city' (Lever, 1991; Pacione 1995; Kintrea and Madgin, 2020). Bell's work on the post-industrial city (1974) examined the change from a predominantly manufacturing economy to a service economy. It also, building on this, forecasted the breaking of the link between social origins and social destinations by the skills requirements of the new service economy, and the increased use of the educational system required. Given this is already built into

³³ This approach is also taken to the sampling frame in Chapter 7, where the selection of schools ultimately represents the most extreme differences within the region.

the research design using Goldthorpe's work, Glasgow City, of all Scotland's local authorities, would seem an appropriate case to test this with.

Therefore, this section answers the initial two questions: Why a case study and why this case study? The answer is that using Glasgow Region links to the theoretical model and research design:

- Glasgow *City* as an important focus for residualisation (the retroductive theoretical model);
- Glasgow *Region* in similar and comparative terms is an important focus for educational inequalities (the retrodictive case) and for theoretically testing the model (the retroductive case);
- and, finally, incorporating Glasgow *City* into the research design itself, via Bell's thesis and Goldthorpe's empirical analysis of it, through the concept of the post-industrial city.

Chapters 2-4 built up the theory of System Integration and identified the concept of residualisation. This chapter has outlined a Critical Realist approach and built a theoretical model of residualisation in the first part; in the second, it has worked out a research design appropriate to testing this model. Having done so, the model can now be applied to a distinct case. This is the empirical part of the thesis. The next chapter therefore and, indeed, the next five chapters apply the theoretical model through the research design described.

Chapter 6: The geography of tenure in Glasgow Region

6.1 Introduction

The research design outlined in Chapter 5 starts with the Origin-Education link. How this link is constituted is analysed through the interaction of System Integration and Social Integration shown below in **Figure 6.1**. It begins with System Integration, with the housing market the 'part' of the wider social system. It is here where residualisation was first noticed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the State began restructuring along Liberal Market Economic (LME) lines (Forrest and Murrie, 1983: 465)³⁴.

The main focus is on Social Housing in the Glasgow Region. although owner occupation and private rented tenure are examined, following Forrest and Murie's argument that the nature of residualisation results in a transformation of tenure relations generally. The housing market 'part' of the wider social system is analysed through the distribution of tenure, therefore, understood as owner occupation, social housing and private rented tenure. Finally, given this process started over thirty years ago, what is analysed in this chapter needs to be understood as the *end result* of a process; or more, technically, where Structural Elaboration itself then becomes the starting point for analysis, the changed system now becoming the new starting point. Given this, what is focused on is a more contemporary analysis of the spatial aspect of residualisation, still understood however as the 'spatial concentration of irregularities' produced by a market system (ibid: 466).

³⁴ "Residualization is part and parcel of the general reorientation in state intervention towards the facilitation of market processes and away from direct provision."

Figure 6.1 *System Integration: Analytical Dualism* approach to Origin-Education link

>> Structure 1: System Integration → Chapter 5: Social Housing

Structure 2: Social Integration

Structural Elaboration

Note: For the sake of simplicity, the analytical temporal distinctions are removed (T¹, T² etc.)

The particular research question for this chapter is:

RQ 1. Is there a system of inequality within the housing system as a whole, comparing social housing to other forms of tenure in Glasgow Region?

Some related questions are also asked:

RQ 1.1 If so, how is social housing distributed spatially across the Glasgow Region? Are there any spatial characteristics (e.g. dispersion, clustering, isolation etc.)

RQ 1.2 On the basis of 1 and 1.1, to what extent is social housing still a residual form of tenure?

6.1.1 Summary of chapter

This chapter briefly summarises some of the relevant literature in Glasgow Region as regards social housing and the geography of the region. The study area is outlined and the reasons for choosing the West of Scotland at this point rather than Glasgow Region explained. The chapter then proceeds to outline the data and methods used, before laying out the findings. It begins with some initial descriptive statistics before moving on to comparative choropleth maps. The clusters visually noted are then put on a firmer footing with some spatial statistical analysis. Finally, the concentration of social housing within Glasgow City is

analysed by a comparison to West Dunbartonshire. The research questions are then revisited in the conclusion to the chapter.

6.2 Literature Review

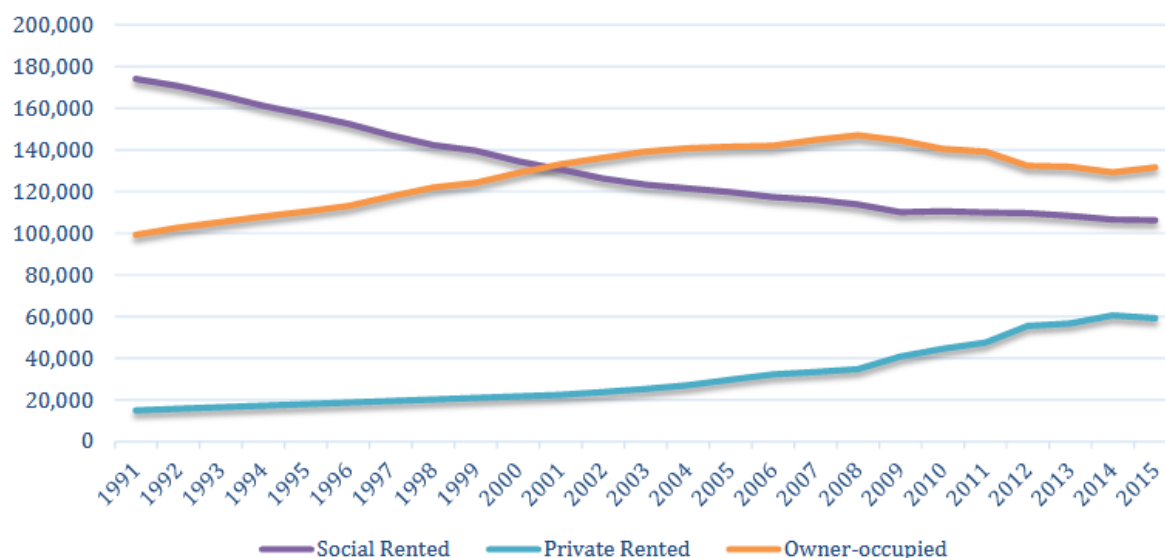
Before the UK state restructuring of the late 1970s along the lines of a Liberal Market Economy, much of Glasgow's geography of housing, like the West End, was already well established (see Pacione, 1995). The first peripheral estate - Pollock - began construction in 1948, followed by Drumchapel and Castlemilk (1952) and then, finally, Easterhouse (1958)³⁵. Despite this however, there is some clear evidence of how the restructuring along LME principles contributed to Glasgow's geography.

6.2.1 Decline of social housing and the expansion and promotion of owner occupation

Firstly, there was the decline of social housing and the expansion and promotion of owner occupation as described in the wider literature (see Chapter 4). The Tenants' Rights, Etc. (Scotland) Act 1980 introduced the Right to Buy for Council tenants which, as in other areas of the UK, started the depletion of council housing stock. During the 1980s and the 1990s, there was a steady increase in owner occupied housing in Glasgow due in part to the policy of Right to Buy and the increasing availability of mortgages (see Glasgow City Council, 2016). In 1992, the 'Housing Plan for the 90s' was published by Glasgow City Council, encouraging owner occupation and by 1998, 25,000 Council properties has been lost through Right to Buy (ibid).

Figure 6.2 below shows the trends in Glasgow City since the 1990s, which followed the typical pattern seen elsewhere in the UK, with owner occupation and social housing going in opposite directions, at least up until the 2008 financial crash.

³⁵ See Glasgow's Local Housing Strategy, Glasgow City Council (2022)

Figure 6.2 Housing stock change in Glasgow City by Tenure 1991-2015

Source: Glasgow City Council (2016)

6.2.2 Market-led urban policy and reorganisation of local government

In addition to the decline of social housing and the expansion and promotion of owner occupation there were other ways that market-led principles affected residualisation and the geography of Glasgow.

Firstly, Pacione (1993) argued that urban policy was unable to improve residualised areas as it was never intended to do so, with market-orientated strategies addressing poverty only indirectly. Comparing the areas of multiple deprivation within Glasgow in 1981 against the capital investment within Glasgow by public and private development agencies in 1991, he noted the mismatch: there was no investment, for example, either by the Scottish Development Agency or private sector in the peripheral council estates, which were dependent upon Glasgow District Council spending. He concluded that, after a decade of activity based on a market ‘trickle down effect’, there was little evidence of an improvement in the circumstances of the urban poor (ibid: 94).

Secondly, there was the reorganisation of Scotland's two-tier system of Regions and Districts into 32 unitary local authorities in 1996. Fairley (1996: 106) argued that the 'radical change' in policy by the Conservative government in the late 1970s and early 1980s meant the abandoning of Keynesianism in favour of supply side and monetarist economics. Monetarism meant control of inflation and tolerance of unemployment, with the latter congruent with the 'trickle down' effect in urban policy described above. Pacione (1993) similarly argued that the new local authorities were built along market-led principles. In terms of the supply side orientation, Bennet and McCoshan (1993: 64) argued this emphasised a *local* focus. Fairley (1996) also argues that this resulted in a new supply side role for the newly created unitary authorities, which included, in 1994, new statutory power for local authorities to undertake economic development activities as opposed to merely service delivery (ibid: 113). Strathclyde Regional Council, however imperfectly, had pursued both economic *and* social strategies: for example, targeting resources on disadvantaged areas like the peripheral housing estates and leading to recognition of these Social Strategies, as they were called, as an area of innovation in the UK (ibid: 117). Instead, the supply side and monetarist approaches of the post 1970s meant a new localism, focusing instead on local business creation and investment, and the new role for local authorities in economic development.

Finally, Glasgow lost out in the transition. It became Glasgow *City*, as its boundaries shrank rather than expanded for the first time. It lost the areas of Rutherglen and Cambuslang, along with housing stock of 10,000 dwellings transfers to newly created South Lanarkshire Council (see Glasgow City Council, 2022). The affluent Eastwood district was merged not with Glasgow but with the First District of Renfrewshire, leading to the creation of East Renfrewshire. Showing the antipathy to Glasgow, the Eastwood MSP Jackson Carlaw said, in paying his respects to the late Conservative MP Allan Stewart:

"It was thanks to Allan that Eastwood remained outside of Glasgow during local government reorganisation, instead becoming the part of the new East Renfrewshire Council" (Pope, 2016)

Taken together, the restructuring of the UK state along LME principles meant both the residualisation of social housing in Glasgow City and the market-led reforms to Scotland's urban policy and geography, resulting in a new supply-side role for local authorities. Even before this happened in 1996 however, there was already Pacione's bellwether analysis of the mismatch between local economic development and deprivation: the 'radical' policy break from Keynesianism towards the new supply side orientation and monetarist tolerance for unemployment already apparent in Glasgow's geography.

6.3 West of Scotland and Glasgow Region area

In this section, the distributions of the three main forms of tenure across the local authorities of West of Scotland are mapped: owner occupation, private rented and social housing. The West of Scotland rather than Glasgow Region is chosen as the study region for the following reasons:

- As an initial setting out of Glasgow Region within the larger West of Scotland region. At the same time, this helps to establish some of the important differences between Glasgow City and East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire.
- The concentration of social housing and private rented tenure in Glasgow City is more evident in a West of Scotland comparison, where Glasgow City can be seen as something of an outlier in the West of Scotland as a whole.

The West of Scotland is defined as the following eight local authorities: Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, West Dunbartonshire, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, Inverclyde. Glasgow Region is defined as Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire.

6.4 Data and Methods

Tenure distribution within local authorities is measured by datazone. Datazone is the standard unit of analysis in Scottish small area geography³⁶, with around 500 to

³⁶ See for example the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation:

1,000 people³⁷: it is neither too small like Output Areas, the smallest unit and the next geographical unit down from datazone; nor too big, like intermediate zones, the next geographical unit up, sitting under local authority level. Although, obviously, too small and too big are relative to purpose, datazone approximates a neighbourhood rather than a postcode or street (Output Area) or larger area of a local authority (Intermediate Zone). It was therefore chosen to map tenure distribution.

Data Collection

The following steps of data collection and analysis were undertaken:

- Firstly, the National Records of Scotland website was used to extract geography lookups, breaking down local authorities into their constituent datazones.
- The associated spatial files (or shapefiles) were downloaded from the same site for actual mapping. The datazone geography lookups were used to create a series of eight shapefiles, representing the eight local authorities of the West of Scotland. These were used to create a West of Scotland shapefile and a Glasgow Region one.
- Then, the actual Census tables were analysed. Coming as a bulk download (csv files) of the full 6,976 datazones of Scotland, they were grouped into the relevant local authorities.
- The data thus extracted from the Census was then joined to the relevant shapefile in ArcGIS, to be mapped (using a spatial join).
- Spatial statistics (histograms and Moran's *I*) were carried out in GeoDa. This was a dedicated spatial analysis program, more lightweight and therefore faster

<https://www.gov.scot/collections/scottish-index-of-multiple-deprivation-2020/>

³⁷ Each Data Zone consists of approximately equal resident populations of 500 to 1000 people, with an absolute minimum of 375 people and a maximum population of 1125. Output areas have around 40 resident households and 100 resident people; Intermediate Zones have around 2,500-6,000 residents. See ONS Geography website: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/geography/ukgeographies/censusgeography#output-area-oa>

than ArcGIS, and less liable to crashing when spatial statistical calculations were required.

Data checks were made throughout the process:

- to ensure the *shapefiles* had the correct constituent datazones;
- and to ensure that relevant csv Census *data* file being used for mapping extracted the correct datazones for the West of Scotland.

The latter was achieved by use of Excel formulas to match the datazone lookup from the National Records of Scotland to the Census data. The former was achieved by downloading the datazones from the shapefile into Excel, and then using the lookup table: again, using formulas to check they matched. Finally, the Census data and shapefile could be double checked by doing a spatial join in ArcGIS: if they did not match exactly, the operation would fail. The data could then be mapped.

Methods of Data Analysis: Choropleth mapping and Local Spatial Statistical Analysis

With the preceding achieved, tenure distribution was then analysed by choropleth mapping of tenure from the Census 2011 using the variable *Tenure (Table KS402SC - All Households)*³⁸, from which proportions were then manually calculated in Excel, using the raw Census levels. Proportions represent the ratio of respective tenure in that datazone to all households recorded in that same datazone. The following tenure categories from the 2011 Census are used:

- Home ownership
- Social rented
- Private rented

³⁸ From the Scotland Census 2011; see <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>

Note however that the following sub-categories were manually aggregated up to construct *private rented* tenure:

- Private rented: Private landlord or letting agency
- Private rented: Employer of a household member
- Private rented: Relative or friend of a household member
- Private rented: Other

Finally, the only other tenure category, rent free, has been excluded from the analysis due to negligible levels (0-4%).

After having mapped tenure in an initial exploratory way, a further spatial analysis was conducted. This assessed the extent to which any clusters visually identified in the choropleths were statistically significant i.e. to what extent did the spatial distribution of these respective tenures differ from a random distribution. To do so, a commonly used spatial statistic, Moran's *I* (Anselin, 1995), was used to assess the degree to which the study region as a whole shows spatial autocorrelation; or in plain terms, clustering. This is a global statistic: it tells you whether the study region *as a whole* (e.g. West Of Scotland) exhibits clustering but not where. After which, Moran's Local *I* (ibid) is normally used to disaggregate Moran's *I* in order to analyse *where* these statistically clusters take place within the West of Scotland. Using both statistics enables us to answer respectively, *whether* and, if so, *where* there is clustering within the region. Clusters observed in choropleth maps can disappear at this point due to their statistical insignificance. It is a more rigorous procedure therefore than just a mere visual inspection.

6.5 Findings: Distribution of Tenure in the West of Scotland

The findings are structured firstly by some descriptive tenure statistics at the level of local authority to establish the differences between the local authorities.

Choropleth maps are then used to explore the differences with local authorities at the datazone level, mapping the three forms of tenure. The clusters noted visually are then checked against their statistical significance. Then, having analysed these clusters of datazones, a final analysis is carried out examining the concentration

within them: this is done by ranking the datazones with the highest concentration of social rented tenure, then analysing the proportions of each. West Dunbartonshire is used as a nearest comparator.

6.5.1 Initial Descriptive Statistics

In this section, we explore differences in tenure at the local authority level. The table below shows the proportions of tenure in each local authority, sorted by owned tenure, the proportions calculated as a ratio of all households in the relevant local authority. Scotland is used at this point as an initial comparator. As the analysis proceeds in greater detail, the West of Scotland is used instead.

Table 6.1 Tenure by Local Authority (sorted by highest proportions of owned tenure)

	OWNED	SOCIAL RENTED³⁹	PRIVATE RENTED
East Renfrewshire	82%	12%	6%
East Dunbartonshire	81%	12%	6%
South Lanarkshire	68%	23%	8%
Renfrewshire	65%	25%	10%
Inverclyde	62%	27%	11%
North Lanarkshire	61%	31%	7%
West Dunbartonshire	56%	37%	7%
Glasgow City	46%	37%	17%
Scotland	62%	24%	12%

Source: own calculations from Census 2011, KS402SC

Denominator = all households in the relevant local authority

Note: row totals add to 99%, due to the omission of the category Rent Free.

The following can be noted about the tenure categories:

Owned tenure

East Renfrewshire (82%) and East Dunbartonshire (81%) have similar levels of owned tenure with a 13% gap between East Dunbartonshire and the nearest local

³⁹ N.B. there is an omission of numbers for Council Housing in Inverclyde and Glasgow City council in Census 2011. Presumably these have been aggregated into social rented. Unfortunately, this is not made clear and therefore the figures for Glasgow City and Inverclyde may be underestimates.

authority, South Lanarkshire (68%). South Lanarkshire and other local authorities however have somewhat similar levels ranging from Renfrewshire (65%) to North Lanarkshire (61%). West Dunbartonshire (56%) and Glasgow City (46%) have the lowest levels of owned tenure with a 36% gap between Glasgow City and East Renfrewshire. Only in Glasgow City do other forms of tenure combined (54%) outweigh owned tenure.

Social rented tenure

East Renfrewshire (12%) and East Dunbartonshire (12%) have the lowest percentages of social rented tenure in the West of Scotland, nearly half that of nearest local authority, South Lanarkshire (23%). Once more, South Lanarkshire (23%), Renfrewshire (25%), Inverclyde (62%) and North Lanarkshire (61%) are closer to each other, with both West Dunbartonshire and Glasgow City having the highest proportions of social rented tenure (37%), a gap of 25% between them and both East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire.

Private rented tenure

Local authorities do not show such disparities in private rented tenure. Although both Renfrewshire and Inverclyde have a higher proportion (11%) than the others, Glasgow City has by far the highest (18%), a gap of 12% between it and the local authority with the lowest proportion, East Renfrewshire (6%).

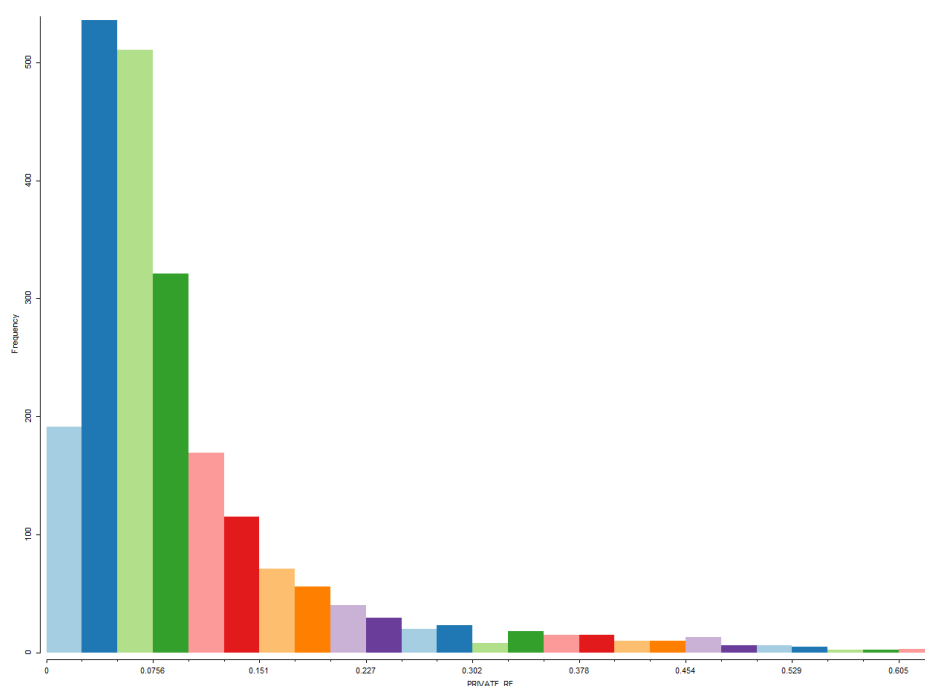
6.5.2 Choropleth Mapping

The analysis proceeds to the datazone level and choropleth mapping. Choropleth maps encode colour to data distributions by dividing that distribution into equal 'bins' or quantiles. A decision has to be made about which divisions are most pertinent to the data.

Histograms are therefore plotted to inspect the distributions, each showing the respective distribution from minimum to maximum, based on the percentage of tenure in each datazone.

A comparison of **Figure 6.3** and **Figure 6.4** show that proportions of owner occupation in the West of Scotland have a very different distribution to private rented (a much wider range of values in the former case). For example, the maximum value of private tenure is 66.7% and is heavily right skewed (median= 6.7%; mean = 9.8%):

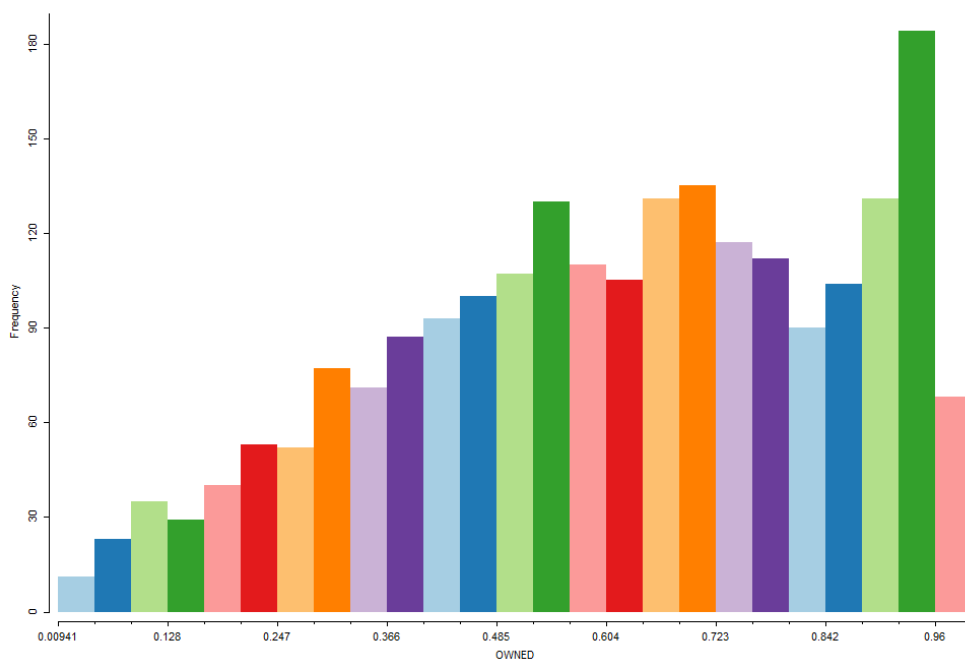
Figure 6.3 Histogram of Private Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland



Proportion of private rented tenure (datazone)

Note: Proportions represent the ratio of respective tenure in that datazone to all households recorded in that same datazone.

Figure 6.4 below shows the distribution of owner occupation. By contrast, owner occupation is left skewed and its maximum is 100% (median= 64%; mean = 61%): this means that in one datazone in the West of Scotland, there was no other form of tenure.

Figure 6.4 Histogram of Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland**Proportion of owner occupied tenure (datazone)**

The choice then is to either apply one set of quantiles to all three tenure forms; or three different sets based on the characteristics of the three particular individual distributions. Since the object of analysis however is a direct comparison between different forms tenure, this means applying the same set or scale to all the three forms. Thus, if private rented tenure is small in comparison to owner occupation, then this is what is revealed by the choropleth map.

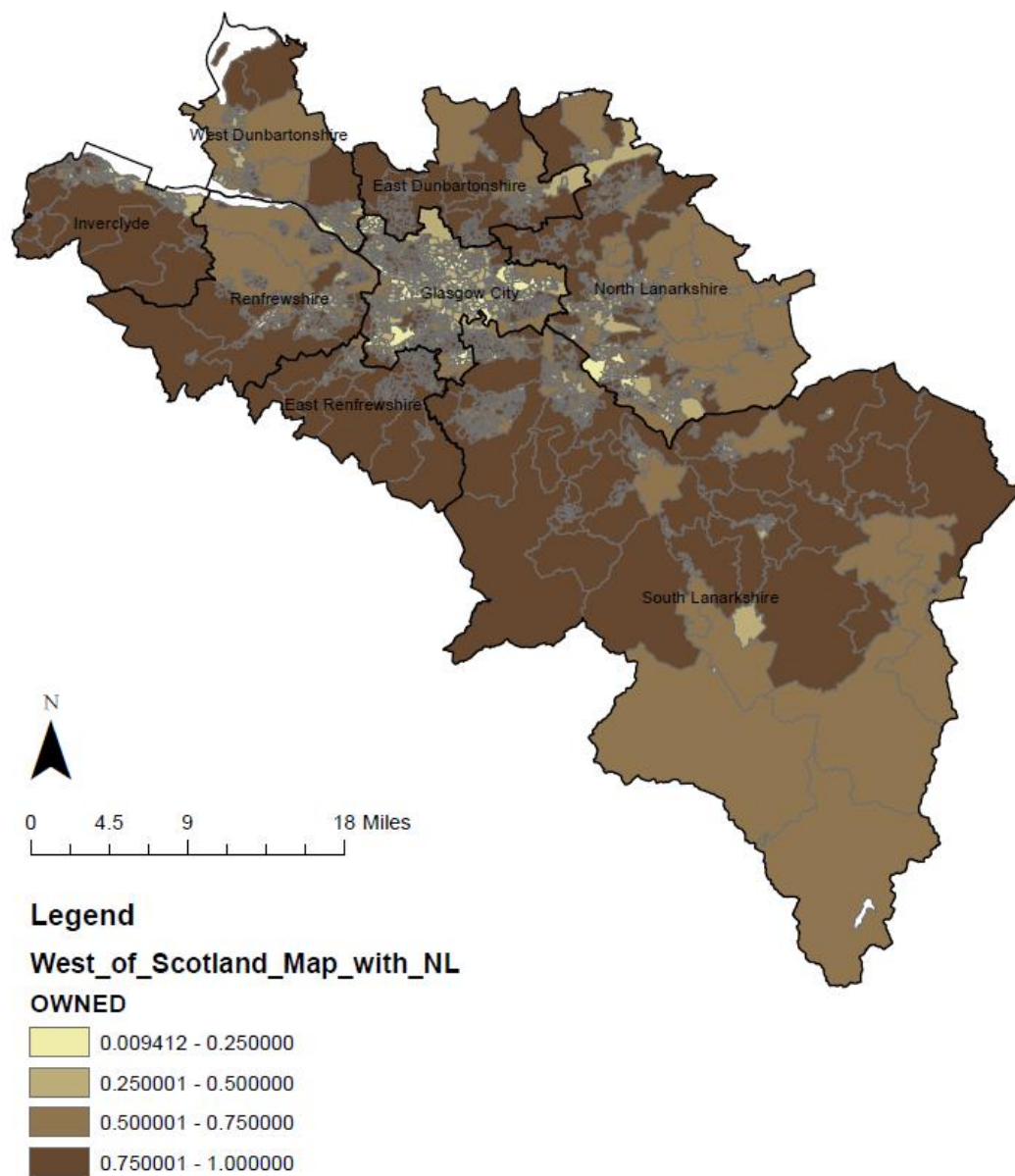
Therefore, the decision to map tenure was made using the following quantile classification:

- 0-25%,
- 25%-50%,
- 50%-75%,
- 75%-100%

Essentially, this uses the distribution of **Figure 6.4** as a guide to the quantile divisions: substantively, this was using owner occupations as the 'norm' with which to measure the two other tenure forms. As a result of this, and following the order of the Census data file, owner occupation in the West of Scotland was mapped first.

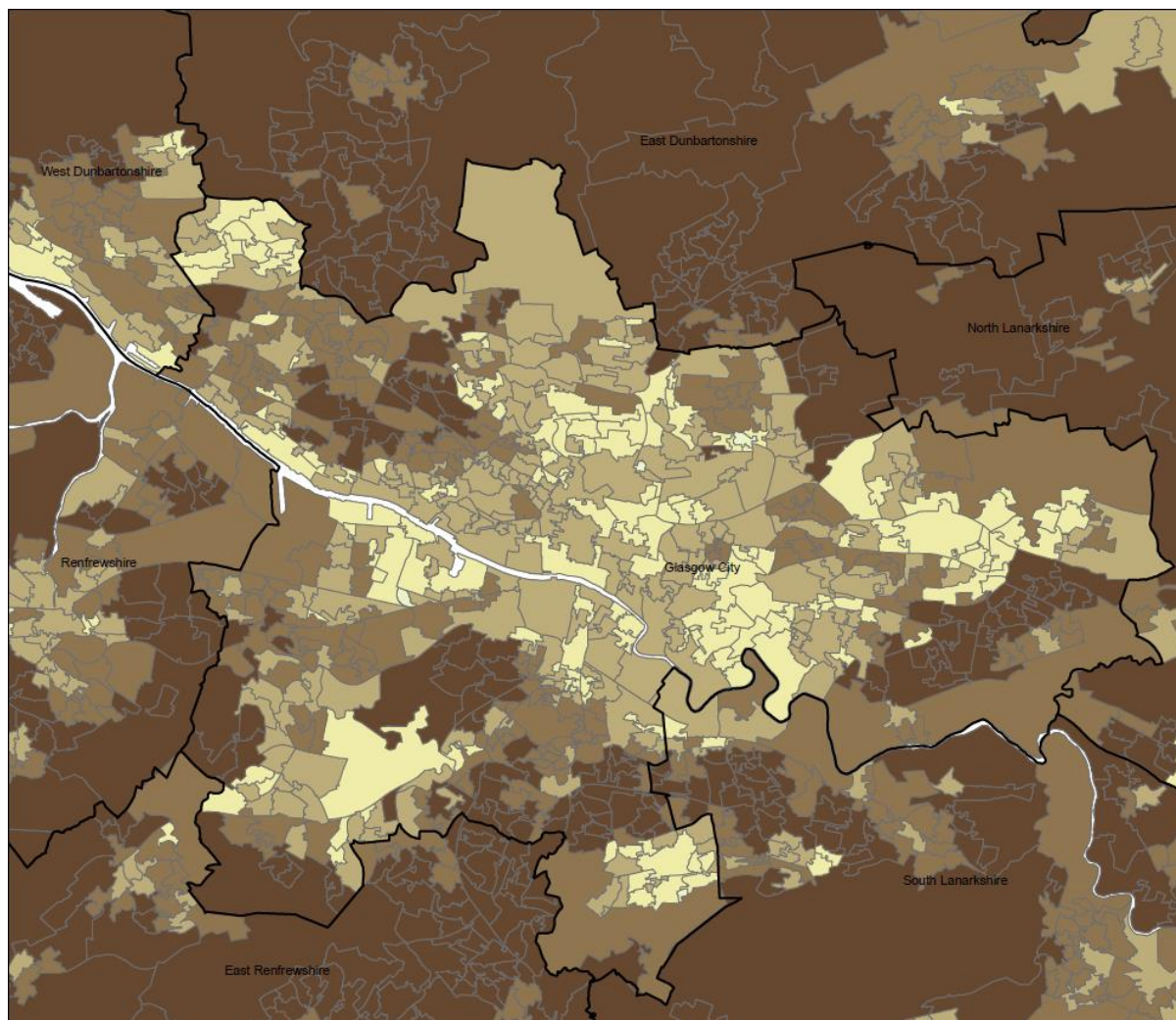
Figure 6.5 shows that, overall, areas of high owner occupation (75%-100%) are found outside Glasgow City, close to its boundaries. Within local authorities, high owner occupation seems most concentrated in East Renfrewshire and Inverclyde; in most other local authorities, there are areas of lower levels of home ownership.

In Glasgow City itself, **Figure 6.6** shows a different pattern: much lower (0-25%) concentrations of home ownership except with isolated clusters in the west, the south and eastwards towards North and South Lanarkshire and the south. There seems a clear island of high ownership in the south; whilst other similar areas of the south seem to be a continuation from adjacent local authorities (e.g. creeping across the boundaries from East Renfrewshire and South Lanarkshire).

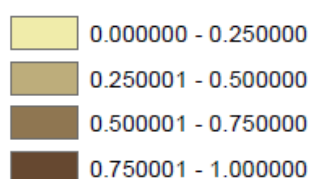
Figure 6.5 Owner occupation in the West of Scotland

Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

Note: 0.250001 = 25%

Figure 6.6 Owner Occupation in Glasgow City

Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

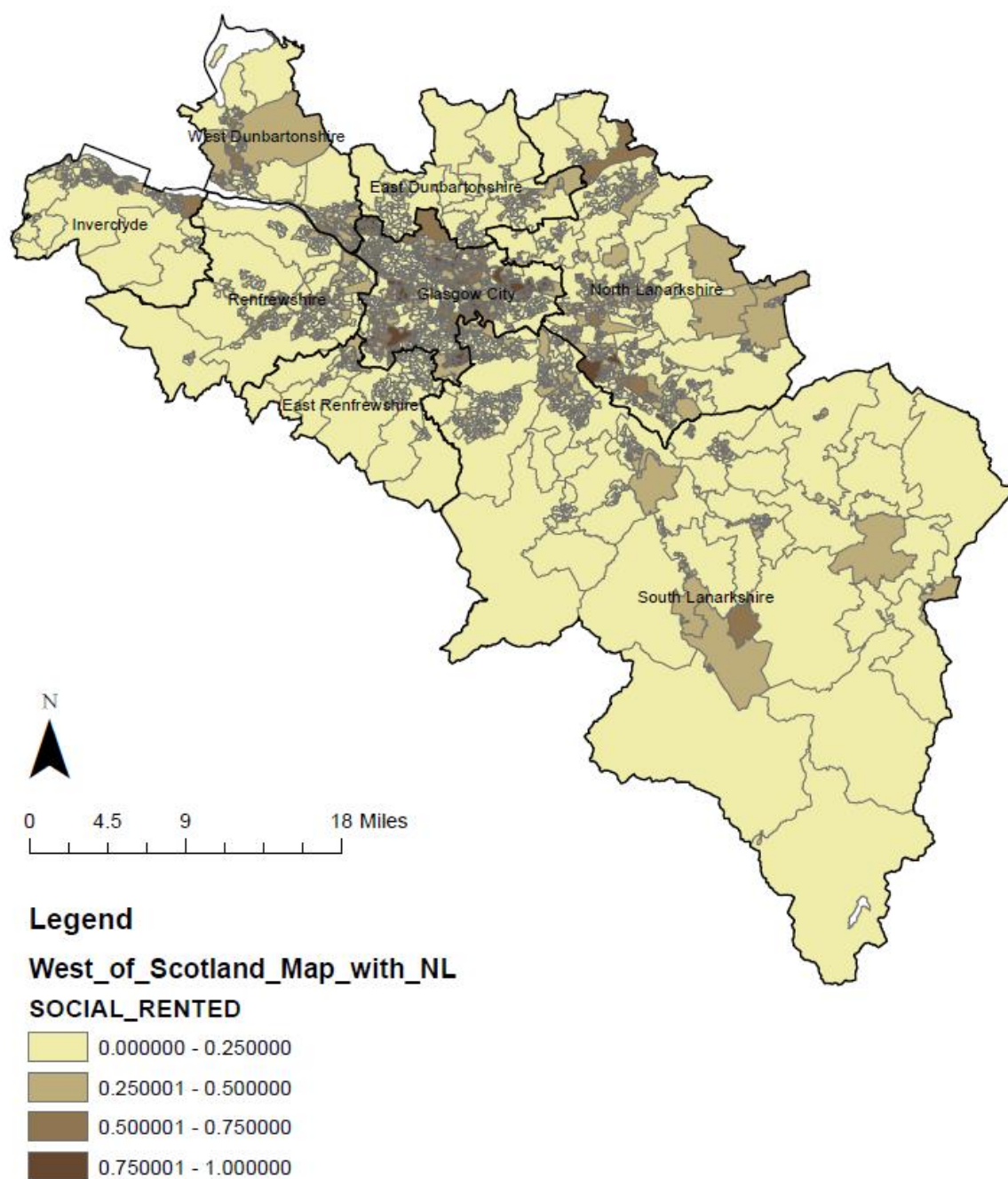


Note: 0.250001 = 25%

Overall, however, Glasgow City has a distinct lack of high levels of home ownership, relative to the rest of the West of Scotland.

Using the same quantile classification described, there are small pockets of social rented clusters across the West of Scotland as shown in **Figure 6.7**.

Figure 6.7 Social Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland



Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

However, most of the West of Scotland has little (0-25%) social rented tenure except perhaps for North Lanarkshire, West Dunbartonshire and some areas of South Lanarkshire. Renfrewshire has smaller areas adjacent to Glasgow City, and Inverclyde a belt along the north coast.

Again, Glasgow City has a different pattern as **Figure 6.7** previously shows. Indeed, social rented accommodation in the West of Scotland seems to be concentrated in Glasgow City. **Figure 6.8** shows the distribution within Glasgow City.

Figure 6.8 Social Rented Tenure in Glasgow City



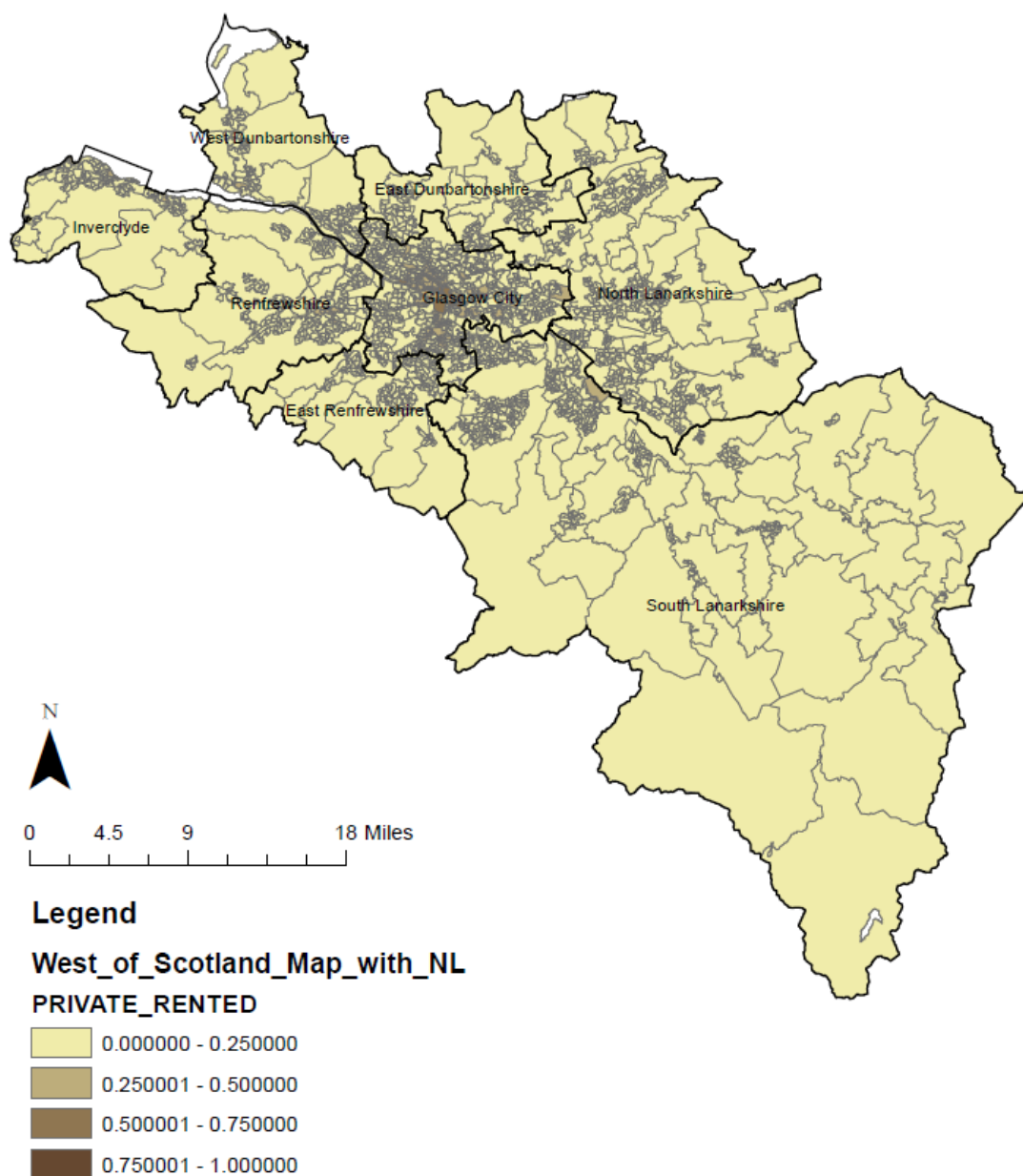
Source: *Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)*

Looking back to **Figure 6.5** (*Owner occupation in the West of Scotland*) previously, social rented tenure seems defined in relation to areas of high home ownership (the West End and South Side; the area towards North and South Lanarkshire): where social rented tenure is high, owner occupation is low; and vice-versa. This means the majority of social rented tenure clusters in the north east and east of the city, almost forming a division against the west and south. In addition to these

division are areas at the periphery of the local authority (in the west and south) and those datazones along the Clyde in the west of Glasgow City.

Private rented tenure shows a similar pattern to social rented tenure in that there is little of it in the West of Scotland, as measured by the same quantile classifications. This is shown in **Figure 6.9** below.

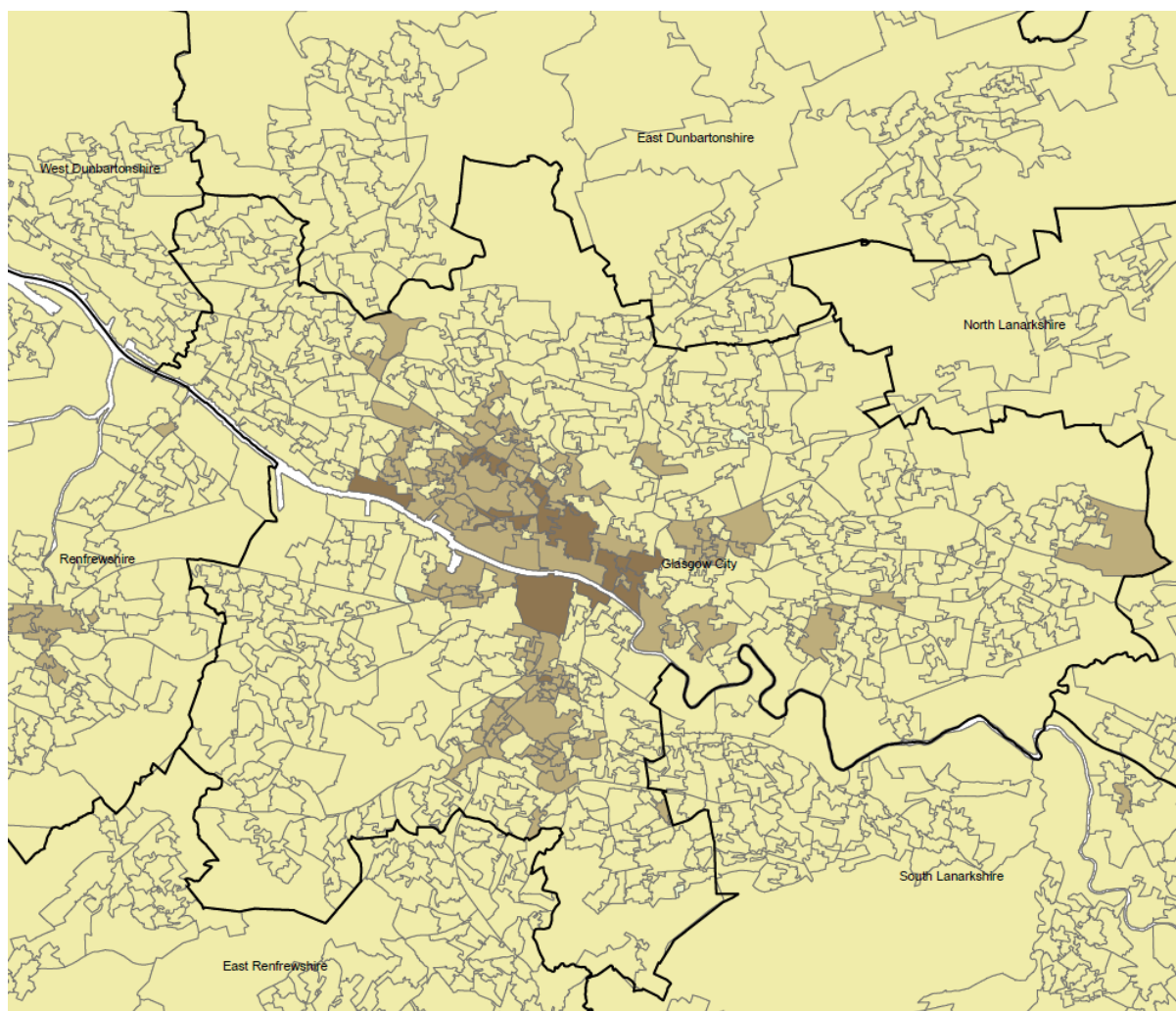
Figure 6.9 Private Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland



Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

And, like social rented tenure, it seems concentrated in Glasgow City as in **Figure 6.10**.

Figure 6.10 Private Rented Tenure in Glasgow City



Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

Private rented tenure shows a different pattern to that of social rented, however, being concentrated not in the north east, east and outlying areas but in a region encompassing predominantly the City centre and immediate areas to the west and south.

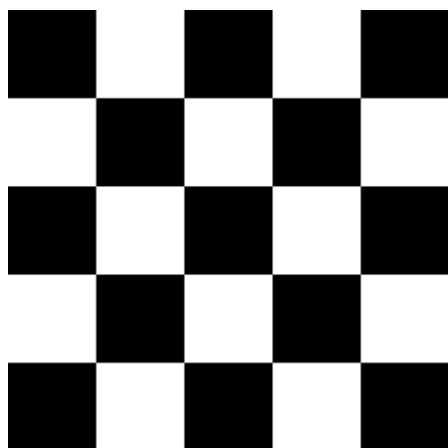
From an initial exploratory mapping therefore, there seems a clear geography of tenure in the West of Scotland: high levels of home ownership outside of but predominantly around Glasgow City, the levels depending on the local authority; and high concentrations of social rented tenure in Glasgow (north east, east and

outlying peripheries) as well as private rented tenure (in an area around the West End and city centre). The next section then asks to what extent this is due to chance.

6.5.3 Statistical Significance: Moran's I and Local Moran's I

Although inspecting choropleth maps can reveal patterns of residential tenure, it would be more appropriate to answer whether distinct patterns do indeed exist by placing this in an inferential framework, whereby we can determine whether these clusters are statistically significant: that is to say, to what extent the observed patterns are due to chance. The object here is not statistical significance *per se*, but using it to focus more clearly on the initial findings of the choropleth maps. On the basis that features near each other tend to be more like each other (Tobler, 1970), Moran's I is an index of spatial autocorrelation. Given a set of features like the datazones of the West of Scotland and an associated attribute like tenure, it evaluates whether the pattern is clustered, dispersed, or random. An example is given below using the squares of a chessboard:

Figure 6.11 Chessboard of spatial autocorrelation



The white and black squares in a chessboard are perfectly dispersed (i.e. dissimilar values cluster together) so Moran's I would be -1 . If the white squares were stacked to one half of the board and the black squares to the other (i.e. clustered), Moran's I would be close to $+1$. A random arrangement of square colours would give Moran's I a value close to 0 .

Moran's I then is a measure of autocorrelation, measuring the tendency of a datazone to be related to its neighbouring datazones. The statistic is calculated as follows:

$$I = \frac{N}{\sum_i \sum_j w_{ij}} \frac{\sum_i \sum_j w_{ij} (X_i - \bar{X})(X_j - \bar{X})}{\sum_i (X_i - \bar{X})^2}$$

Moran's I therefore essentially compares the extent to which:

- the target feature differs from the mean of the neighbouring datazones as defined by a weights matrix (the numerator)
- the target feature differs from the mean of the *overall* study region (the denominator), expressed as a ratio.

The statistic is not readily interpretable on its own and has to be compared to the expected value of Moran's I under the null hypothesis of no spatial autocorrelation (or complete randomness), using the number of features in the study area (i.e. number of datazones in the West of Scotland):

$$E(I) = \frac{-1}{N - 1}$$

The numerator (minus one) is divided by the number of features (N) minus 1. This will be a very low negative number so for practical purposes a value of 0 for I , as previously described, indicates a random distribution. There are 2,199 datazones in the West of Scotland for example, which yields an expected value close to 0 (-0.000454959).

As noted previously, if more pairs have similar values (i.e. they are clustered) then I will be greater than 0 (i.e. nearer to 1). On this basis we test the null hypothesis of no residential segregation in the West of Scotland:

H_0 : Complete randomness, $I=0$

H_1 : Residential segregation (i.e. similar values found together), $I > 0$

A Z value is calculated by subtracting the expected I from the actual Moran's I and the result divided by the standard deviation of I for the expected distribution. The software GeoDa⁴⁰ was used to calculate the Z values and the results reported here:

Table 6.2 Tenure Z values for Moran's I

		Critical Z Values	
		95%	99%
Owned	65.8	1.96	2.58
Social Rented	38.6		
Private Rented	51.5		

We can therefore reject the null hypothesis and conclude that, as each of the Z values across tenure categories exceed the critical value of 2.58 at a confidence level of 0.01, we can be 99% sure that clustering of these respective tenure patterns did not occur by chance. We can conclude therefore on, the basis of this analysis at least, that there is residential segregation across the West of Scotland.

Local Moran's I (Anselin, 1995)

Moran's I is a global statistic however, which means that though the statistic can point out whether spatial autocorrelation exists across the West of Scotland, it does not point out where and in what ways this occurs. The Local Moran's I represents a disaggregation of the global version of Moran's I into its component parts (Mitchell, 2009).

Moran's I Scatterplot

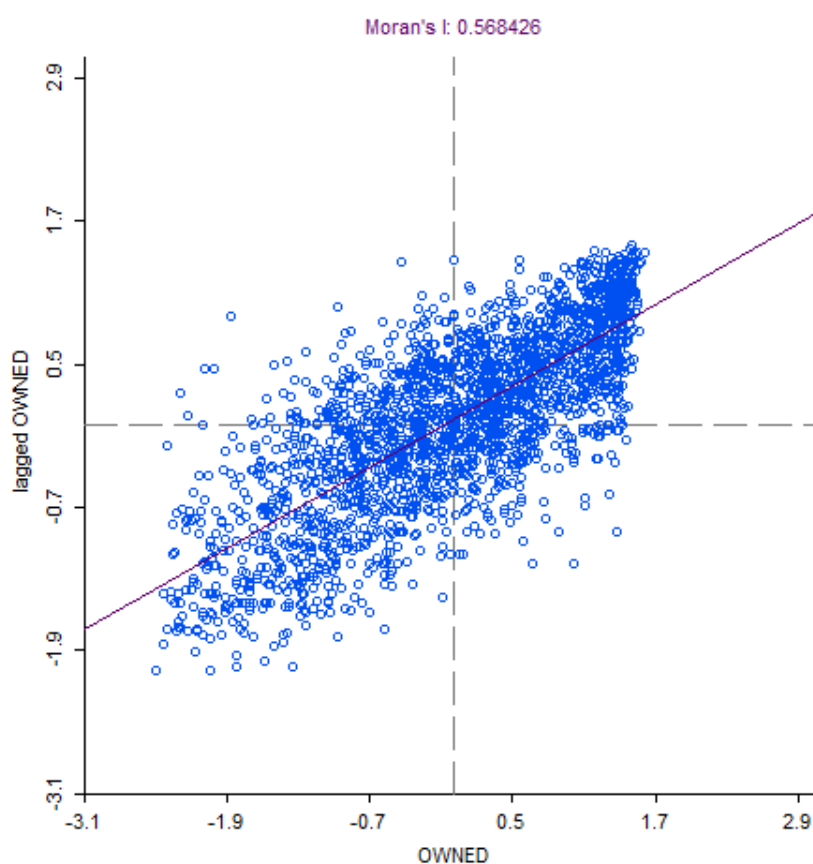
To see how this is disaggregated, we first look at the global Moran's I scatterplot, which is generated in most GIS packages. The Moran's I scatterplot takes the target value (i.e. a particular datazone attribute value) on the x axis and plots it

⁴⁰ Note: Inference for Moran's I is based on a random permutation procedure, which recalculates the statistic many times to generate a reference distribution. 999 permutations were used to calculate the statistics. The weights matrix used to define neighbourhoods was a Queen's contiguity matrix, with 1st order contiguity.

against the mean of its surrounding neighbours⁴¹ on the y axis, called the lagged mean. Note that the scatterplot shows the standardized values not the raw data, therefore the units are standard deviations from the mean, and the origin represents 0, 0.

Here is the scatterplot for owned tenure:

Figure 6.12 Moran's I Scatterplot, Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland



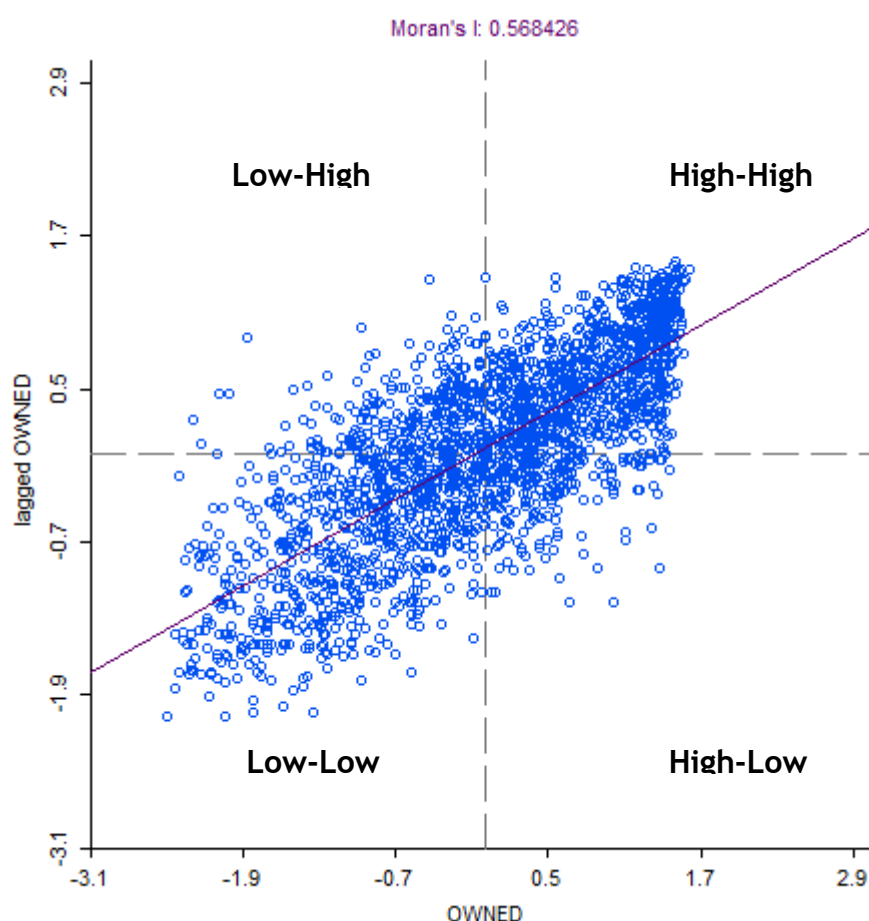
The reference line ($x=y$) is added, the idea being that when neighbouring polygons (or datazones) have similar Z values, there should be a straight line/linear trend. If each target area is uncorrelated to its neighbouring datazones, there would be no pattern. The fact that most points lie in the bottom left quadrant and upper right, suggests a degree of positive association between each datazone and its

⁴¹ The neighbours are defined by a Queen's contiguity weights matrix, which defines adjacent polygons or 'neighbours' as a Queen moves in chess (i.e North and North West etc.) rather than as a Rook's contiguity weights matrix (North, South etc.)

neighbours. The slope of best fit through the points is proportional to the global Moran's I statistic (Anselin, 2005).

This being the case, we can interpret the quadrants in the following way: a datazone with a high proportion of owned tenure surrounded by neighbouring datazones of similarly high proportions would be located in the top right hand quadrant (High-High); a datazone with a low proportion of home ownership surrounded by neighbours with high proportions of home ownership would be located in the top left hand quadrant (Low-High).

Figure 6.13 Disaggregation of Moran's I Scatterplot, Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland



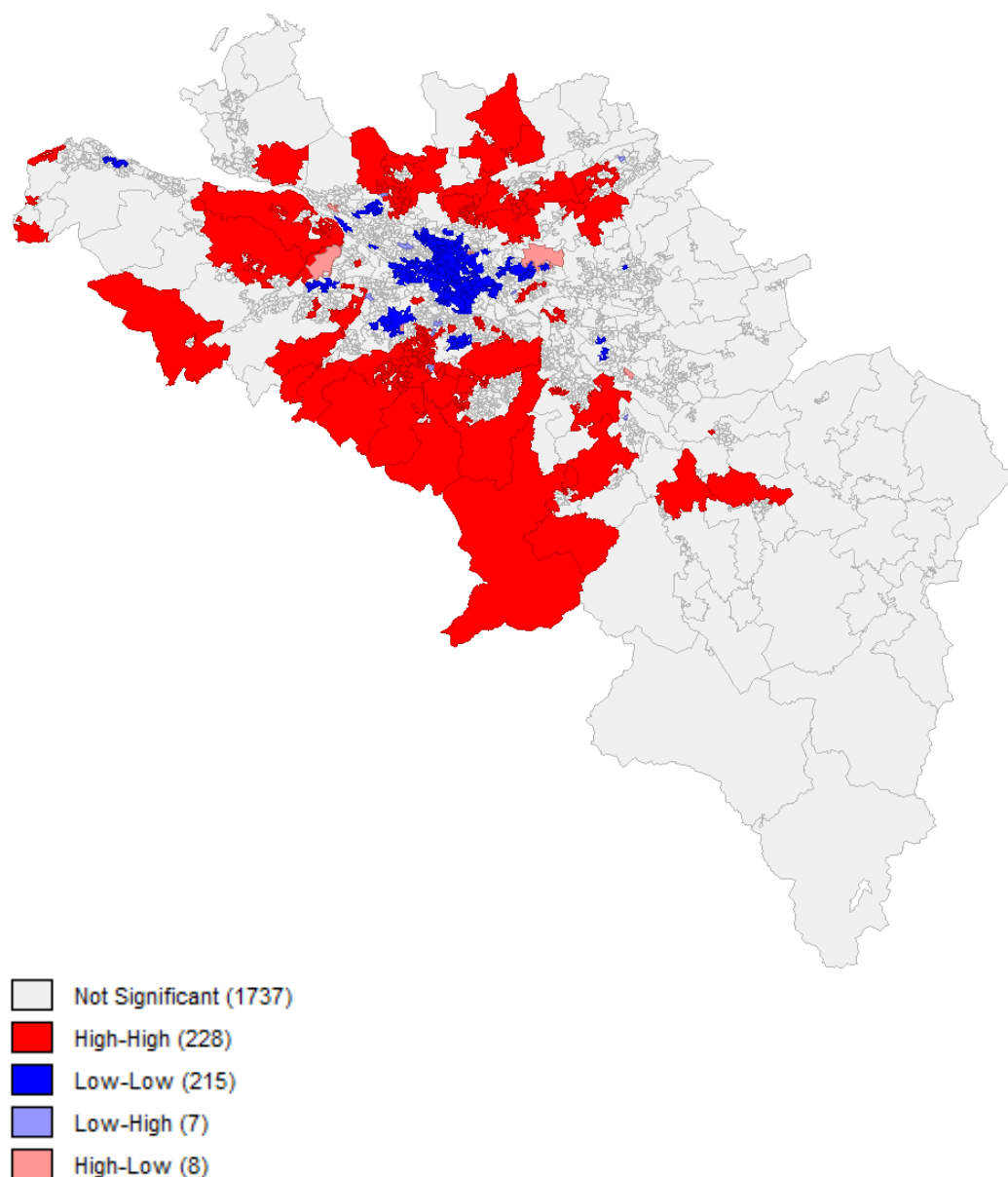
6.5.4 Cluster and Outlier Analysis: Results

This type of mapping is often referred to as Cluster and Outlier Analysis whereby the High-High and Low-Low locations (positive local spatial autocorrelation) are typically referred to as spatial clusters, while the High-Low and Low-High locations

(negative local spatial autocorrelation) are termed spatial outliers. While outliers are single locations by definition, this is not the case for clusters. The spatial clusters shown on the cluster map only refer to the *core* of the cluster, which helps reveal the choropleth patterns more clearly. That said, the cluster itself likely extends to the neighbouring datazones also (Anselin, 2005: 146).

Owner Occupation

Using **Figure 6.12** above (*Moran's I Scatterplot, Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland*), this generates the following cluster map for the West of Scotland, mapping the four quadrants for owned tenure. The cluster map in **Figure 6.14** below confirms the earlier visual, choropleth inspection, whereby home ownership seemed concentrated outside Glasgow but closest to Glasgow. Areas of statistically significant ($p=0.01$) High-High clusters are found mainly in East Renfrewshire and South Lanarkshire and East Dunbartonshire as well as area of Renfrewshire and *some* areas of Inverclyde (note this is different from the choropleth). Areas with proportions of Low-Low owned housing are found mainly in Glasgow and particularly in the North East and East of Glasgow, the areas of high social rented tenure. There is also the small band on the north of Inverclyde.

Figure 6.14 Moran's Local I , Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland⁴²

Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

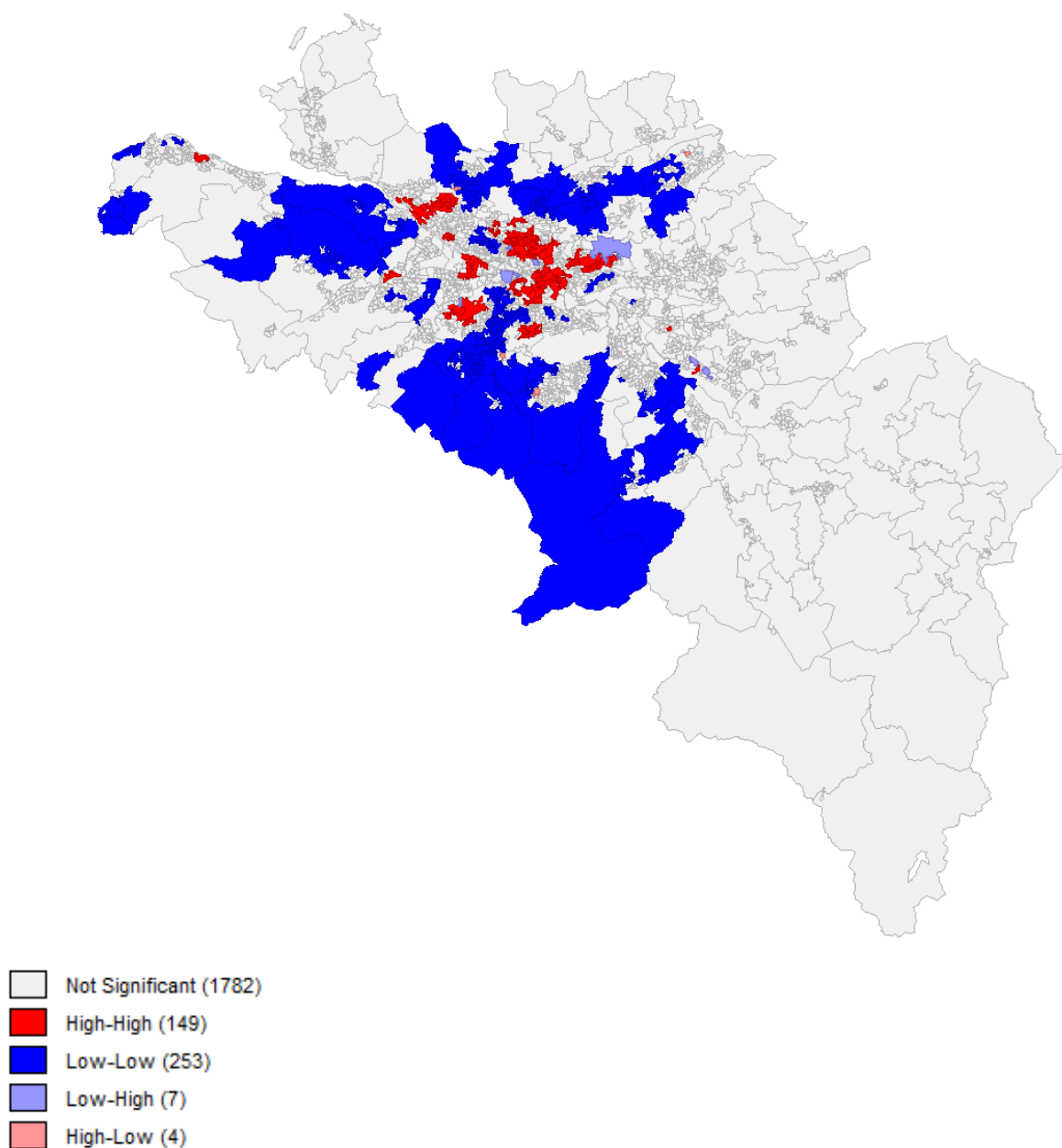
⁴² Note: the results use 999 permutations in accordance with the GeoDa guidelines: "The ... cluster map first generated is based on very quick calculations, using only 99 permutations and a default significance level of $p = 0.05$. In most applications, this is a good first approximation but it also tends to be somewhat sensitive to the particular randomization. In order to obtain more robust results, it is good practice (for reasonably sized data sets) to increase the number of permutations to 999 or even 9999, and to carry out several runs until the results stabilize." (Anselin, 2005) and a 0.01 confidence level: "Locations that are consistently significant, even at such demanding levels [i.e. 0.01], are fairly robust indications of spatial clusters or outliers. (ibid)

The area of High-Low housing in Renfrewshire seems to confirm that those datazones closest to Glasgow are more similar to Glasgow than the rural west of Renfrewshire, which seems to have separated out into a High-High cluster thus showing some segregation within this local authority.

Social Rented Tenure

The cluster map of social rented tenure is, perhaps unsurprisingly, almost the inverse of the preceding:

Figure 6.15 Moran's Local I, Social Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland



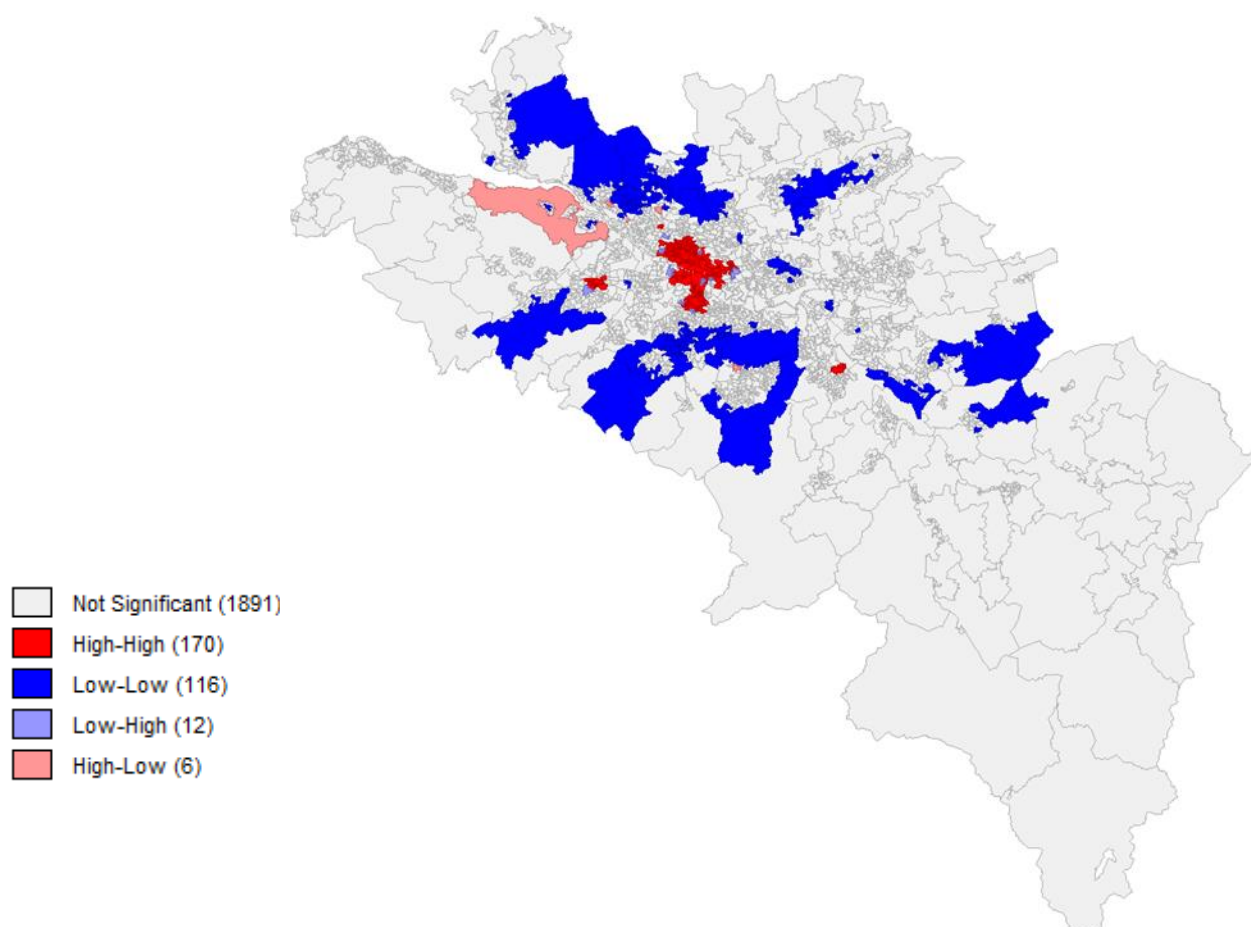
Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

Glasgow has High-High clusters of social rented tenure once more in the north east, east and outlying peripheries (council estates like Castlemilk, and Drumchapel) in addition to a cluster immediately south of the river. There is also a cluster in Renfrewshire (Paisley Ferguslie⁴³) and Inverclyde (Greenock Town Centre and East Central).

Private Rented Tenure

For Private rented tenure, Glasgow City has the main cluster of High-High private rented tenure surrounded by those Low-Low clusters in neighbouring local authorities, most likely representing those areas of home ownership:

Figure 6.16 Moran's Local I , Private Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland



⁴³ Datazones identified from shapefile.

Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)

Once more this seems clustered in the area identified by previous visual inspection (i.e. West End, city centre, South Side) by the choropleth map in **Figure 6.10** (*Private Rented Tenure in Glasgow City*).

In summary then, using the Moran's *I* statistic, we have established that there is statistically significant clustering ($p=0.01$) within the West of Scotland and then disaggregated this, using Moran's Local *I*. Here we found statistically significant clusters of tenure ($p=0.01$) within local authorities also, which largely confirms the choropleth maps but improves upon them in statistically identifying core clusters.

We are therefore in a position to say that there is strong evidence of clustering in the West of Scotland, based at least on the preceding analysis. Indeed, there seems to be a distinct geography of tenure within the West of Scotland: Glasgow City containing high proportions of social rented and private rented tenure, each with their own distinct geography; and the West of Scotland, the majority of owned tenure, with high proportions in proximity to Glasgow City.

6.5.5 Social Housing: Differences within and between local authorities

Note that proportions can be misleading here. For example, Glasgow City and West Dunbartonshire both have the same amounts of Social Rented tenure (37%) relative to the number of households in their respective local authorities.

Table 6.3 Comparison of Glasgow City and West Dunbartonshire: Social Rented Levels & Proportions

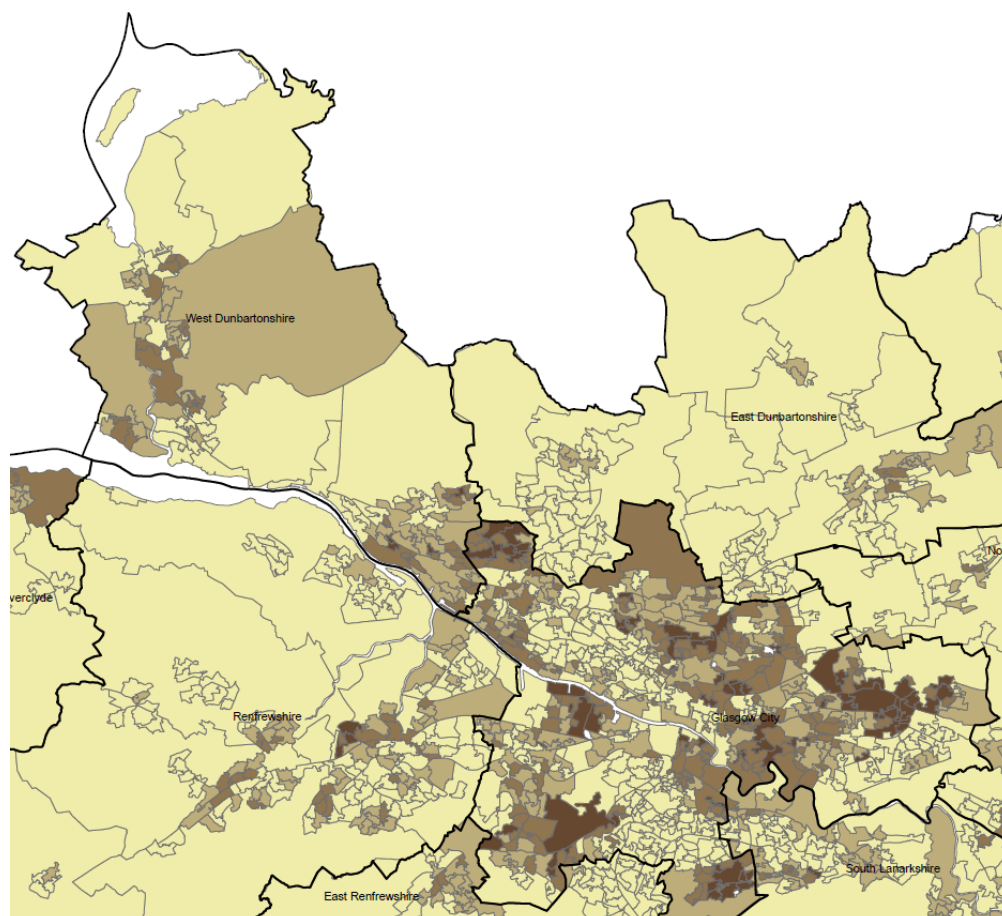
	All households	Social Rented	Proportions
Glasgow City	285,693	104,811	37%
West Dunbartonshire	42,167	15,708	37%

Source: own calculations from Census 2011, KS402SC

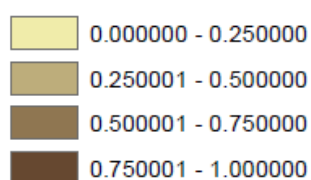
Denominator = all households in the relevant local authority

This was not obvious from the maps in the previous paper and, indeed, from this map we would conclude that Glasgow City has a higher proportion of social rented tenure than West Dunbartonshire if we inspected Figure 6.17 below:

Figure 6.17 Social Rented tenure: A comparison of Glasgow City and West Dunbartonshire



Source: Census 2011, Tenure (KS402SC)



This is true in terms of absolute numbers (104,811 social rented households in Glasgow City as opposed to 15,708 in West Dunbartonshire); it is the ratio of these numbers to the total number of households *in their local authority* that is the same.

In addition, the distribution with each local authority is different, which becomes clearer if we look at the two tables below, **Table 6.4** and **Table 6.5**, comparing the top 10 highest concentrations of social rented tenure by datazone:

Table 6.4 Concentrations of social rented tenure by datazone in Glasgow City

Datzone	Intermediate Zone	Owner Occ.	<i>Social Rented</i>	Private Rented
S01003579	Glasgow City - Keppochill	1%	98%	1%
S01003708	Glasgow City - Drumchapel North	3%	96%	2%
S01003646	Glasgow City - Knightswood Park East	3%	95%	2%
S01003043	Glasgow City - Glenwood North	2%	94%	3%
S01003665	Glasgow City - Maryhill East	4%	94%	2%
S01003582	Glasgow City - Possil Park	3%	94%	3%
S01003076	Glasgow City - Carnwadric West	4%	92%	3%
S01003442	Glasgow City - Roystonhill, Blochairn, and Provanmill	5%	92%	3%
S01003428	Glasgow City - Cranhill, Lightburn and Queenslie South	6%	92%	2%
S01003716	Glasgow City - Drumchapel North	4%	92%	3%

Source: own calculations from Census 2011, KS402SC

Table 6.4 above shows that, in Glasgow City, there can be as much as 98% of a datazone in social rented tenure (datazone S01003579 in the Intermediate Zone of Keppochill). If these datazones are sorted in terms of the higher percentages of social housing, then all of the first ten datazones are above 90%.

Comparing this to West Dunbartonshire and its highest percentages of social housing, the concentrations are not as high:

Table 6.5 Concentrations of social rented tenure by datazone in West Dunbartonshire

Datazone	Intermediate Zone	Owner Occ.	<i>Social Rented</i>	Private Rented
S01006195	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Four	10%	<i>88%</i>	2%
S01006198	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Five	13%	<i>82%</i>	5%
S01006202	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Five	16%	<i>81%</i>	2%
S01006231	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Eight	23%	<i>75%</i>	1%
S01006191	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Two	20%	<i>75%</i>	5%
S01006177	West Dunbartonshire - IZ One	22%	<i>72%</i>	5%
S01006240	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Twelve	29%	<i>70%</i>	1%
S01006193	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Two	24%	<i>70%</i>	5%
S01006187	West Dunbartonshire - IZ Three	26%	<i>68%</i>	5%
S01006181	West Dunbartonshire - IZ One	29%	<i>68%</i>	3%

Source: own calculations from Census 2011, KS402SC

Thus not only does Glasgow City have much higher levels of social rented households, it also has more datazones⁴⁴ with higher concentrations of social housing compared to West Dunbartonshire even though, once more, their relative proportions are the same.

No other local authority in the West of Scotland has such high proportions of social rented tenure in a datazone:

Table 6.6 Maximum and 10th highest proportions of social rented in datazone by Local Authority

Social Rented	Maximum	10th highest
Glasgow City	98%	92%

⁴⁴ Glasgow has more datazones (694) than any other local authority in Scotland. For comparison, Edinburgh City has (549) and in the West of Scotland, South Lanarkshire has (398).

North Lanarkshire	94%	75%
Renfrewshire	91%	66%
West Dunbartonshire	88%	68%
South Lanarkshire	86%	58%
East Dunbartonshire	74%	38%
East Renfrewshire	71%	34%
Inverclyde	68%	57%

Source: own calculations from Census 2011, KS402SC

When we sort from high to low in this way, the distribution of Glasgow City is clearly different from the others. By the 10th highest datazone, every other datazone in the West of Scotland has less than 80% of social rented tenure. Glasgow City still has a datazone with 92%. What is more, it takes 20 datazones before this figure drops below 90% in Glasgow City and 69 datazones before it drops below 80%. In addition, we can also see patterns that are obscured by the aggregate local authority figures: for example, some relatively high proportions of social rented tenure in East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire; pockets obscured by the aggregate local authority figures.

In summary then, the smallest percentages of social housing are found in East Renfrewshire (12%) and East Dunbartonshire (12%), half the Scottish average (24%) as shown in Table 6.1 (*Tenure by Local Authority*), and with a clear gap between the local authority next in rank, South Lanarkshire (25%). There is a noticeable division between these two local authorities (East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire) and the rest in terms of tenure mix, resulting from their high proportions of owned tenure.

At the other end of the scale Glasgow City and West Dunbartonshire have the highest proportions of social housing and lowest levels of owned tenure. In fact, Glasgow City is the only local authority where the other forms of tenure (social rented *and* private rented, combined) outweigh owner occupation.

Finally, within the West of Scotland, Glasgow Region has both the smallest rates of social housing (in East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire) as well as the highest (Glasgow City).

6.6 Conclusion

The chapter proceeded with an investigation of local authority statistics of tenure followed by choropleth mappings of tenure within those local authorities. The choropleth mapping and use of Moran's I (and Local Moran's I) highlighted the isolation of Glasgow City in relation to owner occupation, private rented and social rented tenure. Disaggregating some of the local authority data at the datazone level, revealed insights again not apparent at the higher spatial level. The main research question for this chapter was:

RQ1. Is there a system of inequality within the housing system as a whole, comparing social housing to other forms of tenure?

There seems clear evidence of geographical inequalities in in the West of Scotland and, above all, in Glasgow City. To what extent this is better conceived of simply as residential segregation or in terms of residualisation is left for the Conclusion chapter of the thesis however. The next question was:

RQ 1.1 If so, how is social housing distributed spatially across the Glasgow Region? Are there any spatial characteristics (e.g. dispersion, clustering etc.)

Spatial analysis uses terms like clustering, dispersion and isolation to characterise and statistically measure spatial distributions. Both clustering and isolation (of those clusters) are evident when looking at social housing in Glasgow Region and the West of Scotland:

- Firstly, when looking at Glasgow City in relation to the other local authorities of the West of Scotland. The spatial distribution here in relation to Glasgow City was one of isolation. When looking at owner occupation however the main characteristic in relation to Glasgow City was dispersion.

- Within Glasgow City itself, and in relation to other datazones, there were clusters of owner occupation in the west and south mainly vis-a vis the east/north-east and peripheries. The spatial distribution here was one of clustering both of owner occupation and social housing in different areas of Glasgow City.
- Within datazones again, Glasgow City has the highest proportion of social housing within any datazone (98%) relative to the West of Scotland; West Dunbartonshire being the closest. The main characteristic was concentration.

The final research question of the chapter can now be answered:

RQ 1.2 One the basis of 1 and 1.1, to what extent is social housing still a residual form of tenure?

Spatial concentration is a form of residualisation, according to Forrest and Murie (1983). But they are clear that spatial concentration is the *consequence* of the larger processes: both the ‘characteristics of housing and the domination of market relationships’ (ibid: 461). The descriptors of spatial distributions found in Glasgow City of isolation and concentration in this chapter can be related back to the literature review in **section 5.2** earlier.

Taken together, both the decline of social housing in Glasgow City and expansion of owner occupation *and* the market-led reforms to Scotland’s geography have interacted. Glasgow’s reduced boundaries has contributed to its isolation in residential terms, when comparing it with the rest of the West of Scotland. And, secondly, this reduction has ‘locked in’ as it were already high levels of social housing, as shown in **Table 6.1** (*Tenure by Local Authority*), contributing to the cluster map seen in **Figure 6.15** (*Moran’s Local I, Social Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland*). Finally, the rise of owner occupation *within* Glasgow City can only have exacerbated this, as the divisions within the city show in **Figure 6.6** (*Owner Occupation in Glasgow City*). All of which means that the final research question can be answered in the affirmative.

Finally, the distributions analysed here are not much different from Pacione’s analysis of deprivation in Glasgow City from the 1981 Census (Pacione, 1993). What

he noted in the early 1990s was the failure of urban policy to tackle poorer areas of Glasgow City, the investment elsewhere within the City and of the hoped for 'trickle down effect' of market-led reforms. More recent examples, like the investments made in the Riverside area of Glasgow or the failure of large events like the Commonwealth Games to impact the local area could be cited, in addition to local authorities forming supply side focused City Regions. What this highlights, in addition to the spatial characteristics of isolation and concentration, is persistence, something also noted by Rae (2012) in relation to the West of Scotland. And what this in turn highlights is the persistence of the post-1970s LME State principles and the lack of impact that the post-1970s supply side policies have had.

Now that the residualisation of social housing has been established and some of the ways an LME State has specifically been involved within the Glasgow Region, the next chapter looks at how middle class avoidance of social housing and the more euphemistically termed, 'mixed demographics', interact to create an internally stratified state secondary education system.

Chapter 7: School Choice and Housing Markets

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 found evidence to support the following research question:

Is there a system of inequality within the housing system as a whole, comparing social housing to other forms of tenure?

Glasgow City shows evidence of spatial residualisation in terms of its concentration and isolation of social housing, distinct from the rest of the West of Scotland, and particularly in relation to the other two local authorities of Glasgow Region, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire. This establishes a starting point for the analysis.

In terms of the theoretical model, residualisation is the interaction of two structures: System Integration and Social Integration, or parts and people. Something systemically made residual (parts), and then something differentially avoided as a result by class resources (people), becomes *residualised*. Chapter 6 has analysed the former and this chapter now looks at the latter, with **Figure 7.1** below showing the next stage in the analysis.

Figure 7.1 *Social Integration*: Analytical Dualism approach to Origin-Education link

Structure 1: System Integration

>>

Structure 2: Social Integration → *Chapter 7: School Choice*

Structural Elaboration

In Chapter 6, the element of *Structure 1: System Integration* was housing, operationalised as the tenure system. In this chapter, *Structure 2: System Integration* is operationalised as school choice. There are two reasons for this:

1. It extends the relations between *parts*: namely, between the housing system and education system, helping to build on Chapter 6.
2. But, more importantly as Social Integration, it incorporates *people*, and their conflict over scarce resources: here, the ‘best’ schools in Glasgow Region.

The hypothesis is that the geography revealed in Chapter 6 will affect agents’ choices about schools, leading to avoidance of schools and their related areas or vice-versa. If so, this would particularly be the case in areas of Glasgow City, with concentrations of social housing as shown in **Figure 6.15** (*Moran’s Local I, Social Rented Tenure in the West of Scotland*), for example. The research question in this chapter therefore is:

Is there evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, here conceived of as social housing in relation to school choice?

7.1.1 Summary of Chapter

The chapter begins with a short literature review, looking at school choice in the Scottish school system, against the background of the 1981 Education (Scotland) Act. In analysing these choices, social class comes to the fore; in the background, the new ‘market-led’ model of the post 1970s UK State is also mentioned. The data and methods are outlined, detailing the qualitative corpus of online discussion threads used and the coding and data analysis carried out. The findings are presented as three themes, which are then analysed further in the discussion section, relating the three themes to Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts. The main finding is that differential class resources interacting with the geography found in Chapter 6 results in an internally stratified school system. The limitations are noted before proceeding to tie this finding back to the overall theoretical framework in the conclusion, finishing with an answer to the chapter’s research question.

7.2 Literature Review: Parental Choice in Scotland

The main literature of school choice in Scotland came in the wake of the new, post-1970s UK State, where a Liberal Market Economy (LME) State was being created, based on the principles of competitive markets (see Chapters 3 and 4). In relation to the school system there was, firstly, the 1981 Education (Scotland) Act, which allowed placement requests for non-local schools outwith the immediate catchment and lessened local authorities' powers to reject these. Later, the 1988 Education Reform Act in England and Wales was similarly based on the principles of making school more competitive and increasing parental choice. This generated a literature in the 80s and 90s which, in Scotland, has since dwindled in interest.

In relation to the former 1981 Education (Scotland) Act, Adler et al. (1989) interviewed 616 parents in three Scottish Educational Authorities. The authors found that parents who exercised choice were influenced by a desire to avoid the school in their attendance area rather than to find the optimal school for their child. When selecting a particular school, parents were more influenced by factors such as the disciplinary climate, a school's general reputation, and proximity, than by educational considerations such as teaching methods or examination results (see Willms, 1997).

Echols et al. (1990) analysed a cohort from the 1987 Scottish Young People's Survey (SYPS), most of whom had had entered secondary school in the academic session 1982/3, the year in which parental choice became operational in Scotland. They found that choice was more common among better educated and higher social class families and that choice of state school tended to be for more established schools (pre-1965 certificating schools) and with above-average attainment and pupil Socio Economic Status (SES).

Wilms et al. (1992) similarly analysed a set of pupils who were in their fourth year in 1989, thus starting school in 1984, and finding also that parents who exercised choice were more highly educated and had more prestigious occupations than those who sent their child to their designated school. Once more, choosers tended

to select schools with higher mean socioeconomic status and higher mean levels of attainment. Both Echols and Wilms (1995) looked at reasons for rejecting a designated secondary and choosing a different one, finding that social and reputational factors as well as disciplinary climate were the main reasons for rejection, with academic quality of lesser importance. Despite some specific contrary findings (e.g. choosing school with higher mean levels of attainment; academic quality being of lesser importance), social class factors (school reputation, social class of parents) are evident as is the *avoidance* of the designated catchment area school(s).

An underlying theme was not just the importance of parental SES but how the attempted 'free-market' restructuring of the 1981 Education (Scotland) Act worked towards the favour of the middle classes:

... an educational marketplace that parallels the free-market model works only for a limited subgroup of the population that is already advantaged in the present educational system. (Echols and Wilms, 1995: 143)

As per the model outlined in **Figure 7.1** above, there needed to be the preceding systemic changes for social class choices to come to the fore.

However, despite the understanding of socially differentiated choices gained from this literature, there was little exploration of how they worked in practice. This was explored within the English system, where Ball et al. (1995) conducted qualitative interviews. Like Echols and Wilms (1995), they were critical of the marketisation of schooling, the concept of 'choice' and the consequences for segregation. Using a Bourdeusian framework, they found that there were 'circuits of schooling' (Ball et al., 1995), whereby only a circumscribed set of schools in a local area were likely choices depending upon the class of the chooser and influencing whether parents simply accepted their default school or were more strategic in their choices. Similar to Echols and Wilms (1995) in the Scottish context, they found that, being more skilful in their strategies, the middle classes were systematically advantaged by enhanced parental choice.

The main research question of the chapter is:

RQ 1. Is there evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, here conceived of as social housing in relation to school choice?

Using the literature, this can be broken down somewhat into smaller sub-concepts:

RQ 1.1 Is there any evidence of social class in relation to school choices?

RQ 1.2 Is there any evidence for the ‘circuits of schooling’ found in Ball et al. (1995)?

And in terms of the evolving theoretical model, the following can be added in relation to Chapter 6:

RQ 1.3 Is there any evidence of social class in relation to area choices?

RQ 1.4 Is there any evidence for class avoidance of social housing in particular?

These then are the questions to be explored in the data and is related back to the main research question (RQ 1.) in the conclusion.

7.3 Data and Methods

7.3.1 Data collection

The internet discussion forum, Mumsnet, was used to investigate parental choices in the wider Glasgow region. A question posed by one of the Mumsnet users (e.g. ‘What is the best primary schools in Glasgow?’) would start a thread, which was a series of posts back and forth discussing a single question or topic. This method of data collection was chosen for two very practical reasons:

- The need for qualitative data on whether and how people were choosing schools. Initially, it was thought a West of Scotland survey carried out by the Urban Big Data Centre at the University of Glasgow, called the Integrated Multimedia City Data (iMCD), would help provide this as it contained some questions on school choice. However, analysis of this revealed that there was very little data on school choice itself.

- The improbability at that point (c. second year of PhD) of being able to go back and conduct a survey, given the timescales required (survey design, ethical approvals, survey issuing and collection).

The use of Mumsnet was a creative approach to this problem: it was an excellent source of data and could be used and analysed without the PhD becoming necessarily a qualitative project on school choice. That said, however, Mumsnet has its limitations: it confirms retrospective choices but not prospective ones. As a result, there is no way of determining the actual decisions made by prospective choosers.

The use of internet discussion forums in qualitative research is a fairly recent phenomenon (Rier, 2007) and has been used in domains from health (Skea et al., 2008) to women's studies (Pedersen and Smithson, 2013). Rier (2007: 244) argues that:

“... online support groups constitute natural, colossal, floating focus groups, offering an unusual opportunity for researchers to tap into specific segments of public opinion, and to watch *how it forms, as it forms*” [emphasis in original]

This virtual focus group, it is argued, offers a larger pool of participants than the traditional focus group, across a wider spatio-temporal frame with more space for thought and participant reflection and research. Not only that but the changed dynamics: particularly the fact that the participants themselves initiate the subject of discussion in an anonymous setting is of interest in itself (Pedersen and Smithson, 2013).

The Mumsnet site was launched in 2000 by two UK parents and by 2007 had 300,000 monthly users (Lane, 2007 cited in Skea et al., 2008: 1383). Members use anonymous aliases to start discussions on any topic of interest and these can then be added to these conversations or 'threads'. The website is publicly available which means non-members can search the forum archives with keywords. The participants, as the name suggest, are mainly mothers although there is evidence of a very small percentage of fathers also (see Pedersen and Smithson, 2013: 98, 100). Issues are discussed not in relation to an academically formulated

problematic but a practical problem of import and, at times, of some urgency. It is therefore an ideal setting in which to understand actual practices in the Bourdeusian sense (see for example, Bourdieu, 1990, 1998).

To date it has not been used in the school choice literature nor education generally. Its merits here are several. Firstly, social class is an important factor. The demographic profile of the site suggests largely female parents of similar lifestyle (Mackenzie, 2017: 302) who are likely to be employed, have a university degree and above average household income (Pedersen and Smithson, 2013). The predominantly middle class nature of the group (Pedersen, 2020: 4) is precisely the group that the 1990s literature found more likely to be strategic in their school choices and allows us to build on the previous literature. Pedersen and Smithson (2013: 102) also found evidence of levels of cultural capital which they associated with classed norms, middle class distinctions and class 'othering'. They link this explicitly to parenting - 'mothering is a classed activity' (ibid) - and gesture to some of the wider literature on social class and educational inequalities such as Reay and Lucey (2000), Vincent and Ball (2007), and Duncan (2005). Jensen (2013: 137) also notes that the reporting of any offensive language on Mumsnet does not extend to classism, which again potentially provides important data. Secondly, and more practically, there is a large volume of threads, each of which can span over a number of years and with numerous participants. And finally, its public nature means that, using key words, non-members can search the forum archives.

The forum format often begins with a question in the form: "I am moving to Glasgow. Which primary schools should I consider?" It therefore allows us to observe school choices in relation to residential choices, something missing from the previous school choice literature. As a result, it has a spatial context: distinct local authorities and areas are categorised and discussed in addition to the schools and catchment areas in them, all of which enables us to test the "circuits of schooling" concept in the West of Scotland rather than which schools are good or bad in isolation; and to what extent the area they are in determines their rejection or approval. Finally, this results in a construction of mental maps of middle class parents; constructing their classifications rather merely the choices

which result from them. We can therefore analyse middle class parental choices across the Glasgow Region in relation to actual areas and schools across the region, enabling a discussion of schooling *in relation to* residential choices.

A keyword search for “Glasgow schools” was conducted which resulted in 98 threads over the period 2010-2016. The focus here was on Glasgow Region. Given this volume of threads, an initial reading showed that there was no need to expand the search further to, for example, “Glasgow Region schools” or narrow it down to, say: “East Renfrewshire schools”. The term “Glasgow schools” was a polarising one, with many threads either attacking or defending such a choice. There was also much discussion of local authority boundaries. Thereby a system of schools had already started to emerge encompassing the wider region outside of Glasgow City. Finally, given the focus on Glasgow Region rather than the West of Scotland, there seemed little additional value in searching for the latter. At most, it might have corroborated the existing data, but equally it could have also led to less relevant discussions about schools in Inverclyde or whether North or South Lanarkshire was preferable.

Following Suzuki and Calzo (2004) and Pedersen (2016), the threads were initially extracted in a Word document before thematic analysis in NVivo. The initial corpus in Word was 391 pages, with 159,577 words.

Table 7.1 Summary of corpus characteristics

Threads	92 (initial)
Messages	1,706
Date range	2004 - 2019

Note: Final number was 83 threads.

It contained 92 threads over a date range of 2004-2019, with most occurring from 2010 onwards. Nine threads were excluded either due to lack of relevance (e.g. “iPads in Glasgow schools”) or lack of responses (two threads had no responses; one thread only had two responses). This meant 83 threads after exclusion.

7.3.2 Coding and Data Analysis

Given its size and its repetitions, an initial coding was carried out: this contained 37 codes and 90 sections of text (File 1). This was largely kept to short phrases for clarity. The purpose was to establish a broad base of codes, which could be further refined or added to. After this, another coding was carried out: this was saved as a separate file (to preserve original codes from File 1). This refined the initial codes and also contained a further 16 codes, overall adding a further 188 pieces of coded text. This coding pass had bigger chunks of text (sentences and paragraphs), in order to elaborate on the first pass. All in all, this meant 53 codes in total and 278 pieces of coded text.

Coding was conducted using thematic analysis, which simply put, is coding selections of text and then building these codes up into the discovery of themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that this method of coding has great flexibility as it is not tied to a particular theoretical framework. Since the thesis did not fit neatly into any existing framework - instead trying to fashion its own - this method of data analysis seemed most appropriate.

Braun and Clarke (ibid: 86) suggest six phases of a thematic analysis, which are broadly common to the phases of any type of qualitative research:

Table 7.2 Phases of thematic analysis

Phase
1 Familiarising yourself with the data
2 Generating initial codes
3 Searching for themes
4 Reviewing themes
5 Defining and naming themes
6 Producing the report

Source: Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006: 86)

Rather than simply ‘discovering’ codes and themes in a purely inductive way, focus was required on Social Integration, as part of the second stage of the model outlined in **Table 7.2** above. A Bourdieusian framework was used in order to analyse the possible social class choices the literature had revealed. Although it was pointed out in Chapter 1 that Bourdieu did not analyse structures of System Integration, he *did* develop important concepts for analysing structures of Social Integration. Braun and Clarke’s approach was therefore further used and adapted in the following ways:

Phase 1: Familiarity with data

A reading of the corpus of threads was undertaken in its entirety. At this point, notes were made about emerging themes: both in relation to Bourdieusian theoretical concepts (e.g. cultural capital, how social classes classify) as well as themes specific to the corpus (e.g. state schools Vs independent schools). This was not a matter of imposing theoretical concepts on the data but in relation to them. As described above, there was an initial pass at coding to scope the corpus of threads. It became apparent quickly, there was no need to code every line of text, with certain threads or discussions less relevant and a certain amount of repetition across threads (e.g. Thread 47: ‘Glasgow Primary Schools’; Thread 48: ‘Can anyone recommend good Primary Schools and areas to live in Glasgow?’; Thread 50: ‘Primary schools in and around Glasgow’; Thread 53: ‘Primary schools in Glasgow’). Often a certain ‘chunk’ of discussion had only one response or real point of interest, with the rest being supportive language agreements, modifications, or minor additions, sometimes fragments as opposed to sentences. The dynamics of interaction and the rules of communication and conversation might have been of relevance to an ethnomethodological approach, but this analysis was focused primarily on the substantive themes of school choice and how this could be understood theoretically.

As a result, this did not lend itself to a line-by-line scrutiny in the same way as transcriptions of formal semi-structured interviews with a pre-prepared topic guide of questions, say. Finally, it was decided not to correct (spacing, typos etc.) the individual posts for presentation and quotation in the findings section below. This

was to preserve the informality of the exchanges i.e. the context and circumstances in which they happened, of interest in itself (Pedersen and Smithson, 2013). The posts could sometimes seem rushed (mistakes, no spaces between words) or more like text speak (perhaps done on the phone). Both however seemed to imply regular users (unafraid of being judged for a one-off garbled post) and ones also engaged (happy to check thread notifications and post from their mobile). Also, if the cultural capital of parents was of interest, there seemed no theoretical sense in correcting their spelling or grammar.

Phases 2 and 3: Generating initial codes and Searching for Themes

To assist with this, notes on the Threads (called ‘Key excerpts and notes’) were kept in separate Word files, splitting them up (Threads 1-9, 10-19, 20-28, 29-38) in order to start analysing connections within and between the files and begin labelling grouped excerpts as an initial stage to finding themes. This was done through compiling key quotes or excerpts together, which illustrated emerging connections or where a ‘generic’ excerpt helped summarise a subject with many similar responses.

Short memos were also created from these in Word documents, drawing on the previous literature and the Bourdieusian concepts to think more theoretically about what was emerging:

Table 7.3 List of Memos

1	Main Themes (Parent Memo)
2	‘Circuits of Schooling’
3	Language and Symbolic Power
4	Classes and Classifications
5	‘Scheme schools’
6	Thoughts on Structural Mechanisms
7	Decoding
8	A Hierarchy of Schools

Having begun this way, theme generation was conducted through Word rather than NVivo as, at the time, it seemed less overwhelming using the former and easier to think through the connections, despite NVivo's capabilities here.

Phases 4 and 5: Theme Generation & Review and Naming

These 'Key excerpts and notes' documents and memos then fed into the Main Themes memo and led to an initial elaboration of the themes:

Table 7.4 Initial List of Themes

Theme 1	Choice of school or choice of area (residential choices)
Theme 2	Strategic choice and expertise
Theme 3	Independent Vs State Schools
Theme 4	Catchment areas
Theme 4b	Placement requests
Theme 5	Avoiding 'mixed' catchment areas

Returning to the Bourdieusian theoretical concepts helped to condense these down further into more theoretical categories:

- Themes 1-2 were condensed down, using the concepts of cultural capital and practical reason into **Expertise, cultural knowledge and strategic choice**
- Themes 3, 4a and 4b were combined using the concepts of class fractions, class practices and economic capital into **Middle class fractions and associated practices**
- Theme 5 was relabelled **School Classifications and Mixed Demographics**, underpinned by the concept of classes and classifications (Bourdieu, 1984: 466-484). And 'Mixed Demographics' was important to the overall model of residualisation.

This resulted in the final three themes:

Table 6.5 Final List of Themes

1	Expertise, cultural knowledge and strategic choice
2	Middle class fractions and associated practices
3	School Classifications and Mixed Demographics

The findings below expand upon these in more detail and the discussion section relates them to their underlying theoretical concepts.

7.3.3 Limitations and Anonymity

There are some limitations to the data and the analysis which follows. Firstly, given the amount of threads generated, a decision was made not to expand upon the initial search terms (Glasgow schools). This might have produced additional insights. Secondly, analysing connections and writing memos in Word documents lacked the transparency of working in NVivo, where various reports can be pulled off and the whole process (coding, memos) documented better. This was mainly due to inexperience with both NVivo and working with such a large corpus. Thirdly, some more statistics on the data might have helped: for example, being able to document the number of users, their posts and their average post lengths, and linking these to specific threads. For example, when it came to South Side schools one user came up again and again, writing substantial posts on the merits of Shawlands Academy and of state schools generally.

In addition to the limitation noted previously (section 7.3.1), there was another concern that was unresolved by the data. If the ‘vast majority’ do not choose, then what proportion of Glasgow Region is this? And equally, what is the proportion that *are* choosing? Certainly, from reading through the threads, it seemed like this latter category was fairly sizeable. And finally, given the mainly middle-class demographic of the Mumsnet site as described in the literature, it was difficult to tell whether there have been changes in working class strategies. More recent work in England for example (Burgess et al., 2017) has suggested that a large proportion of parents are now proactively choosing their school. From the evidence available here, this does not seem to be the case in Glasgow Region. If

the posts are correct, the ‘vast majority’ go to their local school, consistent with Ball et al.’s findings on the ‘localism’ of working class parents. Ultimately, these are questions which would require an actual survey, although the design of which could potentially be much improved if informed by something like the prior analysis of the Mumsnet.

Secondly, there is the ethical issue of anonymity and potential identification of the users. The Mumsnet data is publicly accessible data and, as a result, the users are aware of this when signing up and posting online. This meant that the data did not require ethical approval from the university’s college ethics committee (here the College of Social Sciences), being outwith its scope. Nevertheless, due diligence has been observed in the use of data by giving the users an additional layer of anonymity, especially given some of their colourful user names or handles. Although these user handles and time and date stamps are frequently identified in the literature (see, for example, Mackenzie, 2017: 296), these were removed and replaced with User 1, User 2 etc.

7.4 Findings

7.4.1 Theme 1: Expertise, cultural knowledge and strategic choice

The first theme which emerged was the analytic labour involved in the choice of school. Though this took place, to an extent, in the independent system through comparisons, brochures, visits, reputations, results etc. it was most notable in the state sector, particularly the practical expertise in the linking of housing and educational systems through the catchment area system. Since forum questions are often initiated by users coming to live in Scotland for the first time, this expertise is demonstrated in the comparisons between Scottish and English housing systems:

Of note, house buying in Scotland is completely different from Ldn... Offers are usually offers above and sealed bids are common. (User 1)

As well as the cultural experience of different UK cities combined with a local knowledge:

Give me an area and if I know it I may be able to say yay or nay. (Based on opinions of area rather than primary schools themselves) (User 2)

And they are, in a related way, knowledgeable about the state school system as well as its details like placement requests, reserved places for families who move mid-year, transport, birthdays and school starting dates. This all translates into a knowledge of the specific workings of a local system, which includes a complex understanding of the relationships between housing market and schools, specific areas and schools, primary and secondary schools, catchment areas and placement requests, and demand for certain schools, as well as the strategies for negotiating them:

You'd have to rent / buy in the Thomas Muir catchment initially to make sure. If you google the name of a secondary and "cluster primaries" or "feeder primaries" it will tell you which schools feed in where. (User 3)

And the consequences of lack of research:

Since the schools are so in demand, then if you live in the wrong street it's likely you won't get a place in the best school. There was a furore when they changed the catchment boundary and homes that had been in the catchment suddenly found themselves outwith it! (User 4)

As the previous user intimates, this demand for schools is well understood in relation to the housing system:

The huge majority go to state schools, tbh that's why we moved here [East Renfrewshire] just after we got married - that's why most people pay the extra for the houses here (User 5)

Bearsden, Jordanhill also supposedly v good. You'll pay a premium for property in the catchment areas accordingly. (User 6)

Got to be East Renfrewshire, covering Clarkston, Giffnock, Newton Mearns. Best primary and secondaries in the state sector. Any are good, some better than others but all very good. Williamwood is best secondary, but Mearns Castle and Eastwood not exactly miles behind. You will see all this reflected in the house prices!!! (User 7)

And the economic limits involved, for some, as a result:

With that budget you have to be reasonable with expectations. You will probably not be able to get into one of the most desirable primary schools... (User 2)

The implications of early planning and a knowledge of the housing market is also understood:

So the place to start is really based on where you will rent or buy a home, that will determine your catchment

There can be vast differences in the calibre of secondary schools so I would make it a consideration now rather than find you are in a catchment for a more undesirable school. (User 8)

This then means, ideally, *starting* with the secondary school, which means working back through the possible implications:

I posted on your other thread but you need to think long term about this - and strategically.

If you apply for a P1 place in an out of catchment school and get in, that's great. Your child does P1-P7 in a school you're happy with. Then in P7 - depending on the school you've chosen on a placing request - you may have to go through the whole placing request thing again for secondary. There is the very real risk that secondaries don't have space, and your child is split up from all of her friends... (User 9)

Implicit in all of this, is that accessing a good calibre school *is* a competition, where the consequences of not planning can cause great distress:

Hi.

My kids are young and in early primary school just now. When buying our house 6 years ago I never gave secondary schools a single thought.....

However, now I see the schools where we are appear to be rubbish. My kids are bright and I don't really want to send them to the schools in this area as the score very low in the league tables etc. ...

Am I just stuck with sending them to the never ending cycle of mediocrity in this area? (User 10)

The strategic planning process itself requires an investment of time and analytic labour. Perhaps the most critical for users of the state secondary system is researching the catchment area, where housing and education systems intersect:

Actually finding catchment maps is incredibly difficult. However, once you've found a house you're interested in, you can plug the post code in and

find out the catchment/primary secondaries unless you have a friend at the council who manages to unearth a city wide catchment map for you 😊
(User 11)

However, the labour of decoding the system takes in a variety of practices, such as internet research, both formally (local authority and school websites) and informally (sites like Mumsnet), as well as understanding the limitations:

You must call East Ren council and get them to talk you through the process not rely on something so important as this on word of mouth (User 12)

An important source of research is reading through the league tables, which are published each year in the Scottish media:

Or if you can choose where you settle, you might find that you can get your boys into some of the best state schools in Scotland..
news.stv.tv/scotland/257335-school-league-tables-2013-exam-and-performance-details-for-glasgow/ (User 13)

...If you google "league tables Scotland" that will give secondary performance data, which will help you see where schools are better, and you can search for feeder primaries into certain secondaries.

League tables aren't published for Primary schools. (User 9)

This is picked up in relation to the HMIE reports found on the Education Scotland website, for taking a view of school leadership quality (User 14) and pace of learning (User 15), as well as direct or indirect knowledge of schools and their personnel:

....I also know the assistant head and she is fab lol. (User 16)

School inspection reports then and a knowledge of the local context of the school are also important:

Defo check the education inspector reports and local areas for issues etc.
(user 17)

And, finally, it is important to visit schools themselves, often via a personal appointment:

... visit the school and get your own feel for the place. (User 11)

In summary, there is variety of sources which need to be evaluated in relation to the final choice, all of which presupposes a certain amount of education and analytical labour.

7.4.2 Theme 2: School Classifications and Mixed Demographics

Having to use the state school system means being tied to the catchment area system, which ultimately means the housing system as analysed in Chapter 6. This increases the risk of a 'mixed' catchment. It is generally acknowledged that Glasgow City has more of these mixed catchments, which means, less euphemistically, both deprived students and higher ethnic intakes:

Catchment does make a difference. There are mixed demographics and **really** mixed demographics. Most (but not all) schools in East Ren have a smaller proportion of really deprived pupils and not, for example, high numbers of Roma or people with English as an additional language. I went to Bearsden Academy (Ok, not East Ren, but a similar demographic to Newton Mearns) and **in no way** did its cohort represent the same wide range that many of the schools in Glasgow have to cope with. (User 11)

More deprivation can also mean more disruption and behavioural problems.

I have experience of Cleveden, Hyndland and Hillhead. I wouldn't recommend Cleveden because there is a high proportion of 'difficult' children there. (User 18)

This has consequences for school attainment. Schools can still do well but there is an implicit challenge that needs to be met:

It has a very mixed demographic (still gets good results despite/because of that) (User 11)

The better schools in Glasgow City therefore are those with less deprivation, like the Glasgow Gaelic School, which also gets better academic results:

Yes Hillhead and Hyndland are good schools. I'd say Hillhead's Opuils come from a wider sociology-economic background, there is a higher proportion of children on free school meals for example than at Hyndland and certainly at the Gaelic School which is solidly middle class with virtually no children on free school meals. (User 19)

Mixed demographics becomes associated with deprivation, free school meals and what is not middle class:

Mine attend a high school in Glasgow with a very mixed demographic...The Gaelic school gets very good results but it is definitely a very middle class enclave. I don't think there are any children on free school meals attending that school... (User 20)

'Good' schools therefore tend to be in affluent areas (User 21) with more middle class intakes:

Hyndland and Hillhead are solidly middle class schools. Plenty of academic parents etc (User 22)

It is therefore important to read the demographic indicators carefully:

The best comps are roughly national average because all the catchments include at least some deprived areas. Check the percentages of free school meals carefully. Lots of people on here will be horrified at me saying that but it was years before i realised that it was this factor which made my own school years difficult.(User 23)

In addition to Free Schools Meals, the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation also functions as a class bellwether:

The middle class exodus to the burbs or the Gaelic school leaves Glasgow in a tough spot. Look at the FSM and the SIMD rankings for each school and compare them to the East Ren schools... Glasgow schools have so many issues to overcome because of the presumption of mainstreaming, the policy of reducing exclusions and the effects of poverty. (User 24)

A really quick way of getting a sense of the good, the bad and the up and upcoming.. is to check out the SIMD (Scottish index of Multiple Deprivation). (User 25)

That the classification of 'desirable' areas map closely to the presence or absence of lower deprivation scores shows that spatial classifications are ultimately social classifications.

7.4.3 Theme 3: Middle class fractions and associated practices

Although a great deal of the analytic labour is expended in negotiating the state school system through its catchment areas with its associated risk of 'mixed demographics', this in itself is not enough. What emerges is a series of opposed choices, some of which only certain middle class fractions can feasibly consider, given their economic capital. This amounts to a stratified middle class (middle class fractions), stratified by their cultural and economic capital. These differing middle class fractions then give rise to differing associated practices.

Choice 1: Independent Vs State Schools

The first choice - or main opposition - is whether to choose an independent school or a state school. The reason for consideration of an independent school is its academic focus and high aspirations:

[User 11] - you see this is where we differ- we define 'high aspirations' very differently. I'm aware that my view is skewed by my going to a v academic private school where it was assumed that everyone would go to uni. tbh when I was a teenager I didnt know there was a choice not to go 😞. (User 26)

At these higher echelons, the limitations of state schools are perceived, in particular, in preparing children for the elite destinations of Oxbridge.

Reputedly the HS [High School of Glasgow] is very strong on the academically gifted and music as well. Which is not to say TGA [The Glasgow Academy] isn't, every year they have children who exceed the amount of qualifications needed and head off to Oxbridge and such. (User 27)

It's true that a great number of the state schools do not prepare pupils for the likes of Oxbridge, nor educate them of the fact that it even exists or could be an option. (User 28)

The other reason for considering independent schools is being freed from the catchment area system:

All of the in demand schools have very strict catchments which restrict where you live in order to gain access to the school. I have no idea of your budget- but this is definitely something to bear in mind whilst looking. (User 29)

Those who can afford to pay are therefore released from the catchment area system and are not tied to a few restricted areas, usually in the adjacent local authorities of Glasgow City. Instead, there is the attraction of living in Glasgow (which often means the West End or South Side) without the commute, and, at the same time, near cultural amenities and services.

Glasgow West End worth considering: lovely area near university, big tenements/ Victorian houses, leafy streets, central location, subway, no need for commute because lovely parks, cafes, restaurants, art galleries are right on your doorstep.

Schools: Hillhead Primary has a Kelvin Park Early Years which takes toddlers from age two. Broomhill Primary I've heard is good, Notre Dame well thought of. There's always Glasgow Academy if you're minted. (User 30)

The problem therefore is being able to afford *both* a good area and independent school.

Hi I went to Glasgow Academy. If I had the money then both my children would be going too. It really is worth a look. (User 31)

Glasgow High School is also recommended ('The only problem is the expense!', User 32) as are the other independent schools ('Glasgow High, Hutchie and The Academy. Again, the fees are the issue', User 33). The choice is laid out by User 34:

If I had kids and the money and wanted a private education I would happily send them to Hutchy.

Economic capital therefore allows access to this exclusive system for some:

Our combined wage is about 45k. I suspect this will be too high [for a bursary] but in no way on earth could we afford 20k a year for 2 kids at private school and pay bills and food etc. (User 10)

Yea we all have that problem in Pollokshields. Pay the highest council tax and get the worst schools, unless we pay a fortune for Hutchie! It's a time bomb for us as ours has just turned 1. (User 35)

However, it enables access to small class sizes, high academic standards and a plethora of extra-curricular activities (User 36, User 34) and is even recommended by teachers in the state system (User 37).

As well as academic standards and not being tied to a particular location through the catchment area system, the final motivation is social composition.

The State sector serves a much broader section of the community which obviously has its disadvantages... (User 38)

One of these disadvantages is that secondary state schools do not achieve as highly:

League table wise- the schools are not achieving as many results due to mixed demographics but do have instances of their pupils going to Oxbridge. (User 29)

State schools mean mixed demographics, which can affect attainment. Even where an alternative argument is put forward ('added value', User 11), the mixed demographic argument is implicitly acknowledged and the euphemism, 'mixed', here more clearly started in terms of deprivation:

Given the proportion of SIMD1 & 2 within the catchment, its results are significantly above what would be "expected", given its demographic, ie it provides good added value. (User 11)

As a result, the first choice then is between the independent system and the best state schools:

There are private schools and also some excellent state schools. The league tables are usually quite indicative if your children are academically minded. (User 29)

If for whatever reason, you cannot access the privates then I agree that Williamwood is the best state choice. However I still don't know if they let their top pupils do more than 5 highers in 5th year or do specific prep for Oxbridge (User 26)

Choice 2: Best State Secondary Schools Vs the rest

The next opposition which structures middle class choices is the best state secondary schools as opposed to the rest. This user sums up the position for those who cannot have choice of area *and* independent school:

We are, for financial reasons, in the process of selling our house. This means I will have a smallish lump sum which I could either use to pay for a private

education or for renting a house in the catchment for a good state school in a nice area. I'm thinking about Mearns Castle in East Renfrewshire.

My problem is is not just about the school my daughter goes to but where we end up living for the next 6 or so years. If she had got into the school of choice, there would be no question, she would go to the school and we would live where ever, but now I don't know what to do. (User 30)

Here the spatial context changes: the independent schools *in* Glasgow are the best overall choice, after which there is there are the best state secondary schools, which are *outside* of Glasgow (East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire).

I just read your other thread and see that your DD [darling daughter] didn't get into the High school and Glasgow academy. In that case I think you would be better to send her to a state school, where there will be a wider range of abilities. As others have said, there are several excellent schools in east dunbartonshire and east refnfewshire. Why don't you look to rent or buy in one of their catchment areas. (User 39)

Often, the lack of choice due to economic capital is justified in terms of the narrow margin between the best state schools and the independents.

...i would suggest you getting a house in a nice area than spend all that money on private education, as i know douglas [academy] is as good as if not better than some private schools, good luck x (User 40)

... would moving to a nicer area be an option? Would probably work out the same as paying 13 years school fees. (User 33)

Therefore, with the best state schools performing so well in the league tables, they form the next viable option for those with less economic capital than those in the elite middle class fractions. In other words, if you cannot afford both independent school and area, choose a good area. There are three viable choices: rural Renfrewshire, the east of East Renfrewshire and the west of East Dunbartonshire:

Here are 3 good options; Houston/Bridge of Weir; around Newton Mearns / Clarkston or Bearsden/Milngavie. They are the nicest areas with best schools. (User 41)

The following user breaks this down further and summarises the process for those left with this option:

Look at East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire - they have the some of the best schools in Scotland... Best high schools are: (East Ren - Williamwood, St Ninian's, Mearns Castle High School. East Dunbartonshire - Douglas (Minlagvie), Bearsden Academy, Lenzie. Once you've found an area that suits you can then work backwards through the feeder primaries. Scotland is all based on catchment... (User 42)

Agreement seems to be that the best state secondaries are those in East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire (User 11, User 43) or East Renfrewshire (User 44, User 29, User 45) - with Williamwood, St Ninian's and Eastwood High recommended (User 44). For East Renfrewshire, this is the *east* side of East Renfrewshire ('the other side of the motorway'):

I wouldn't recommend Barrhead or St Luke's as high performing. All east ren schools on the other side of the motorway are - but like everywhere you can link that back to SIMD deciles. (User 46)

The association between 'good' schools and mixed demographics is succinctly put for those with this option by the following user:

Buy a house in an expensive area and the high school is likely to be high in the league tables. (User 47)

Although as shown, access to the *best* state secondary schools requires both analytic labour or cultural capital, as the previous section shows, *and* the required economic capital, to afford the premium attached to housing in these catchment areas.

Choice 3: Best Glasgow City State Secondary Schools Vs Best 'Other' Schools

The next structured opposition is between the best state secondary schools within Glasgow City or the best 'others' within this local authority. The 'best' state secondary schools are those in the 'best' areas of Glasgow City (the West End and South Side). The best 'others' category can be disaggregated as follows:

- Firstly, within Glasgow City, Jordanhill School and the Glasgow School of Gaelic, both of which have conditions attached to entry, described below, and therefore are slightly different to the ordinary state secondary.
- Secondly, there is what one user calls the 'traditional route' of a placement request from Glasgow City into East Renfrewshire.

- Thirdly, there is a placement request for the next best local school other than the one immediately offered by the catchment area.

Firstly, then, are the best Glasgow City state schools, beginning with the West End of Glasgow.

Hyndland and Hillhead are solidly middle class schools. Plenty of academic parents etc (User 22)

However, since it is Glasgow City, this still comes with the risk of more mixed intakes.

Hyndland gets better results than hillhead...Hillhead probably has more of a mixed catchment as well. (User 48)

Yes Hillhead and hyndland are good schools. I'd say Hillhead's Opuoils come from a wider sociology-economic background, there is a higher proportion of children on free school meals for example than at Hyndland... (User 49)

The Southside is recommended (User 50, User 15, User 51, User) with caveats about some its mixed intakes and English as a second language (User 15, User 11). Specific schools recommended are Shawlands Academy (User 52, User 50, User 11) and feeder schools Shawlands Primary and Glendale Primary (User 50).

The schools of Glasgow City therefore become more exposed to mixed intakes, which here include ethnic mix too. Other issues are additional support needs and lack of associated funding. There are consequences for both teachers, the 'clever and well behaved kids' and the other children.

Another user (User 53), as a teacher, explains the difficulties with one of the South side schools where there are 90% EAL pupils (English as an additional language), and a high turnover of pupils coming into or leaving the school during the academic year. She explains the combination of local authority cuts to bilingual support services, and those joining upper primary experiencing literacy problems in their own mother tongue. She summarises the situation:

There are also an increasing number of children with additional support needs. Teaching in this situation is difficult and rewarding and most of us

love our job and do our best with it but would we put our own children in the schools we teach in knowing the problems they will face and the barriers that there will be to their learning simply by being in that class - no, we wouldn't. (User 53)

In the Glasgow City choice particularly, what emerges - in more or less subtle ways - is the need to *avoid* social mix, again referring to deprivation and its links to school league tables.

Glasgow is a fantastic city, but with historically high levels of deprivation. While a **lot** has been done to improve the city, the recommendations you'll generally find people make, map quite closely to the Deprivation Scores across the city. Unfortunately this is also true of schools. In other words those schools that score higher on the Deprivation Index - score lower in the league tables etc. Very high correlation unfortunately. Sad but true. (User 25)

Thus, for those in Glasgow City, there is the option of the relevant state secondary schools in the more 'solidly middle class' West End, and the South Side: namely, Hillhead, Hyndland and Shawlands.

Good secondaries are Hyndland, Hillhead, Shawlands...(User 11)

[Jordanhill/ Glasgow Gaelic School](#)

There are two other options, however: Jordanhill Secondary School and the Glasgow Gaelic School. For some, Jordanhill is the only option

I've had a few arguments with people on MN [Mumsnet] who refuse to accept that **any** state schools within the Glasgow boundary with the possible exception of Jordanhill are any good. (User 11)

First off - avoid Glasgow city - primary schools okay but Secondary's not (apart from Jordanhill which you have pretty much no hope of getting into). (User 42)

Jordanhill school is the only grant maintained school in Scotland. The following user describes its unique position with the system of Glasgow City schools, where it is not funded by the local authority itself:

Jordanhill is very academically driven. It's the only non-fee paying funded school in Scotland. It has a tiny catchment and parents pay the extra to live in that catchment. It's a weird one because it's government funded (I think)

and is run like a private school but it's open to all (in the catchment). I believe they don't accept students with disabilities. They also have a strict school uniform. (User 54)

Users note it has an academic emphasis (User 48), that too many teachers are not child friendly (User 18) and can be quite pushy (User 48). It results in the highest performing state school for exam results (User 48) and as a result there is a 'huge waiting list' (User 48).

Its price of admission is buying a house in the catchment area (just like the best state schools), something prohibitive for most: 'owch financially' says User 50, and User 45 says:

Best non private school is Jordanhill but extremeley hard to get kids into. Though footballers seem to manage it!!

Given the house prices in its catchment area, Jordanhill functions somewhere between an independent and one of the best state schools.

State schools in East Renfrewshire - just south of Glasgow City are considered a cut above as is Jordanhill. (User 55)

This user also identifies the state schools in East Renfrewshire as opposed to East Dunbartonshire as the better state secondary choice, something which emerges throughout the threads.

[Glasgow Gaelic School](#)

The second option is the Glasgow Gaelic School. Though a state secondary, its catchment area is the whole of Glasgow City. The two primary feeders are Glendale, which takes in the South Side of Glasgow City and, until recently, the Glasgow Gaelic School itself which functions as a nursery and primary, the catchment area being largely the rest of Glasgow. The cost of admission here is learning the language, something which many non-Gaelic speakers (up to 80%, according to Glasgow City Council) are prepared to invest in, with the benefits of small class sizes and less mixed demographics:

I live in this neck of the woods and I know that the Gaelic School is an option that crops up when starting your child off at schools looms and you don't live in the catchment area for one of the very few 'good' state schools about, and paying for private education isn't an option: you feel like you're

cornered, and this is a way out!! ...It all depends how desperate you are about the schools situation - sorry for being so frank, but it IS the elephant in the room let's face it! - and believe me, I sympathize with you! Good luck! (User 56)

This succinctly explains the structural place of the Gaelic school in the Glasgow regional system:

- You cannot afford an independent school
- You cannot afford to buy a house in the catchment area of the best state schools (or Jordanhill)

This 'elephant in the room' points towards the middle-class panic ('this is a way out!!!') as well as the euphemisation which often obscures it ('...sorry for being so frank'). The Gaelic school, then, comes as the next best option, given middle class suburban flight to East Renfrewshire:

The middle class exodus to the burbs or the Gaelic school leaves Glasgow in a tough spot. Look at the FSM and the SIMD rankings for each school and compare them to the East Ren schools. (User 24)

This succinctly illustrates the residual nature of schooling in Glasgow City.

Underlying this is the social class composition, here more clearly stated above ('middle class exodus') and below:

... the Gaelic School which is solidly middle class with virtually no children on free school meals. (User 49)

Since Glasgow Gaelic School's catchment is the whole of Glasgow, and attracting a largely middle class intake prepared to learn Gaelic, it is insulated from its immediate area:

The Gaelic school gets very good results but it is definitely a very middle class enclave. I don't think there are any children on free school meals attending that school even though it is situated in Anderston. (User 20)

The set of descriptors, more or less euphemised (mixed demographics, deprivation, free school meals), means school choice comes to signify not merely 'good' schools versus the rest but middle class versus the rest.

Placement requests: East Renfrewshire

Finally, for those who cannot afford independent fees, nor the house prices into the best state schools outside Glasgow City or the choices within Glasgow City detailed above, there is the option of a placement request: what the user below calls the 'traditional route':

We however are taking the traditional route of leaving Glasgow to move to East Ren for secondary though as our local school is Hillpark which I don't want my kids to go to. If we don't end up moving in going up put in a placement request for Shawlands. (User 57)

User 53, a teacher, advises an alternative strategy for those remaining in Glasgow City: namely of a separate placement request for a primary in East Renfrewshire and then another for secondary school, strengthened by having attended one of its feeder primaries:

[User 58], if I were you I would consider placing requesting my child to Langside (Glasgow) or to one of the Woodfarm feeders in East Ren (eg Braidbar, Giffnock or Thornliebank)... You would have to submit another p/r for secondary but your chances will be better if your daughter has attended a feeder. (User 53)

Despite this, other users describe it as a risky strategy, especially when it comes to the best areas for state secondary schools:

... in order to benefit from any support offered in East Ren schools you will need to be a resident - getting a placement request accepted in ER [East Renfrewshire] is very difficult and getting worse with all the house building going on (User 59)

User 60 notes a similar situation in East Dunbartonshire: pupils on placement requests to primaries only have a 'fair chance' of attending the associated secondary.

Placement requests: Best Local School

Finally, there is the other option of simply a better local school in Glasgow City than the one in the immediate catchment area:

We've a 7 year old boy to find a school place for. I've been told that Pollocksheids primary isn't all that great so was hoping to put in a placement request for either Glendale, Shawlands or Langside. (User 61)

Another user (User 62) faced with a 'dire' catchment area manages to secure a primary with a much better reputation whilst another needs to make a placement request for a primary school with children of similar abilities to her own (User 58). Overall, then, for those in Glasgow City unable to access any of other options, including a possible placement request to East Renfrewshire, the final option is simply the local school with the better reputation than the default.

'The Vast Majority': the alert and the inert (Wilms and Echols, 1992)

Once these strategic hierarchical oppositions are applied and exhausted, we are left with 'the rest':

In my area, I've never known people bother with league tables or HMI reports. 99% of kids go to their local schools. (User 63)

The vast majority of children go to their catchment schools, and the vast majority of parents don't try and move into a "desirable" catchment. Very few primary schools are oversubscribed, and if you live in a catchment at the time of enrolment for P1 you are guaranteed a place at your catchment school. (User 64)

In Glasgow City (and elsewhere) this would simply be the school in the default catchment area. This acts somewhat as an addendum to the final category: *Choice 3: Best Glasgow City State Secondary Schools Vs Best 'Other' Schools*. In a hierarchy of choices, the last option in this category is, as it were, no choice at all. Which in effects takes us back to the beginning: the final and overarching opposition is between the 'alert' parents (Wilms et al., 1992) employing one of the strategies described and the 'inert' (ibid) or 'accommodative' majority (Ball et al., 1995).

Finally, whilst middle-class is sometimes mentioned, neither working class nor social housing is mentioned once throughout the threads. There are two instances however of 'scheme schools' being mentioned, but only in relation to teachers themselves:

went to a scheme school some fab motivated teachers
and Some who should have packed it years ago.tired and jaded
A good teacher makes all the difference and can be v uplifting (User 21)

[User 21] you're so right. Scheme schools in Scotland (time more than in rest of UK) are more likely to be staffed by people truly committed to working with kids from that background. Since I started teacher training (and I'm talking Jordanhill, 93) I've seen scores of examples of this. Worst teachers I met were in a school famed for its fab reputation! (User 50)

These users make the case from the viewpoint of some teachers, as does one of the other users who points out schools' contribution despite 'not being able to cherry pick their pupils and having mixed demographics' (User 11). Another teacher however (User 53) is less favourable and most of the choices outlined in this section are about how parents avoid these 'mixed demographics'.

7.5 Discussion

The findings of the previous section are now discussed more fully, placing them in relation to the literature and to the Bourdieusian concepts in order to theorise them better.

7.5.1 Theme 1: *Cultural capital and expertise*

The findings here are consistent with Willms and Echols work in the 1990s and their conclusion that middle classes are more likely to choose their schools. Given the demographics of the Mumsnet site, middle class parents, here mothers mainly, are highly proactive in their planning. Ball et al.'s (1995) findings of the higher cultural capital of parents in attaining an advantage within the school system is also borne out. The schooling backgrounds of the Mumsnet users, where revealed at least, are from the more prestigious state and independent schools and the importance of school attainment is implicit throughout; occupations, though rarely stated here, have been found elsewhere (Pedersen and Smithson, 2013) to be largely from the professional occupations. This enables a good working knowledge of the education system as well as, at times, informal contacts such as with teachers within the system. It also underpins the analytic labour and 'symbolic analytic' skills (Reich, 1992) necessary.

The literature on school choice from the 1980s to early 1990s, was one which looked at being able to submit a placement request if the immediate catchment area was unsuitable. Since the rise of owner occupation though since the 1980s, it

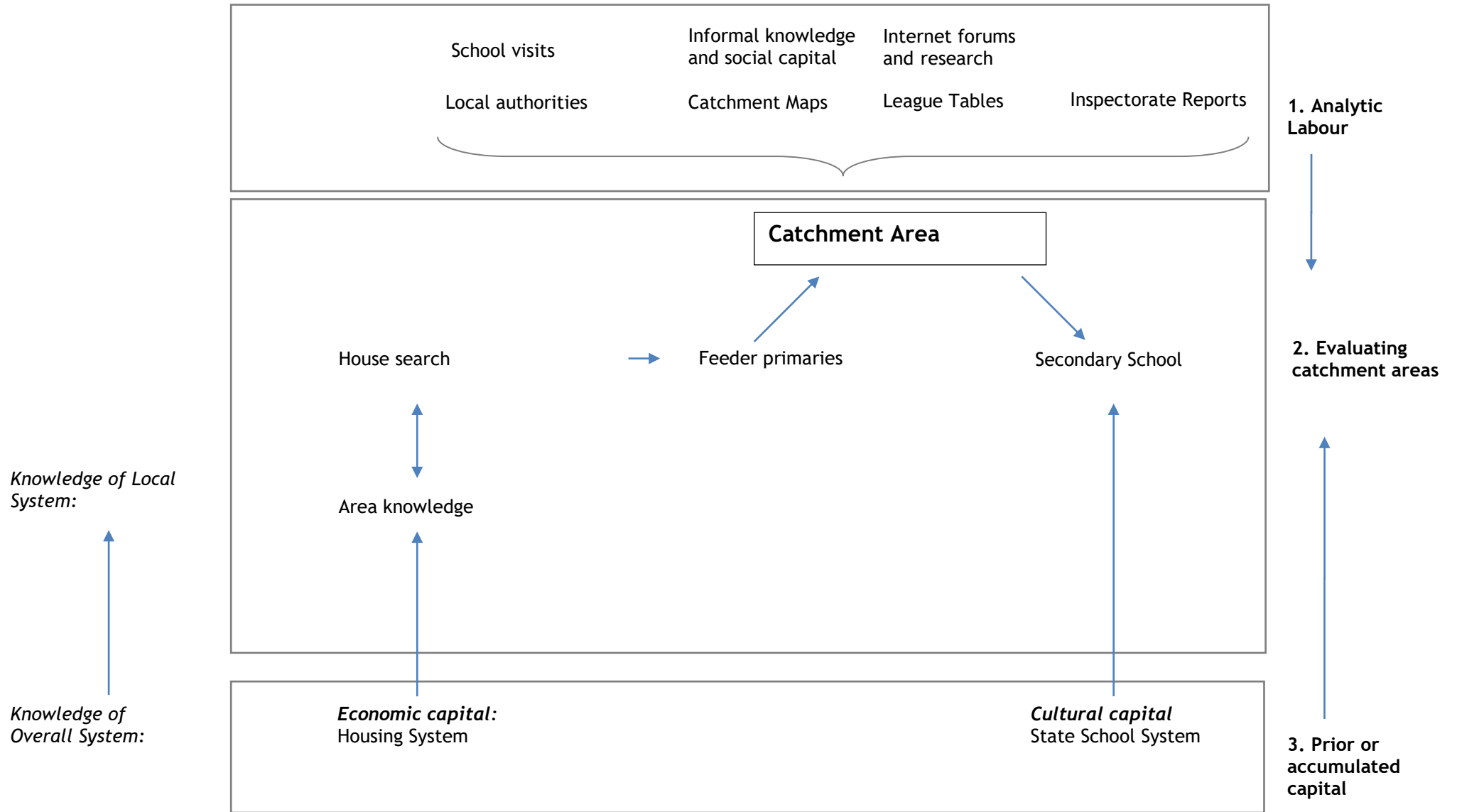
is unclear to what extent the housing market was involved (i.e. moved house) or whether choosers stayed put and used placement requests. The data here however has enabled us to bring the housing market into the analysis. In the same way that middle-class parents have a good knowledge of the school system, they also have a similar knowledge of the housing market. This familiarity presumes a certain level of economic capital whether this is the process of owner occupation or being able to rent in more exclusive areas. In addition, a certain amount of social capital, here in the form of informal contacts, seems helpful in ascertaining the character and reputation of schools, areas and local contexts. Therefore, cultural capital works with other forms of capital in mutually supportive ways.

However, overall, cultural capital weighs heavier in the balance, especially within the state sector. It functions here as the deciphering of a complex system and ability to form strategies on the basis of this. **Figure 7.2** below shows a schematic diagram of what is ultimately a complex act of classification, requiring already existing capital which is not equally distributed. It is idealised in that it is unlikely that every aspect of this would be utilised in making a school choice; however, all of the elements have emerged from the data.

1. Prior or accumulated Capital

In the first stage, it requires prior accumulated capital in terms of knowledge of the Scottish school system and the housing system. The housing system requires a certain amount of economic capital to have had experience of this; as does the school system and the importance of attainment, something from the Mumsnet demographic, most likely to have been accumulated through the university system. Since educational credentials are important in the allocation of societal rewards (Finch, 1984: 116-117; Estevez-Abe, 2001; Wolf, 2011: 30-33), the professional occupations of many Mumsnet users (Pedersen and Smithson, 2013) are an important link in the ability to enter the housing market as a potential house buyer, showing the interdependency of cultural and economic capital.

Figure 7.2 Classifying Catchment Areas



2. Evaluating catchment areas

The second stage requires applying this knowledge to the local region. This often entails, as one Mumsnet user describes, deciding on an area that will determine the catchment. This requires knowledge of areas, and the local housing and schooling system. It also requires the ability to ‘work back’ from the secondary school to feeder primaries, understand *their* catchment areas and then a navigation of the housing system to ensure a location within this.

3. Analytic Labour

To support this reconstruction at the local level, additional analytic labour in stage three is often required in the researching of formal and informal sources like catchment area maps, HMI Inspectorate reports, school league and school visits with the cultural capital and confidence to interpret these correctly and interact with the appropriate personnel. This analytic skill, the ability to synthesise disparate sources of information, is itself something accumulated through the educational system but also the labour market, given the importance of analytic labour to professional service sector occupations (see Liu and Grusky, 2013; Reich, 2012).

This ultimately results in what has been a complex act of classification requiring certain levels of capital at each point, sometimes interdependent, sometimes requiring a prior accumulation. For those with these levels of capital, its complexity will not be seen as such. Yet, these forms of capital (cultural, economic and social) are not equally distributed amongst parents, with the thought of meeting a senior member of a school or trying to understand a league table, posing considerable if not, in some instances, insuperable barriers to some. As Jensen (2013) argues, the typical Mumsnetter is a subject of social and economic privilege.

This is an important point in relation to localism (Ball et al., 1995) and the fact that ‘most people send their kids to the local school and don’t think much more about it (Mumsnet User 65). What is sometimes implicitly presented as a lack of interest or effort (‘alert and inert’ parents in Wilms et al., 1992) is in fact a lack of

cultural and economic capital which means that no real choice is available. Some parents will be unaware that a conceptual map of good areas and bad areas exists. And even if they did, it would be unclear how they would start even if they *did* have the initial economic means; and then, if they could decipher the system or conceptual map, how they would decode or apply that to a wide range of areas they are unfamiliar with; and, if that had been achieved successfully, what appropriate strategies to employ and the analytic labour needed to support them.

Therefore, whilst confirming previous school choice research on the importance of cultural capital, and Willms and Echols' conclusion (1995) that only the middle classes are advantaged by the system of choice, we have seen how this works in practice by bringing in the housing market and residential choice: as a complex act of classification unavailable to all, whereby parents help reproduce the system that has produced them.

7.5.2 Theme 2: Spatial and social classifications

Chapter 6 looked at the spatial aspects of residualisation. Another important link to this previous chapter is the spatial classifications which get made in this chapter, as well as the avoidance of mixed demographics.

Spatial Classifications

Having been able to bring in the housing market and residential choice enables us to develop the 'circuits of schooling' concept further. One of the main ways the circuits of schooling are created (or, more accurately, schools are classified) is spatially through geographical distinctions: for example, Glasgow City Vs East Renfrewshire; the East of East Renfrewshire ('the other side of the motorway'); the West End and South Side.

Give me an area and if I know it I may be able to say yay or nay. (Based on opinions of area rather than primary schools themselves) (User 2)

Lamont and Molnar (2002) define symbolic boundaries as both:

1. The lines that include and define some people, groups, and things while excluding others.

2. The internal distinctions of classification systems to temporal, spatial, and visual cognitive distinctions in particular.

Lamont and Molnar's theory of symbolic boundary making is arguably best however seen as part of a more general set of classificatory practices:

The cognitive structures which social agents implement in their practical knowledge of the social world are internalized, 'embodied' social structures. (Bourdieu, 1984: 468)

Here this functions specifically as spatial classifications. When the lines of geographical distinctions of Chapter 6 are combined with the social class distinctions of school choice in this chapter, a map of symbolic boundaries within Glasgow Region emerges. This means that social classifications function *through* spatial classifications:

I wouldn't recommend Barrhead or st Luke's as high performing. All east ren schools on the other side of the motorway are - *but like everywhere you cab link that back to simd deciles* (User 46) [own emphasis added]

The series of symbolic boundaries however relate not just to what to avoid but also what to seek out. Forrest and Murie (1983: 465) note that owner occupation is 'highly varied' and that there is 'increasing *differentiation* and *stratification* within that sector.' When all tenure is combined as a system as in chapter 6, what emerges is two opposite movements: a positive seeking out and a negative avoidance. In other words, a system of internal stratification *and* residualisation.

However, social class is never spoken of directly. Despite Jensen (2013) noting that classist language did not need to be reported on Mumsnet, there were no explicit instances in this data. Instead, social class was expressed through deprivation (a spatial classification, ultimately), through 'mixed demographics' (a distribution, ultimately), and through free school meals (a social policy classification, ultimately). To be able to euphemise social class in this way is ultimately the privilege of certain social classes, the actual real meaning of which is decodable by them.

Mixed Demographics and Social Housing

Mixed demographics function as a social class distinction for non-middle class schools and intakes (and to a lesser extent, ethnic intakes with English as a second language). More exclusive intakes lead to higher attainment unlike mixed intakes, or only with difficulty. Some users pointed out the ‘added value’ in relation to the demographic composition and two others (as teachers) pointed out the quality of teaching in ‘scheme schools’. But when the concerns of most users however are about attainment and SIMD, this is unlikely to sway them.

In other words those schools that score higher on the Deprivation Index - score lower in the league tables etc. (User 25)

The most deprived areas are associated with higher proportions of social housing as shown in the analyses in Chapter 6 (see *Figure 6.7*, *Figure 6.15*, *Table 6.4*). What is more, higher areas of owner occupation are less likely to have social housing in Glasgow Region.

Table 7.6 Extract from Table 6.1: Tenure by Local Authority (sorted by highest proportions of owned tenure)

	OWNED	SOCIAL RENTED	PRIVATE RENTED
East Renfrewshire	82%	12%	6%
East Dunbartonshire	81%	12%	6%
Glasgow City	46%	37%	17%
Scotland	62%	24%	12%

As mentioned in the introduction: school choice incorporates both the housing system *and* the education system: Mixed demographics means mixed tenure, therefore. And mixed tenure means more social housing. This concern to avoid social housing can also be evidenced in the attitudes, in some places, towards avoiding Glasgow City (‘First off - avoid Glasgow City’, User 42) and the general tendency of ‘middle class exodus to the burbs’ (User 24). This can be seen in the isolation and concentration of social housing analysed in Chapter 6 (see also *Table 6.6* in addition to previously cited figures and table directly above). Thus the housing system concentrates *at both ends* of the housing spectrum, *including at the top*, leading to leading to class isolation and the segregation of the affluent

(Massey, 1990; Thal, 2017). There is clear evidence of the avoidance of social housing then, but it needs to be understood in relation to the relationships between 'mixed demographics' and mixed tenure. Its presence - like social class - needs to be understood in relation to its absence, therefore.

7.5.3 Theme 3: Middle-class fractions and practices

Though Wilms and Echols (1995), similarly found that middle classes were most likely to choose their school, they did not differentiate amongst the middle class to any extent. Yet this was important in the Mumsnet data, where choices are best understood a series of structured oppositions (and exclusions) based on fractions of capital; each generating a different structured set of practices.

As described in the previous section, capitals are interrelated; and it is not just volume of capital that is important but composition also. This generated a hierarchy of middle class practices, based on the choices available to them. It might be roughly characterised thus:

Figure 7.3 A hierarchy of middle class practices and middle class fractions

Middle class fraction	Middle class practices
Upper-Middle	Independent
Middle	State school: catchment
Lower-Middle	Placement request
Lower/Working class	Local School

Analysing this further, these practices could be broken down into both their middle class fractions and the volume and composition of capital which constitutes them as such:

Table 7.7 Volume and composition of capital

	Economic capital	Cultural Capital	<i>Description</i>
Independent	++	++	<i>Upper-Middle</i>
State school: catchment	+	++	<i>Middle</i>
Placement request	-	+(+)	<i>Lower-Middle</i>
Local school	-	-	<i>Lower</i>

Note: +(+) is used here to indicate a certain variability in cultural capital seen in this practice: from some simply intent on another local school to those planning strategies across local authorities and primary/secondary schools.

In the independent schools, parents are both guaranteed an exclusive intake and are freed of the catchment system, thus being free to choose wherever they prefer to live. This requires both the cultural capital and economic capital. The former comes in various forms: firstly, in ability to access and fit into 'private school culture' (User 38) or, rather, have the cultural capital which sees an independent school as the appropriate choice; secondly, the academic royal road to Oxbridge based on high aspirations and academic achievement; thirdly, the analytic labour required in choosing the 'right' independent school based on their different characters and reputations as well as preparation for entrance tests, often meaning getting a child into the right nursery early - often in the private school itself with its associated fees. The latter, economic capital, is the means to pay both independent schools fees *and*, presumably, a mortgage. This combination means an overall volume of economic capital which, despite some bursaries available in the independent system, separates the upper middle class fraction.

This therefore through the selection process selects an already advantaged cohort into a system with an exclusive intake (no socially mixed catchments), with small class sizes, an academic bias with a view to A Levels and the Oxbridge system or elite Scottish universities, and a well-developed and well-funded extra-curricular

system. Thus through the family's overall volume of capital, this upper-middle section is reproduced.

Access to the *best state schools* is navigated via the housing system. Here the volume of economic capital is not as great as in the upper-middle class fraction, which sometimes results in a series of defensive reasoning and refutations (Why spend all that money on school fees if you can get a good state school and attainment is pretty much the same?). This middle class fraction has to rely on cultural capital also and, perhaps more so, in the analytic labour required of the housing and educational system (see previous section). Since competition here is fierce and the housing premium reflects this, the second degree of separation is therefore effected through house price and, through this, access to 'right' catchment area. Although missing from the school choice literature, the housing system is seen by other researchers as an important mechanism here, in that it indirectly provides access to publicly funded services such as education (see Cheshire and Sheppard, 2004; Cheshire, 2007).

This then differentiates the middle group from the lower-middle group, who may have the cultural capital to be aware of the catchment area system and the desired secondary schools but do not have the economic capital necessary to secure a house in the chosen catchment. As a result, they have to rely on the riskier strategy of putting in a placement request with no guarantee of success and changing volumes of accepted places.

Finally, those deprived of such capital are relegated into acceptance or 'localism' (Ball et al., 1995). This is partially unsatisfactory however as it assumes an explicit strategy. As the previous section argues however, it is the result of lack of awareness of alternatives or the means to secure them rather than an explicit choice. This awareness, assumed to be universal, is itself a result of the unequal distribution of cultural capital. 'Localism' therefore commits a category error of attributing to a group consciously what the academic has had to formulate in order to account for that group's practice (Bourdieu's 'scholastic fallacy', 2000b: 50-54).

From the data analysed, middle-class parents try to avoid mixed school intakes. It is not merely choice therefore in the unrestricted positive sense but *avoidance* and protection based on what your overall volume and composition of capital allows you to insulate yourself from. We therefore get a system of hierarchically structured inclusions and, as a result, exclusions.

In the Glasgow Region, this translates into a set of structured oppositions:

- Firstly, between the independent and state system. For some this choice will be unequivocal; for others, particularly with less economic capital, the choice between the two may be more difficult and require more thought.
- For those who cannot access the independent system or cannot risk the economic expense, the other choice is the best state secondary schools. Whereas the independent system is located within Glasgow City local authority, the best state secondary schools are outside it in the adjacent local authorities of East Renfrewshire primarily, after which is East Dunbartonshire.
- For those who live in Glasgow City, the other choice is between the socially more exclusive areas of the West End and South Side as opposed to the rest.
- An alternative choice *within* Glasgow City is a specialised Glasgow School: Jordanhill Secondary School - as the grant maintained school run almost privately and with attainment close to the independents - is accessed through the housing system; after which, is Glasgow Gaelic School, for those who cannot buy or rent a house in the 'right' catchment area but which requires the investment in the language for a majority who do not speak Gaelic.
- And the final choice is a placement request either into East Renfrewshire or in avoidance of the default school in the immediate catchment area.

School choice or area choice?

When looking at school choice therefore, the principle is not whether to choose a school *or* not; or to choose a school *or* a good area. These are the outcomes, as it

were. The underlying process is the volume and composition of capital and the structured choices which are generated. Choosing a school might apply both to the higher middle class fractions (independent schools) as to the lower middle class fractions (placement request to avoid local school). Both explicitly are school choices. Choosing an area instead is not in opposition to school choice, therefore. It *is* a form of school choice. In this study, it is in opposition to not having the economic capital which enables access to independent schools. Which means choosing a cluster of the best state secondary schools in the region (State schools in East Renfrewshire... are considered a cut above', User 55) or more generally:

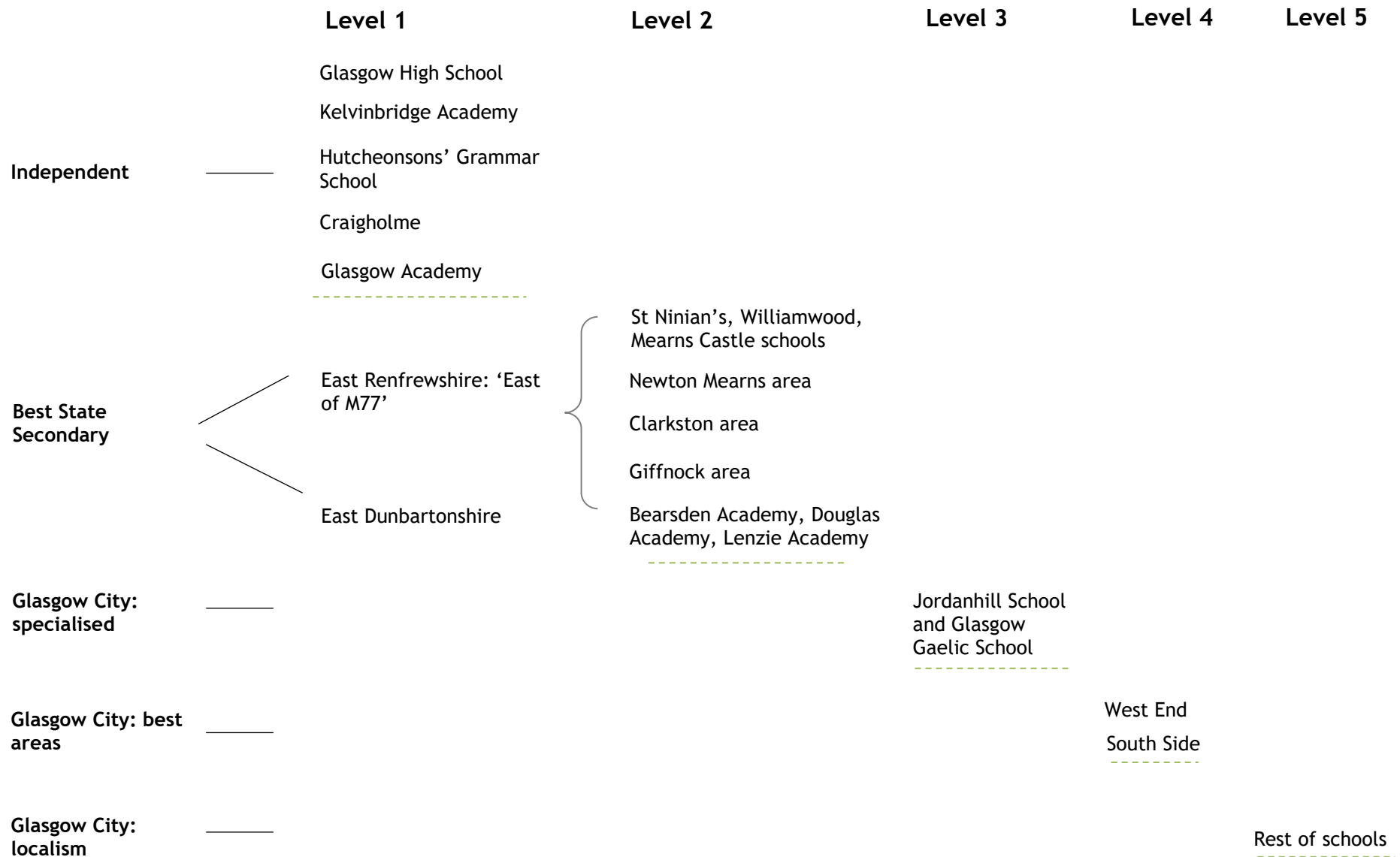
Buy a house in an expensive area and the high school is likely to be high in the league tables. (User 47)

For those who do not have the economic capital for that, then explicit school choice comes back into the structured choices remaining.

A hierarchical system

What emerges is a hierarchical system of school choice, shown in **Figure 7.4** below. The principle of the hierarchy is that of **Table 7.7** above: the volume and composition of capital of middle class fractions and the series of structured oppositions which results. The state sector needs to be considered in relation to the independent sector therefore to show this underlying principle.

Figure 7.4 Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region



What is revealed, in effect, is an internally stratified system of school choices, with differing levels of stratification based upon the existing educational structures (as both independent and state schools) and possession of economic and capital. However, there is an important corollary. These school choices are based on the performance of the school system, as the analytical labour involved in analysing of league tables, attainment, and inspection reports for example, show. The next logical step is then that this hierarchical system of school choice is *itself* based on a hierarchical system of schools; its principle, based on the Mumsnet data, being school attainment.

Turning to the state secondary school system itself, this potentially reveals an internally differentiated system of schools operating under a formal system of schooling. Forrest and Murie (1983: 465) note that owner occupation is ‘highly varied’ and that there is ‘increasing *differentiation* and *stratification* within that sector.’ This can be seen in the secondary school system in Glasgow Region and, indeed from the analysis so far, is directly related to it. In other words, the interaction of housing and school choice lead to an internally stratified system of schools despite the formal equality of state school comprehensive structure, curriculum, teachers etc. The principles of this internal stratification, if this and the preceding chapter are correct, lie *outside* the school system, however.

7.6 Conclusions

The research questions of this chapter can now be revisited. Firstly, the smaller sub-questions:

RQ 1.1 Is there any evidence of social class in relation to school choices?

RQ 1.2 Is there any evidence for the ‘circuits of schooling’ found in Ball et al. (1995)?

RQ 1.3 Is there any evidence of social class in relation to area choices?

RQ 1.4 Is there any evidence for class avoidance of social housing in particular?

In terms of RQ 1.1 (school choice) and RQ 1.3 (area choice), there was definite evidence of social class. By conceiving social class in Bourdieusian terms as the volume and composition of capital, this *explained* whether there would be school

choice or area choice in a systematic way. The finding here was a structured system of choices available to middle class fractions based on this volume and composition of capital.

In relation to RQ 1.4, there was also clear evidence of social class avoidance of social housing but only if the relationship between the housing system and education was understood, so that 'mixed demographics' were also understood to mean mixed tenure. The finding here was that the geography of tenure in Chapter 6 could be used to explain what 'mixed demographics' meant in relation to social housing. An important additional finding was that social class was not discussed. Like social housing, its presence needed to be understood in relation to its absence from the data.

Finally, there was evidence for 'circuits of schooling' (Ball et al., 1995) in Glasgow Region. There was an important difference however. These 'circuits' were the result of symbolic boundaries, constituted by social classifications operating through spatial classifications. To explain these 'circuits' therefore meant an analysis not just of school choice but the housing system, where Ball et al.'s analysis only looked at the former. Further, doing so moved the findings in this chapter from isolated 'circuits' into how these circuits formed an actual *system* in Glasgow Region. This leads to the most important finding of the chapter: the formally equal state secondary system of schools in this region was, in fact, internally stratified.

This meant the main research question of the chapter can be addressed:

RQ 1. Is there evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, here conceived of as social housing in relation to school choice?

Based on the previous, this can now be answered in the affirmative.

This means that both System Integration and Social Integration have now been analysed, through the housing system (System Integration) and class-based school choices (Social Integration)

Figure 7.1 *Social Integration*: Analytical Dualism approach to Origin-Education link

Structure 1: System Integration

>>

Structure 2: Social Integration



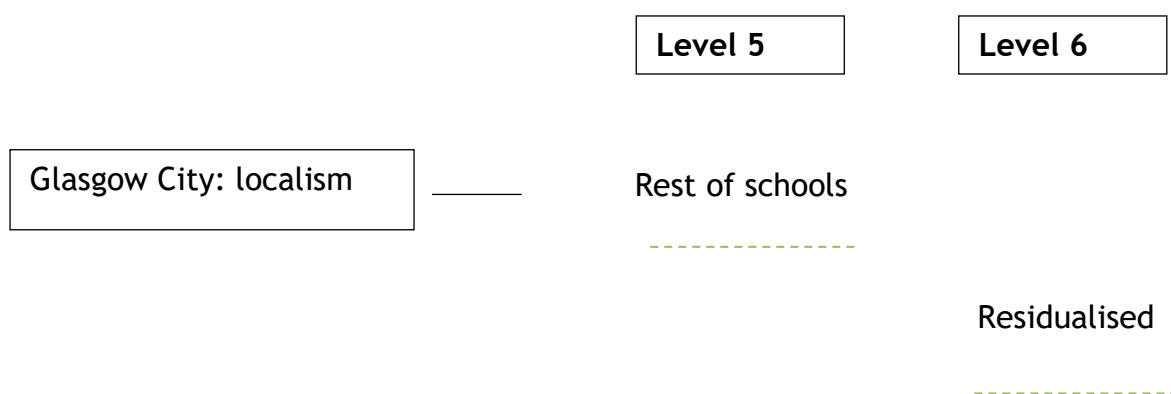
Chapter 7: School Choice

Structural Elaboration

If the next step is how these two Structures interact to change existing structures, then what has been potentially elaborated is an internally stratified education system.

But it does point out two further observations: firstly, the result is not merely residualisation. There were two vectors of school choice: *towards* the best schools and *away* from the others. Forrest and Murie (1983: 465) noted that owner occupation is ‘highly varied’ and that there is ‘increasing *differentiation* and *stratification* within that sector.’ This was *in addition* to residualisation. This was found to be the same within the education system also in Glasgow Region. In other words, there is a system of stratification *and*, excluded from this, residualisation. Secondly, if this is correct, then there is an additional step necessary in the hierarchical system previously outlined in **Figure 7.4**. The is now outlined below:

Figure 7.5 Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region (excerpt)



At Level 5 was the ‘accommodative majority’. But if the preceding is correct, then this Level (the ‘Rest of schools’) can be further differentiated into a final level: the Residualised. This is what is attempted in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: School Quality in Glasgow Region

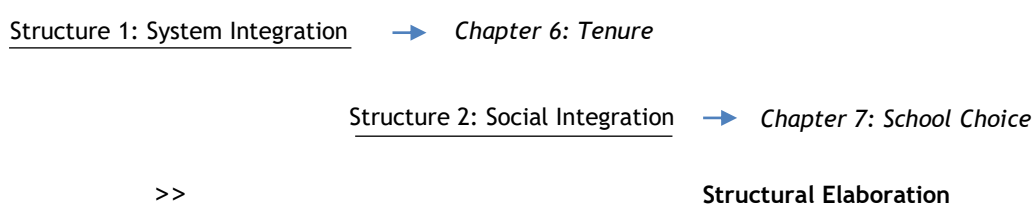
8.1 Introduction

Chapters 6 and 7 found evidence to support the following research questions:

- *Is there a system of inequality within the housing system as a whole, comparing social housing to other forms of tenure?*
- *Is there evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, here conceived of as social housing in relation to school choice?*

In Chapter 5, residualisation was described as the interaction of two structures: System Integration and Social Integration, or parts and people. Something systemically made residual (parts), and then something differentially avoided as a result by class resources (people), becomes *residualised*. Chapter 6 looked at the former, whilst chapter 7 looked at the latter. This chapter now looks at the results. More theoretically, this is called *Structural Elaboration* as in **Figure 8.1** below, using Archer's analytical dualism approach:

Figure 8.1 *Structural Elaboration*: Analytical Dualism approach to Origin-Education link



In Chapter 6, the 'part' was the housing system; in Chapter 7, the 'people' were the middle class parents in Glasgow Region. These operationalise System Integration and Social Integration respectively.

What was found in Chapter 7 was a hierarchical system of school choice in Glasgow Region as analysed in **Figure 7.4** (*Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*). However, since these choices were based upon the various characteristics of the schools themselves (e.g. attainment, inspection reports, position in league tables), this leads to the next research question:

To what extent is the hierarchical system of school choice itself based on a hierarchical system of schools?

In other words, this empirical finding seems to suggest that, in terms of Structural Elaboration, the interaction of the housing system and social class results in an internally differentiated system of secondary schools in Glasgow Region. That is, despite its formally equal characteristics of comprehensive schooling, curriculum, examinations and the equality of opportunity the comprehensive system is thought to provide.

Therefore, bringing this empirical finding in line with the theoretical model shown in **Figure 8.1**, this chapter has the following main research question:

RQ 1. Given the system of inequality within the housing system and evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, is there evidence for an internally differentiated state secondary school system?

To break this down further, the following research question can be asked:

RQ 1.1 To what extent is the hierarchical system of school choice itself based on a hierarchical system of schools?

8.1.1 Summary of Chapter

The chapter begins with a short literature review, looking at the Scottish school inspectorate and its wider relationship to the Scottish Government. Since school quality is assessed by the inspectors of Education Scotland, a sample of its inspection reports are analysed in this chapter. The data is described, with a sampling frame built from the findings of Chapter 6 and 7, comparing the schools in **Figure 7.4** (*Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*) using their Education Scotland inspection reports. Forrest and Murie (1983) described two principles at work in the tenure system: stratification (within owner occupation)

and residualisation (within social housing). Schools are drawn accordingly, resulting in two clusters. The method of the chapter and the process of coding and analysis of the reports is detailed before the findings are presented, comparing the two clusters of schools. The discussion section analyses the results, presenting two opposing themes: a middle class normative on the one hand and, simultaneously, the neutralising of social class in the inspection reports. These results are then tied back to the overall theoretical framework in the conclusion, finishing with an answer to the chapter's research questions.

8.2 Education Scotland

Education Scotland is an executive agency of the Scottish Government, formed in 2011 as a merger between Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE). It is part of series of organisations responsible for an aspect of Scottish education, including the Scottish Funding Council (funding teaching and learning provision in Further and Higher Education), Skills Development Scotland (Skills, Modern Apprenticeships, Careers Guidance), the Scottish Qualifications Authority, which runs the examination system, and the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS), which controls entry to the teaching profession. Education Scotland is responsible for, among other things, supporting school improvement and the maintenance of school standards, through inspection and review.

Firstly, in combining the improvement and inspection functions it has been accused, as it were, of marking its own homework:

‘Do you accept that in doing the job of delivery, with the responsibility you just outlined, and in also doing the inspectorate job, you are acting as judge and jury?’ (Liz Smith, Conservative MSP, Scottish Parliament, 2016).

This had been the case previously in earlier iterations of the inspectorate, where the Inspectorate at the time (HMI) in 2000 was accused of being both responsible for the development of policy and for the inspection of policy (Hutchinson, 2018: 320). Between 2001 and 2011, the inspectorate (now HMIE) existed as an executive agency which was independent but accountable to Scottish ministers. When

Education Scotland was established in 2011, it was also established as such but since then however, criticism has returned over its role in both determining policy and its inspection: for example, in the development and the implementation of major national policies, including Curriculum for Excellence and playing a role in the development of the National Improvement Framework and the Scottish Government Delivery Plan for education (ibid: 321).

The second criticism is related: namely, that Education Scotland are politically compliant. The Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), the main teaching union, submitted evidence that Education Scotland was failing to hold ministers to account (ibid: 327-330). The Herald also made a similar point:

The union also attacked the politicisation of inspection and review body Education Scotland which is supposed to be independent and impartial from government. It said: 'Critical challenge to government policy would seem to be an obvious role for the main pedagogic body within Scottish education but it is not one the EIS sees as a strength of Education Scotland'. (The Herald, 6 January 2017, p. 2 cited in Hutchinson, 2018: 328)

At the Education and Skills committee on the 30 November 2016, the senior team at Education Scotland were asked about their role on the Curriculum for Excellence Management Board, being challenged to:

'... give examples of where Government policy has changed as a consequence of your realising that something is not working on the ground and is in fact detrimental?' (Johann Lamont, Labour MSP, Scottish Parliament, 2016)

The politicisation of inspection, the argument holds, means that the independent function of the inspectorate is compromised, where this independence is required to evaluate government policies and hold them to account (Godfrey et al., 2015: 9). More broadly, Humes (2013: 98-108) argues that this a broader phenomenon, not confined to Education Scotland. The various educational bodies working in partnership with the Scottish Government do not have a track record of 'taking an independent line' (ibid: 100) and instead 'work with the grain of official policy' (ibid). In effect they act as an arm of the Scottish Government (ibid: 101). As regards official policy, Gilles (2013:117) argues that the prevalent view of education is the neoliberal one of the knowledge economy, which stresses skills

and attainment. Politically, raising standards and attainment, he argues (ibid, 117-18), has become the main measure of schools. In other words, that the prevailing Liberal Market Economy (LME) model of Chapter 2 is unquestioned by Scottish Government, whose policies are largely unchallenged by executive agencies such as Education Scotland, to take the most relevant example.

To summarise, the existing Research questions guiding this chapter are:

RQ 1. Given the system of inequality within the housing system and evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, is there evidence for an internally differentiated state secondary school system?

RQ 1.1 To what extent is the hierarchical system of school choice itself based on a hierarchical system of schools?

After this brief survey of the literature, another can be added therefore:

RQ1. 2 Is there any evidence of government policy influencing the inspection of schools?

8.3 Data and Method

8.3.1 Data Collection

Data was collected from the publicly available inspection reports, published on Education Scotland's website (Education Scotland, 2022). The documents are limited for two reasons. Firstly, Education Scotland archive reports after five years. Secondly, there has been a reduced number of inspections at school and at local authority level (Hutchinson, 2018). This means that there is, at any point in time, unlikely to be complete set of inspection reports for a local authority. At the time of writing, for example, there was only one inspection report available for the seven state secondary schools of East Renfrewshire⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ St Ninian's High School (2019), whose prior inspection was in 2008.

Additional reports were not requested from Education Scotland for three reasons: time constraints, firstly; secondly, the possibility of the thesis becoming disproportionately focused on the Education Scotland inspection reports; but thirdly, and most importantly, the sample - limited as it was - was thought adequate for the research questions. This is outlined below in **Appendix 2**. The theoretical principle of data collection was ‘internal differentiation’ (Forrest and Murie, 1983), building upon the hierarchy of schools and the two isolated concentrations at the top and bottom, noted in Chapter 6. Understanding the wider system meant *theoretically sampling* its two extremes, or the two points of class isolation, where choice was most differentiated and therefore where the principles of the system were most laid bare; in other words, sampling the parameters within which the rest of the system of schools are distributed and ultimately structured, rather than an empiricist sampling of the schools throughout the whole of that distribution. All in all then, the sample contained ten schools: seven from Glasgow City and three from East Renfrewshire. With the combination of various inspection outputs and formats, this resulted in 17 documents. Again, see **Appendix 2** for more detail.

Data Collection Process

The reports were collected at two periods. Firstly, in 2016, documents were sourced in anticipation of what became a later discarded PhD project on school quality. This meant inspection reports from Education Scotland at the time and also from before its existence. Using keyword searches like “East Renfrewshire inspection reports” and “Williamwood High School inspection reports” from online searches resulted in inspection reports being included from East Renfrewshire (St Ninian’s High School, Williamwood High School and Mearns Castle High School) and Glasgow City (Drumchapel High School). Later, for the project itself in 2020, additional inspection reports were collected from the Education Scotland website.

Description of Data

Since 1996, inspectors have used the evaluation tool, ‘How good is our school?’ (2015), now in its fourth edition. However, the format of its published outputs has

changed over the years (see examples in Appendix 1, prior to Education Scotland). At the moment, there are three categories of quality indicators:

- Leadership and management (with five quality indicators)
- Learning Provision (with seven quality indicators)
- Success and achievements (with three quality indicators)

Education Scotland trialled different models in 2015-16 and with the fourth edition of *How Good is Your School*. Since 2016, five main quality indicators have been drawn from the above and used in a full inspection, which lasts one week.

- 1.3 Leadership of change
- 2.3 Learning, teaching and assessment
- 3.2 Raising attainment and achievement
- 3.1 Ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion

There is a final indicator chosen by the school but unpublished in the final report. For its published outputs, there is:

- A *summary letter*, which indicates the areas of strength and areas to be improved upon. This is followed by an evaluation of the above four indicators (unsatisfactory/weak/satisfactory/very good/excellent).
- A detailed *summarised inspection findings document*. This includes some introductory demographics about the school (attendance, deprivation, free school meals, additional support needs), comparing it to the national average. The four main indicators above are then analysed in more detail, and sometimes additional quality indicators used to supplement this: for example, the quality indicator 2.3 Learning, teaching and assessment might be further analysed with the additional quality indicators of 2.2 Curriculum and 2.7 Partnerships, for example.

Both these published outputs are available on the Education Scotland website, and it is from this that the available reports were downloaded.

Issues with Data Collection

The two points of data collection meant collection of reports from before and after the existence of Education Scotland. And since the inspection model had changed, the report format had changed also (again, see Appendix 1 for examples of previous formats).

Although unfortunate, there would have been no way of securing the relevant inspection reports for analysis other than in this way i.e. before and after Education Scotland's existence in 2016. For example, at the second round of data collection in 2020, the only report available for St Ninian's High School was from 2008. This was also the case for the other East Renfrewshire schools that were much sought after by the Mumsnet users (the Eastwood schools of Williamwood, Mearns Castle and Eastwood). To date, there has not been an inspection of Williamwood or Mearns Castle since 2009 and 2011, respectively.

8.3.2 Method

Document Analysis is a method used in qualitative research, using documents as data, taking into account both the original purposes and context of the documents (see for example, Love, 2003; Bowen, 2008; Karpinnen and Moe, 2012; Frey, 2018). For data collection, it requires a systematic approach to document sampling, which entails being explicit about the inclusionary and exclusionary criteria used. For data analysis, it uses familiar qualitative techniques like coding and thematic analysis. One of its noted limitations is the low retrievability of documents (Frey, 2018): either in documents being deliberately blocked or simply no longer publicly available; something noted above.

Sampling frame

Chapter 7 outlined an overall system of stratification and residualisation, based on Forrest and Murie's analysis of the overall tenure system and the Mumsnet movements of both moving towards some schools and avoiding or moving away from others. The schools most moved towards were the East Renfrewshire schools: more specifically, the schools in Eastwood (the east of East Renfrewshire or 'the

other side of the motorway' as one Mumsnet user puts it). The schools most avoided were the ones with mixed demographics, which, it was argued in Chapter 7, related to mixed tenure and, less euphemistically, social housing.

Therefore, the decision was made not to sample *throughout* the various levels of stratification of the schools in **Figure 7.4** (*Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*), instead taking the highest and lowest levels. This was for two reasons.

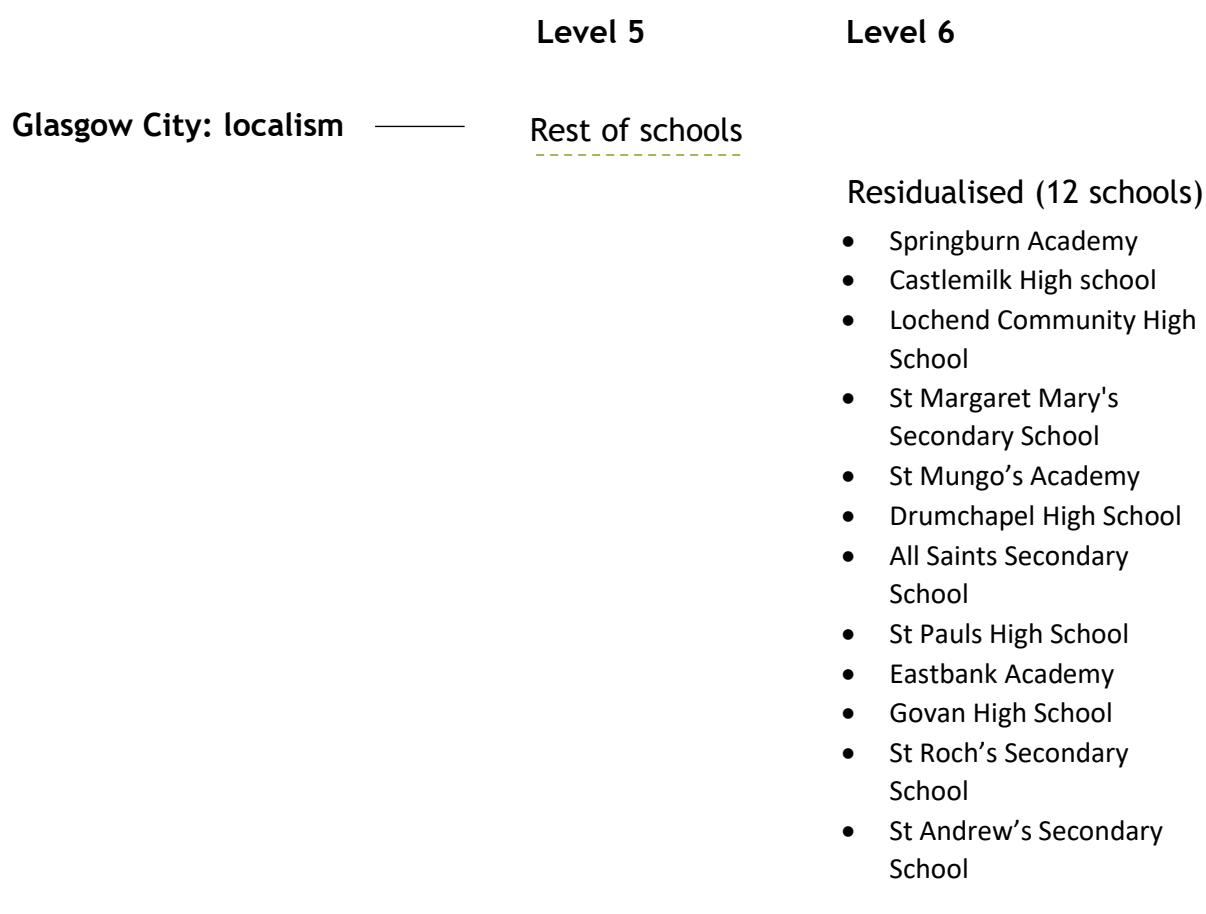
- Firstly, from a methodological point of view, what was required was understanding both stratification and residualisation. East Renfrewshire was chosen to represent the former as a 'limiting case': in other words, to understand the principle of stratification is to understand its most extreme form. The latter is already a 'limiting case' in this sense. Therefore, what was found in these schools at both extreme ends, would reveal the range of school quality, without necessarily having to sample across that range. Substantively, this meant understanding what kinds of schools Mumsnet users were working to avoid and seek out. There was little Mumsnet interest in 'The Rest', the middle range, which also supported this decision. This methodological point is also made in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3) in terms of the 'limiting case' and the choice of Glasgow Region as case study.
- Secondly, from the point of view of the emerging thesis and research design, it was important that it did not become a study of Education Scotland's Inspection reports (assuming they were available). The research question in this chapter is: *Does the hierarchical system of school choice map onto an actual hierarchical system of schools?* The following chapters, looking at attainment and destination, help to triangulate the evidence in terms of whether the system of schools in Chapter 7 relate to a system of schools *in fact*. In other words, school quality is only one element in answering this question.

A sampling frame was constructed as follows:

- Plot the core clusters of Social Housing and Owner Occupation from Chapter 6 and then analyse which schools fall into these areas. Extract this list.
- Check if an inspection report had been collected for each school on this list: either before or after Education Scotland came into being.
- If both criteria are met (in Core Cluster AND has an inspection report), include in the sampling frame.

Part of plotting the core clusters, meant **Figure 7.4** in Chapter 7 could be completed. The final level of stratification is now added to Figure 8.2 below:

Figure 8.2 Final Level of Stratification: Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region



Plotting the two core clusters of Social Housing and Owner Occupation meant extracting two clusters of schools: using **Figure 7.4** (*Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*), the *Eastwood Elite Secondaries* were extracted from

Level 2; and the Residualised Glasgow Secondaries from Level 6, using **Figure 8.2** above. Taking into account the resulting two clusters of schools *and* document availability, resulted in the following ten schools for inclusion in the final sampling frame:

Table 8.1 Document Analysis Sampling Frame

Eastwood Elite Secondaries	Residualised Glasgow City Secondaries
St Ninian's High School (2008, 2019)	Springburn Academy (2018)
Williamwood High School (2009)	Castlemilk High School (2019)
Mearns Castle High School (2011)	Drumchapel High School (2012)
	All Saints Secondary School (2020)
	St Paul's R.C. High School (2019)
	Govan High School (2017)
	St Roch's Secondary School (2016)

A full description of this process is detailed in **Appendix 2**.

8.4 Findings

The four published outputs used in the analysis are:

1. A summary letter (c. 2 pp.)
2. A summarised inspection findings document (c. 20 pp.)
3. A pre-2016 letter to parents (c. 10 pp.), around 2011-2015
4. A pre-2016 report (c. 20 pp.), around 2008-2011

The first two are the Education Scotland 2016 outputs; the latter two, the sole outputs whose format changes depending on the time frame. **Appendix 2** gives more detail. Given the sampling frame above, this results in a combination of documents ranging from 2009 to 2019 of differing formats. An analysis was conducted of the summary letters (1 above) and the pre-2016 format (either letter or report, depending on time published). This forms the results in the findings section.

The second published Education Scotland output in the list above, the *summarised inspection findings* document, was used as additional evidence to the summary letters (Item 1 above) and was also used in the discussion section.

8.4.1 Coding and Thematic Analysis

The coding framework initially used the main four quality indicators from post-2016 in an initial comparative analysis of the *summary letters* of the four post-2016 formats and the lengthier pre-2016 formats:

Table 8.2 Quality indicators from 2016 onwards

1. Leadership of Change
2. Learning, teaching and assessment
3. Raising attainment and achievement
4. Ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion

The text of the letters was then coded using this framework initially. Relevant chunks of text were highlighted: on the left hand side of the text, the quality indicators were used as broad codes; on the right, any specific observations, examples or instances of the codes were highlighted (e.g. **right hand side:** *Learning, teaching and assessment*; **left hand side:** *tracking pupil's progress*). Having gone through the process of coding reports, additional codes arose, as per the below.

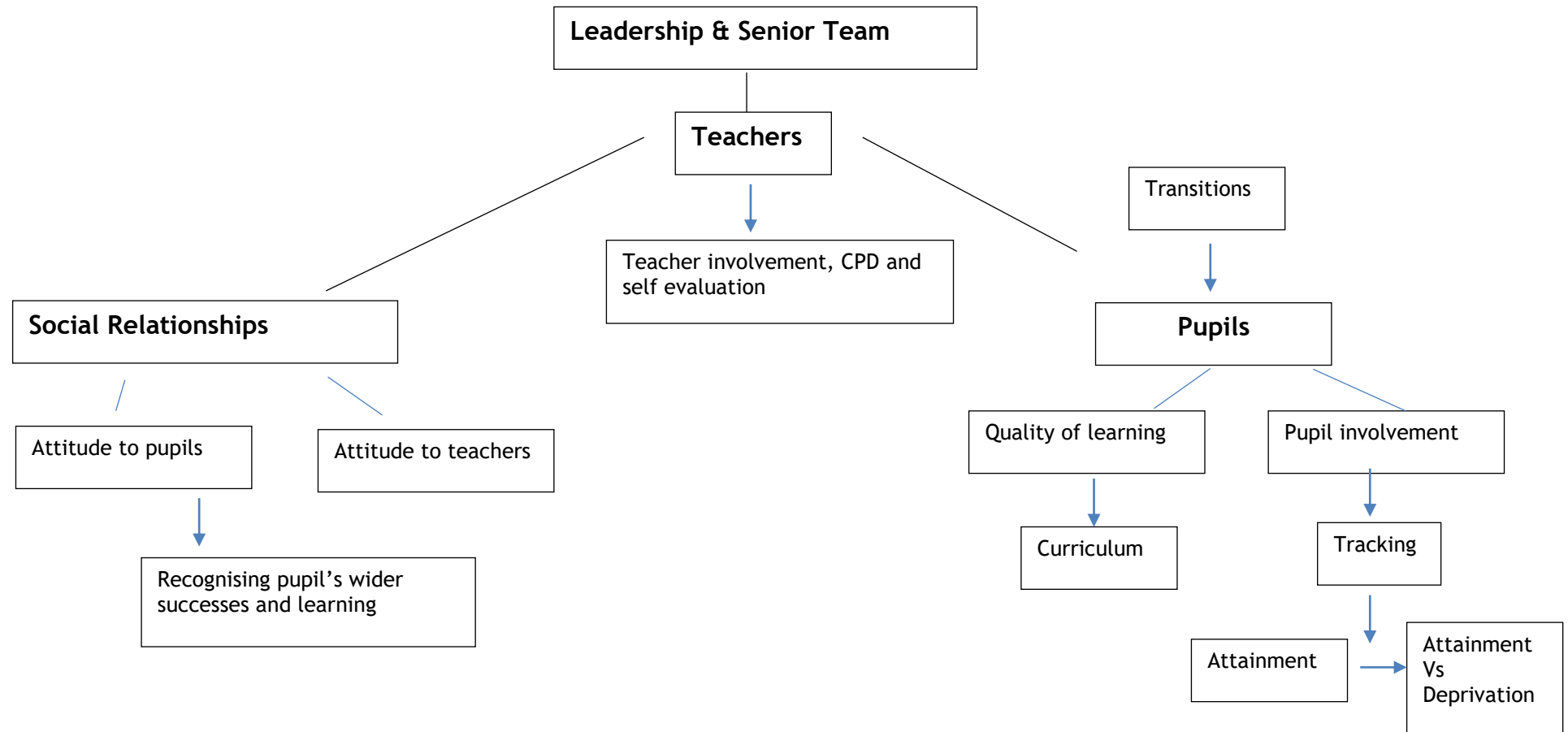
Table 8.3 Initial Codes

1.	Social Relationships
2.	Transitions
3.	Learning and teaching quality
4.	Tracking
5.	Curriculum
6.	Pupil's wider successes and learning
7.	Attainment
8.	Leadership

Coding was done in Word rather than NVivo due to the smaller number of documents and their smaller size of the summary letters (2 - 10 pp.).

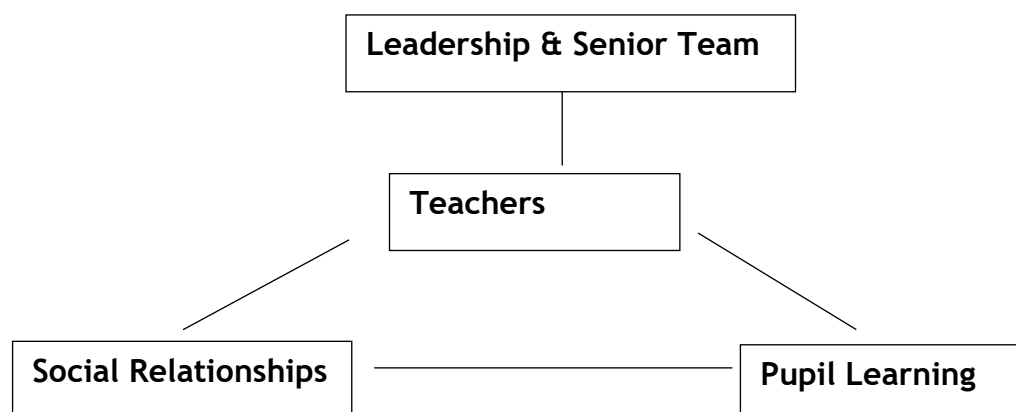
After this, any relevant remaining Summarised Inspection reports were followed up on for the four remaining schools (post 2016 inspection format), looking for these areas in more detail. This resulted in a revised coding framework as in **Figure 8.3** below, which highlighted the main personnel and the importance of social relationships.

Figure 8.3 Revised coding framework based on inspection reports



Broadly, there seemed to be relationships emerging between codes. In particular, these relationships seemed clustered around the four codes in bold: broader, ‘core’ codes, clustering a number of sub-codes.

Figure 8.4 Core Codes in coding framework



To an extent these represented the original quality indicators:

Table 8.4 A comparison of Education Scotland’s Quality Indicators and the Core Codes

Quality indicators	Core Code
Leadership of change	Leadership & Senior Team
Learning, teaching and assessment	Pupil Learning
Raising attainment and achievement	Pupil Learning
Ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion	Social Relationships

Equally, there were some important differences illustrated below in the findings and discussion sections, one of which was the importance of social relationships, illustrated by the Drumchapel Summary Letter. As an extreme or ‘limiting case’, both as a residualised school and the only school to undergo a follow up visit and subsequent progress report, it revealed elements hitherto obscured in the reports. These were obscured because of the way Education Scotland conceptualises these Quality Indicators in the report as distinct and autonomous rather than analysing how they interact, as in **Figure 8.3** above. What in particular it shows is how the

main social roles (headteachers, teachers, pupils) and the relationships between them, relate to the functional nature of learning (tracking, curriculum, attainment etc.). Therefore, the system of relationships in **Figure 8.3** were brought together at this stage into two themes:

- The qualitative difference in **social relationships** between teacher, pupil and parent and the socio-economic factors inside and outside of school which influence these.
- The **systemic differences** within the complex working of the school as an institution.

This functions as the basis of the discussion section below.

8.4.2 Summary letters: Key Comparisons

This section outlines the findings of a comparative analysis of the summary letters, beginning first with the Eastwood cluster then the Residualised cluster, before some summary comparisons are made between both.

Eastwood Elite secondary schools

The St Ninian's report (2008) illustrates some of the main characteristics of schools in this cluster. Some of the salient codes here were three of the core codes: **pupils, teachers, and leadership and senior staff**; and, also, the sub-code curriculum.

Pupils

Firstly, there are the characteristics of the pupils:

Pupils' highly significant contributions to the life of the school, and their successful development of leadership skills. (St Ninian's, 2008)

Something also noted at Williamwood (2009):

Young people's confidence in their leadership roles.

The aspect of pupil contribution is meanwhile noted at Mearns Castle High (2011):

Young people who contribute much to improving their school and community.

Socially, the pupils are well-behaved, diligent learners with high attainment:

Pupils' exemplary behaviour, courtesy and hard work, and the overall quality of their attainment and wider achievements (St Ninians)

Young people's achievements, including very high levels of success in national examinations. (Williamwood)

Very high levels of attainment and achievement (Mearns Castle)

St Ninian's received another inspection over a decade later (2019). This helped expand upon the key elements so far noted:

Young people are very successful in securing outstanding outcomes in attainment and achievement. They show a great respect for learning, with a high level of motivation and determination to flourish in a wide range of situations. (St Ninian's)

Outstanding attainment creates an aspirational culture within the school, something touched upon in 2009 with the development of students' leadership skills.

There is a climate of aspiration in the school, which promotes that there is no limit to what can be achieved for the young people of St Ninian's High School...Young people feel they have extensive opportunities to achieve their potential, and develop their wellbeing. (St Ninian's)

The aspects of 'potential' and 'health and wellbeing' seem to imply a school ethos, something made explicit at the other two high schools:

The school's lively, welcoming and inclusive atmosphere. (Williamwood)
A positive, inclusive learning environment with strong provision for young people with additional support needs. (Mearns Castle)

Teachers

For the teachers at St Ninian's (2008), they are equally committed too:

The effectiveness with which pupils' needs were met, through the commitment and contributions of teachers.

Staff's commitment to providing pupils with opportunities for wider achievement and developing approaches to recognise and celebrate achievement.

This was also noted over a decade later (St Ninian's, 2019):

Staff as a team are very effective leaders of continuous improvement. They are committed to undertaking a range of professional learning, much of which is based on them learning with, and from, each other.

Staff commitment, as evidenced by the Education Scotland self-evaluation model and a continuing teacher engagement with practice and learning, was noted at both Williamwood and Mearns High:

Staff commitment and effectiveness in using self-evaluation to improve outcomes for young people. (Williamwood)

Effective self-evaluation and high-quality continuing professional development. (Mearns)

Self-evaluation was often noted in relation to or in proximity to continuing professional development, thus the latter seeming an important component in using the former.

Curriculum

St Ninian's innovative approach to the curriculum is remarked upon (2008):

The school's innovative approaches, with the education authority, to designing the curriculum to meet pupils' needs increasingly well.

Something observed at Williamwood, too:

Imaginative approaches to developing the curriculum in line with *Curriculum for Excellence*.

Senior Staff

Senior leaders have an important part to play also. Firstly, they connect with teachers:

Senior leaders are adept at recognising how staff's skills can contribute effectively to the leadership of the school. (St Ninian's, 2008)

And play an important part in tracking progress:

The headteacher, senior and middle leaders, and staff have a very effective focus on using information on young people's progress to develop a wide range of learning pathways. (ibid)

Their importance at Williamwood is also noted here too:

Senior managers' effectiveness in sharing good practice and encouraging innovation. (Williamwood)

And, as senior leaders or managers, their work with the headteacher:

Together with his senior leadership team, the headteacher has driven well-paced change to enable sustained and outstanding outcomes for young people over time. (St Ninian's, 2019).

The importance of the headteacher is noted across all three schools:

The headteacher's strategic planning of the school is excellent. His leadership has resulted in a school with aspects of the very best practice. (St Ninian's, 2019).

The outstanding leadership of the headteacher. (Williamwood)

The outstanding leadership of the headteacher⁴⁶. (Mearns Castle)

All of which is underpinned by effective leadership throughout the school.

Leadership at all levels. (St Ninian's, 2008)

Strong leadership for learning across the school. (Mearns Castle)

8.4.3 Residual schools

The Residual schools had positive aspects also: St Paul's (2019) strong strategic leadership and enthusiastic staff; the aspiration at Castlemilk High (2019) and its learning climate: all similar aspects to the Eastwood cluster. St Roch's Secondary School (2011), in particular, did well in most aspects.

⁴⁶ Same wording used in both reports.

Nonetheless, there were differences and the Residual schools are compared using the same codes as previously. Analysis starts this time with Springburn Academy (2018) which, with its very high levels of deprivation, might be seen as a foil to St Ninians's (2008, 2019). It is used to compare the other residualised schools in a similar fashion to the previous section.

Pupils

Firstly, there were positives for Springburn Academy's (2018) pupils in terms of improved attainment and positive attitudes:

The attainment of young people from S4 to S6.

Young people who are proud of their school and appreciative of the opportunities which it provides.

Teachers & Leadership and Senior Staff

The teachers and senior staff were also praised in terms of their commitment:

The commitment of staff to improve the life chances of all young people in line with the school's shared vision and values. (Springburn, 2018)

The differences implicit in the school is already implicitly acknowledged by the different language: 'life chances' is not used once in the Eastwood cluster reports. And, despite these positives, there are areas of improvement required. Firstly, unlike the Eastwood cluster, senior leadership requires improvement:

Continue to develop strategic leadership across the school in order to plan effectively for improvement. (Springburn, 2018)

Whilst the responsibility for developing the curriculum was shared across everyone at the other Eastwood schools, there did not seem to be the same at Govan High (2017):

This needs to ensure stronger emphasis on literacy and numeracy as the shared responsibility of all staff.

And whereas using the self-evaluation model was a strength at the Eastwood schools, this also requires work at Springburn:

This includes improving the quality and consistency of the school's approaches to self-evaluation.

Although, positive self-evaluation was mentioned in relation to continuing professional development, there is no mention of this here. Teacher commitment is mentioned, however, in relation to improving the life chances of pupils, but there is no indication of whether time spent on this meant less time for self-evaluation and CPD. Self-evaluation was also problematic at All Saints Secondary School (2019):

Strengthen approaches to school self-evaluation and improvement planning to inform more effectively the strategic direction of the school.

Further, what was not mentioned at the previous schools was the quality of teaching and learning: particularly its consistency.

Develop the consistency and quality of learning and teaching across the school. (Springburn, 2018)

An issue at All Saints, relating it to attainment:

Continue to improve learning and teaching to raise attainment. (All Saints, 2019)

And at Govan High (2017):

Continue to improve the consistency and effectiveness of approaches to learning and teaching to meet young people's varying needs and ensure the best possible outcomes for all young people.

Despite the positives at St Paul's (2019), the consistency of teaching across the school was an issue:

Continue as planned to promote and share examples of the high quality learning and teaching observed by HM Inspectors across the school, with all staff. This will help to improve consistency in the quality of young people's learning experiences.

And, again, attainment was also mentioned at St Paul's:

Continue to raise the attainment and achievement of all young people at all stages.

Curriculum

Unlike at the Eastwood cluster, there was no evidence of curriculum innovation. At All Saints Secondary, this was an issue:

Further develop the school curriculum to ensure that all young people's needs are met through a range of aspirational and progressive pathways.

And at Govan High:

Continue to develop the curriculum so that it reflects fully the principles of Curriculum for Excellence.

Unlike the aspirational culture and outstanding achievement at St Ninian's (2019), the curriculum in S1-S3 is not sufficiently challenging:

Ensure that the planned development of the curriculum from S1 to S3 provides sufficiently challenging learning for all young people. This will enable them better to achieve success when they move to more challenging learning from S4 to S6. (Springburn, 2018)

This is mentioned at Castlemilk High (2019) also:

Continue to implement the developments identified in the school improvement plan. For example, ensuring greater levels of challenge as part of the drive to improve learning, teaching and assessment.

Another related issue was transitions through the curriculum, for example pupil tracking and progress monitoring. Whilst a strength of the previous schools⁴⁷, this

⁴⁷ See, for example, St Ninians' *Summarised Inspection Findings* report (2019):

Senior leaders have developed very robust tracking, monitoring and analysis of progress and attainment in the senior phase. Over time, there is a relentless focus on the use of data to get the very best outcomes for young people. (2019: 14)

was not as strong at these schools, particularly in the transition to S4 as noted above at Springburn. Tracking was an issue at All Saints Secondary (2020), also:

The school needs to place increased focus on developing better ways to track young people's progress in learning as they move through the school.

And at Govan High (2017), this was noted in relation to attainment.

Continue to develop staff skills to ensure assessment information provides an accurate understanding of young people's progress and informs strategies to further raise attainment and achievement.

Some key differences in relation to teachers, leadership and senior staff, curriculum and tracking progress and transitions can be seen from a comparative analysis of the summary letters. Of this cluster however, Drumchapel High School in particular stands out in having had a visit in 2012 (satisfactory/weak/weak/weak), a revisit in 2013 ('Much work still remains to be done.') and then a progress report in 2014, after which Education Scotland was confident that the school had the capacity to continue to improve. Drumchapel High School is compared to the East Renfrewshire schools both to consolidate and further bring out the differences within the schools. This comparison is aided further in that the Drumchapel High and East Renfrewshire all have the same format of reports (pre-2016). The format of the report is therefore used in this section.

Drumchapel High School comparison

1. How well do young people learn and achieve?

The variability of learning and achievement was noted at Drumchapel High School (2012). Where students were actively engaged, they focused well. However:

Too often, learning is passive and young people do not know how to improve or take sufficient responsibility for their learning.

There were problems of tracking achievement:

The school is not yet systematically promoting, monitoring and tracking young people's achievement.

This was evident from early on in secondary:

At S1 and S2, young people's progress in their broad general education is too variable. They are building well on their prior achievements in English and mathematics but their progress is slow in too many classes. Teachers do not consistently gather information on how well young people are progressing in their learning across the curriculum.

This was in contrast to the East Renfrewshire schools:

Across the curriculum in S1/S2, young people make very good progress from their prior learning. (Williamwood, 2009)
Staff had access to valuable information to monitor individual pupils' progress, provided by the school's innovative tracking system (St Ninian's, 2008)

There was also the issue of teachers' relationships to the pupils at Drumchapel High (2012):

Overall, key attributes such as personal confidence or self esteem or skills such as teamwork or leadership are not promoted and developed effectively across all year groups.

There is scope to improve recognition and accreditation of young people's personal achievements.

Overall teachers do not have high enough expectations for all young people's attainment. There is potential for more young people to achieve better qualifications in S4 to S6.

These three elements can be compared with the Eastwood cluster below in **Table 8.5**. Under the core code of social relationships, this was sub-coded as *Attitudes towards pupils*:

Table 8.5 How well do young people learn and achieve: Drumchapel and Eastwood Cluster Comparison

Drumchapel	Eastwood cluster
<p>Overall, key attributes such as personal confidence or self esteem or skills such as teamwork or leadership are not promoted and developed effectively across all year groups.</p>	<p>Pupils' highly significant contributions to the life of the school, and their successful development of leadership skills...Many pupils in S6 demonstrated commendable leadership skills. A high proportion served as mentors and tutors to younger pupils, as prefects, and on a wide range of active school committees.</p> <p>Pupils at all stages showed a clear capacity for leadership, in the context of school committees, extra-curricular activities, social and enterprise events and support for charities. For example, pupils in S2 prepared a drama production to address issues of discrimination and domestic abuse. Some in S6 took lead roles in working with parents to explain features of the senior school curriculum. (St Ninian's)</p>
<p>There is scope to improve recognition and accreditation of young people's personal achievements.</p>	<p>A notable innovation was the development of a diploma to be awarded to S6 pupils, recognising their broader achievements, and based on the key outcomes of Curriculum for Excellence. (St Ninian's)</p> <p>Young people's high levels of success in and beyond the classroom are celebrated well, for example, through the wearing of school colours and gaining House points. (Mearns Castle)</p> <p>Young people are encouraged to participate fully in the life of the school and their successes and achievements are celebrated in displays and at assemblies. (Williamwood)</p>
<p>Overall teachers do not have high enough expectations for all young people's attainment. There is potential for more young people to achieve better qualifications in S4 to S6</p>	<p>There is a climate of aspiration in the school, which promotes that there is no limit to what can be achieved for the young people of St Ninian's High School</p>

In addition to internal issues with the functioning of the school system (tracking, quality of teaching, ASN) there was an additional theme of what might better be described as the social relations of the schools, particularly *attitudes towards the pupils*: a sky-is-the-limit ethos; high levels of success both in and outside the school; celebration of these successes; pupil contributions to the school; their training in leadership roles, which aspiration, attainment and achievement all lead onto. This is contrasted in Drumchapel: low expectations of the pupils, a need to recognise pupil achievements, and leadership not being developed effectively, allied with basic issues in self confidence and self-esteem.

2. How well does the school support young people to develop and learn?

Although this section begins with the need to improve pupils' needs in lessons (and develop the curriculum) in the Drumchapel High School report (2012) it quickly moves on to concerns under this category of what was more obviously the social background of the pupils.

Staff are working effectively to engage parents and to monitor and improve attendance.

There were issues around Additional Support Needs (ASN) and the need to engage both pupils and parents:

The high number and quality of additional support plans need to be reviewed. Staff should involve young people, parents, and staff in this and include appropriate learning targets.

Given that staff were already working to engage parents however, there was no further guidance on how this should happen. ASN was also noted at Williamwood (2009) but in a more positive light:

The school uses very effective approaches to identify young people with additional support needs at entry to S1.... Pupil support assistants provide sensitive and valuable help for young people with additional needs.

There were 'barriers to learning' (Drumchapel, 2012), which the school also had to manage in addition to learning and curriculum:

The recently developed approaches used in the reflection room support young people with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties well. This is addressing barriers to their learning and helping them to continue learning. The school should build on this success to improve whole school strategic leadership of behaviour management.

Behavioural issues and teaching practices seemed to interact however, relating it back to the lack of challenge found at the other 'Residualised' cluster schools. The following was found at Drumchapel (2012):

Overall, approaches to meeting learning needs are too variable and not well developed across the school. In lessons where the pace of learning is too slow and young people do not experience sufficient challenge in their learning, young people stop taking an active part in learning and often there is poor behaviour.

Overall, there seemed to be a lack of relationship or breakdown in relationship between teacher and pupil:

Staff and young people raised concerns about the lack of respect shown by staff and pupils. Staff expectations of behaviour and the amount and quality of work young people can achieve over a period of learning varies considerably and is often too low.

The quality of teaching (pace, engagement, lack of challenge) declines as staff expectations of behaviour decrease and mutual respect deteriorates. The opposite of the Eastwood cluster. Further, staff expectations of behaviour can be related back to **Table 8.5** above, where expectations towards pupils generally and what they could achieve were very different from the Eastwood cluster. This, then, builds upon the previous section: there is on the one hand, internal functioning and, on the other, a basic presumption of social relationships, which underpins this functioning. Again, a comparison between the two clusters is shown in **Table 8.6** below. Under social relationships, this was coded as *the social underpinnings of teaching quality*:

Table 8.6 How well does the school support young people to develop and learn: Drumchapel and Eastwood Cluster Comparison

Drumchapel	Eastwood cluster
<p>Staff and young people raised concerns about the lack of respect shown by staff and pupils. Staff expectations of behaviour and the amount and quality of work young people can achieve over a period of learning varies considerably and is often too low.</p> <p>The recently developed approaches used in the reflection room support young people with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties well. This is addressing barriers to their learning and helping them to continue learning. The school should build on this success to improve whole school strategic leadership of behaviour management</p>	<p>The climate and relationships in the school were outstanding. The tone in social areas and classrooms was happy, calm and productive... Morale among pupils and staff was very high, and relationships across the school were excellent. Pupils behaved very well, and were commendably courteous in their contacts with other pupils, staff and visitors. Pupils, parents and staff shared openly the expectation that pupils would achieve well in the school. Staff made effective use of praise to promote high standards. (St Ninian's)</p> <p>Young people and staff work very well together to improve the school... Staff provide a very high level of pastoral care which meets young people's social and emotional needs. (Williamwood)</p> <p>Staff promote a positive ethos based on high standards of behaviour and commitment to learning. In response to this, young people demonstrate high levels of attainment and involvement in activities which increase their achievements...Across the school relationships are positive and learning is active and varied... Staff and young people work together... Staff and young people often review learning together and agree next steps... Teachers used praise well and provided effective feedback, helping pupils to identify specific next steps in their learning... There were major strengths in the quality of pupils' learning. Pupils worked diligently in class and showed high levels of motivation. In many lessons, they responded with enthusiasm to their tasks. (Mearns Castle)</p>
<p>Overall, approaches to meeting learning needs are too variable and not well developed across the school. In lessons where the pace of learning is too slow and young people do not experience sufficient challenge in their learning, young people stop taking an active part in learning and often there is poor behaviour.</p>	<p>Pupils' needs were very well met. Some departments formed teaching groups by ability to help teachers match tasks and the pace of learning more closely to pupils' needs... The effectiveness with which pupils' needs were met, through the commitment and contributions of teachers. (St Ninian's)</p>
<p>Staff are working effectively to engage parents and to monitor and improve attendance.</p>	<p>The quality of partnership with parents and the community was outstanding. (St Ninians)</p>

The breakdown of social relationships and the behavioural problems lead to basic problems in teaching quality. This seems to be supported by the way the inspectorate report veers away from learning and curriculum issues to the social background and social relationships which underpin them.

3. How well does the school improve the quality of its work?

The senior management team at Drumchapel High (2012) developed partnership working well, helping the school to improve young people's learning. However, there were areas to further improve. Firstly, it was noted that teachers were willing to improve their practices:

Staff are willing to improve their practices and want to provide well for young people.

Where staff understand what needs to be done as well as their role in school improvement, self-evaluation activities are leading to better learning experiences for young people.

However, at the same time:

Some staff are not yet fully committed to improvement and are not yet clear about how they need to improve.

There seemed to be an issue around continuing professional development:

Staff's continuing professional development has not sufficiently improved learning and teaching.

Allied with this was teachers' approach to examining their own practice through the Education Scotland self-evaluation model:

Overall, current approaches to self-evaluation are leading to limited improvements for all young people.

Similar to Govan High (2017), there seemed to be an issue with teachers' taking responsibility at Drumchapel:

The headteacher and senior managers have encouraged teachers at all levels to take the lead on a range of activities and curriculum developments.

Staff across the school need support in further developing their leadership skills and to take responsibility for improvements.

And finally, there was an issue more generally with leadership across learning and the curriculum, again dealing with behavioural issues, as noted in the previous section of the report:

Overall there is a lack of strategic leadership and direction, particularly in relation to behaviour management, developing the curriculum and improving the quality and consistency of learning.

Table 8.7 below shows a comparison in terms of staff and strategic leadership.

Finally, the comparison of Drumchapel High School (2012) to the Eastwood cluster developed three sub-codes under the core code of Social Relationships.

- Attitudes towards the pupils
- The social underpinnings of teaching quality
- Teachers and Leadership & Senior management

This firstly showed the importance of the relationships between teachers and pupils, teachers and senior management, and the influence they have on teaching quality in the respective schools. And secondly, gave concrete instances of this in practice and the effect on school quality. Both these and the coding framework in **Figure 8.3** (*Revised coding framework based on inspection reports*) are used in the discussion section below.

Table 8.7. How well does the school improve the quality of its work: Drumchapel and Eastwood Cluster Comparison

Drumchapel	Eastwood cluster
Some staff are not yet fully committed to improvement and are not yet clear about how they need to improve	<p>Staff were committed to ensuring continuous improvement. (St Ninian's)</p> <p>Staff as a team are very effective leaders of continuous improvement. They are committed to undertaking a range of professional learning, much of which is based on them learning with, and from, each other. (St Ninian's)</p>
Overall, current approaches to self-evaluation are leading to limited improvements for all young people.	<p>Staff commitment and effectiveness in using self-evaluation to improve outcomes for young people. (Williamwood)</p> <p>Effective self-evaluation and high-quality continuing professional development. (Mearns Castle)</p>
Overall there is a lack of strategic leadership and direction, particularly in relation to behaviour management, developing the curriculum and improving the quality and consistency of learning.	There were many major strengths in the quality of leadership in the school. The headteacher demonstrated excellent leadership and actively encouraged teachers, support staff and pupils to take leading roles. (St Ninians)

8.5 Discussion

The discussion begins with the theme of internal differentiation within the school system: social class interacts with the internal system of the school, ‘adding’ to, or compounding, the initial inequalities of social class through purely educational factors like curriculum and quality of learning. Thus, social class is reified in the quality indicators of the inspectorate. If social class is evident in the process, the second part explores why social class seems entirely absent from the inspection process. It is not merely the quality indicators where this is so, but also some of the other indicators used in the inspection process, like national benchmarks and virtual comparators, and the area based Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). These relate not just to Education Scotland, but the examination system (SQA) and the Scottish Government more widely (SIMD), therefore bringing in the wider policy landscape which the inspectors ultimately work within. The inspection reports can be seen therefore as a case study of sorts in Scotland’s public sector policy assumptions.

8.5.1 Social differences and internal education schools

The findings section showed that two broad themes began to emerge:

- The **systemic differences** within the complex working of the school as an institution.
- The qualitative difference in **social relationships** between teacher, pupil and parent and the socio-economic factors inside and outside of school which influence these.

The discussion below discusses both and then argues that they interact in ways that further compound existing inequalities.

Systemic differences

Contrasting the two clusters of schools results in two very different kinds of school systems. Eastwood schools seemed to work better as an internal system of parts.

Both at the strategic level, linking the school to partners, policy and feeder primaries:

The HT's strategic planning and vision for improvement is excellent. Planning for improvement links with the National Improvement Framework, and local authority and school priorities... The current school improvement plan reflects well staff's vision for improvement. A noteworthy feature of strategic planning is the focus on working with the cluster primary schools to assist with transition and continuity. (St Ninian's, 2019)

And in terms of internal coordination:

There are clear links between the school improvement plans and department improvement plans. Identified priorities are the result of highly effective. (ibid)

The leadership vision seemed to create an ethos of respect for pupils and teachers, who both seemed to thrive in their respective ways: whether through attainment and achievement generally or through continuing professional development, commitment and self-evaluation. This also seemed to generate innovative practices: like the tracking system at St Ninians's or its sector-leading programme of career-long professional learning (CLPL) for teachers.

This very strong commitment to professional learning supports school improvement very well. Staff are also motivated from such opportunities, which builds their sense of identity with the school. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: St Ninian's High School, 2019: 2)

At the Residualised schools, by contrast, the system did not function as well. The lack of tracking, the need to support transitions better, the need to develop the curriculum, the lack of consistency throughout the school all seemed to point to a lack of structural coordination of parts.

...approaches to meeting learning needs are too variable and not well developed across the school (Drumchapel, 2012)

Despite teacher's commitment (Springburn, 2018), there seemed to be uncertainty about how to improve (Drumchapel, 2012). And there seemed to be a disconnect between the expectations of leadership and the teachers themselves, where teachers were expected to take more responsibility and yet were not doing so to

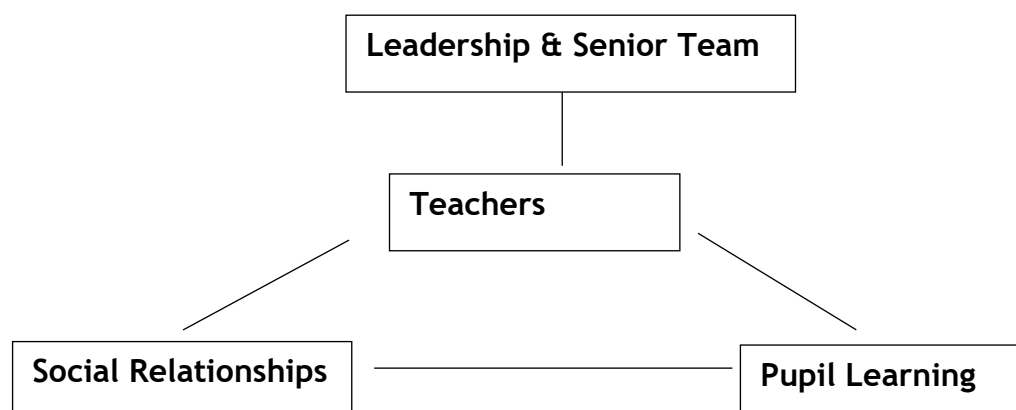
any great extent. And, relatedly, where there was a lack of strategic leadership and direction (Drumchapel, 2012).

Overall, then, the Eastwood cluster had better internal systems all round: for tracking, identifying ASN needs, for promoting teacher improvement, better internal and external coordination and leadership. And the ethos of the school, promoting innovations around parts of the system, only strengthened this (e.g. small teacher groups sharing practice, pupils explaining the curriculum to parents). Therefore, even the formal elements shared between all schools (teaching, curriculum, examinations) worked much better here in practice. And even under the same school system, they functioned completely differently *as systems*.

8.5.2 Social differences and social relationships

To see these two clusters of schools merely as instances of highly functional and dysfunctional systems however would only be part of an explanation. As above, the ethos seemed different in both clusters, and this was more than a function of the systems working well alone. The social relationships were different also. Both **Figure 8.4** (recapped here) and **Figure 8.5** below, showed that the main codes in the coding framework were not the ones of actual learning (curriculum, tracking, pupil involvement, quality of learning, transitions) but the social roles within the school (teacher, pupil, headteacher).

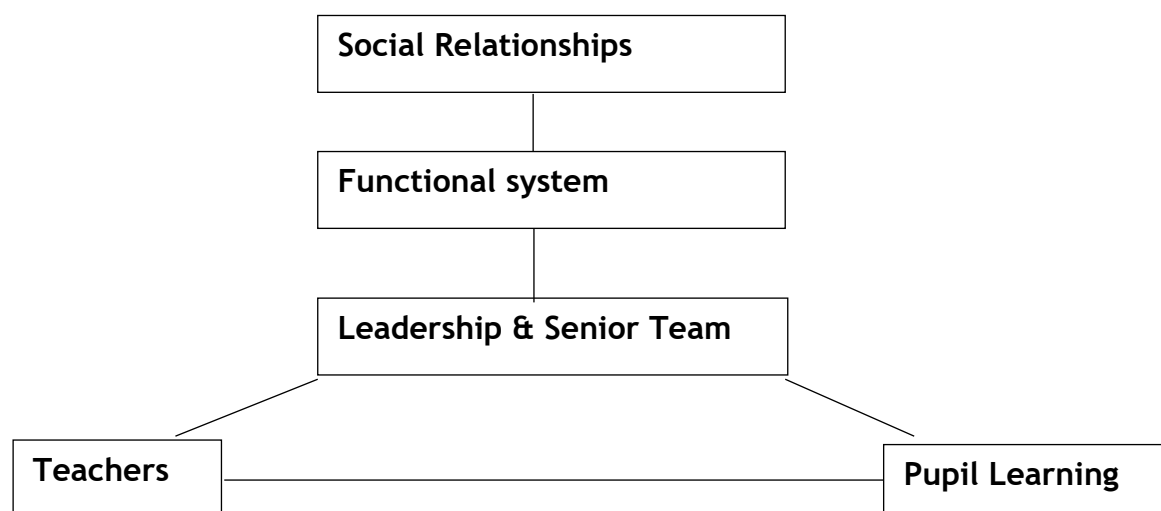
Figure 8.4 Core Codes in coding framework



What is more *they* functioned as a structure too. Thus if relations altered in any parts of this structure, it affected the rest of the structure. As an extreme case, this was more evident at Drumchapel, where the key social relationships seemed to have broken down. There was the breakdown in communication and understanding between teachers and the leadership team described above, where the former were uncertain of how to improve despite willingness and the latter expecting them to improve through taking more responsibility. But, above all, the key 'part' of the structure was the deterioration in mutual respect between teacher and pupils.

This then affected the more specifically *educational* 'parts' of the school system: the quality of teaching and learning (teachers had low expectations, some of their lessons were slow and unchallenging); the curriculum (not developed well enough; attainment (low expectations); achievement (not recognised enough). What the Drumchapel case revealed however was that these social relationships seem to underpin the functional nature of the school system. They are dependent upon them:

Figure 8.5 Social Relationships and the Functional School System



Social valuations

To understand why these social relationships vary, it can be helpful to look at the huge social differences between the schools, illustrated by a comparison with

Springburn Academy (2018) and St Ninians's (2019) from the Residualised and Eastwood clusters, respectively from their Summarised Inspection Findings report:

Table 8.8 Social differences: Springburn Academy and St Ninians's Comparison

	Springburn Academy	St Ninian's
Attendance	Below the national average (88.3% compared with 91.8 per cent nationally)	Above the national average (no statistics given)
Free School Meals (FSM)	40%	3.1 %
Deprivation⁴⁸	90 - 95%	4.4%
Additional Support Needs	40%	22%

Source: Summarised Inspection Findings Report, Springburn Academy (2018) and St Ninian's High School (2019)

The differences are stark: 1 in 20 pupils at St Ninians's are classified as deprived; 1 in 20 at Springburn are *not*. Unless a deliberate comparison is made, the differences are not obvious from the reports, however. Sometimes the difference is revealed in the different language used ('life chances'), sometimes in small differences in the reports e.g. there is no Attainment Vs Deprivation section in the Summarised Inspection report for St Ninians's, as:

The majority of young people reside in Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 9 and 10 (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: St Ninians, 2019:15)

At the beginning of these Summarised Inspection Findings reports, the statistics presented above in **Table 8.8** are shown, benchmarked with a national figure, along with the school's seed number and roll. But they are presented in isolation with no commentary. Thus, like seed number and roll, they are presented as administrative facts or necessary preliminary background information. There is no real sense in the inspection reports of what this means, however, or whether, indeed, it means anything at all. Except in some isolated instances, shown below

⁴⁸ Per cent of pupils living in 20% most deprived datazones in Scotland (SIMD 2016)

where the Castlemilk report commends the school's approach to 'poverty proofing' the school day.

That it does means something however is obvious looking at the Eastwood cluster where the prevalence of SIMD 9-10 seems to go hand in glove with a virtuous circle of committed teachers, courteous and hard-working pupils with a positive relationship to learning, visionary headteachers, engaged parents, all in an ethos of attainment, sky-is-the-limit achievement and mutual respect (**Table 8.5**). These are all shown *as* educational factors, whereas the counterfactual shows the dependence of these on its social underpinnings. This is illustrated by Judith Gillespie, Scottish Parent Teacher Council in the *Guardian* newspaper:

“You couldn't transplant the East Renfrewshire schools into another area with totally different circumstances and replicate their attainment” (Kemp, 2008)

These totally different circumstances are detailed as prefatory statistical material in the reports but the connection is not made.

Similar examples can be seen in the inclusive, positive atmosphere of the Eastwood schools, where those already included in society are commended for their inclusive ethos. Or the leadership skills of pupils who are already groomed for leadership roles in society more generally, and have the certainty of those around them:

Pupils, parents and staff shared openly the expectation that pupils would achieve well in the school. (St Ninian's, 2019)

This is not merely a result of the structure of a school's system. Further, what can be seen in the inspectors' educational evaluations are *social* evaluations, as in evaluations of behaviour and atmosphere which slip into the language of social evaluation ('courteous', 'tone', 'respect'):

Pupils behaved very well, and were commendably courteous in their contacts with other pupils, staff and visitors. (St Ninian's, 2019)

The tone in social areas and classrooms was happy, calm and productive. (St Ninian's, 2019)

Staff and young people raised concerns about the lack of respect shown by staff and pupils (Drumchapel, 2012)

Strictly speaking, none of these observations relate to learning, curriculum or education-specific factors. But it seems to show that inspectors implicitly realise they are important to what they are explicitly inspecting.

Social class differences

So far it has been argued that social valuation is implicit in the inspection reports, and that positive social relationships underpin a functional school system. But social valuation does not exist in a vacuum, but as a system of differences which constitute a class system (Bourdieu, 1984). That this can be seen to be so is evidenced by the common language of the inspectors and the middle-class Mumsnet users: both use exactly the same terms: deprivation, SIMD, Free Schools Meals, ASN, attainment, achievement etc. But whereas the inspectors attempt to use them in a non-judgemental way, the Mumsnet users are able to construct class distinctions from them, as shown in Chapter 7. In doing, they reveal the truth, as it were, of what the inspectors are not able to make explicit: these terms function as euphemized social class proxies, therefore. Reay (2017: 131) argues that the middle classes are the 'ideal normative class' within state education and Bourdieu that social valuations are misrecognised as educational evaluations. Thus, middle-class Mumsnet users are able to recognise the former straight away; and inspectors make observations which do not necessarily relate to education-specific factors *per se*, but implicitly realise and commend the middle-class normative when they see it.

Social class and systemic differences

Does this middle-class normative lead to functional school systems, therefore? It was noted in the findings section that there were two themes:

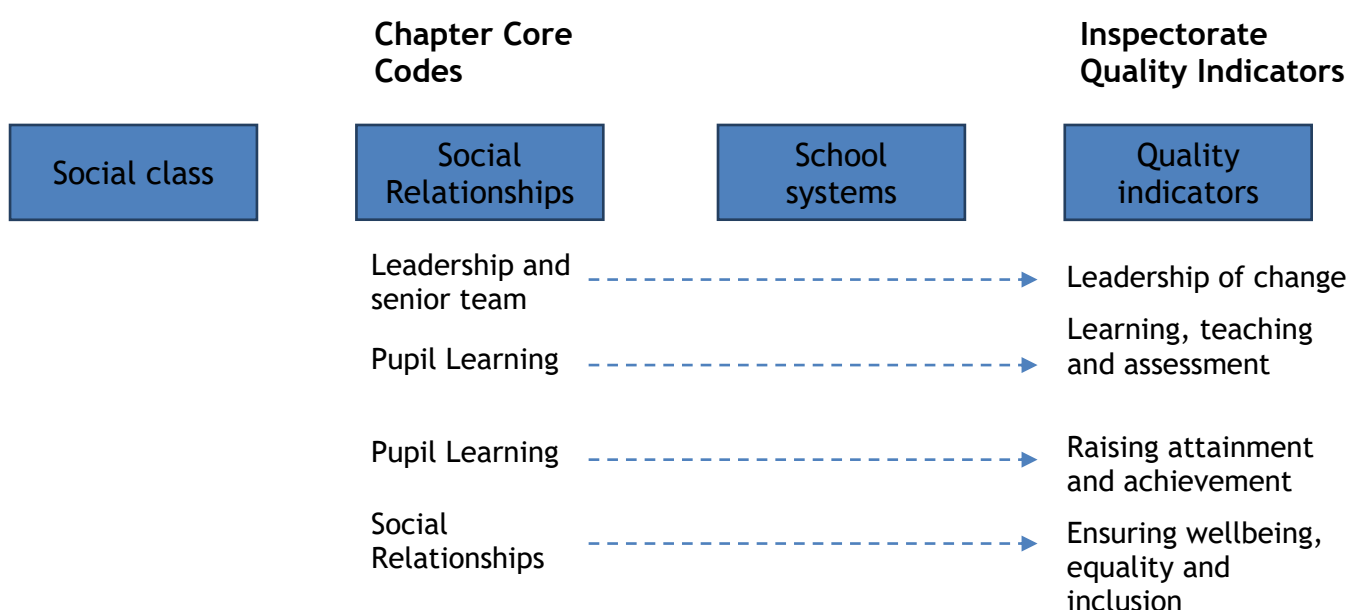
- The qualitative difference in **social relationships** between teacher, pupil and parent and the socio-economic factors inside and outside of school which influence these.
- The **systemic differences** within the complex working of the school as an institution.

It can be seen, however, that the two themes mutually interact. Social class differences underpin the assumed middle class normative, which the social relationships of the school implicitly assume and rely on: as the ‘hand in glove’ functioning of the predominantly middle-class St Ninian’s illustrates. Or, as the system breaks down due to the deteriorating social relationships of the Residualised Drumchapel (the pupil-teacher one in particular). These functional or dysfunctional social relationships then interact with the formal structures of school systems leading to more functional or dysfunctional systems (e.g. tracking systems, development of curriculum, consistency of teaching, strategic leadership etc.).

To be clear then, social class does not directly cause a good or bad school. As Archer argues (1983), educational systems are not ‘porous’. Social class is not simply translated through them (as in Bernstein, 1979; Bourdieu et al., 2000). Instead, the middle class normative is assumed for proper functionality becoming the basis of any social relationships within the school (pupils, teachers, parents etc.), which interacts with the formal school system (curriculum, learning and teaching etc.), which itself causes wide variation (innovative tracking systems, poor consistency across teaching). By saying they ‘interact’ rather than are simply mediated means, moreover, that the school system itself then ‘adds’ to existing inequalities: providing leadership opportunities for pupils already on their way to be leaders; failing to track and support those who are already failing and lost in the system; S6 pupils explaining the curriculum to parents who are already largely aware of it, engaged by students who have already benefited from a well-developed curriculum. Thus, in practice at least, it can be seen, ultimately, as a system that functions for those who it was made to function *for*. If **Figure 7.5** above is correct, then what emerges is an internally differentiated school system, which itself compounds existing inequalities. And, if this is correct, then it is *this* which ultimately gets evaluated in the inspectorate reports.

Education Scotland's quality indicators therefore were very closely related to the 'social relationship' codes.

Figure 8.6 A comparison of Core Codes and the Inspectorate Quality Indicators



The indicator *Raising attainment and achievement*, for example, relies on good tracking systems, consistent teaching etc. - the whole internal system, ultimately. And, as argued, this relies on the social relationships within the school (e.g. pupil-teacher, teacher-senior team). These, it is argued, rely on the predominant social class composition of the school: ideally approaching the middle-class normative. If this is so, then the interaction of social class with internal school systems is largely translated or *reified* into educational 'quality' indicators, where these relationships disappear or become recognised only to the extent they impact learning, and are only expressed in these terms e.g. in terms of educational processes (learning, teaching and assessment) or outcomes (attainment and achievement).

8.5.3 Social class neutralising

If there is an assumed middle-class normative, why is this not found in the inspection reports? Given the large body of sociological and educational literature which evidences the importance of social class, it would seem odd for government policy to ignore this. Or to rephrase what might be taken as a naive question, in what ways does social class become neutralised in the inspection reports and might there be any underlying reasons for this which can be evidenced? The answer is already partly found in the argument above about the reification of social class into quality indicators: the underlying relationships disappear. The question is how and why?

To answer the ‘how’ question, the quality indicators can be seen, theoretically, as an instance of a family of techniques, whose common purpose is to isolate the part from the whole and, as a result, which make it impossible to construct a wider system of stratification.

- (a) The individualisation or isolation of the part from the whole (e.g. individual pupils and schools);
- (b) The standardisation or statistical isolation of the part from the whole (through averages, randomisation and virtual comparisons);
- (c) The area-based isolation of the individual (and so class) from the whole.

By saying, ‘common purpose’, is not to ascribe any collusive intentionality to the inspectors, however. Thus, to answer the ‘why’ question, the argument to follow is that inspectors work within a wider policy landscape, which itself has implicit assumptions (a ‘common purpose’, as it were) internalised by those who work within it. This ultimately reveals the underlying State structures, which the Scottish government itself works within. At this level, the inspection reports can be seen as a case study of sorts into government policy more widely and the structures which underpin it. This rest of the discussion now works through the ‘how’ and ‘why’ in more detail.

The language of insulation

In neutralising social class, the language of the reports quarantines wider social class characteristics, insulating them purely within the education system and therefore as purely educational factors, wherever possible. Social problems become problems of learning. This is seen in the Drumchapel report where wider social deprivation and social, emotional and behavioural problems are seen as ‘barriers to learning’. There is an exceptional instance of engaging with this directly in one of the reports:

Appreciating the complexities of young people’s lives outside school, addressing the myth of poverty of aspiration and providing financial support within a framework of poverty proofing the school day are major strengths of the school’s approach to promoting equity. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: Castlemilk High School, 2019: 6)

The approach to insulation, however, is evident in the ‘poverty proofing’ of the school day. Here the school can only work with the pupil intake it has and try to work with them on an individual basis, ‘getting it right for every child’. This is one way then where the influence of a pupil’s wider social circumstances is removed from the frame of reference.

And when the frame of reference is thus reduced, the onus is now on the school:

There are highly effective examples of how the school supports young people and their families overcome the impact of poverty (ibid)

At Springburn, financial barriers to extra-curricular activities need to be addressed at the school level:

The school is working to develop effective systems to ensure equity in the promotion, recognition and sharing of successes and achievements of all learners. Financial barriers are known and addressed successfully to ensure equity of access to opportunities. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: Springburn Academy, 2018: 17)

This barrier is also addressed at Springburn where the school has to work with catering staff to ensure after school supported study clubs have snacks and water. What this commendable work means however is that schools, in some instances, are having to compensate, at least in part, for wider social inequalities through

the school system. As a result, wider social class differences become school characteristics⁴⁹ and individual pupil differences. That this is assumed by the inspectorate also, is evident in the examples above. This individualising of schools means that no comparisons are ever made *between* schools or to similar schools, with similar issues. The report for Springburn Academy is the report for Springburn Academy.

National benchmarks

The next method of neutralising social class is through some form of statistical standardisation. This is particularly evident in the third quality indicator, 3.2 *Raising attainment and achievement*. Any comparison between schools is either made relative to a national average or similar benchmark. For example, Springburn:

Attendance is generally below the national average. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: Springburn Academy, 2018: 1)
In these examples, teachers are making effective use of national guidance, and are aware of the need to take account of the new National Benchmarks. (ibid: 5)

In 2017, the proportion attaining literacy (as a course) at SCQF level 4 or better was significantly higher than the national average. (ibid: 13)

Or to similar deciles of deprivation:

As these young people leave the school, they are consistently performing significantly much higher and significantly higher than young people living in the same deciles across Scotland. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: St Ninian's, 2019: 15)

For deciles 3 to 10 attainment is generally in line with the national average in the latest two years. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: St Pauls' 2019: 18)

Or pre-2016, to schools serving 'similar needs and backgrounds':

In examinations, for most levels the school performs better than or much better than schools serving young people with similar needs and backgrounds. (St Roch's, 2011)

⁴⁹ As detailed in the prefatory deprivation statistics in the Summarised Inspection reports.

Or, post-2016, this was developed into a Virtual Comparator (VC), as in in the Castlemilk report:

Over the past five years, most young people of the S4 cohort return to school for S5, with the majority of S5 pupils returning for S6. These figures are in line with the VC. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: Castlemilk, 2019: 8)

The VC is created using ‘data from pupils with similar characteristics such as SIMD1 postcodes, additional support needs and gender.’⁵⁰

The Virtual Comparator is made up of pupils from schools in other local authorities who have similar characteristics to the pupils in your school. It allows you to see how the performance of your pupils compares to a similar group of pupils from across Scotland to help you undertake self-evaluation and improvement activities...For each pupil in the cohort of interest (e.g. S4 pupils in School A), 10 matching pupils are randomly selected without replacement from other local authorities (*Source: Insight⁵¹*)

Hutchinson (2019) explains that inspectors are better at benchmarking at national level than local schools. But the explanation for this may, in part at least, be that such comparisons are not part of policy⁵².

But this has important consequences. It becomes impossible to understand a Glasgow City school as a residualised school or even just grasp the prevalence of schools with highly deprived intakes in Glasgow City. That this is so, Chapter 6 shows is not random, given factors like the residualisation of social housing, the rise of owner occupation and the increasing use of the housing market, and the creation of supply-side driven local authorities. By comparing a cohort of, say, 20

⁵⁰ <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=44074&p=0>. Specifically, it is comprised of sex, additional support needs, latest stage of attainment in August, and SIMD quintile.

⁵¹ The guide for teachers, see <https://insight-guides.scotxed.net/default.htm> as specifically directed from Education Scotland:
<https://education.gov.scot/parentzone/my-school/education-glossary/>

⁵² One reason explained to me (whilst working at Skills Development Scotland) was that encouraging direct comparison of schools would lead to a form of school league tables, as in England.

S4 pupils in Drumchapel High School with 200⁵³ randomly selected pupils across the rest of Scotland it:

- Takes that cohort out from its specific school: it becomes a comparison of similar cohorts, the comparator being understood as a randomised cohort across Scotland.
- In doing so, it removes that specific school from its local authority and from the other schools it is related to.

The statistical process of randomisation destroys the socio-spatial relations of specific schools and, theoretically speaking at least, supposes there are no such relations or that they are not relevant. This makes it impossible to compare schools with each other within their local authorities, or to adjacent local authorities, say. The different social circumstances and social class intakes are thus removed, despite their relevance.

Only a comparison between actual schools in their geographical relations, makes it possible to see the stark differences illustrated by **Table 8.8** and whether there is an underlying system of stratified schools as in **Figure 7.4** (*Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*) or the geography of tenure in Chapter 6. Randomisation destroys these relations and the Virtual Comparator (VC) means that a school's attainment is described only in relation to itself and a VC, not to other schools.

Finally, Hutchinson (2018) explains that the reduced number of local authority inspections means that it is impossible to tell the overall 'health of the system'. That is, there is no complete system of inspection reports. And, therefore, there is no way to understand the overall quality of Scottish schools. Even trying to do so for Glasgow Region has been faced with obstacles (see **Appendix 2**). Reduced inspections and archiving are certainly factors, as shown in the available sample for this chapter. But additionally, there has been no attempt to draw together all these reports into some sort of national or even local authority understanding of

⁵³ 1 pupil is matched with 10 randomly selected pupils.

the schools as a system. Although, given the understanding of a school as an individual unit, and not related to any other, this would be logical.

Area based neutralising

So far, social class has been neutralised by the inspectorate in the following ways.

1. Removing individuals from their social class (e.g. 'barriers' to learning)
2. Removing schools from their socio-spatial relations (e.g. schools 'poverty proofing' the school day)
3. Removing social class by using various standardised statistical indicators (e.g. VCs and SIMD deciles)

This of course works in the opposite direction: where middle class intakes (although described as predominantly SIMD 9-10 as in the St Ninian's report) equally benefit from such an approach, thus both allowing the middle-class normative to flourish at the same time as it is removed from scrutiny.

A final comparator which is prevalent in the inspection reports is the use of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD): in the prefatory statistics and attainment sections for example, as noted previously. In one sense, it functions as the VC or a national average. But in another sense, it helps reveal the underlying assumptions implicit in the policy framework of the Scottish Government, and therefore the framework within which Education Scotland, and therefore the inspectors, do their work.

This fairly recent Summarised Inspection Findings report gives an example of the type of indicators used:

Over the past 5 years, attainment (complementary tariff scores) of young people living in individual deciles has been in line with that of young people living in similar deciles elsewhere nationally. In 2017, however, the attainment of young people at S4 from deciles 1, 2 and 3 (almost 95% of all pupils) was significantly higher or significantly much higher than for young people living in the same deciles elsewhere nationally. (Inspection Report, Summarised Inspection Findings: Springburn Academy, 2018: 17)

If one way to insulate social class differences is to focus on the individual distinct from their social relations, or the school distinct from its socio-spatial relations, then the other is to translate social class differences into *area characteristics* as in the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). The SIMD is a measure of relative deprivation at small area (datazone) level (SIMD 2012: 4), where it is explicitly pointed out that not all deprived individuals live in deprived areas.

So it is important to remember that the SIMD identifies multiply deprived areas - not everyone in a deprived area is individually deprived, and not all deprived individuals live in multiply deprived areas (ibid)

As sensible as this seems, it has some important corollaries. However, some more detail is required before these can be drawn out.

Townsend's concept of deprivation

The Scottish Government use (Scottish Executive, 2004), and explicitly quote from, Townsend's (1979) original concept of deprivation: namely, that deprivation is not solely about poverty or lack of income but lack of resources prohibiting wider access to society more generally. It is here however that they part company. Townsend, however, criticised the operationalisation of the concept: firstly, in its concern with area deprivation, which he argued was more concerned with political justifying allocation of resources (Townsend: 1987: 131). The unit of deprivation was the individual⁵⁴ not the datazone (Townsend, 1979). In other words, it was not an area-based measure. Secondly, he argued that the data used in the construction of deprivation indices were limited by what was available rather than was theoretically required to operationalise the concept properly, often based on data which had secured 'political approval rather than scientific approval' (ibid).

Townsend's concept of deprivation was individual ultimately because his concern was with social stratification and redistribution and his 'central message' was that poverty cannot be understood separate from the system which generates it. The change from individual as the unit of deprivation analysis to area is significant then. As Townsend argued, it can be seen in the use of it a policy instrument, in the allocation of resources, as in the SIMD (2012: 2):

⁵⁴ The income unit (as the individual distinct from the household).

By identifying small areas where there are concentrations of multiple deprivation, the SIMD can be used *to target policies and resources at the places with greatest need*. [own emphasis added]

That is, as an allocation of existing resources rather than any fundamental redistribution of them.

Secondly, there is the nature of these policies. After 1979 however, the state moved to a post- Keynesian Liberal Market Economy, and therefore away from any attempts at redistribution. Notably, the domains of the SIMD are largely calculated from what are traditionally the five pillars of the welfare state⁵⁵:

- Income
- Employment
- Health
- Education, Skills and Training⁵⁶
- Housing

But the difference is, this is no longer a Keynesian Welfare State but a *residual* welfare state, a fundamental institutional compatibility of Liberal Market Economies. The Scottish government and the SIMD are not unusual here *vis a vis* the UK as a whole:

The approach used in Scotland is widely accepted, with similar methodologies being used to produce the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. (SIMD, 2012: 3)

Thus taking the 2012 SIMD, for example: under the construction of the Income domain, claimant count is one such indicator used; under employment, are adults and children in Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) households⁵⁷. Thus, the welfare conditionality of residual welfare states (e.g. claimant count, JSA) is factored into the construction of the domains. Other examples can be furnished such as tax

⁵⁵ Crime and Geographic Access to Services being the others. And that is, if income is seen as related to employment, and employment more broadly as both this and unemployment.

⁵⁶ The addition of 'Skills and Training' is significant: see chapter 2.

⁵⁷ Again, a deviation from Townsend's insistence on the income unit not the household income unit.

credits (the Employment domain), which arguably can be seen as the State subsidising low paying employers, and therefore supporting labour market flexibility. And in adding 'Skills and Training' to the Education welfare pillar, the relation to the labour market becomes plain, supporting the creation of a general skills system rather than a firm-specific or sector-specific one.

Already therefore, the following has been identified in the construction of the SIMD:

- Welfare conditionality
- Labour market flexibility
- General skills system

All these are the principles of a Liberal Market Economy, as outlined in Chapter 3. A completely different state regime to the one implicit in Townsend's understanding. It thus takes the indicators of the residual, post-Keynesian residual state as input, without an analysis of the residual welfare state which has produced them. It is therefore impossible to understand deprivation in a structural way. And further, that the residual welfare state might itself be a causal element of deprivation.

Corollaries

The corollaries mentioned in the shift to an area-based measure can now be traced out.

1. By moving from the individual to the area, class inequalities are impossible to analyse. Sociologically, class is *the relation* between *the individual or groups of individuals* to the means of production (as in Marx) or to the market (as in Weber, 1947) or to the structure of the labour market (Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006). Ontologically, it is not an area characteristic. Removing the individual removes the relation, and therefore any possible construction of social class.
2. This means no overall analysis of stratification can take place, understood as the wider system of class inequalities. In the same way, Forrest and Murie

understand the relations between owner occupation and social housing as a wider system of tenure, rather than in their isolated forms, Townsend called for an analysis of the wider system of 'hierarchy of wealth and esteem, of which poverty is an integral part'. And a ranking of this system of inequality. The ranking required to understand the extent of stratification is reduced, in the SIMD, to a standardised ranking: from most deprived (1) to least deprived (6,976). As an ordinal scale, it is impossible to tell the distance between one rank and another (e.g. whether SIMD 20 is twice as deprived as rank 10). And, crucially:

The SIMD does not measure affluence, it measures deprivation. Therefore, all that we can say about the areas at the lower end of the rankings (closer to 6,505) is that they are less deprived. (SIMD, 2012: 4)

The 'hierarchy of wealth and esteem' is thus removed from SIMD and what is effected therefore is a neutralisation of the social distribution of inequality⁵⁸.

3. And, doing so, the lens switches not towards an examination of this overall distribution but only to the exclusion of a minority, the deprived. Here no longer understood as part of an overall, hierarchical, stratified system which produces this, as Townsend had argued.

4. Finally, having neutralised social class (1 above), the overall distribution of inequality from which this is generated (2 above), and then shifting to a focus on the deprived only (3 above), deprivation becomes an area characteristic. It now becomes a means, in a residual welfare state, of allocating resources not of effecting any wider redistribution.

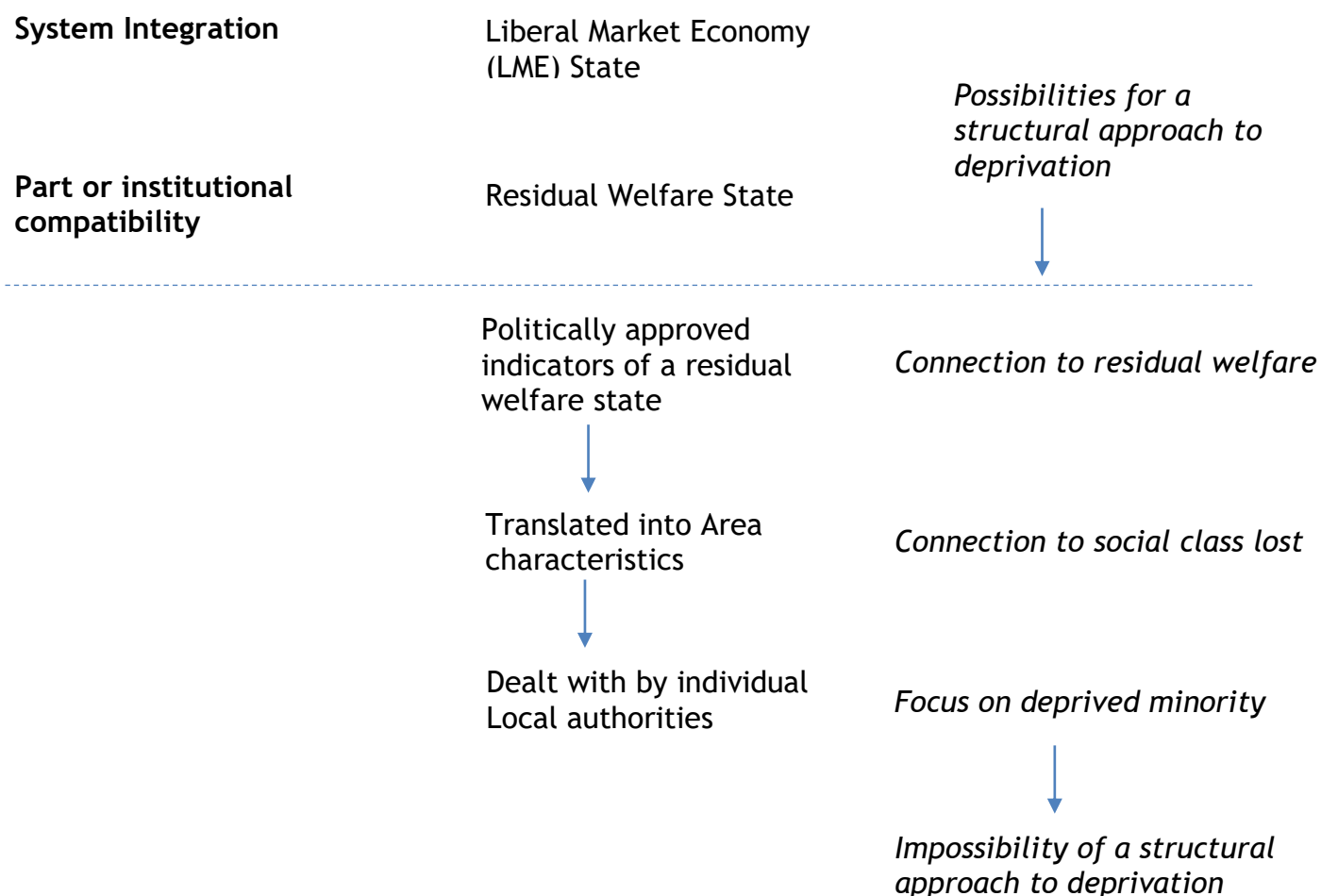
Taking Townsend's general approach⁵⁹, this can be seen in **Figure 8.7** below. The change to area and the change (in post-Keynesian restructuring) towards a Liberal Market Economy are one in the same process, therefore. More specifically, the former is the result of the latter. As above, the local supply-side model of

⁵⁸ Which would require an actual understanding of the income distribution (e.g. for the Income domain) rather than the residualised income indicators of claimant count, incapacity benefit etc.

⁵⁹ ...to plumb the full meaning of the elaborate and interconnected *structure* of society

allocation of resources insulates the residual welfare state (and *a fortiori*, the Liberal Market Economy) from any scrutiny. Instead, it now constructs the categories through which we understand deprivation.

Figure 8.7 Corollaries of an area-based approach to deprivation



It becomes impossible to understand deprivation (understood structurally) in relation to a residual welfare state⁶⁰ and thus to challenge it at this level. Instead,

⁶⁰ This is similar to some statistical approaches to educational inequalities: for example, multilevel modelling which takes the existing State structures (school, local authority) to use in the model; or neighbourhood effects models which, even whilst using social class as a variable in models, simultaneously neutralise it through both individual characteristics (compositional effects) and area characteristics (contextual effects). The wider relations between individual and area are lost. Both therefore create statistical models using the categories of residual welfare states to understand inequalities, without an analysis of the residual welfare state which, as the thesis argues, is what produces these inequalities in the first place.

the wider structure of inequality is lost in a local approach with supply-side policies:

By identifying small areas where there are concentrations of multiple deprivation, the SIMD can be used to target policies and resources at the places with greatest need. (SIMD, 2012: 2)

Now a problem for supply-side local authorities (see Section 6.2 in Chapter 6) to solve with supply-side tools (raising attainment, raising aspirations; the use of education; welfare to work style unemployment initiatives and training) and supply-side partners.

Of which Education Scotland is one. And, therefore, functions within this wider policy landscape. That this is so, is evident, firstly, in its use of indicators. The wider policy context of other Scottish Government organisations (SQA) and the Scottish Government itself was revealed in some of the indicators used in the inspection reports (VCs and SIMD respectively⁶¹), which themselves were used by the inspectorate in producing their own quality indicators. What results is effectively an insulated, circular, self-perpetuating system.

Secondly, its own quality indicators themselves are aligned with national policy. For example, within the category of Successes and Achievements, there is *3.1 Ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion* and *Indicator 3.3 Increasing creativity and employability*. The links between inclusion and employability are evident in any welfare to work approach. Further, the indicator *3.2 Raising attainment and achievement*, has four constituent themes around attainment and equity (HGOS, 2015: 18). With attainment as a proxy for skills, and equity around closing ‘gaps’, it is a close cousin of the wider equality of opportunity. And also the inclusive

⁶¹ Note that the inspection reports, adhering to the lack of local focus and the use of national comparators, only use the SIMD in the latter sense, e.g.

For deciles 3 to 10 attainment is generally in line with the national average in the latest two years. (St Pauls’)

The analysis of their use of the SIMD is, at the same time, an analysis of how they incorporate its assumptions.

growth strategy of Scottish government and the more recent wellbeing economy. Once again, it functions as related policy system.

The argument here, however, is that this is not merely about the Scottish government or government. Underlying, this is the State structures themselves, based upon the Liberal Market Economy. A key part of a residual welfare state is its emphasis on education (Chapter 3). The school system's emphasis on attainment (as skills) can be understood in relation to the labour market and economy and the emphasis on skills supports the conditionality of unemployment benefits (welfare to work approaches as acquisition of employability skills). The provision of individual equality of opportunity as the route to the acquisition of skills can be seen in both Education Scotland's quality indicators and Scottish government policies more widely.

Effectively, the supply-side structures of a Liberal Market Economic State - above and beyond any one government - shape the underlying principles of the policy framework within Scottish Government works, revealed especially in the use of the SIMD, which, in its 'ideological filtering' (Keep and Mayhew, 2014: 775), creates a self-reinforcing policy landscape, within which the inspectorate works. In other words, they have internalised this landscape. The evidence for this was the neutralisation of social class. It is only in retrieving these underlying assumptions and exclusions, that the inspection reports can be understood. Inspections therefore need to be seen in this light: as a case study in, and as an actual part of, the larger government policy in Scotland, which is focused on supply-side measures.

8.6 Conclusion

The research questions guiding this chapter were:

RQ 1. Given the system of inequality within the housing system and evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, is there evidence for an internally differentiated state secondary school system?

RQ 1.1 To what extent is the hierarchical system of school choice itself based on a hierarchical system of schools?

RQ 1.2 Is there any evidence of government policy influencing the inspection of schools?

In this chapter, the stratified systems of school produced from the Mumsnet data was completed in Appendix 2 of this chapter. The two different levels of state secondary schools, as top and bottom, were used to answer RQ 1.1, through an analysis of two opposing clusters, the Eastwood elite cluster and the Residual Glasgow cluster. This was based upon the core clusters of owner occupation and social housing (Chapter 6) and schools which Mumsnet users were ideally moving towards or away from (Chapter 7). By using the extremities of these positions as 'limiting cases', the approach was to reveal the parameters of school quality. Other schools could therefore be understood somewhere between these two poles. At the level of the two clusters, there is evidence for an internally differentiated school system. In simple terms, the Mumsnet users were correct. Therefore, there is evidence to support the proposition that the hierarchical system of school choice is itself based on a hierarchical system of schools.

Answering RQ 1.2, was more complex. From the literature, the issue was that in combining its inspection and policy functions, Education Scotland was marking its own homework and failing to challenge the Scottish Government. This may well be so but the analysis in discussion section was of a different kind. Firstly, through an analysis of standardised statistical comparators (VCs and SIMD), there was definite evidence of other elements of government policy being used, at least, in inspection reports. And the politicisation of inspection, from this chapter's literature review, could be evidenced in the alignment of its own quality indicators with broader Scottish Government policy and from the way the indicators from the SQA (the Virtual Comparator) and the Scottish Government (SIMD) were used in the use of the Inspectorate's quality indicators themselves, leading to a circular, self-perpetuating system. Thus, this further evidenced Hume's claim that educational bodies 'work with the grain of official policy' (2013: 98-108).

But the question of influence was found to be far greater and more structural. This relates not to Hume's argument that the various public sector bodies working with the Scottish Government fail to take 'an independent line' (ibid: 100) but to Gille's

argument (2013:117) about the prevalent view of education being the neoliberal one. This neoliberal view however, through an analysis of the SIMD's construction, was more far-reaching than just education alone. And was not merely a problem of the Scottish government. It was argued here that the supply-side structures of a Liberal Market *State* - above and beyond any one government - created a framework within which the Scottish Government, or any UK government, needed to work. And, like a set of Russian dolls, this then created a 'neoliberal' view of education. And then within *that* framework, the inspectorate worked.

An analysis of Townsend's original conception of deprivation and the need for a Keynesian style approach to structural change and redistribution, however, did not fit into that framework. What ultimately this means is that a broader understanding of class stratification in society, as per Townsend, is not possible within the State structures of the Liberal Market Economy. The ultimate reasons for this are analysed more fully in the Conclusion. For now, this chapter has explored how this happens in **Figure 8.8** (*Corollaries of an area-based approach to deprivation*), using the SIMD.

The clue to all of this came from asking why social class was neutralised by the inspectorate, at the same time as they expressed it in euphemised forms. *How* this was done was in a family of methods which isolated part from the whole, the SIMD being a paradigmatic case. The 'whole' here is ultimately the system of class stratification. *Why* this was done can be simply stated for now: it is a functional requirement of supply-side governments. The analysis of the inspectorate working within these structures was used as a case study in understanding the wider State structures in a Liberal Market Economy.

Answering both of these questions then, results in an answer to the research question guiding the chapter:

RQ 1. Given the system of inequality within the housing system and evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, is there evidence for an internally differentiated state secondary school system?

The simple answer from RQ 1.1 is yes, and when combined with evidence from Chapter 6-7 this results in the Structural Elaboration below:

Figure 8.1: *Structural Elaboration: Analytical Dualism* approach to Origin-Education link

Structure 1: System Integration → Chapter 6: Tenure

Structure 2: Social Integration → Chapter 7: School Choice

>>

Structural Elaboration: within the Educational System itself

What is structurally elaborated is an internally differentiated system of school quality in Glasgow Region. Firstly, the middle-class normative underpinned the optimal functioning of internal school systems, and the relations between their parts (curriculum, teaching, pupil learning, tracking etc.) This in itself was underpinned by the social relationships within the school (particular pupil-teacher), which itself was dependent for maximal functioning upon a middle-class normative. Chapter 6 showed how the housing system resulted in concentrations of owner occupation outside Glasgow City and concentrations of social housing within it. The resulting interaction with social classes, particularly middle-class fractions, meant a stratified system of secondary school choice. This resulted in stratified intakes closer to or further away from the middle class normative, as evidence from the very low or very high proportions of deprivation in the Eastwood elite and Residualised Glasgow clusters showed. This resulted in more functional or dysfunctional school systems, which in itself ‘added’ to existing inequalities. Given the interaction of System Integration and Social Integration, there is evidence to support the main research question, using Glasgow Region as a case study:

RQ 1. Given the system of inequality within the housing system and evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, is there evidence for an internally differentiated state secondary school system?

Thus schools in the Glasgow Region, under the same formal system operated very different in fact, from the instances in this chapter.

There was also an additional element to the evolving understanding of System Integration and Social Integration in Glasgow Region. This was related to the State structures of the Liberal Market Economy (*System Integration*), understood or operationalised here, as it were, as the policy landscape of the Scottish Government. The emerging insight is that there is a functional requirement to neutralise social class (*Social Integration*) in policy, in a Liberal Market Economy: in theoretical terms, System Integration requires the policy neutralisation of Social Integration (understood as class conflict). Its effects here mean:

1. The removal of social class as a policy category, whilst it operates unabated (as in Chapter 7).
2. Removing from scrutiny a wider understanding of a system of school stratification (again, as in Chapter 7).
3. Removing from scrutiny a wider understanding of a system of class stratification.

The same system of policies focuses *on* the education system as a way of tackling these residualities and inequalities, through the acquisition of qualifications, understood as proxies for skills. The next chapter, however, looks at what extent this can be said to be successful for those residualised schools identified in this chapter.

Appendix 1: Sample Inspection Formats pre-2016

The first example shows the format of inspection reports around 2009: a twenty-page report based around nine questions. The second example, later in 2019, condenses these down to three, and the format is a ten-page letter addressed to a parent or guardian.

Inspectorate report, 2009 (Williamwood High School, All Saints Secondary)

Contents

1. The school
2. Particular strengths of the school
3. Examples of good practice
4. How well do young people learn and achieve?
5. How well do staff work with others to support young people's learning?
6. Are staff and young people actively involved in improving their school community?
7. Does the school have high expectations of all young people?
8. Does the school have a clear sense of direction?
9. What happens next?

Inspectorate report, 2012 (Drumchapel High School, addressed to parent/carer)

- How well do young people learn and achieve?
- How well does the school support young people to develop and learn?
- How well does the school improve the quality of its work?

Appendix 2: Construction of the Sampling Frame

The methods used to derive the final sampling frame are detailed below.

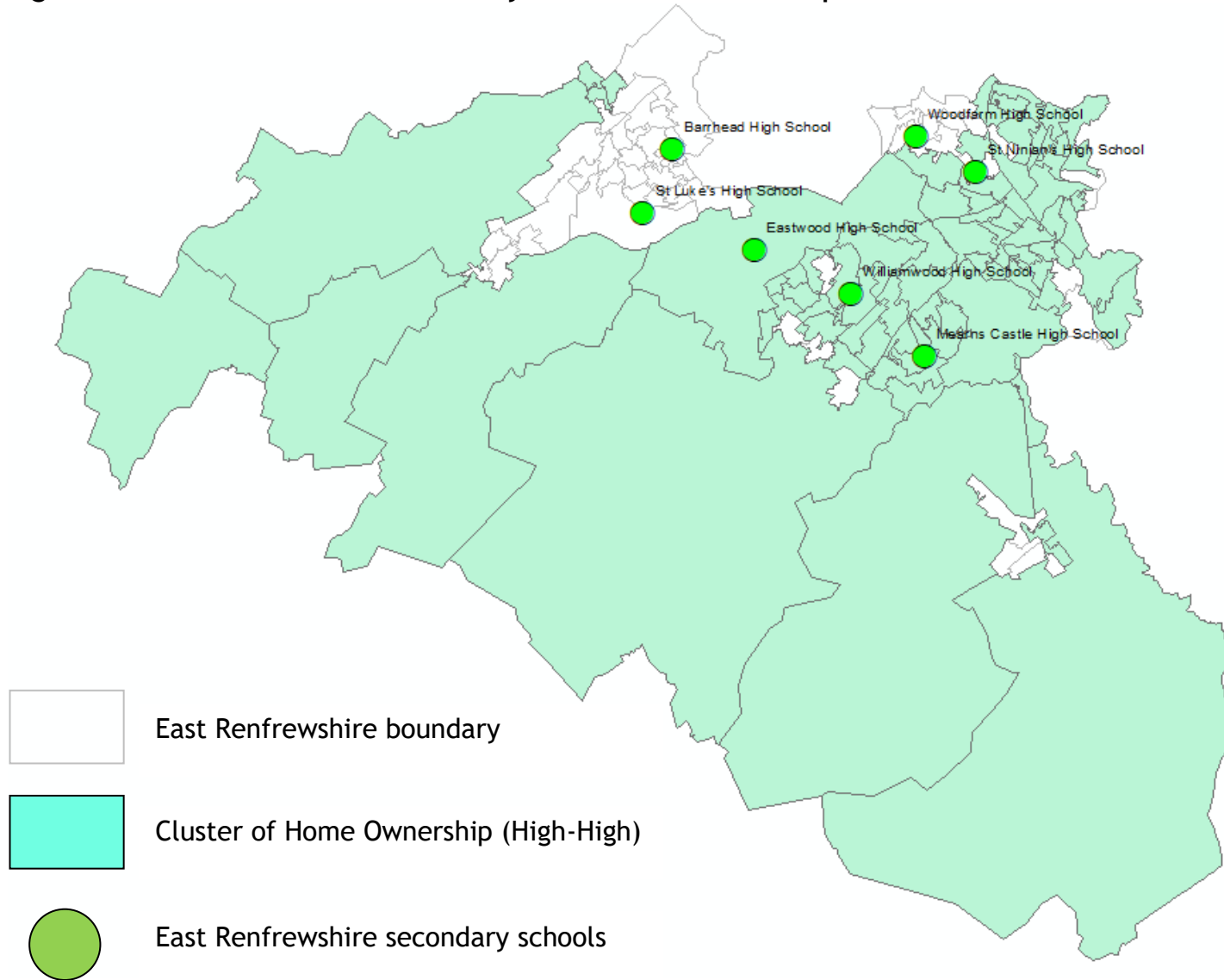
‘Moving towards’ and internal stratification: The Eastwood schools

To construct the sampling frame, Table 7.4. (*Hierarchy of Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*) was used. Firstly, the *State* secondary schools at the top of the system of stratification and internal differentiation (Level 2) were: St Ninian’s, Williamwood, Newton Mearns, Clarkston, Giffnock and Bearsden Academy. In actual fact, St Ninian’s High School is the Giffnock school, and Williamwood High School the Clarkston school. Newton Mearns is Mearns Castle High school. Given the concentration on East Renfrewshire from Mumsnet users and fewer posts about Bearsden Academy in East Dunbartonshire (and since a check at this point meant there was no report for Bearsden Academy), it could be omitted.

Chapter 6 had analysed the core clusters of home ownership in the West of Scotland. Using ArcGIS, a spatial operation called ‘clipping’ was applied to ‘clip out’ Glasgow Region. After which, the seven schools were geocoded using an online geocoding tool⁶². Geocoding simply means finding the latitude and longitude to plot a precise location.

⁶² https://www.mapdevelopers.com/geocode_tool.php

Figure 8.8 East Renfrewshire secondary schools in Owner Occupation cluster



From **Figure 8.8** above, four of the seven schools are in the core Owner Occupation cluster⁶³. Woodfarm High School and the two schools from the ‘wrong side’ of the motorway (M77) are not. These are excluded.

The following table was then created as the basis of the sampling frame. The criterion for inclusion was Owner Occupation Cluster = Yes AND Inspection Report = Yes.

Table 8.9 ‘Level 2’: The East Renfrewshire Secondaries

School	Deprivation (SIMD 1) ⁶⁴⁶⁵	Owner Occupation Cluster	Education Scotland report	Prior Education Scotland (before 2016)	Date
St Ninians High School	3%	No	Yes	Yes	2019; 2008
Williamwood High School	5%	Yes	No	Yes	2009
Mearns Castle High School	2%	Yes	No	Yes	2011
Eastwood High School	8%	Yes	No	No	-
Woodfarm High School	7%	No	No	No	-
Barrhead High School	38%	No	No	No	-
St Luke’s High School	27%	No	No	No	-

⁶³ Closer inspection reveals that St Ninian’s High school is marginally out; however, as the ‘top’ school (with highest ever inspection report, it has been included)

⁶⁴ Proportion of pupils living in SIMD 1. For comparison, in 2017, 4.4 per cent of pupils at St Ninian’s lived in the 20% per cent most deprived datazones in Scotland so this is likely to be measured in a similar or same way to the statistics below for the Residualised schools (source: St Ninian’s Summarised Inspection report, 2019: 1)

⁶⁵ Note this data was taken from the Stewart, C (2019). The full link is given below:

<https://www.glasgowtimes.co.uk/news/17513503.east-renfrewshire-renfrewshire-exam-tables-revealed/>

This resulted in the following schools being included: St Ninian's High School, Williamwood High School and Mearns Castle High School. These were also the schools that Mumsnet mentioned and the ones they moved towards most in the hierarchical system of state secondaries.

'Moving away' and the Residualised schools

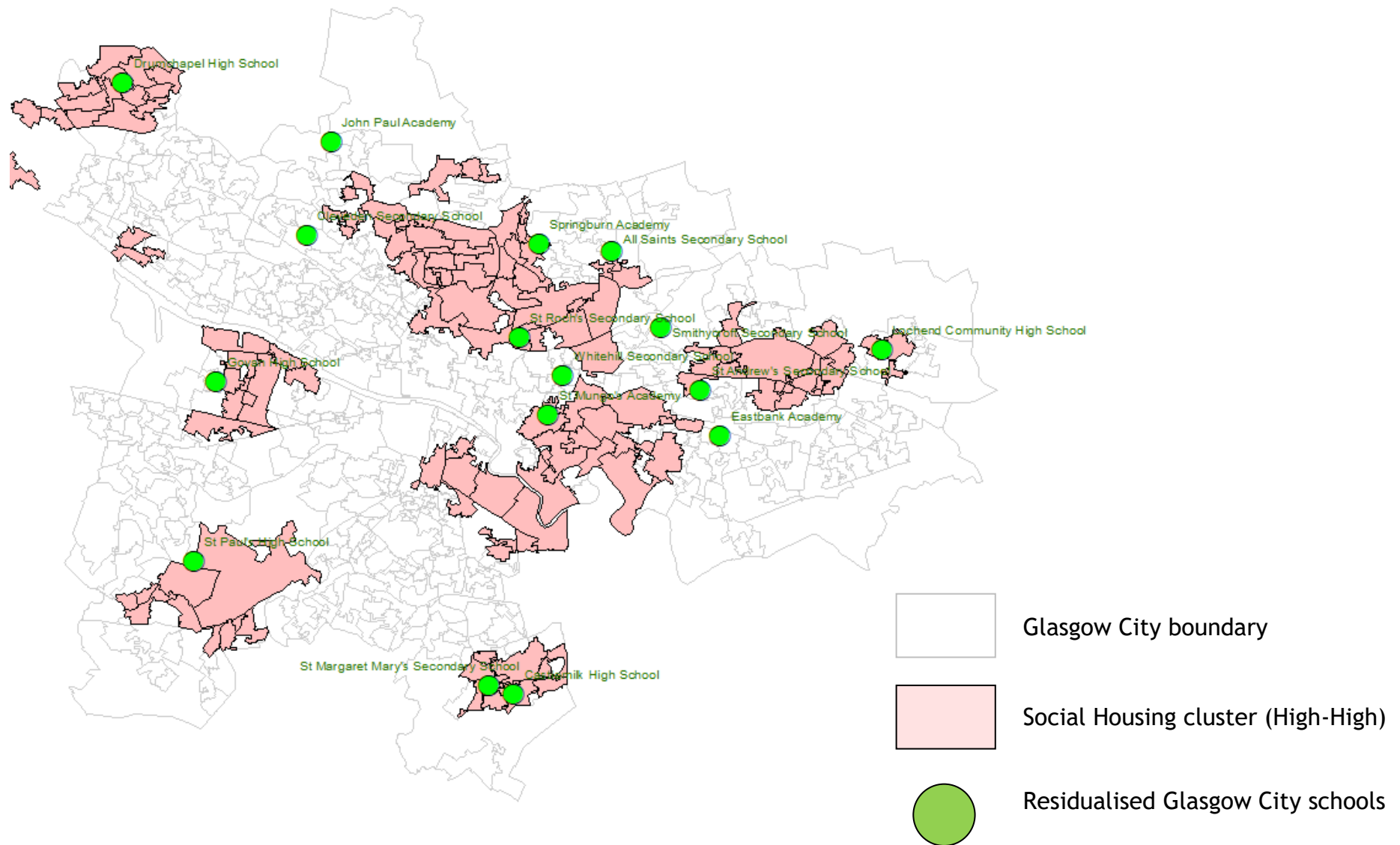
At the bottom of this hierarchical structure of school choice in Chapter 7, was "The Rest". However, as the conclusion to that chapter noted, this category itself can be further broken down into "The Residualised".

To analyse these schools, the core clusters of social housing analysed in chapter 6 was used. Secondly, open data was downloaded from Glasgow.gov.uk in 2016⁶⁶ which geocoded all the schools in Glasgow City and included additional information like pupil numbers and denomination. It also had deprivation per school (85 < -90%, 80 - < 85%, etc.). The core clusters were mapped over the Glasgow City boundaries, using ArcGIS. Given the aim was to analyse the residual schools instead of all secondary schools in Glasgow, the data was filtered in Excel to include only schools with over 50% deprivation⁶⁷. The resulting schools were then plotted as shown in **Figure 8.9** below.

⁶⁶ I have been unable to retrieve the link to this data and the location may have moved. The dataset can be submitted however along with the PhD.

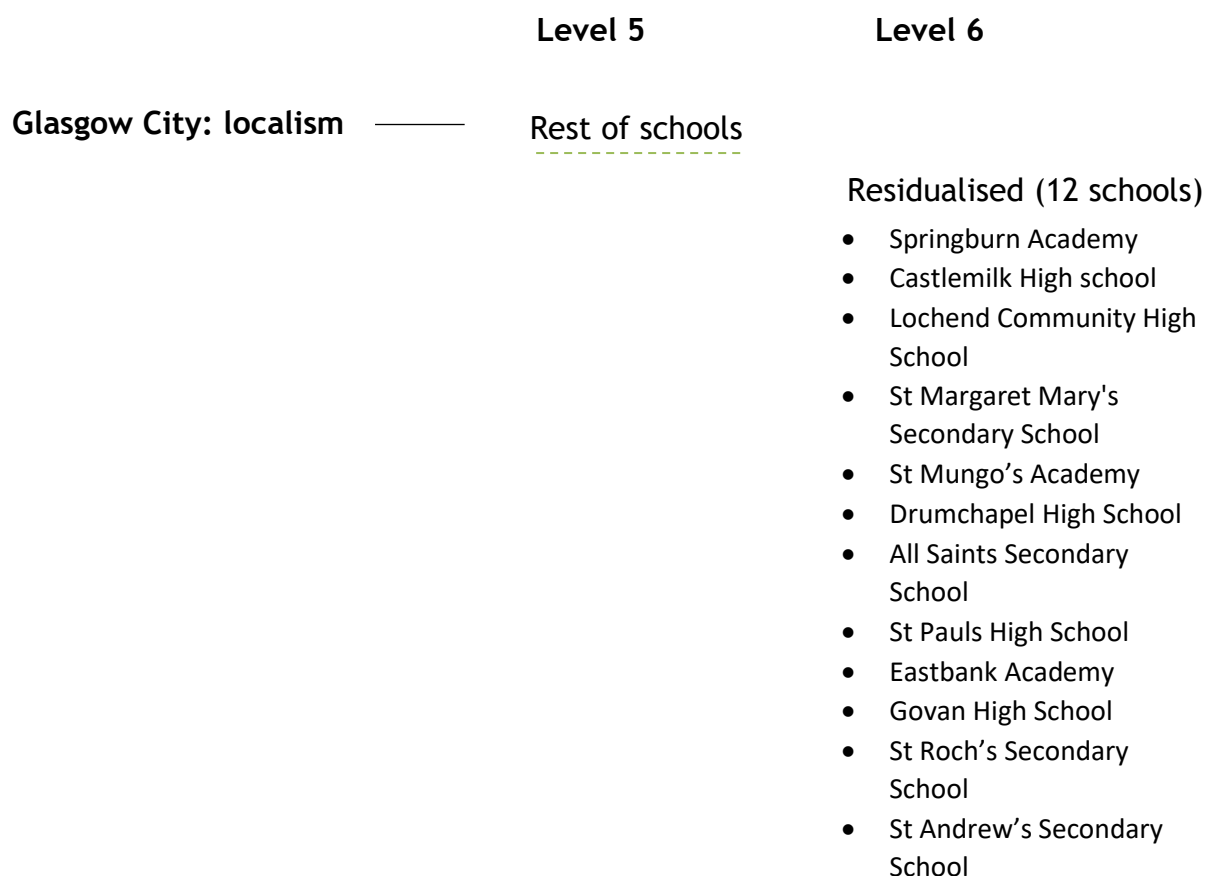
⁶⁷ Deprivation here is measured here as proportion of pupils who live in 20% most deprived datazones in Scotland.

Figure 8.9 Residualised Glasgow City secondary schools in Social Housing cluster



The schools in the Social Housing core clusters could then be identified, with twelve of them in total. As a result, Level 6 of stratification could be completed as in **Figure 8.2** previously (and recapped below):

Figure 8.2 Final Level of Stratification: Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region



Of the 30 state secondary schools in Glasgow City, over a third then can be further classified as residualised based on their location in the High-High cluster of social housing (in addition to their high deprivation score). An argument could be made that the figure should be higher: namely, since catchment areas are not isomorphous with the core social housing clusters of Chapter 6; and also in the case of Roman Catholic schools where the school catchments are wider. However, since the immediate purpose is to extract a sampling frame, the twelve schools here serve that purpose. Finally, both Govan High School and St Andrew's School are just outside their core cluster. They are selected for inclusion because of their sole proximity to their adjacent 'island', as it were.

Having done so, this resulted in the following:

Table 8.10 'Level 6': The Residualised Glasgow Schools

School	Deprivation¹	Social Housing Cluster	Education Scotland report	Prior Education Scotland (before 2016)	Date
Springburn Academy	85 - <90%	Yes	No	Yes	2018
Castlemilk High School	85 - <90%	Yes	No	Yes	2019
Lochend Community High School	85 - <90%	Yes	No	No	-
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	85 - <90%	Yes	No	No	-
St Mungo's Academy	85 - <90%	Yes	No	No	-
Drumchapel High School	85 - <90%	Yes	No	Yes	2012
All Saints Secondary School	80 - <85%	Yes	Yes	Yes	2020
St Paul's High School	80 - <85%	Yes	Yes	No	2019

Eastbank Academy	80 - <85%	No	No	No	-
Govan High School	80 - <85%	No	Yes	No	2017
St Roch's Secondary School	75 - <80%	Yes	Yes	Yes	2011
St Andrew's Secondary School	75 - <80%	No	No	No	-

Taking into account the residualised cluster of schools *and* document availability, resulted in the following seven schools for inclusion:

- Springburn Academy
- Castlemilk High School
- Drumchapel High School
- All Saints Secondary School
- St Pauls High School
- Govan High School
- St Roch's Secondary School

The final sampling frame is as follows, therefore:

Table 8.11 Final Sampling Frame

Eastwood Elite Secondaries	Residualised Glasgow City Secondaries
St Ninian's High School	Springburn Academy
Williamwood High School	Castlemilk High School
Mearns Castle High School	Drumchapel High School
	All Saints Secondary School
	St Pauls High School
	Govan High School
	St Roch's Secondary School

n = 10

This results in all three Eastwood Elite Secondaries having a pre-Education Scotland of some form (c. 10 pp.), including a post-2016 for St Ninian's. For

Glasgow City, three have pre-Education Scotland reports (Castlemilk High School, Drumchapel High School, and St Roch's Secondary School) and the rest have the Education Scotland format of letter and summarised inspection document.

Therefore, six out of ten have a pre-Education Scotland report, published as a letter to parent or carer, answering the following questions

- How well do young people learn and achieve?
- How well does the school support young people to develop and learn?
- How well does the school improve the quality of its work?

Chapter 9: School Attainment in Glasgow Region

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 8 found evidence to support the following questions:

RQ 1. Given the system of inequality within the housing system and evidence of social class avoidance of residualisation, is there evidence for an internally differentiated state secondary school system?

RQ 1.1 To what extent is the hierarchical system of school choice itself based on a hierarchical system of schools?

In the research design in **Figure 9.1** below, System Integration has been explored through a ‘part’ of the wider system, here conceived as the wider housing system. Social Integration has been explored as class conflict. The former was operationalised through the geography of tenure in Glasgow Region and the latter as school choice. When System Integration and Social Integration interact, what becomes structurally elaborated is a new system of stratification within the education system: of differentiation *and* residualisation.

Figure 9.1 Analytical Dualism approach to Origin-Education link

Structure 1: System Integration → Chapter 6: Tenure

Structure 2: Social Integration → Chapter 7: School Choice

Structural Elaboration → Chapter 8: School Quality

Specifically, this results in an internally differentiated secondary system of school quality as explored in Chapter 8. Firstly, where the residualised schools and their respective internal structures were analysed from inspection reports. The interaction of *the housing system* with *social class conflict over scarce resources*, like the best schools in Glasgow Region, resulted in ‘mixed demographics’ which, depending on their concentration, challenged internal school systems premised upon a largely middle class normative. And secondly, it also resulted in largely middle class compositions also, as the Eastwood Elite Cluster demonstrated. This

was consistent with Forrest and Murie's analysis (1983) of the wider tenure system as both 'stratification and differentiation' within the owner occupied sector *and* residualisation within council housing. Their argument was that both are part of the same system: one form of tenure equally affects the other. Using Townsend's insights on deprivation, the developing theory of residualisation can be similarly expanded: it is neither separate from the system of stratification nor can it be understood separately from it. In simple terms, it could be understood as the lowest rung on a greater ladder, rather than a separate and distinct category as in the implicit ontological assumptions of the SIMD (Chapter 8).

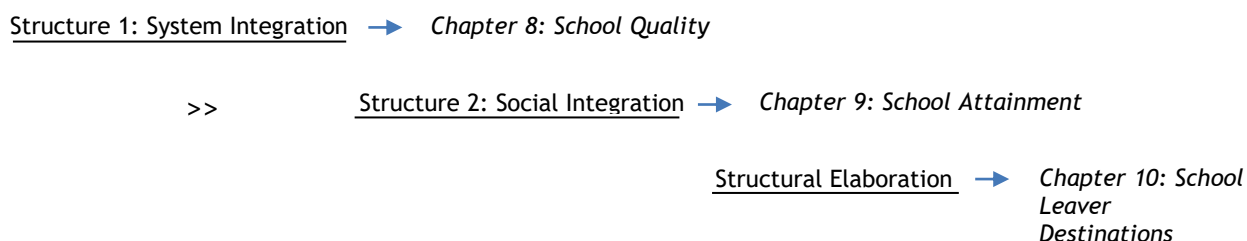
There is now developing evidence therefore of this same kind of structure - of differentiation and residualisation - within the school system in Glasgow Region and therefore of affirmative answers to both RQ 1 and RQ 1.1 above.

9.1.1 Moving from the Origin-Education link to the Education-Destination link

The first phase of the empirical research design, as detailed in **Figure 9.1** above, has been completed, therefore. This was based, overall, on the Origin-Destination link, though splitting it into two distinct phases for the purposes of analysis (see Chapter 5).

The second phase is the Education-Destination link. In the same way as before, the residualisation of the Education-Destination link is theoretically approached through the interaction of a 'part' of the wider system (System Integration), with class conflict (Social Integration), from which residualisation occurs (Structural Elaboration). If the developing exploratory analysis is correct thus far, it will lead both to residualisation and overall internal differentiation. The second phase is outlined in **Figure 9.2** below:

Figure 9.2 *Social Integration: Analytical Dualism approach to Education-Destination link*



The ‘part’ of the system now, or Structure 1, is the education system, here the internally differentiated system of school quality just explored in Chapter 8 previously. In other words, what was the result or end point of the first phase of Origin-Destination now becomes the starting point for the second phase of Education-Destination.

That being the case, this chapter therefore focuses on Social Integration or class conflict over scarce resources, which is operationalised as school attainment.

9.1.2 School Attainment as Social Integration

To understand why this is so, requires an overview of the whole. The first phase of Origin-Education can be understood as the use of the housing system, in the state secondary sector, to access the education system. The means by which this is effected is by school choice and, as Chapter 7 has argued, the cultural and economic capital presupposed by that system of available choices. The second phase of Education-Destination can be understood in similar terms. Here the state secondary education system is used to access the labour market instead of the housing market. And the means by which this is effected is through school attainment rather than school choice: a struggle for the best schools is a struggle for the best educational outcomes.

When looking at school choice (Origin-Education phase), there was a dual ‘moving towards’ and ‘moving away’ by the middle-class Mumsnet users from certain clusters of schools as Table 9.1 below shows. What was avoided in the Origin-

Education phase was ‘mixed demographics’ or poorer schools, with less homogenous middle-class intakes.

Table 9.1 Comparison of Origin-Education and Education-Destination phases

<i>System Integration</i>		<i>Social Integration</i>	
	System part	+ Choice	- Avoidance
Origin-Education	Housing	Best state schools	Mixed demographics
Education-Destination	Education	Higher Education/Academic	Further Education/Vocational*

* Which does not necessarily mean full-time Further Education but which potentially includes work or a work-based component e.g. employment or Modern Apprenticeships.

If the Varieties of Capitalism literature is correct (Chapter 3), then what will be avoided in this phase is the vocational system. Academically weaker students in general skill regimes are worse off than their counterparts elsewhere: they are more likely to be trapped in low-paid unskilled jobs, and so the best insurance is in ‘general’ skills which transfer across employers (Estevez-Abe et al., 2001), or academic skills rather than firm- or sector-specific vocational ones. Theoretically speaking, this could include employment also since, potentially, a school leaver going straight into employment with also tend to have firm or sector-specific skills. The choice to proceed onto the academic route, however, can only be accessed through the required attainment. The equivalent of school choice in the Education-Destination phase is school attainment, understood as the *choice* of the academic route, securing the best labour market outcomes and avoiding the relegation of the vocational route.

This might seem a sweeping generalisation or distortion of school attainment: implying that pupils generally do not want to make the best of their abilities or do well at school; that there are no academically capable pupils in the schools of Glasgow City with highly deprived intakes; or that students without middle class advantage are incapable of succeeding in the education system. Any individual

level data would surely prove this false. The focus on attainment here is not individual as much as structural: is there something systematic in relation to attainment? Given the accumulated weight of evidence from Chapters 6-8, this would seem a logical hypothesis at least. In other words, attainment is not being analysed without understanding it in the wider system of relations of the first phases of Origin-Education. The overall question which guides the chapter then is the one of residualisation:

RQ 1. Is there any evidence of avoiding the vocational in the secondary schools of Glasgow Region, understood as higher school attainment?

Building on Chapters 7-8, residualisation could not be understood separately from the wider system of stratification and therefore:

RQ 1.1 Is there any evidence to suggest social class differences in attainment within Glasgow Region?

And, finally, in order to understand attainment within the wider system of relations of the first phases of Origin-Education, two further questions can be added:

RQ 1.2 Is there any alignment between attainment and the system of tenure explored in Chapter 6?

RQ 1.3 Is there any alignment between attainment and the system of school choice explored in Chapter 7?

9.1.3 Summary of Chapter

The chapter begins by introducing the data and methods, and then proceeds to an analysis of tenure and attainment, building on Chapter 6. To build on Chapter 7, it looks at more recent 'school league' table data from 2021 and the nature of its source in national newspapers, before building on Chapter 8 with a more focused comparison of the two clusters used there. It then returns to the research questions in the conclusion.

9.2. Data and Methods

School attainment is explored through the use of two datasets. Firstly, from an earlier analysis in the PhD using a dataset from Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, which shows educational attainment of school leavers in 2012-13. The second dataset is a recent school league table from 2021, published in 2021 by *The Times* newspaper. Allied with the previous dataset, the data on attainment stretches over a decade and thus, to an extent, allows some evidence on the persistence of any inequalities in attainment. School league tables are not published by the Scottish Government (see Chapter 8) which, however, does not preclude their being published through other channels, as will be described below.

9.2.1 Data Collection and Methods

The first dataset (Scottish Government, 2013) was downloaded from the Scottish Government's Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS) website, which published publicly available data on various small-area statistics. The dataset, *Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, S5 Tariff Score 2012-2013*, was collected and analysed in 2016, with the last update on SNS being in 2013⁶⁸. It is now no longer available, and has been replaced by the Scottish Government's new open data publishing platform, statistics.gov.scot. Attainment is shown by S5 tariff score, based on school leavers' accumulated qualifications, which is averaged across all leavers within a data zone. As attainment is based on datazone, it therefore allows comparisons with Chapter 6.

The second dataset (Law, 2021) is a recent school league table from 2021, originally published in 2021 by *The Times* newspaper. Every year, *The Times* publishes the school league table for the full 340 Scottish state secondary schools in Scotland, including the grant maintained Jordanhill School. *The Times* cite five Highers as the “gold standard”⁶⁹:

⁶⁸ Scottish Government, 2013: see <https://data.gov.uk/dataset/c4930839-8a32-4a71-b5d7-aec4a51ed1e2/scottish-neighbourhood-statistics>

⁶⁹ <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/third-of-councils-show-fall-in-gold-standard-higher-results-dqzq6m8hx>. There is no original source to this but it is quoted widely: for example, in

Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister, describes five Highers as the “gold standard” of Scottish education as it is the benchmark for entry into many university courses. (McLaughlin and Greenwood, 2020)

The Times ranks schools based on the percentage of pupils achieving this standard⁷⁰. This and its associated tariff (see below) is important as it indicates university entrance and an academic rather than vocational trajectory. Since *The Times* data is behind a paywall, it is either shared with other Scottish newspapers, bought by them from *The Times* or secured by the paper themselves through a Freedom of Information request. The data here is used from the Daily Record (Law, 2021), which publishes the statistics without any paywall restrictions.

9.2.2 Data Cleaning

For the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS) dataset, the relevant datazones for Glasgow Region were extracted and plotted using the same techniques as described in Chapter 6. The data was screened for any missing or null values, as previous experience working with SNS flagged. There were some null or zero values, although these were left in: firstly, because they did not affect the distribution. That is thirty datazones had a zero value out of a possible 941 datazones, as shown in **Table 9.2** below:

Table 9.2 Number of datazones in Glasgow Region

East Dunbartonshire	127
East Renfrewshire	120
Glasgow City	694
Total	941

newspapers from the likes of the Daily Record to [The Telegraph](#); the [Times Educational Supplement](#); or schools themselves, for example [Jordanhill School](#))

⁷⁰ It is not clearly detailed by *The Times* whether this means 5 Higher at A-C. It assumed that this is the case, as SQA reports on its website [Accessed 19th June 2022]: “SQA does not count a Grade D (band 7) as contributing to any Course or Group Award it may be part of, whether an Award, National Progression Award, National Certificate or Professional Development Award.” See <https://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/96425.html>

And, secondly, because the reasons were unclear. Sometimes, SNS use zero values to prevent disclosive data; a datazone with a very small value for example. These values were retained however in case there were something unexpected in the analysis which could be explained e.g. when mapping a distribution, a sudden zero value in the centre of an area of homogenous high attainment. Such occurrences might be more readily understood as being deliberately set to zero.

For the school league table, the data was extracted to Excel and cleaned. Firstly, the schools in Glasgow Region were extracted (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire) and then checked in accordance with a composite list of schools in Glasgow Region, extracted from the websites of Glasgow City Council, East Renfrewshire Council and East Dunbartonshire council. This resulted in 46 secondary schools for the Glasgow Region, including the grant maintained Jordanhill School.

Two schools had an incorrect local authority:

- 241: King's Park Secondary School was attributed to Highland
- 285: Rosshall Academy was attributed to East Lothian

These were both changed to Glasgow City.

And the following entry was incorrectly ranked at position 20, rather than 41:

- 20: The James Young High School West Lothian

This was done through cross checking the rank given in the data with a rank manually assigned in Excel. A difference was then calculated and checked. Both Kilsyth Academy and John Paul Academy are classified by the East Dunbartonshire council as East Dunbartonshire schools. However, these are also listed as being under North Lanarkshire and Glasgow City local authorities respectively. This is presumably due to their school catchment areas. An analysis of John Paul Academy showed this to be the case: the school is located in the

north of Glasgow City but its catchment boundaries extend into East Dunbartonshire. Kilsyth is a similar case, being located in North Lanarkshire. For the purposes of the analysis therefore, Kilsyth Academy was excluded as a North Lanarkshire school and John Paul Academy included as a Glasgow City school.

9.2.3 Methods

The methods used to analyse attainment are the same ones as described in Chapter 6, in order to build upon the analyses there.

9.3 Findings: Distribution of Tenure in the West of Scotland

This section firstly explores the spatial distribution of attainment across the West of Scotland as in Chapter 6 and, again, for the same reasons: to compare Glasgow Region and its three local authorities to the broader region. The same process is used of using choropleth maps and then building upon these with the use of the Moran's I and Local Moran's I spatial statistics. This evidence is then compared with Chapter 6: specifically, using the core clusters of owner occupation, private rented and social rented tenure and mapping their attainment. And then, reversing this, using the core clusters of high attainment in this chapter and mapping their predominant forms of tenure. In effect, analysing the isomorphism between the housing system and attainment.

After this, an analysis of a school league table is carried out across the 340 state secondary schools in Scotland, including the grant maintained Jordanhill School in Glasgow City. The ranking is based on the percentage of 5 Scottish higher passes. The schools of Glasgow Region are extracted, before analysing their relative rankings and pass rates. These analyses are compared to the Mumsnet hierarchy of schools in Chapter 7 and, finally, the two clusters of schools used in Chapter 8 (Eastwood Elite and Residualised Glasgow).

9.3.1 Educational Outcomes: S5 Tariff score

S4 is the last compulsory year of school, but many will choose to stay on and complete S5 and S6. Highers (SCQF level 6) are generally taken in S5/S6. Highers,

sometimes along with Advanced Highers (SCQF level 7, usually taken in S6), are the qualifications required for entry into Higher Education (Scottish Government, 2013). The resulting qualifications a student accrues across the course of their examinations is captured by tariff score. The tariff score of a pupil is calculated by simply adding together all the tariff points accumulated from all the different course levels and awards a pupil attains, which, at S5 Tariff level, would include S4 qualifications too (Scottish Government, 2009).

For example, the following subjects and grades have these respective individual tariff scores:

Table 9.3 Basic calculation of single Higher and Standard Grade tariff scores

Higher (Grade A)	72
Standard Grade (Grade 1)	38

Source: Scottish Government, 2009

Based on the above therefore, a pupil achieving at a high level - the 'gold standard' - would have something similar to the following:

Table 9.4 Basic calculation of 'gold standard' tariff score

5 Highers (Grade A)	360
7 S Grades (Grade 1)	266
S5 Tariff	626

See **Appendix 1** for a breakdown of how different qualifications are calculated.

S5 Tariff score is used then instead of S4 for the following reasons:

- Unlike S4 Tariff score, S5 Tariff score gives an indication of how many students went on to take qualifications like Highers (and Advanced Highers) and who would therefore be in a position to go to university.
- As five Highers at 'A' Grade is often taken as the gold standard of achievement, we can therefore determine this too. A tariff score would be similar to the one calculated below (i.e. 626)

- We can also determine exceptional academic achievement by those tariff scores over that of five “A” Grade Highers (i.e. greater than 626)

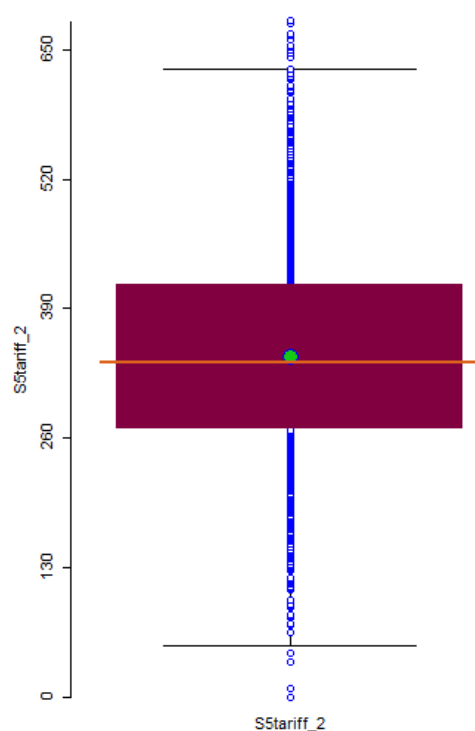
As all of this information is lost in using S4 Tariff scores, S5 Tariff scores are used therefore to measure school attainment and, more specifically, operationalise what was described earlier as specifically academic rather than vocational trajectory.

What *is* lost, however, is the impossibility of knowing how far even the best schools have mixed attainment at S4, when non-academically inclined students would leave the system potentially. In other words, using S5 Tariff scores means looking at those already academically pre-selected to an extent. However, since this academic trajectory is exactly what the chapter is looking at, this is consistent with the research design in **Figure 9.1** and further exploration of this left till Chapter 10.

Distribution of S5 Tariff Scores

The distribution of S5 Tariff scores is shown below:

Figure 9.3 Distribution of S5 Tariff Scores



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, S5 Tariff Score 2012-2013

The maximum score for any datazone is an S5 Tariff score of 680, which is above the 5 Highers at A grade and 7 S Grades previously calculated (626), and was recorded in datazone S0100168, which is in the intermediate zone of East Renfrewshire - Mearnskirk and South Kirkhill⁷¹.

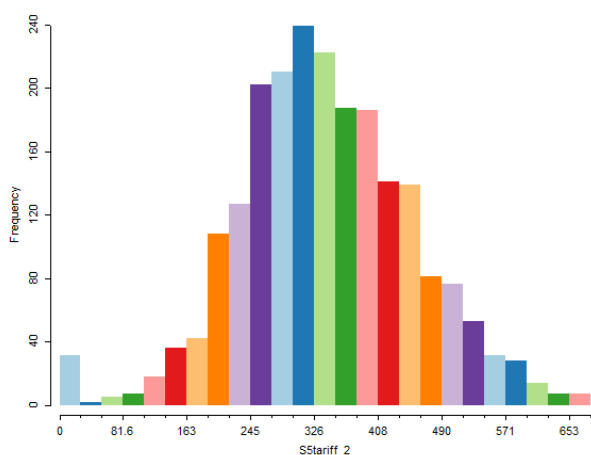
The other summary statistics are shown in **Table 9.5** below. As described above, there are also some thirty datazones with a minimum zero score on S5 Tariff. As it is not possible to disentangle the reasons, these are left in for now but treated with caution.

Table 9.5 Summary statistics of S5 Tariff Scores

Minimum	0
Maximum	680
Q1	268.5
Median	336
Q3	413.5
Mean	341
Number of datazones	941

The mean (341) is not too far away from the median (336), implying the distribution is not overly skewed as confirmed below in **Figure 9.4** and, once more, the zero scores can be noted:

⁷¹ Some datazones only have numeric codes and therefore looking up its relevant intermediate zone will often yield an actual name.

Figure 9.4 Histogram of S5 Tariff Scores

The lower quartile (Q1) is 268.5. This is nearly equivalent to seven Standard Grades at Grade 1, as shown in **Table 9.4** above, which would be a Tariff Score of 266. Since the tariff applies to those who stayed on to S5 however, this is perhaps more likely is a mixture of poorer grades or fewer Standard Grades in S4, along perhaps with a mixture of some Standard Grades and minimal Higher Grades. The upper quartile (Q3) has a value of 413.5. This closer to a mixture of seven Standard Grades (266) and two Highers (144). The two quartiles therefore represent a range of lower (Q1) to average (Q3) attainment.

On this basis of this initial exploration, the following quantitative categories are used to map the data:

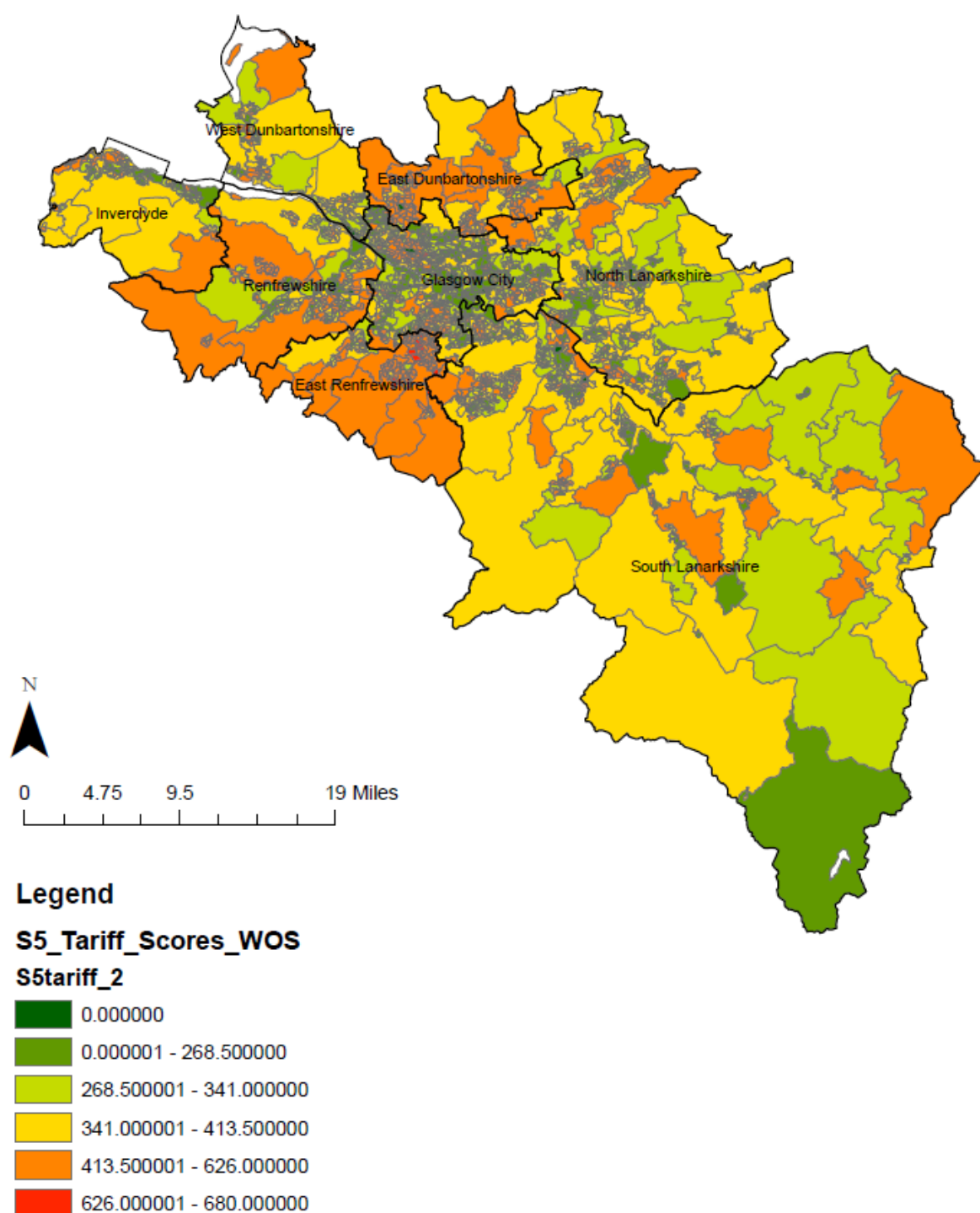
- 0, which is retained for reasons previously described

And:

- >0 - Q1 (268.5) close to the upper quartile
- Q1 - Mean (341)
- Mean - Q3 (413.5)
- Q3 - 5 Highers - "A" Grade (626)
- Outliers (>626)

Though not a statistical measure *per se*, the 5 Highers 'gold standard' Tariff score (626) is treated as a cut off and those datazones above as outliers. The two final categories thus represent average to high attainment; and the very highest attainment. S5 Tariff score is thus mapped below:

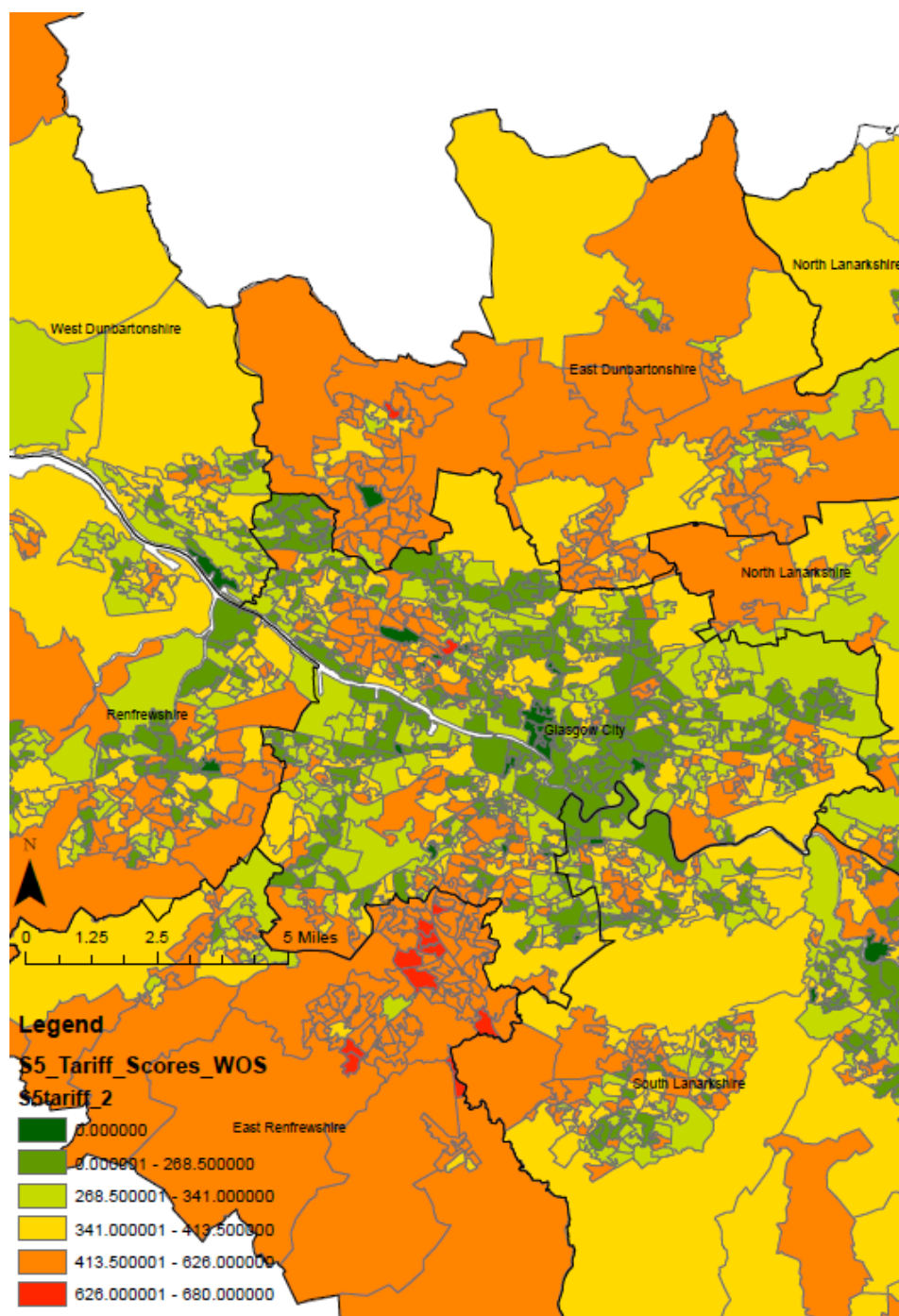
Figure 9.5 S5 Tariff Score 2012-2013, West of Scotland



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

In the main, the areas in the upper distribution of S5 Tariff scores (Q3 to the gold standard' academic attainment) lie outside of Glasgow City. The distribution is similar to the distribution of owner occupation shown in **Figure 6.5** (*Owner occupation in the West of Scotland*) therefore. Glasgow City itself is quite different:

Figure 9.6 S5 Tariff Score 2012-2013, Glasgow City



Source: *Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics*

Once again, the map is similar in its distribution to the patterns of tenure in Chapter 6, here **Figure 6.6** (*Owner Occupation in Glasgow City*). Lower achievement is encoded as a Tariff score of zero⁷² to 268, the two bottom categories of the map legend. This S5 combination of potentially fewer Standard grades and Higher grades is found mainly in the north east and east of the city.

If the intermediate categories (Tariff scores of 268-413) represent low-average scores in the overall distribution, then average-higher achievement is shown as a Tariff score of between 413-626, with 626 at the upper end being the 'gold standard. This can be observed more obviously in the areas in the west end and south of Glasgow City in **Figure 9.6** above, and in East Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, rural Renfrewshire and some other datazones in each of the local authorities of the West of Scotland.

Finally, the thirteen outliers (>626) are shown in red in the map and detailed in the table below. This would represent 5 Highers at A Grade, *plus* potentially some other combination like, for example, additional Highers or Advanced Highers.

Table 9.6 S5 Tariff Scores - Outliers (>626)

Datazone	Intermediate Zone	S5 Tariff Score
S01001681	East Renfrewshire - Mearnskirk and South Kirkhill	680
S01001762	East Renfrewshire - North Giffnock and North Thornliebank	676
S01001754	East Renfrewshire - Lower Whitecraigs and South Giffnock	666
S01001726	East Renfrewshire - Williamwood	665
S01003514	Glasgow City - Dowanhill	664
S01001694	East Renfrewshire - Busby	660
S01001736	East Renfrewshire - Lower Whitecraigs and South Giffnock	654
S01001529	East Dunbartonshire - Barloch	652
S01001746	East Renfrewshire - Lower Whitecraigs and South Giffnock	650
S01001679	East Renfrewshire - Mearnskirk and South Kirkhill	647
S01001677	East Renfrewshire - Eaglesham and Waterfoot	642

⁷² There are some zero values in Glasgow City, which could be explained by non-residential datazones (e.g. city centre locations, industrial estates and universities) or anonymisation due to disclosive values.

S01001779	East Renfrewshire - Merrylee and Braidbar	642
S01003555	Glasgow City - North Kelvin	630

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

Ten out of the thirteen outliers are in East Renfrewshire. If we take the somewhat arbitrary cut off of those 28 datazones whose tariff scores are over 600, once more East Renfrewshire has the majority:

Table 9.7 S5 Tariff Scores - Levels and Percentages over 600 by local authority

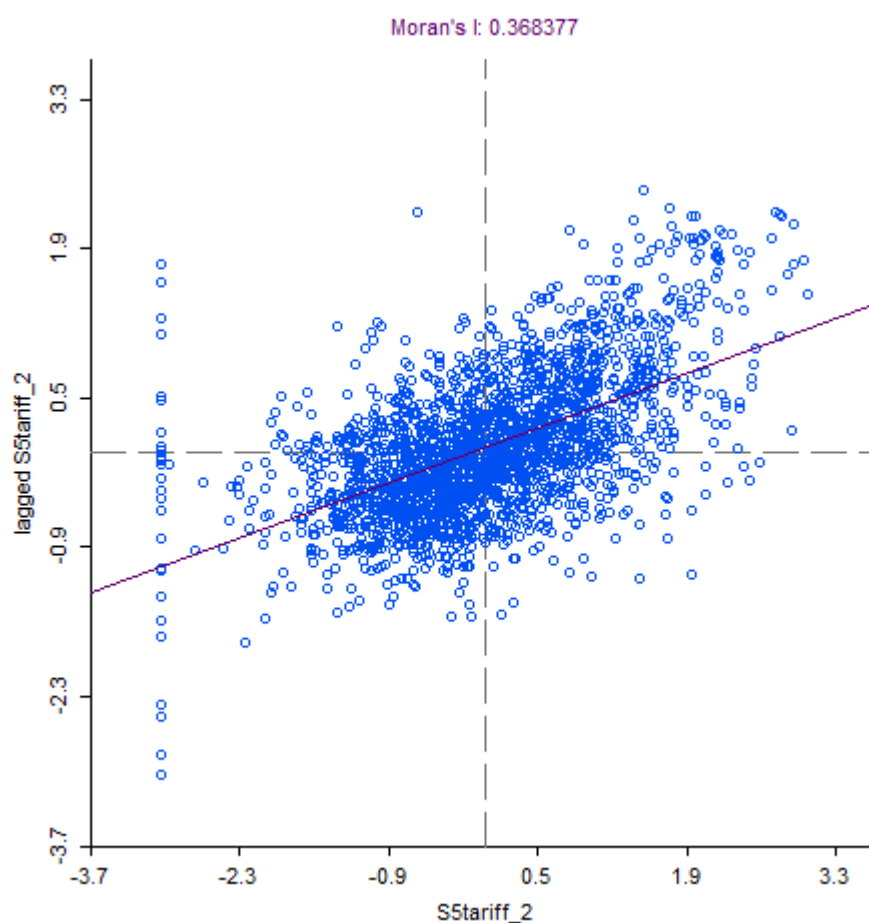
	Numbers	Percentages
East Renfrewshire	15	54%
Glasgow City	8	29%
East Dunbartonshire	4	14%
South Lanarkshire	1	4%

Spatial statistics

To explore this further, Moran's I and the Local Moran's I are used respectively, to statistically determine the existence of any spatial autocorrelation and then disaggregate this into its local clustering and outliers. See **Section 6.4** (*Data and Methods*) in Chapter 6 for more details of the method.

Moran's I

The Moran's I scatterplot is shown in **Figure 9.7** below. The thirty datazones with zero values can be observed clearly on the left. That aside, there is generally a positive linear tendency, with a suggestion of a quadratic relationship at the very highest levels of achievement. Here there is the suggestion of a curve rather than straight line, as highest achievement, surrounded by similar neighbouring datazones, separates off from the rest.

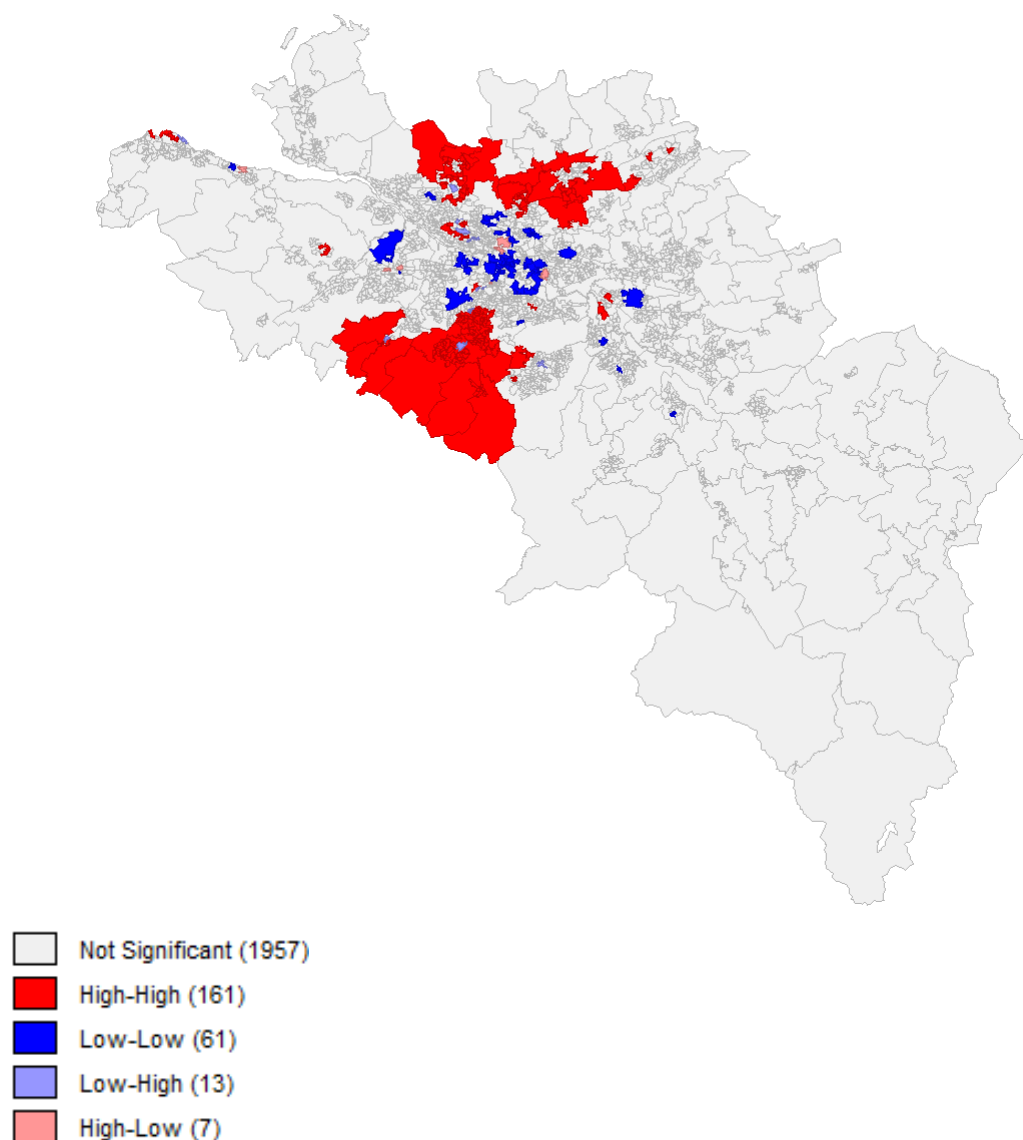
Figure 9.7 S5 Tariff Score in the West of Scotland, Moran's I 

The Moran's I score is 0.3684 which, when compared with the expected value under the null hypothesis of no spatial autocorrelation, yields a Z value of 29.7112. Against the critical value of 2.58, we can therefore be 99% confident that any spatial clustering of educational outcomes across the West of Scotland as measured by S5 Tariff score is not, in statistical terms, due to chance.

Local Moran's I

We now attend to spatial clusters and outliers within the study region, once again by inspecting the cluster map for the West of Scotland (and once more at the 0.01 confidence level and running 999 permutations as detailed in Chapter 6):

Figure 9.8 S5 Tariff Score in the West of Scotland, Local Moran's I



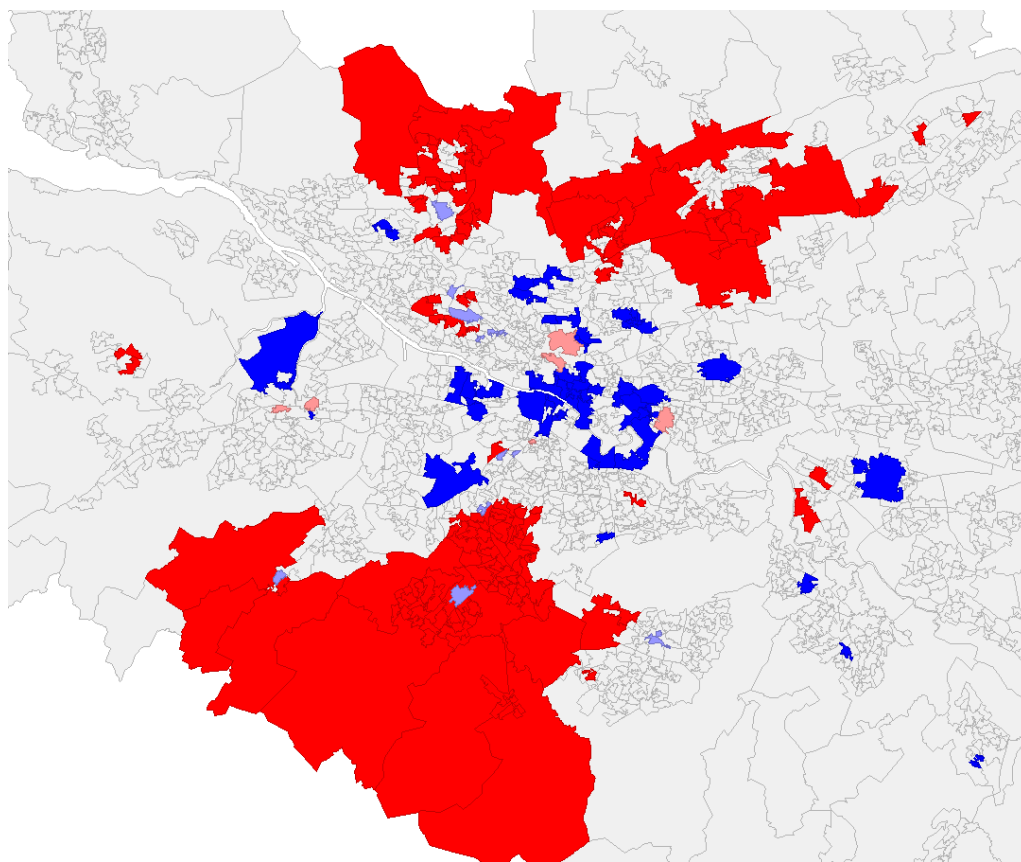
Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

Across the whole of the West of Scotland, areas of High-High scores are mainly found in East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire. There are some smaller clusters in Glasgow City (mainly in the West End); Renfrewshire (Houston North and South); Inverclyde (mainly Gourock East, Greenock West and Lyle Road) and some areas of North Lanarkshire and South Lanarkshire. Overall, however a comparison of this figure with the core clusters of owner occupation **Figure 6.12** (*Moran's Local I , Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland*) shows how the rest of the

West of Scotland drops away, with the exceptions of those smaller clusters detailed. The concentration is in East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire.

Zooming in to the central section of **Figure 9.8**, the areas of Low-Low scores are mainly in Glasgow City (in the north east and east end), with some clusters in the South Side (a datazone in Pollokshaws and one in Gorbals and Hutchesontown, for example) as shown in **Figure 9.9**.

Figure 9.9 S5 Tariff Score in Glasgow City and outlying areas, Local Moran's I



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

There are then statistically significant clusters of low achieving clusters predominantly in Glasgow City as well as spatial clustering of high achieving clusters, most notably in East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire.

9.3.2 Housing and Attainment by Area

To compare this chapter and Chapter 6 further, two comparisons will be made:

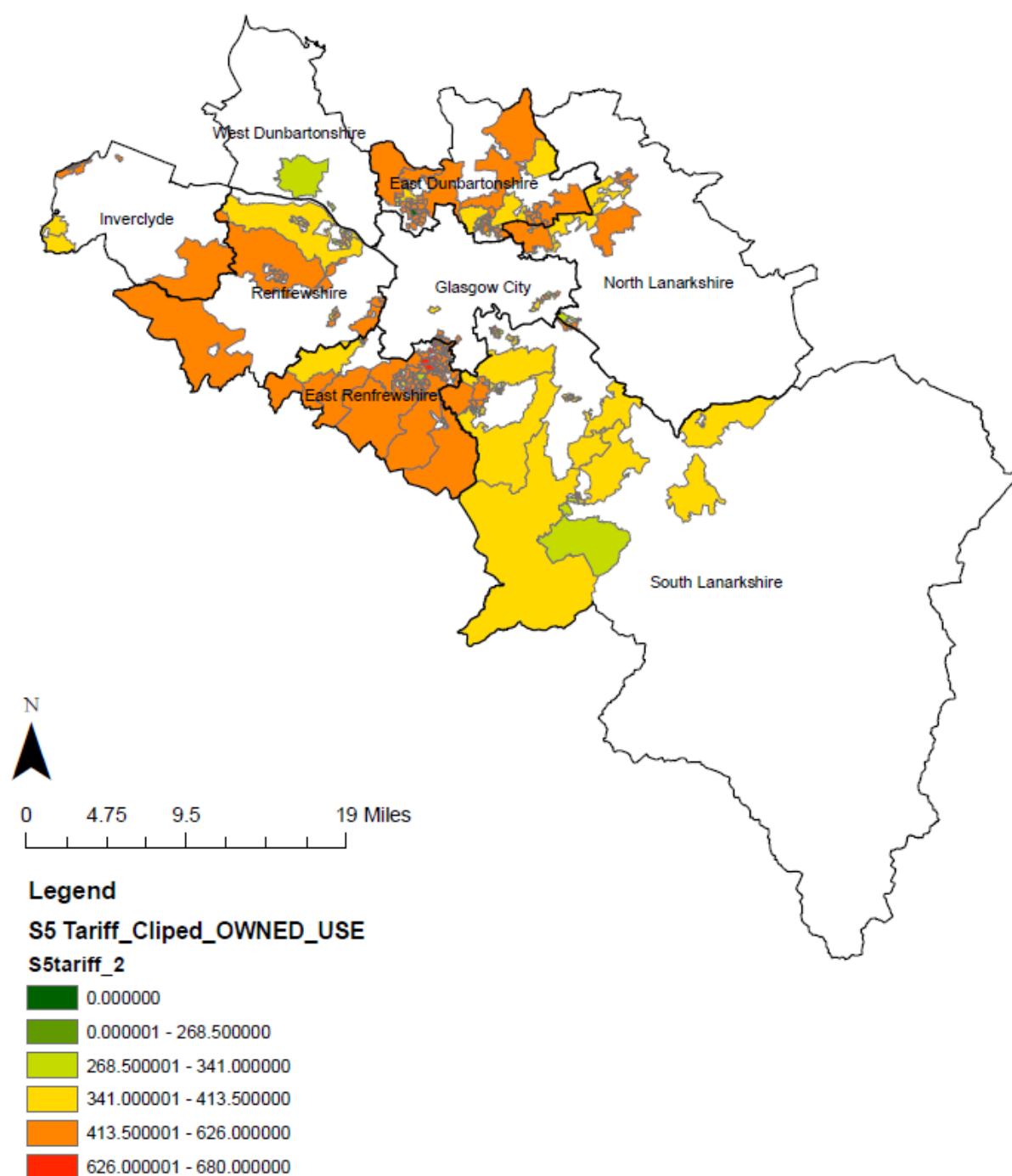
1. Chapter 6's High-High clusters of tenure are extracted and S5 attainment plotted over them instead
2. The reverse operation is then carried out: extracting the High-High clusters of educational outcomes established in **Figure 9.8** above, over which is plotted its respective proportions of tenure.

Tenure Clusters by Educational Outcomes

Those High-High spatial clusters of tenure in Chapter 6 are mapped by their respective S5 Tariff scores in **Figure 9.10** below. Firstly, using the owner occupied clusters.

Most of these datazones have S5 tariff scores above the mean (341), and, with the exception of South Lanarkshire, the majority have a score in the upper quartile of the distribution (413.5) or over and a few exceptional datazones in the category 626-680, including the maximum (680), located in East Renfrewshire. Those datazones with an S5 tariff score of between 413.5 (upper quartile) and 625 (the 'gold standard') are predominantly in East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire, although there are some areas of Renfrewshire and Inverclyde, similar to **Figure 6.12** (*Moran's Local I, Owned Tenure in the West of Scotland*). Once again, there is a clear similarity to the distribution of owner occupation and the distribution of attainment, therefore.

Figure 9.10 Tenure High-High Cluster (Owner Occupation) by S5 Tariff Score

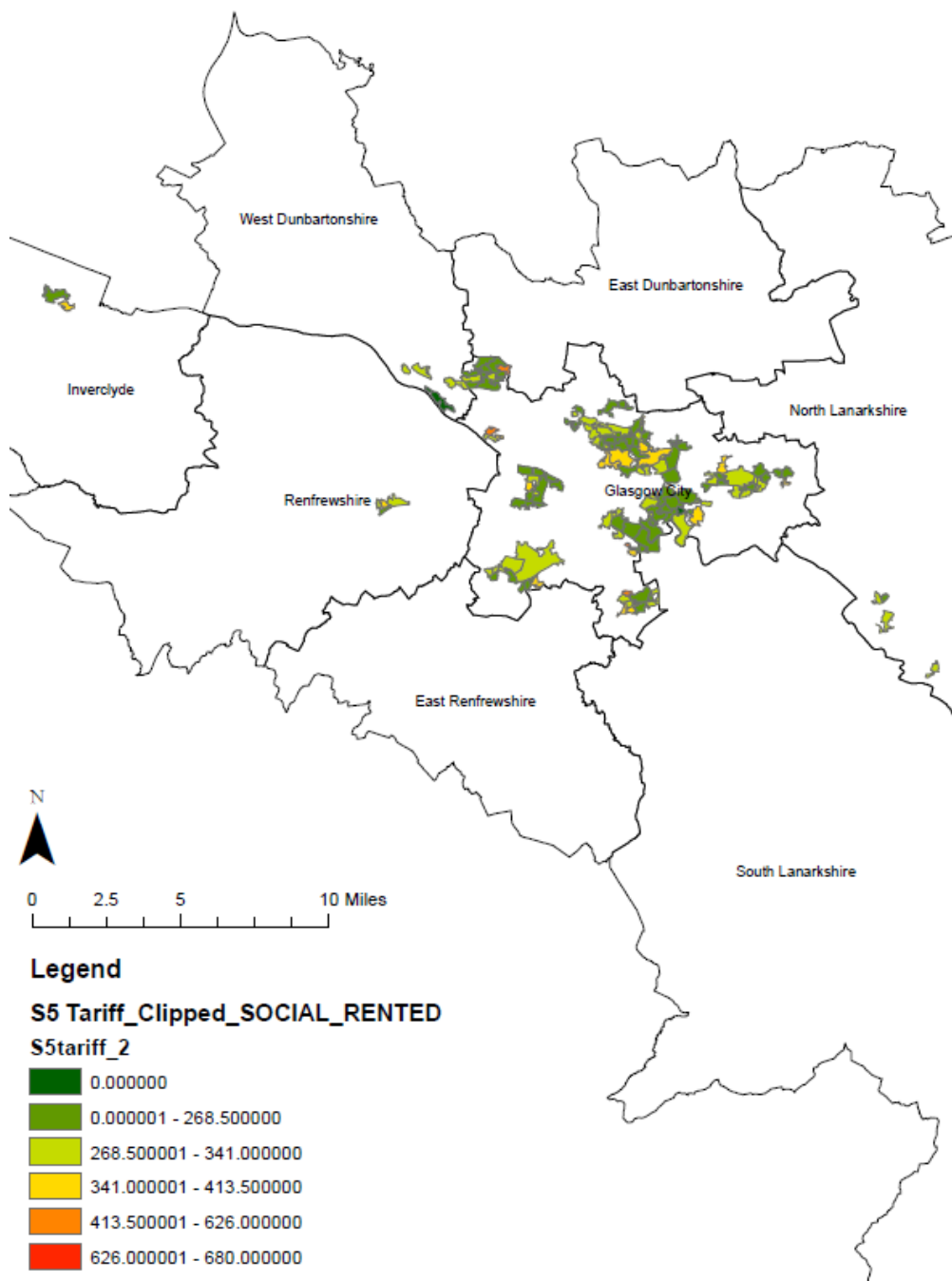


Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

Figure 9.11 below, by contrast, below uses the High-High clusters of social housing to map attainment. These are also the clusters used to identify the Residualised Glasgow schools in Chapter 8. Here most of the S5 Tariff scores, with some

exceptions, are in the opposite end of the distribution: from 0 to the mean (341) and concentrated within Glasgow City predominately.

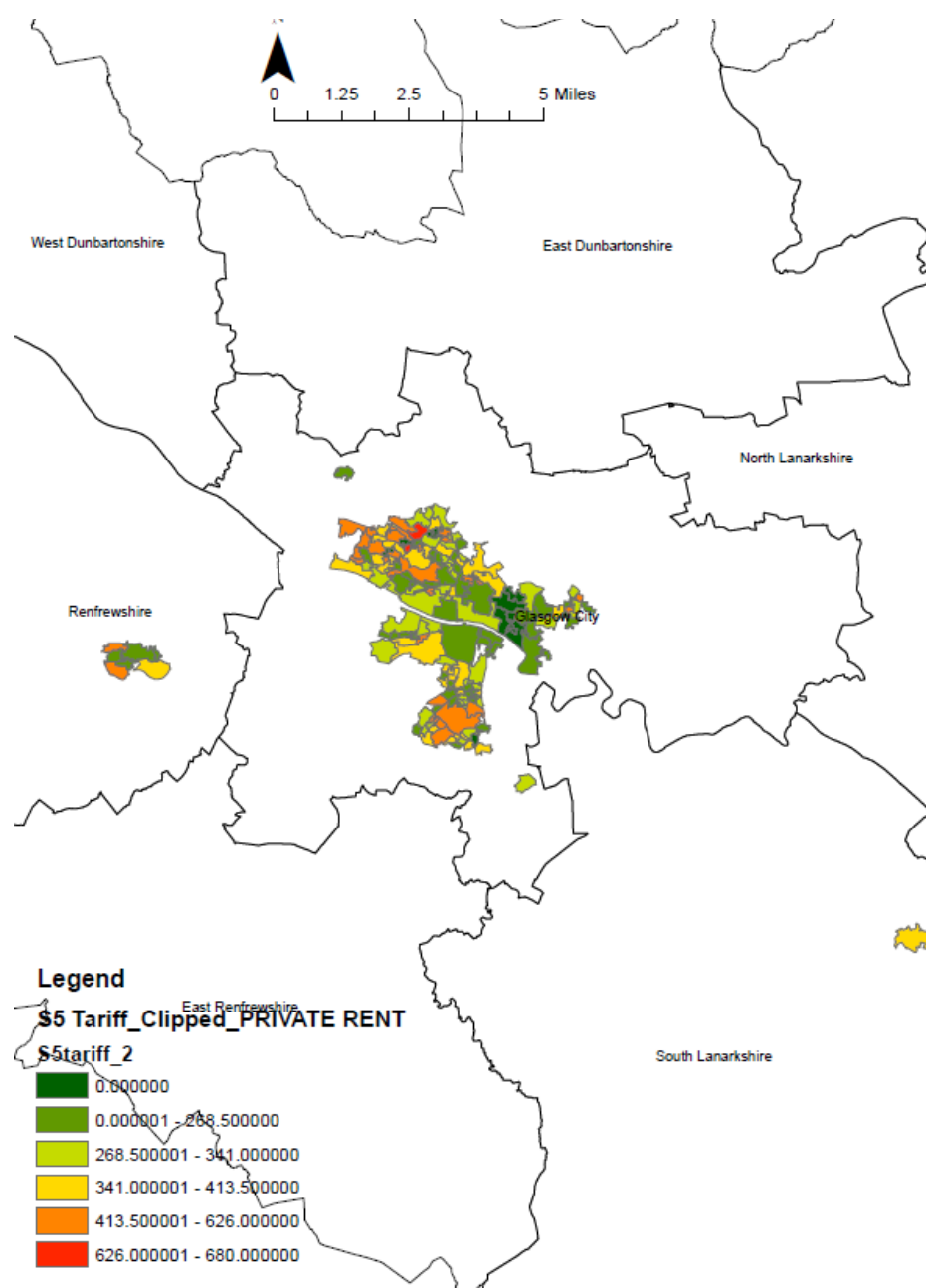
Figure 9.11 Social Rented High-High Cluster by S5 Tariff Score



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

The private rented clusters shown in **Figure 9.12** below are more heterogeneous in their educational outcomes and their scores seem to reflect or have been influenced by the area of Glasgow in which they reside i.e. higher tariff scores in the West End and South Side; lower scores towards the centre and east end of the city. There is also a cluster of zero values, perhaps due to the proximity to the city centre; although, the reason is unclear.

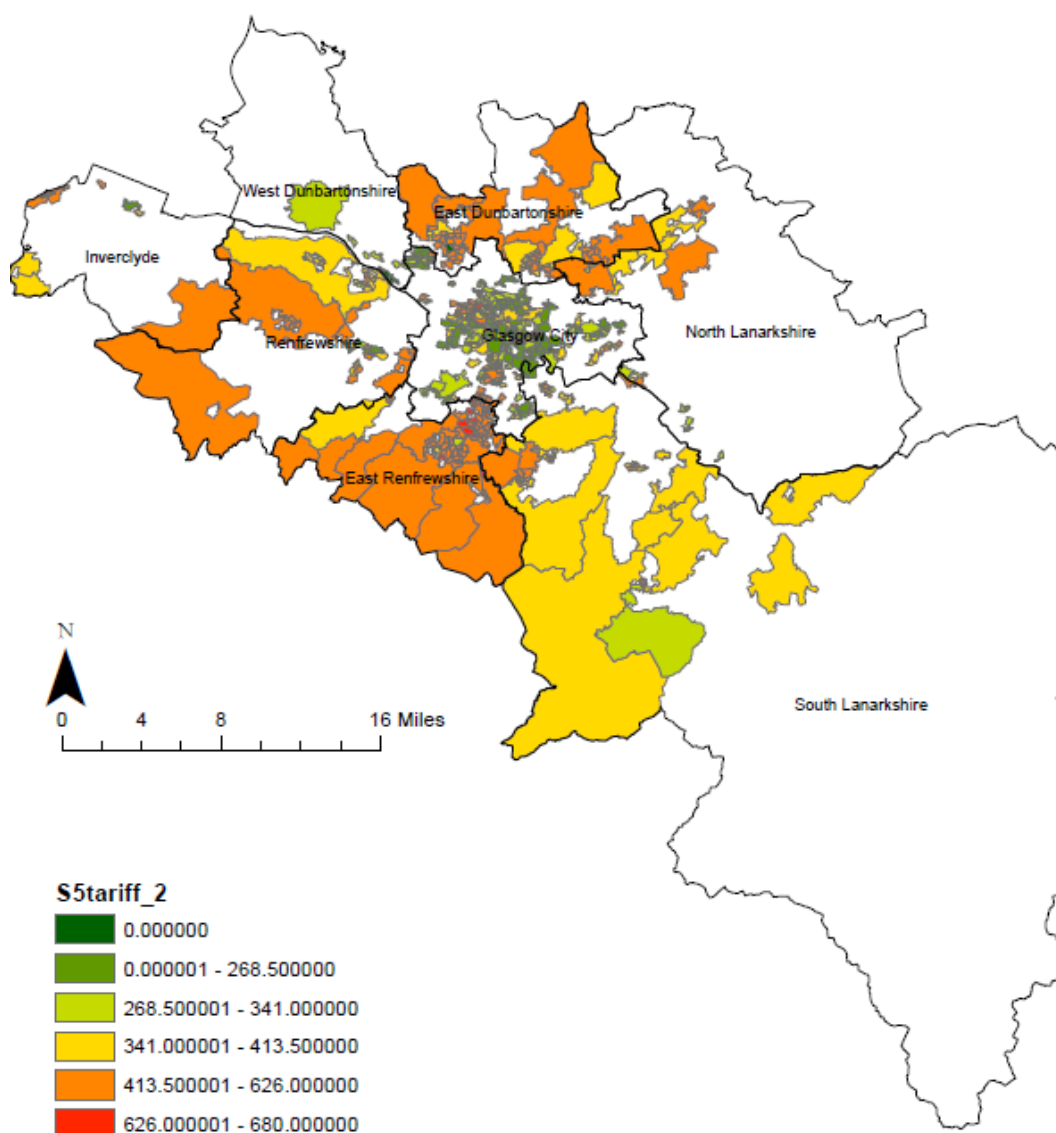
Figure 9.12 Private Rented High-High Cluster by S5 Tariff Score



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

Finally, all three High-High tenure clusters (owner occupied, social housing, private rented) can be combined into the same map and S5 Tariff score plotted over them as in **Figure 9.13** below:

Figure 9.13 The Geography of Tenure by S5 Tariff Score



Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

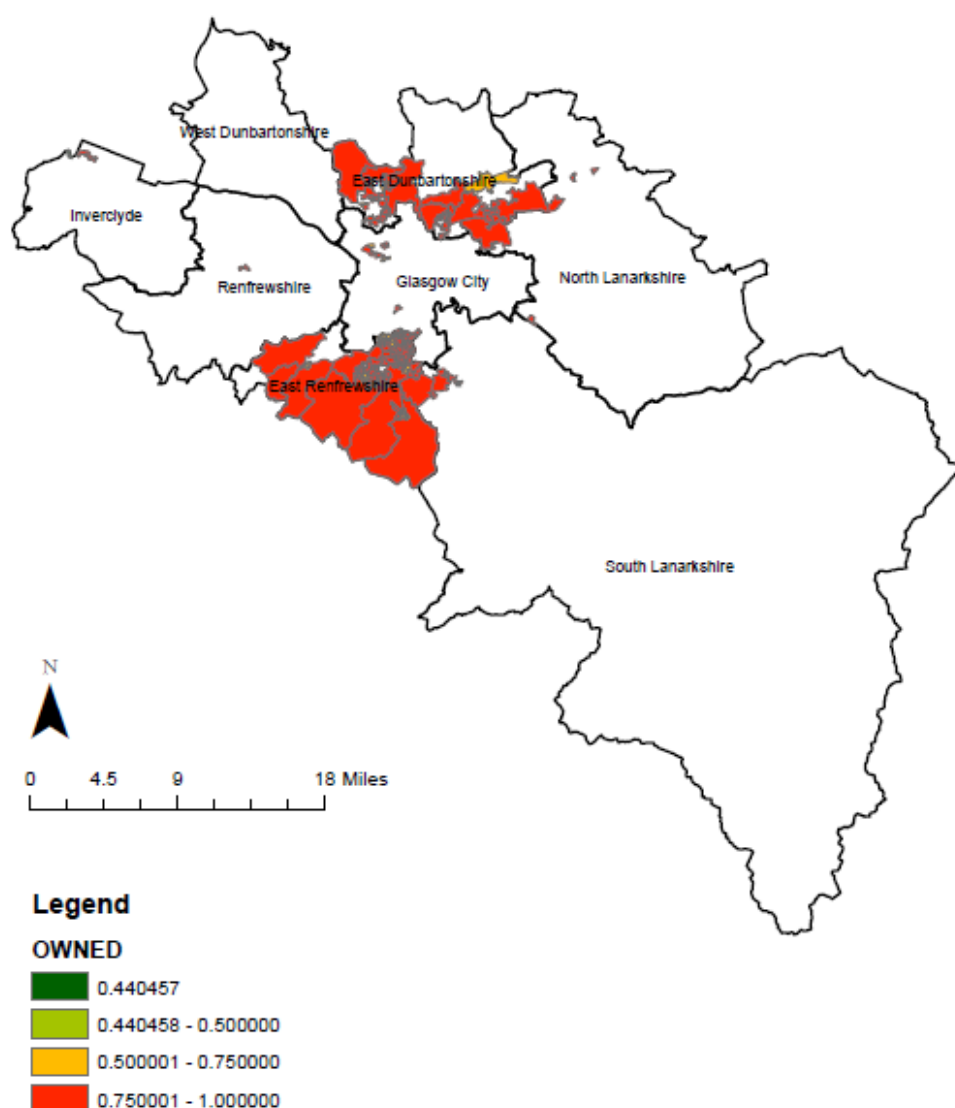
In terms of the overall distribution of school attainment, there is a close alignment between tenure and S5 tariff, especially owner occupation and social housing. As a result, the upper and lower ends of the S5 Tariff score distribution are spatially clustered: lower attainment within Glasgow City where social housing is

concentrated, with the exception of a cluster in the West End; and higher attainment outside in the areas where owner occupation is concentrated.

Education Hotspots by Tenure

The High-High spatial clusters of S5 Tariff score identified in **Figure 9.8** (*S5 Tariff Score in the West of Scotland, Local Moran's I*) above are now extracted, over which is mapped their respective tenure compositions. **Figure 9.14** below shows the proportions of owner occupation within the High-High cluster of S5 Tariff score:

Figure 9.14 S5 Tariff High-High Clusters by Owner Occupation



Source: Census 2011; Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (2013)

Note: The quantile classifications used are based on the distribution of owner occupation in these S5 Tariff High-High clusters, a range of 44% to 100%. Those clusters of high academic achievement are almost exclusively areas of high home ownership (75-100%). In these same clusters, social rented and private tenure are low (>0-44%)⁷³ as the identical **Figures 9.15 and 9.16** show below.

If clusters of high owner occupation are used to map attainment, attainment is at the higher end of the distribution; if the other two forms of tenure are used, attainment is at the lower end. Equally, reversing the operation, if the clusters of high attainment are used to map tenure, owner occupation is also high (75%-100%) and the proportions of other forms of tenure are low. There is a clear isomorphism between them therefore and therefore a spatial patterning of school attainment: both a concentration of tenure and attainment.

⁷³ Note ArcGIS will not permit lower than the minimum value (44%) to be used as a classification here i.e. 0-25%. It does not affect the results mapped.

Figure 9.15 S5 Tariff High-High Clusters by Social Rented tenure

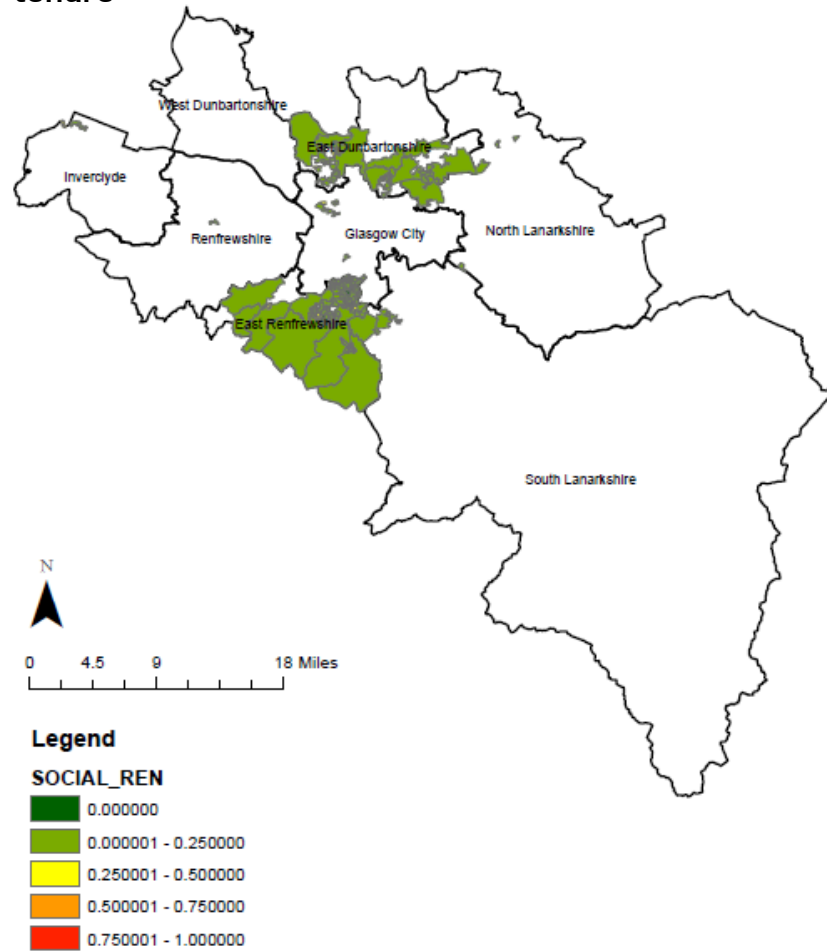
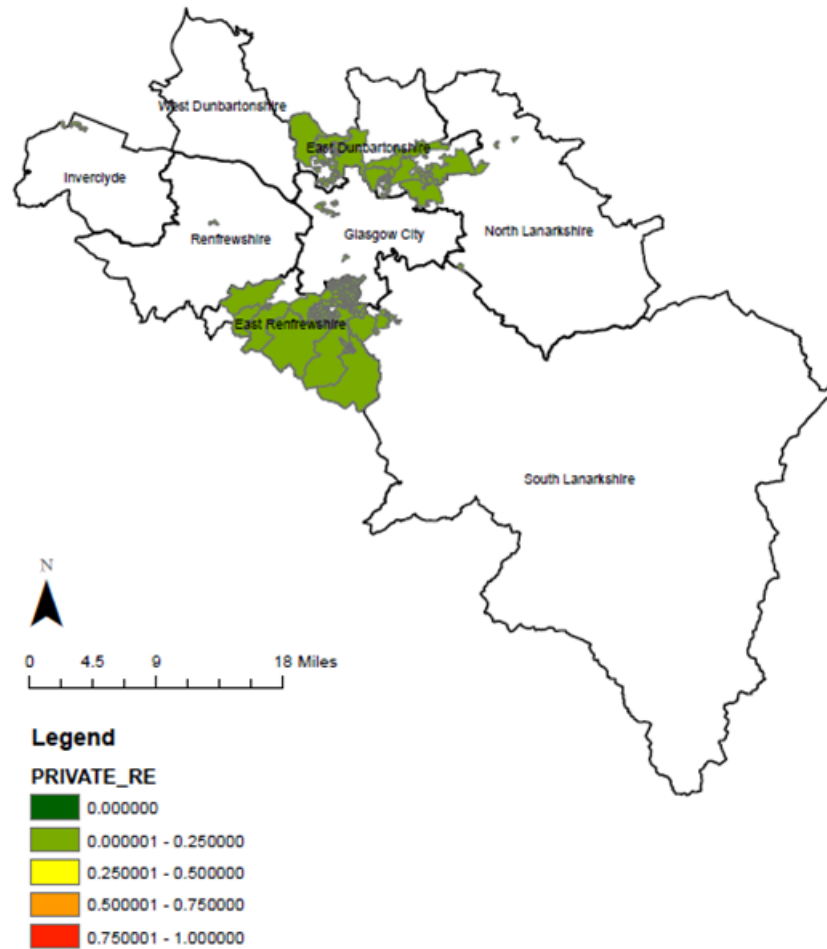


Figure 9.16 S5 Tariff High-High Clusters by Private Rented tenure



Source: Census 2011; Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (2013)

9.3.3 Attainment by School

The analysis now turns to the school league table dataset. As described previously, schools are ranked based on the percentage of pupils achieving five passes at Higher Grade. **Appendix 2** and **Appendix 3** show the ranks and the percentages respectively for the whole of Glasgow Region. Note that these have been extracted from the full league table, showing all 340 state secondary schools in Scotland. Thus any position or rank relates to its position within Scotland as a whole not Glasgow Region.

The ranking of the schools in Glasgow City stretches the gamut, from first in Scotland (Jordanhill School) to nearly last (Govan High School) as shown in **Table 9.8** below. The residualised clusters of schools in Chapter 8 are also added.

Table 9.8 Rankings of Glasgow City Schools, 2021

Glasgow City	Position*	Residualised School
Jordanhill School	1	-
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School / Sgoil Ghaidhlig Ghlaschu	18	-
Notre Dame High School	25	-
Hyndland Secondary School	43	-
Bannerman High School	103	-
Hillhead High School	109	-
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	138	-
Holyrood Secondary School	145	-
Lourdes Secondary School	183	-
Shawlands Academy	200	-
Castlemilk High School	207	Yes
Bellahouston Academy	218	-
St Mungo's Academy	219	Yes
John Paul Academy	231	-
King's Park Secondary School	241	-
Cleveden Secondary School	242	-
All Saints Secondary School	244	Yes
Whitehill Secondary School	248	-
St Andrew's Secondary School	255	Yes
Hillpark Secondary School	278	-
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	279	Yes

Rosshall Academy	285	-
Knightswood Secondary School	286	-
Drumchapel High School	288	Yes
Springburn Academy	304	Yes
St Roch's Secondary School	315	Yes
Smithycroft Secondary School	316	-
St Paul's High School	325	Yes
Eastbank Academy	328	Yes
Lochend Community High School	336	Yes
Govan High School	337	Yes

Source: Law, 2021

n = 31 (including the grant maintained Jordanhill School)

* Position = Position or rank is position within the 340 state secondary schools of Scotland as a whole.

Those in the top 100 schools in Scotland are based in the West End of Glasgow City. The two specialised schools, Jordanhill School and Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School, mentioned in Chapter 7 have the highest rankings, with the former the highest in Scotland. These are followed by Hyndland Secondary School, mentioned by Mumsnet users along with Shawlands Academy, and the all-girls secondary Notre Dame High School, also in the Hyndland area of Glasgow. This school was little mentioned by the Mumset users, perhaps due to the all-girl composition.

Outside of the first 100 schools, there is a more heterogenous spread across the range of 100-200 in Glasgow City: the Bailleston suburb (Bannerman High School, 103) and the West End (Hillhead High School, 109; St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School, 138) have higher rankings. After which is the South Side (Holyrood Secondary School, 145; Shawlands Academy, 200) and Lourdes Secondary School, in Cardonald (183). On the basis of the Mumsnet discussions around Shawlands Academy, this school comes further down the list than might have been expected, although the discussions in that chapter however range over a decade.

In the bottom half (170-340) of the national rankings are the Residualised schools. These however show some variation: for example, Castlemilk High School (207) is close in rank to Shawlands Academy (200). Some of the Residualised schools are

also better placed than some of the schools not so classified. Taking the median cut off of 170 (of 340) however, 22 of Glasgow's 31 schools are located here, including all of the residualised schools. Further, over half of the residualised schools, are at the very bottom of the national rankings.

By contrast, in East Renfrewshire there is no school out of the top 100 ranking as shown in **Table 9.9** below. Only the former Renfrewshire District schools fall out of the first 50 (Barrhead High School and St Luke's High School) and the 'east of the M77' schools all fall within, including the Eastwood elite schools of Chapter 8, which are ranked amongst the very highest in Scotland.

Table 9.9 Rankings of East Renfrewshire Schools, 2021

East Renfrewshire	Position	Eastwood Elite
St Ninian's High School	2	Yes
Mearns Castle High School	5	Yes
Williamwood High School	8	Yes
Eastwood High School	17	-
Woodfarm High School	28	-
Barrhead High School	52	-
St Luke's High School	69	-

Source: Law, 2021

n= 7

Finally, the schools of East Dunbartonshire are shown in **Table 9.10**. There is a clear similarity to East Renfrewshire here, and here with only one school outside the top 50 in Scotland. And two of its school ranked in the Top 10 (Bearsden Academy and Bishopbriggs Academy). Bearsden Academy was mentioned by Mumsnet users, although not as much as the East Renfrewshire schools⁷⁴. The very

⁷⁴ Although see:

'East Dunbartonshire schools have a great reputation too, Lenzie, Milngavie, Bearsden.' (User 66); and, 'East Dunbartonshire also has excellent schools - Bearsden, Douglas, Boclair and Lenzie Academies are all excellent (I went to Lenzie Academy so have personal experience of this!)' (User 67)

high rankings of the latter help explain why but there is closer proximity between the two local authorities than perhaps the Mumsnet data suggested, and as indicated in the geographical analyses of housing tenure in Chapter 6 and attainment in the first part of this chapter.

Table 9.10 Rankings of East Dunbartonshire Schools, 2021

East Dunbartonshire	Position
Bearsden Academy	6
Bishopbriggs Academy	10
Lenzie Academy	13
Douglas Academy	14
Turnbull High	21
Boclair Academy	30
St. Ninian's High	45
Kirkintilloch High	170

Source: Law, 2021

n = 8

N.B. John Paul Academy classified under Glasgow City; Kilsyth Academy (Position 137) removed as should have been classified under North Lanarkshire.

9.3.4 Geographical distribution of school attainment

Appendix 3 shows the full list of schools this time with their associated percentages of five Higher passes. Overall, a summary analysis shows a great deal of variation between school attainment in Glasgow Region. Taking the median ranking value of 170 (Kirkintilloch High School), yields a percentage pass rate of 37%.

Every school below this, without exception, is a Glasgow City school (23 schools) with a pass rate ranging from 36% (Lourdes Secondary School) to Govan High School (11%). Every residualised school has a pass rate below 30%, with the exceptions of Castlemilk (35%), St Mungo's Academy (34%) and All Saints Secondary School, all below the median rate of 37%. In Glasgow City, every school above the median rate (37%) is located in the West End, with the exception of Bannerman High school in the Baillieston suburb.

Overall, the gap between the highest performing state secondary (St Ninian's High School, 80%) and lowest performing (Govan High School, 11%) is a gap of 69%, over six times the actual pass rate of Govan High School.

Calculating average attainment

Given this wide range of values, a mean average rather than a median average was calculated, which could act as a 'cut off' figure for analysis. This could be potentially problematic however, since:

1. It calculates a mean average for the schools of Glasgow Region rather than the population of values i.e. the state secondary schools of Scotland (and Jordanhill school).
2. It is calculating an average from a percentage i.e. an average from an average, which can lead to incorrect results.

In the first instance, this is simply a change in the population of interest: the population of schools in Glasgow Region rather than that of Scotland. In the second instance, since individual level data is not provided, an average for pupils across Glasgow Region schools cannot be calculated. It has already been aggregated at the school level. Taking an average from an average can lead to incorrect results, however.

Since this was an exploratory analysis however, the mean was more of a heuristic figure used to guide analysis. A sense check of sorts was thus conducted.

The median ranking is 170, which Kirkintilloch High School represents with a median percentage pass rate of 38%. This is across the schools of Scotland not in Glasgow Region. Ranking the 45 state secondary schools in Glasgow Region only, gives a median value of 36.5% and thus a similar figure.

The mean average percentage pass for Glasgow Region is 42%, which, compared to the median (36.5%), would seem reasonable given the skew or pull from the top of the distribution: and therefore showing that Jordanhill School is not skewing the

distribution so much as the East Renfrewshire schools and East Dunbartonshire schools at the top end:

Table 9.11 Top End of Distribution of Higher Passes, 2021

School	Local Authority	Five higher passes
St Ninian's High School	East Renfrewshire	80%
Mearns Castle High School	East Renfrewshire	77%
Bearsden Academy	East Dunbartonshire	76%
Williamwood High School	East Renfrewshire	76%
Bishopbriggs Academy	East Dunbartonshire	74%

Source: Law, 2021

These are much closer to the grant-maintained school (86%) and to independent schools (92.6%⁷⁵), substantiating to a great extent the Mumsnet calculations about trade offs vis a vis private schools and housing/state secondary schools in Chapter 7. This mean was therefore used as a cut off instead: that is, rather than simply halving the schools down the middle (median) and ignoring the range of values (11% to 80%) the large variation between the schools was brought into the analysis. This mean average was then used as a cut off figure to analyse the geographical distribution of schools both above and below average attainment as measured by the percentage of five higher passes.

Above average attainment

Table 9.12 shows those schools which had above average attainment in Glasgow Region.

⁷⁵ The Herald (Denholm, 2017) gives pass rates at Higher for 2017 (92.6%) and 2016 (92.3%), see: <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15538943.scottish-private-schools-topped-years-exam-league-table/> Accessed 20/03/2022

Table 9.12 Above average attainment as measured by percentage of five higher passes

School	Local Authority	5 Highers
St Ninian's High School	East Renfrewshire	80%
Mearns Castle High School	East Renfrewshire	77%
Williamwood High School	East Renfrewshire	76%
Bearsden Academy	East Dunbartonshire	76%
Bishopbriggs Academy	East Dunbartonshire	74%
Lenzie Academy	East Dunbartonshire	69%
Douglas Academy	East Dunbartonshire	68%
Eastwood High School	East Renfrewshire	66%
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	Glasgow City	65%
Turnbull High	East Dunbartonshire	64%
Notre Dame High School	Glasgow City	61%
Woodfarm High School	East Renfrewshire	61%
Bocclair Academy	East Dunbartonshire	55%
Hyndland Secondary School	Glasgow City	54%
St. Ninian's High	East Dunbartonshire	54%
Barrhead High School	East Renfrewshire	50%
St Luke's High School	East Renfrewshire	45%
Bannerman High School	Glasgow City	44%

Source: Law, 2021

n = 18

Note: Mean = 42%

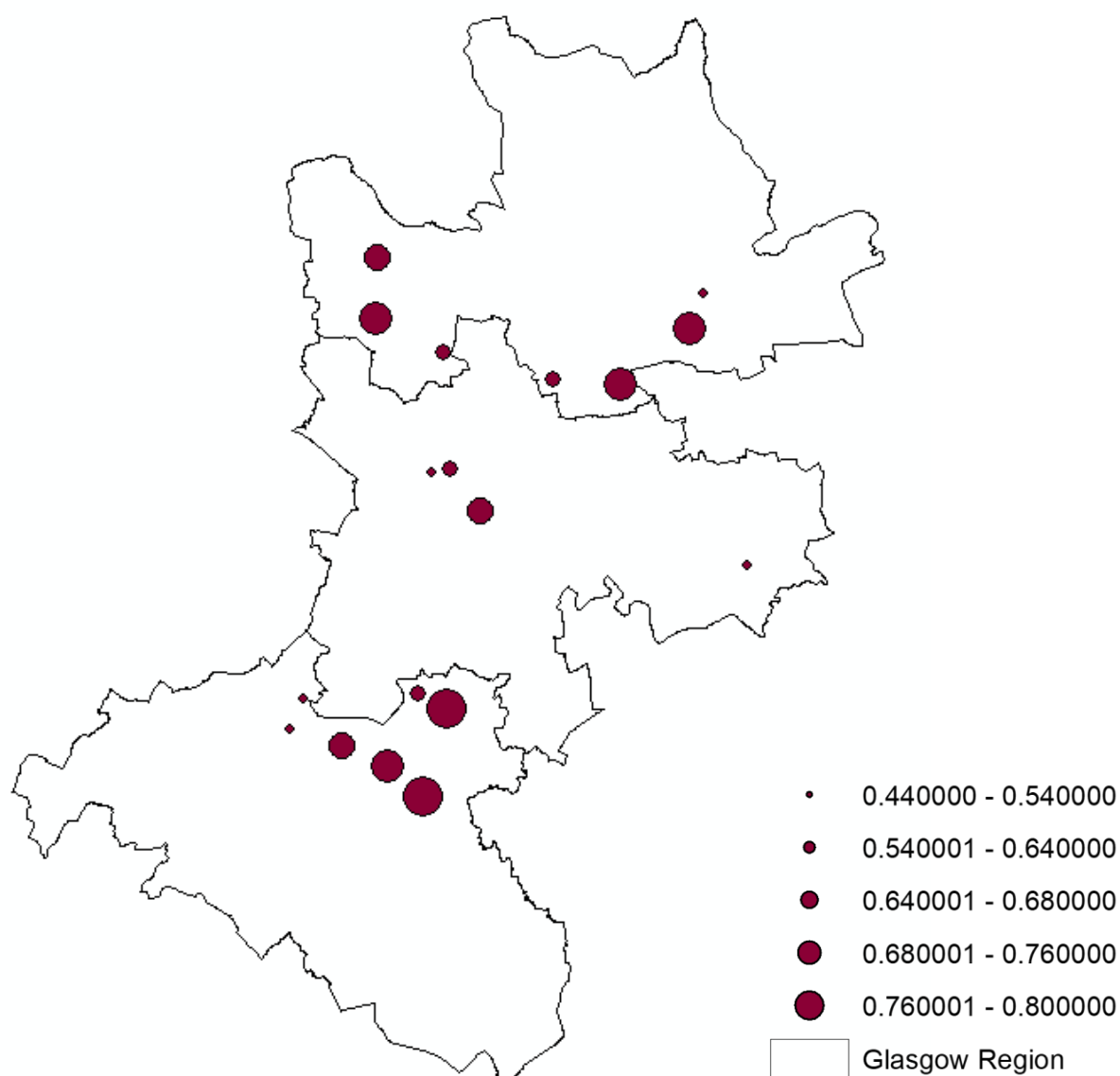
Of those schools over the mean average attainment of 42%, all schools from East Renfrewshire are included and all schools from East Dunbartonshire are included, with the exception of Kirkintilloch High School.

In Glasgow City, four schools out of a possible 30 are included: the West End/Hyndland schools of Notre Dame High and Hyndland Secondary; the 'specialist' Glasgow Gaelic School (Chapter 7); and the east suburb of Bailleston (Bannerman). The highest attainment for a Glasgow City school is Glasgow School of Gaelic (65%), above which is four East Renfrewshire schools and four East Dunbartonshire schools.

The geographical distribution can be seen in **Figure 9.17** below. The map shows the schools of Glasgow Region as points whose size is proportional to their

attainment, or rather their five Higher percentage pass rate. The resulting distribution of values (from 42% to 80%) has been classified into quantiles and the school names removed to improve readability as well as to focus on the overall distribution rather than the individual schools themselves.

Figure 9.17 Above Average Attainment by school, Glasgow Region



Source: Law, 2021

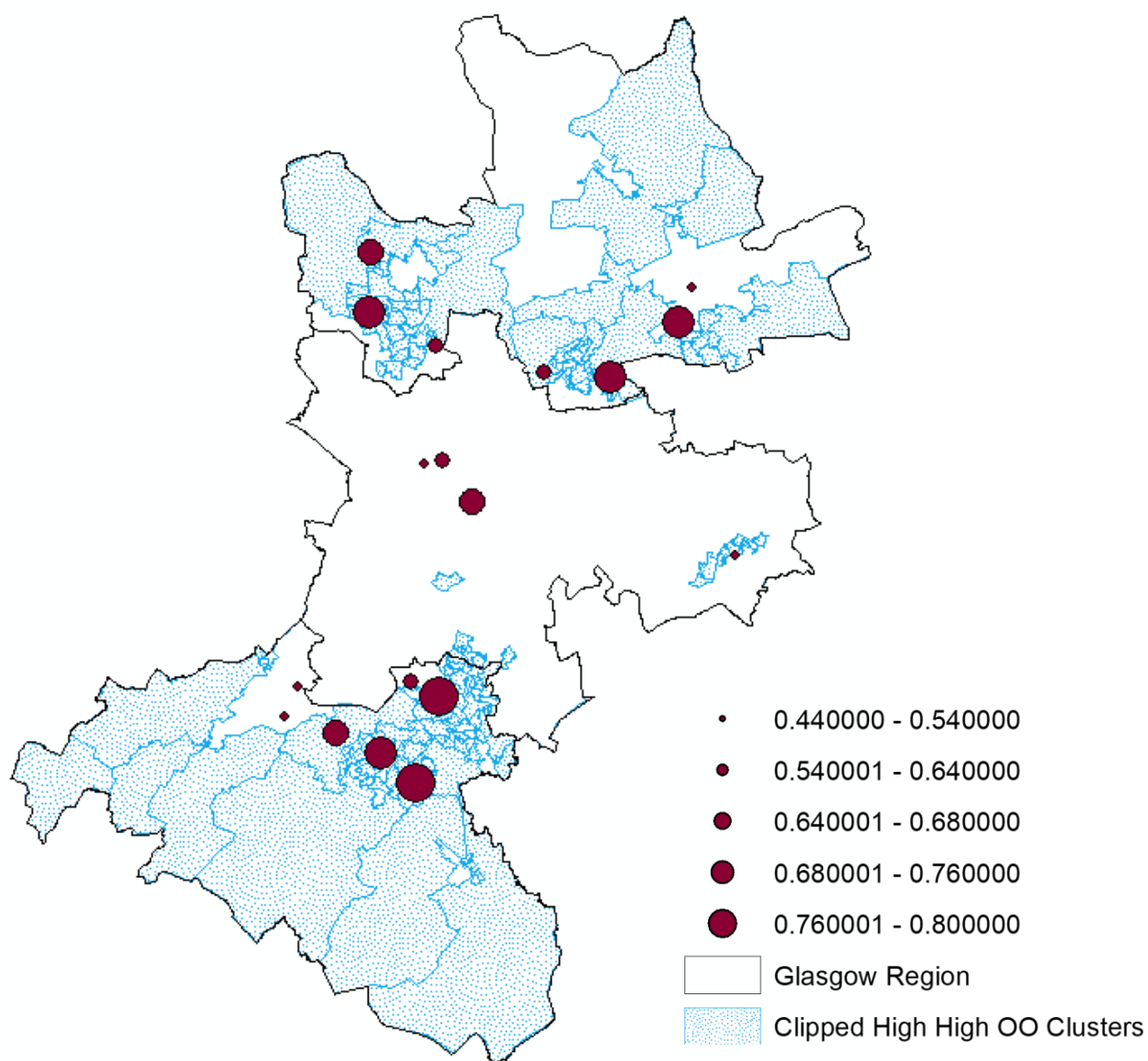
Note: 0.44 = 44%

n = 18

When the core owner occupation clusters from Chapter 6 are added as in **Figure 9.18** below, there is a clear association between schools and owner occupied

clusters outside of Glasgow City. Where this is not the case, attainment tends to be smaller (e.g. Barrhead High School in East Renfrewshire or St Ninian's High School in East Dunbartonshire).

Figure 9.18 Above Average Attainment by school, Glasgow Region with owner occupation clusters



Source: Law, 2021; Census 2011

Note: 0.44 = 44%

Glasgow City has a different pattern: its three schools in the West End are in a more heterogenous area (see **Figure 9.12**, *Private Rented High-High Cluster by S5*)

Tariff Score above), which includes a university and is not a purely residential area *per se*. The owner occupied cluster of Bailleston, in the eastern suburb of Glasgow City, shows an association with above average attainment but it is the lowest (44%) of the group of Glasgow City schools.

Below average attainment

By contrast, **Table 9.13** below shows those schools where the pass rate was below the average. In Glasgow Region overall, over half the schools (27 out of 45) have below average attainment. Of these, *all* are from Glasgow City, with the exception of Kirkintilloch High School in East Dunbartonshire.

All of the Residualised schools are thus classified, although they range from those at the bottom of the distribution like Govan High (11%) to All Saints Secondary (31%)⁷⁶. Castlemilk High School is an exception (35%), with attainment close to Notre Dame High School (36%) and identical to Shawlands Academy (35%).

Table 9.13 Below average attainment as measured by percentage of five higher passes

School Name	Local Authority	5 Highers
Govan High School	Glasgow City	11%
Lochend Community High School	Glasgow City	12%
Eastbank Academy	Glasgow City	14%
St Paul's High School	Glasgow City	17%
Smithycroft Secondary School	Glasgow City	19%
St Roch's Secondary School	Glasgow City	20%
Springburn Academy	Glasgow City	23%
Drumchapel High School	Glasgow City	26%
Knightswood Secondary School	Glasgow City	26%
Rosshall Academy	Glasgow City	26%
Hillpark Secondary School	Glasgow City	27%
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	Glasgow City	27%
St Andrew's Secondary School	Glasgow City	29%
Whitehill Secondary School	Glasgow City	30%
All Saints Secondary School	Glasgow City	31%

⁷⁶ Thus the full list of residualised schools is represented, with the exception of Castlemilk High: Govan High School, Lochend Community High School, Eastbank Academy, St Paul's High School, St Roch's Secondary School, Springburn Academy, Drumchapel High School, St Margaret Mary's Secondary School, St Andrew's Secondary School, All Saints Secondary School.

Cleveden Secondary School	Glasgow City	31%
King's Park Secondary School	Glasgow City	31%
John Paul Academy	Glasgow City	33%
Bellahouston Academy	Glasgow City	34%
St Mungo's Academy	Glasgow City	34%
Castlemilk High School	Glasgow City	35%
Shawlands Academy	Glasgow City	35%
Notre Dame High School	Glasgow City	36%
Lourdes Secondary School	Glasgow City	37%
Kirkintilloch High	East Dunbartonshire	38%
Holyrood Secondary School	Glasgow City	40%
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	Glasgow City	40%

Source: Law, 2021

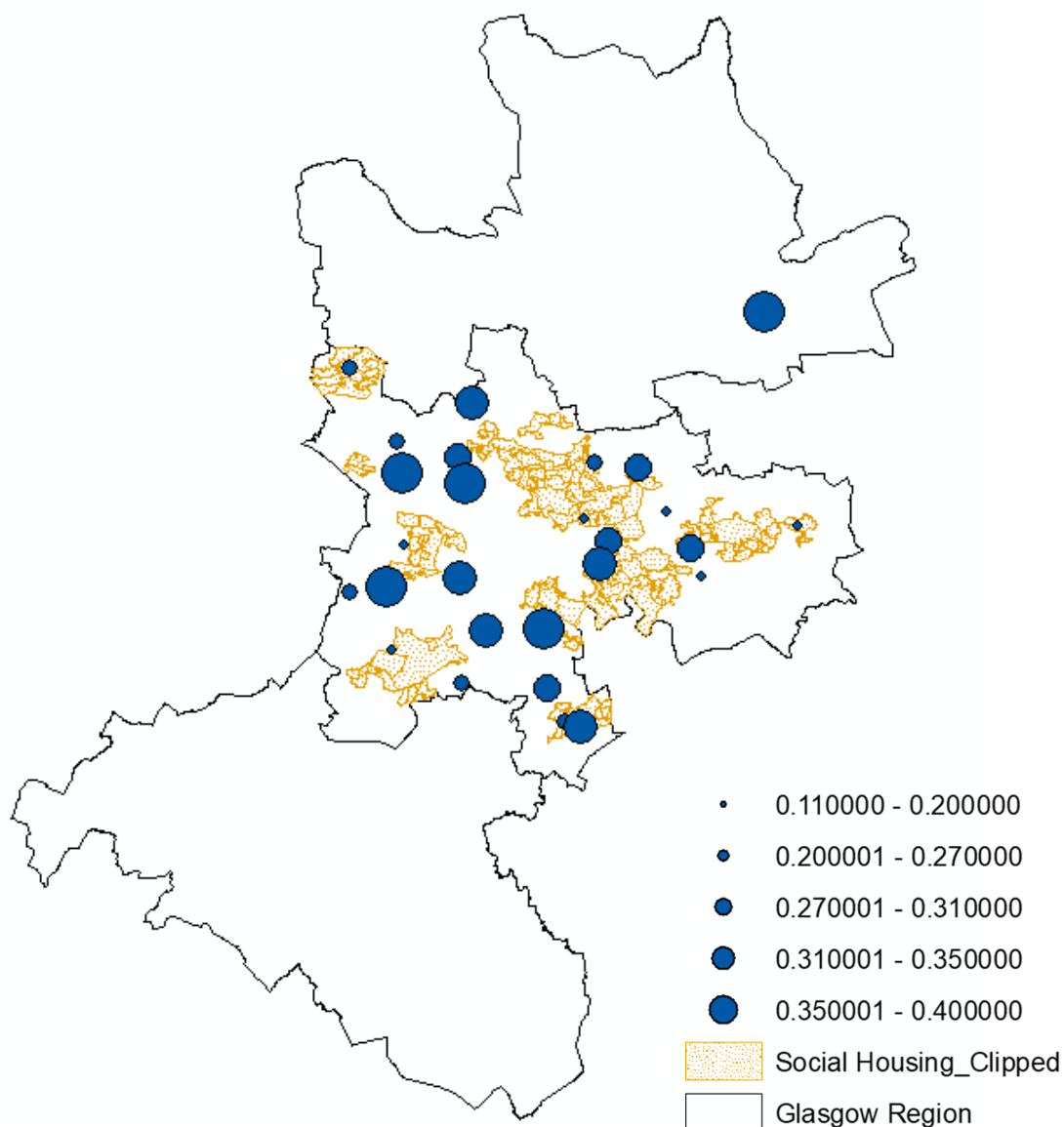
n = 27 schools

Figure 9.19 below shows the geographical distribution of schools with below average attainment. Once again, they are proportionally sized based on the resulting distribution (11% to 42%), and have been classified into quantiles: thus, the larger sizes represent greater attainment.

The core clusters of social housing from Chapter 6 have been added. The north east and east of the city (eight schools), Govan High School and the peripheral estates of Drumchapel, Castlemilk, Pollock and Easterhouse (Drumchapel High School, Castlemilk High School, St Margaret Mary's Secondary School, St Paul's High School, and Lochend Community High School) all show a proximity to the social housing clusters. In the main then, there is a proximity to the core clusters, especially where attainment is lower in Glasgow City.

What is salient overall however is that, with the exception of Kirkintilloch High School, all of these schools are contained within the Glasgow City boundaries.

Figure 9.19 Below Average Attainment by school, Glasgow Region with social housing clusters



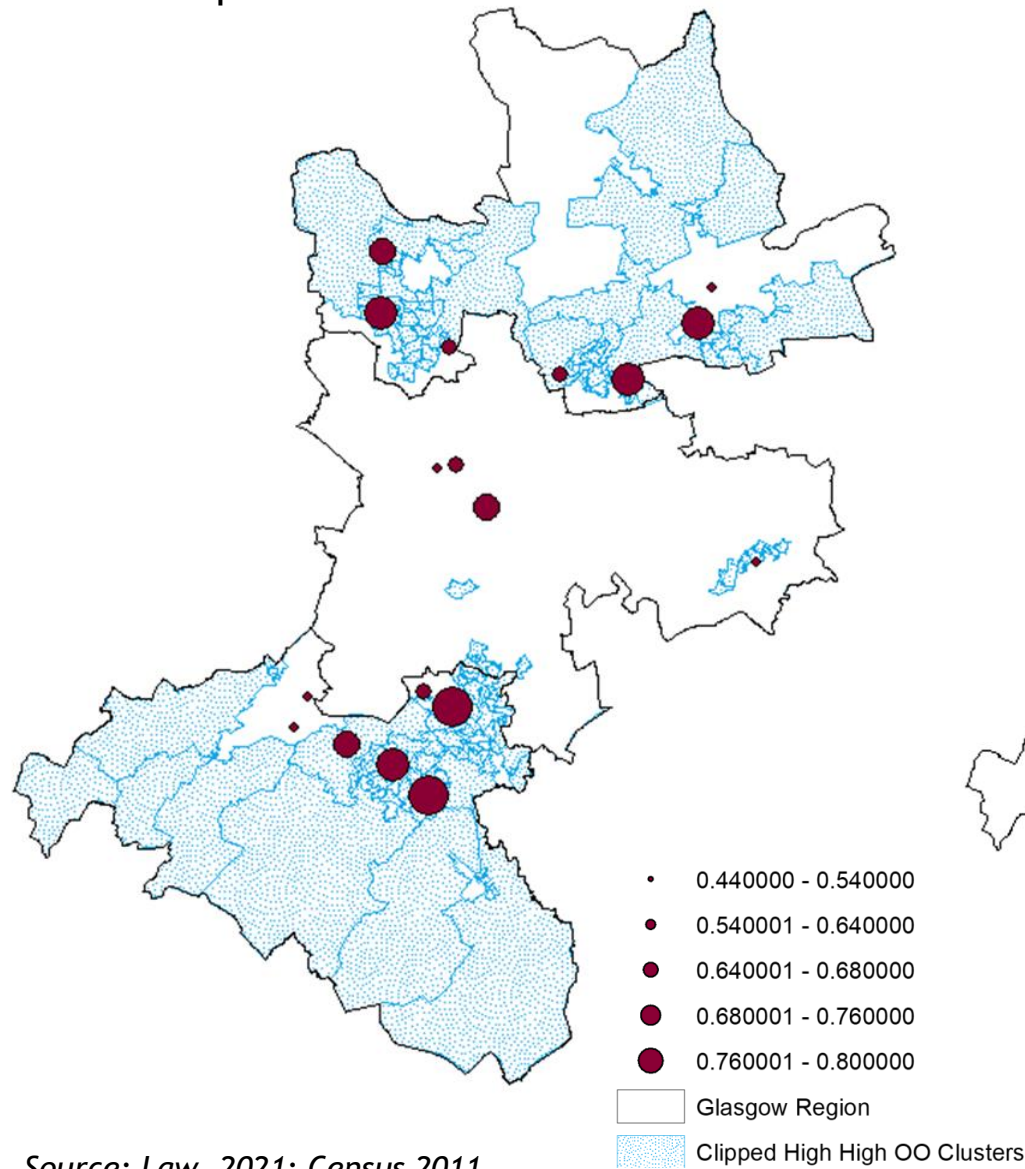
Source: Law, 2021; Census 2011

n = 27 schools

Note: 0.11 = 11%

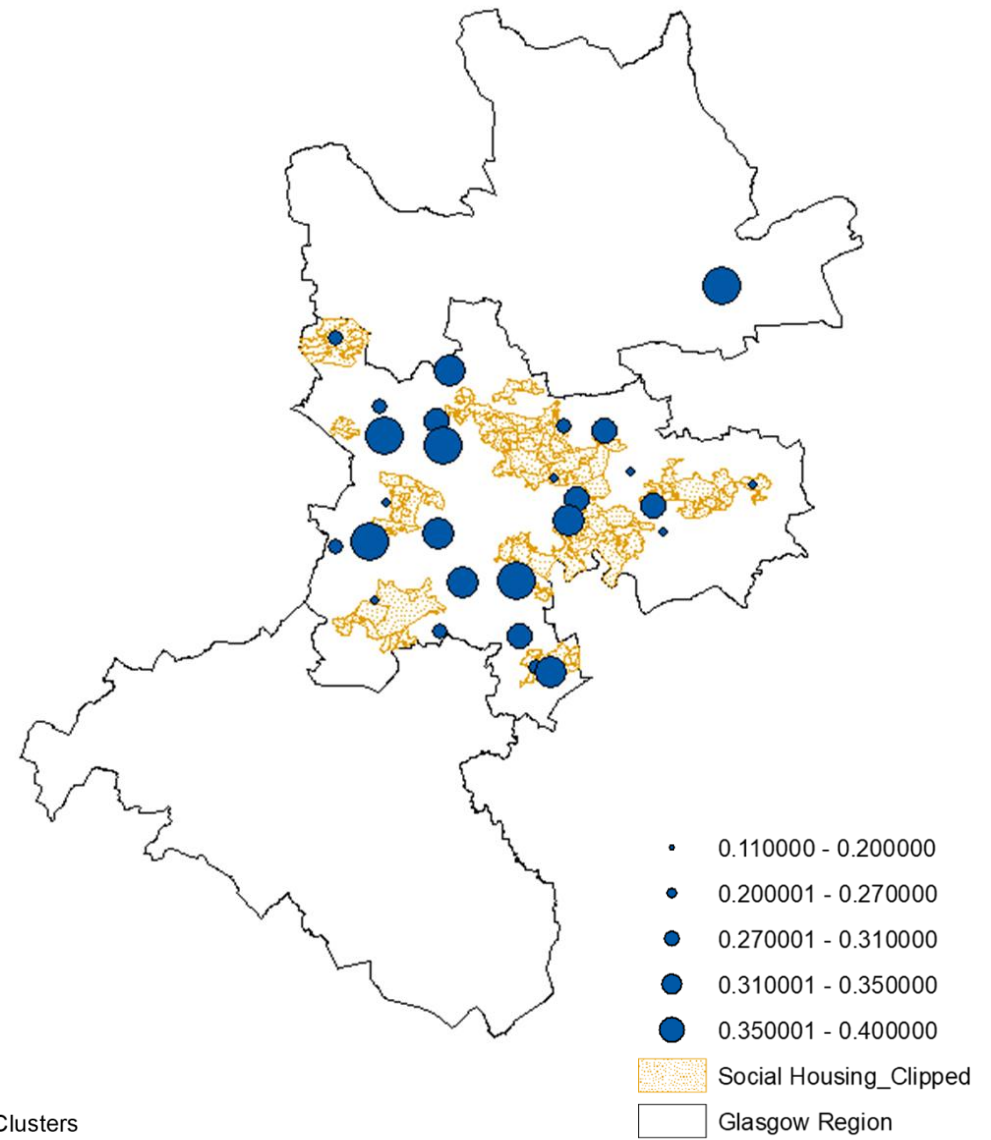
A comparison between the two maps in **Figure 9.20** and **Figure 9.21** below highlights these disparities in attainment, spatially. Note again that schools have been sized according to the respective distribution of values which result from the mean cut off (42%).

Figure 9.20 Above Average Attainment by school, Glasgow Region with owner occupation clusters



Source: Law, 2021; Census 2011

Figure 9.21 Below Average Attainment by school, Glasgow Region with social housing clusters



Arguably, there are two different systems of schooling going on within the Glasgow Region. One where both owner occupation and attainment is high, and which at the top end of the distribution is far closer to the grant-maintained schools and independent schools than the worst performing state schools; or even those around the average, whether defined by median or mean. These are the very best performing state secondary schools in Scotland a few miles away, in some instances, from some of the very worst.

At these extreme ends, taking Govan High School and St Ninians's High School, the difference is as much as 69% between top and bottom of the range. Yet, neither Govan High School nor St Ninians's High School are necessarily isolated outliers in this respect: the Eastwood cluster (Williamwood High, Mearns Castle High) along with the East Dunbartonshire schools all show values similar in range; as do, at the opposite end of the distribution, the other Residualised cluster of schools in Glasgow (e.g. Lochend Community School, Eastbank Academy, St Paul's High School).

9.4 Conclusions

The research questions for the chapter can now be summarised below and answered:

- *RQ 1. Is there any evidence of the avoiding the vocational in the secondary schools of Glasgow Region, understood as higher school attainment?*
- *RQ 1.1 Is there any evidence to suggest social class differences in attainment within Glasgow Region?*
- *RQ 1.2 Is there any alignment between attainment and the system of tenure explored in Chapter 5?*
- *RQ 1.3 Is there any alignment between attainment and the system of school choice explored in Chapter 6?*

Firstly, there was an association between the spatial system of tenure in Chapter 6 and attainment: higher areas of owner occupation showed higher S5 attainment.

The comparison between **Figure 6.5** (*Owner occupation in the West of Scotland*) and **Figure 9.5** (*S5 Tariff Score 2012-2013, West of Scotland*) showed some clear similarities in its distributional patterns: East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire, rural Renfrewshire and some isolated clusters in some of the other local authorities.

When this was reversed, those areas of high attainment showed high proportions of owner occupation (75%-100%). This time however the rest of the West of Scotland largely dropped out: East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire and a cluster in the West End of Glasgow City dominated. Since these were the predominant choices of the Mumsnet users, the combination of high attainment and high owner occupation provides evidence to support RQ 1.2 and RQ 1.3. The evidence of interaction between the housing system and school choice can be integrated with the findings on attainment, therefore.

Secondly, the question was whether there was something systematic in relation to attainment: RQ 1.1. Since it was argued that mixed tenure and mixed demographics were related (Chapter 7), then the previous answer supports this. Evidence for social class differences in attainment was also provided in the school league table analysis, however. Overall, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire dominated the top of the rankings, with the West End of Glasgow schools following somewhat behind, providing support for the Mumsnet distinction for example, their singling out of the two 'specialist' schools of Jordanhill School and Glasgow Gaelic School, with the latter grant-maintained school at the very top of the rankings. Further, the Eastwood elite clusters were amongst the very best state secondary schools in Scotland. Chapter 8 showed these schools were schools with predominantly SIMD 9-10 intakes. That is, those with middle-class intakes.

Those avoided were the Residualised schools. These showed some variation: they were not all concentrated at the bottom. That said, they were in the bottom half of the league tables. And half of the Residualised schools were at the very bottom. Thus the areas which the Mumsnet users seek out (East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire) and avoided (Glasgow City) were precisely those ones which had the higher and lower attainment, respectively. In chapter 7, it was argued these

were middle-class choices, despite the term being avoided. There is thus evidence to support that there are social class differences in attainment in the Glasgow Region.

Finally, the main research question was:

- RQ 1. Is there any evidence of avoiding the vocational in the secondary schools of Glasgow Region, understood as higher school attainment?

Higher school attainment here was seen as evidence of an academic trajectory and avoidance of the vocational. Looking at attainment in this way, it can be concluded that just as certain schools were avoided, the vocational is avoided also: just as **Table 9.1** (*Comparison of Origin-Education and Education-Destination phases*) predicted. Building on RQ 1.2, in the same way middle classes or middle class fractions avoided 'mixed demographics', they could also be seen, from the resulting distributions of attainment analysed here, to avoid the vocational trajectory. Once more residualisation can be understood as implicit avoidance. Therefore, the question can be answered in the affirmative. The final empirical chapter explores the implications of this on school leaver destinations.

Appendix 1: Tariff Points Unified Points Score Scale

Course Level	Award	Tariff Points
Advanced Higher	A	120
CSYS	A	120
Advanced Higher	B	100
CSYS	B	100
Advanced Higher	C	80
CSYS	C	80
Advanced Higher	D	72
Higher	A	72
Higher	B	60
Higher	C	48
Higher	D	42
Intermediate 2	A	42
Standard Grade	1	38
Intermediate 2	B	35
Intermediate 2	C	28
Standard Grade	2	28
Intermediate 2	D	24
Intermediate 1	A	24
Standard Grade	3	22
Intermediate 1	B	20
Advanced Higher	Unit	20
Intermediate 1	C	16
Standard Grade	4	16
Higher	Unit	12
Intermediate 1	D	12
Standard Grade	5	11
Standard Grade	6	8
Access 3	Cluster	8
Intermediate 2	Unit	7
Unallocated Unit	(NC Module)	6
Unallocated Unit	(Short Course)	6
Intermediate 1	Unit	4
Standard Grade	7	3
Access 3	Unit	2
Access 2	Unit	1

Source: Scottish Government, 2009

Appendix 2: School League Rankings of Glasgow Region Schools

School	Local Authority	Position
Jordanhill School	Glasgow City	1
St Ninian's High School	East Renfrewshire	2
Mearns Castle High School	East Renfrewshire	5
Bearsden Academy	East Dunbartonshire	6
Williamwood High School	East Renfrewshire	8
Bishopbriggs Academy	East Dunbartonshire	10
Lenzie Academy	East Dunbartonshire	13
Douglas Academy	East Dunbartonshire	14
Eastwood High School	East Renfrewshire	17
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School / Sgoil Ghaidhlig Ghlaschu	Glasgow City	18
Turnbull High	East Dunbartonshire	21
Notre Dame High School	Glasgow City	25
Woodfarm High School	East Renfrewshire	28
Bocclair Academy	East Dunbartonshire	30
Hyndland Secondary School	Glasgow City	43
St. Ninian's High	East Dunbartonshire	45
Barrhead High School	East Renfrewshire	52
St Luke's High School	East Renfrewshire	69
Bannerman High School	Glasgow City	103
Hillhead High School	Glasgow City	109
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	Glasgow City	138
Holyrood Secondary School	Glasgow City	145
Kirkintilloch High	East Dunbartonshire	170
Lourdes Secondary School	Glasgow City	183
Shawlands Academy	Glasgow City	200
Castlemilk High School	Glasgow City	207
Bellahouston Academy	Glasgow City	218
St Mungo's Academy	Glasgow City	219
John Paul Academy	Glasgow City	231
King's Park Secondary School	Glasgow City	241
Cleveden Secondary School	Glasgow City	242
All Saints Secondary School	Glasgow City	244
Whitehill Secondary School	Glasgow City	248
St Andrew's Secondary School	Glasgow City	255
Hillpark Secondary School	Glasgow City	278
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	Glasgow City	279
Rosshall Academy	Glasgow City	285
Knightswood Secondary School	Glasgow City	286
Drumchapel High School	Glasgow City	288

Springburn Academy	Glasgow City	304
St Roch's Secondary School	Glasgow City	315
Smithycroft Secondary School	Glasgow City	316
St Paul's High School	Glasgow City	325
Eastbank Academy	Glasgow City	328
Lochend Community High School	Glasgow City	336
Govan High School	Glasgow City	337

Source: Law, 2021

Appendix 3: School League Table of Five Higher Passes in Glasgow Region

School	Local Authority	Five higher passes
Jordanhill School	Glasgow City	86%
St Ninian's High School	East Renfrewshire	80%
Mearns Castle High School	East Renfrewshire	77%
Bearsden Academy	East Dunbartonshire	76%
Williamwood High School	East Renfrewshire	76%
Bishopbriggs Academy	East Dunbartonshire	74%
Lenzie Academy	East Dunbartonshire	69%
Douglas Academy	East Dunbartonshire	68%
Eastwood High School	East Renfrewshire	66%
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	Glasgow City	65%
Turnbull High	East Dunbartonshire	64%
Bocclair Academy	East Dunbartonshire	61%
Woodfarm High School	East Renfrewshire	61%
Hyndland Secondary School	Glasgow City	55%
St. Ninian's High	East Dunbartonshire	54%
Barrhead High School	East Renfrewshire	54%
St Luke's High School	East Renfrewshire	50%
Bannerman High School	Glasgow City	45%
Hillhead High School	Glasgow City	44%
Holyrood Secondary School	Glasgow City	40%
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	Glasgow City	40%
Kirkintilloch High	East Dunbartonshire	38%
Lourdes Secondary School	Glasgow City	37%
Notre Dame High School	Glasgow City	36%
Castlemilk High School	Glasgow City	35%
Shawlands Academy	Glasgow City	35%
Bellahouston Academy	Glasgow City	34%
St Mungo's Academy	Glasgow City	34%
John Paul Academy	Glasgow City	33%
All Saints Secondary School	Glasgow City	31%
Cleveden Secondary School	Glasgow City	31%
King's Park Secondary School	Glasgow City	31%
Whitehill Secondary School	Glasgow City	30%
St Andrew's Secondary School	Glasgow City	29%
Hillpark Secondary School	Glasgow City	27%
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	Glasgow City	27%
Drumchapel High School	Glasgow City	26%
Knightswood Secondary School	Glasgow City	26%

Rosshall Academy	Glasgow City	26%
Springburn Academy	Glasgow City	23%
St Roch's Secondary School	Glasgow City	20%
Smithycroft Secondary School	Glasgow City	19%
St Paul's High School	Glasgow City	17%
Eastbank Academy	Glasgow City	14%
Lochend Community High School	Glasgow City	12%
Govan High School	Glasgow City	11%

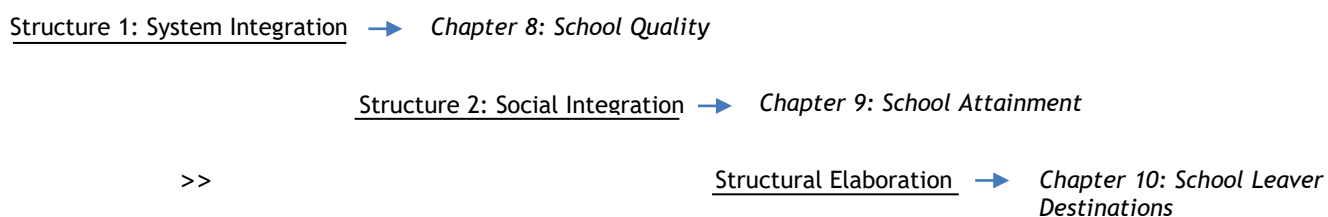
Source: Law, 2021

Chapter 10: Destinations in Glasgow Region

10.1 Introduction

This final empirical chapter focuses on the labour market. The first phases of analysis (Origin-Education) started with the housing market and, via its interaction with social class choices, resulted in the structural elaboration of an internally differentiated state secondary school system. This phase (Education-Destination) takes *that* as its starting point and, interacting with class differentiation into academic and vocational trajectories within the school system, results in systematically different labour market outcomes. This becomes the final empirical chapter, therefore:

Figure 10.1 *Structural Elaboration: Analytical Dualism* approach to Education-Destination link



The research questions guiding this chapter are:

- *RQ 1. Are there systematic differences in school leavers destinations in Glasgow Region?*
- *RQ 2. Can these be related to the spatial distribution of attainment shown in Chapter 9?*
- *RQ 3. Can these be related to the differences within the school system in Chapter 8?*

In other words, by investigating the results of Structural Elaboration (RQ 1.), the other two research questions attempt to ascertain to what extent these can be related back to the previous elements of the Education-Destination phase, System Integration (Chapter 8) and Social Integration (Chapter 9).

10.1.1 Summary of Chapter

The chapter begins by introducing the data and methods and then proceeds to an analysis of school leaver destinations, focusing on higher education, further education and employment. Building upon previous analysis, it then looks at their spatial distributions analysing these over the clusters of owner occupation and social housing in Chapter 6. It then returns to the research questions in the conclusion.

A fine-grained comparison of attainment, destinations and an analysis of their correlations is not the aim of the chapter, even if the data facilitated this. The aim instead, building upon Chapter 9, is to understand whether there are systematic differences *based on the academic-vocational distinction* and its distribution across the secondary schools of the region. The wider theoretical purpose is to understand the vocational track as a ‘poverty trap’ and therefore another element of residualisation.

10.2. Data and Methods

Unlike Budoki and Goldthorpe (2019) who used individual level data in a social mobility analysis from cohort survey data, this chapter uses school leaver destinations aggregated at the school level. There are obvious limitations here. Firstly, this does not provide the eventual labour market destination. What is more, initial destinations can change both positively (e.g. unemployment into employment) and negatively (e.g. employment into unemployment). That said, the thesis overall is not trying to reproduce Budoki and Goldthorpe’s social mobility analysis. What the data does provide is *school level* aggregated destinations, which permits a similar analysis to the previous chapter and thus enables another element to be integrated into the thesis’s wider structure of empirical evidence.

10.2.1 Data Collection

The data was collected from the Community Planning Partnership statistical reports at the local authority level on the Skills Development Scotland website:

three reports were collected based on the three local authorities comprising Glasgow Region. The reports were accessed and retrieved initially in July 2016 and saved to a hard drive. They were accessed again on the 28th March 2022 when they were found to be located on the Skills Development Scotland website, where they have subsequently been archived (see Skills Development Scotland, 2021).

Appendix 1 gives more detail on the reports and their collection; the subsequent five appendices give detail on the definitions used and the full datasets from the three reports.

The format is a published table of school leaver destinations, included within the overall report within *Section 4: Percentage Destinations by School*. **Table 9.1** provides an illustration of the data and **Appendix 6** gives the full data for all three local authorities used in the chapter.

Table 10.1 School Leaver Destinations Return for East Dunbartonshire

School	Total Leavers	Higher Education (%)	Further Education (%)	Training (%)	Employment (%)	Voluntary Work (%)	Activity Agreements (%)	Unemployed Seeking (%)	Unemployed Not Seeking (%)	Unconfirmed (%)	Positive (%)
Bearsden Academy	203	69.5	11.8	1	14.3	0.5	1	2	0	0	98
Bishopbriggs Academy	222	57.7	20.3	2.3	17.6	0.5	0	1.4	0.5	0	98.2
Bocclair Academy	156	69.9	14.1	1.9	11.5	0	0	2.6	0	0	97.4
Douglas Academy	176	65.9	12.5	0.6	16.5	0.6	0	2.8	0	1.1	96
Kirkintilloch High School	131	38.2	26	5.3	25.2	0	0.8	2.3	2.3	0	95.4
Lenzie Academy	214	63.6	13.1	1.9	16.4	0.5	0	4.2	0.5	0	95.3
St Ninian's High School (Kirkintilloch)	113	61.1	18.6	3.5	13.3	0	0.9	1.8	0.9	0	97.3
Tumbull High School	101	52.5	17.8	3	20.8	0	1	5	0	0	95
East Dunbartonshire Total	1,316	60.9	16.3	2.2	16.6	0.3	0.4	2.7	0.5	0.2	96.7

Source: Community Planning Partnership Report: East Dunbartonshire (2015), excerpt.

Thus the percentage of school leavers for Higher Education, say, will give the aggregate figure for all schools leavers in a local authority who left a particular school (S4-S6) for that particular destination.

Using Bearsden Academy as an example from **Table 10.1** above, there were 203 leavers of the 2014/15 cohort, who left school between 1st August 2014 and 15th September 2015, with these two dates used as one-off data collection points. Of

those 203 leavers, 69.5% were recorded at those points as going on to Higher Education. The row sums to 100%, meaning those 203 leavers are taken to represent the full 2014/15 cohort. The last column of **Table 10.1** (Positive %) is the sum of all positive destinations, which includes all destinations except Unemployed Seeking, Unemployed Not Seeking and Unconfirmed. Thus for Bearsden Academy, with only 2% recorded as Unemployed Seeking, and no other record for the two other 'negative' categories, their total positive destinations figure was 98% (or 100% minus 2%).

The data is collected by careers advisors at each of the Skills Development Scotland centres across Scotland, who follow up the status of school leavers by telephone or, sometime, in person either via the pupil or their parent or guardian. The individual level data is returned by the individual centres to the administrative headquarters of Skills Development Scotland, where it is analysed and then approved by the Scottish Government before publishing. Further detail on the data and the definitions of a school leaver is given in **Appendix 1**.

However, this has changed. Since late 2016⁷⁷, this processing and publishing of the data has been taken over by the Scottish Government and data collection only undertaken by Skills Development Scotland (see Scottish Government, 2022). Further, the school level data has been dropped from the report and replaced, like the Education Scotland inspection reports, by a virtual comparator. The reports collected in 2016 are now archived by Skills Development Scotland as described, therefore.

Skills Development Scotland now publishes the Participation Measure, which has become a national performance indicator based on an aggregate of those aged 16-19 in Education (both Higher and Further), Employment or Training. The Scottish Government (2021) treats the post-2017 school leaver destinations in similar ways to that described in Chapter 8: individualised (destinations by pupil characteristics), aggregated (destinations by stage), using a virtual comparator as

⁷⁷ <https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/news-events/2016/december/changes-to-the-publication-of-school-leaver-destination-statistics/>

noted above, or aggregated by area (destinations by area). Thus the analysis of school leaver destinations at the school level, as in this chapter, is no longer possible from the most recent publicly published sources.

10.2.2 Data Definitions

The categories of leaver destinations used in the reports and shown in **Table 10.1** above might seem unproblematic. However, the associated definitions footnoted in the Community Planning Partnership reports need to be taken account of.

Higher Education

Higher Education includes both university students studying a degree *and* students studying an HNC or HND level qualification; and either at a university or a further education college (or presumably, Higher Education Institution also). An HNC is the equivalent of a first year at university and hence could be categorised as Higher Education. However, since it is ‘specially designed to meet the needs of employers’ (SQA, 2019: 21) it thus functions as a vocational rather than academic qualification. An HNC in Sports Coaching is very different from a degree in Medicine, without even taking into account the relative prestige of different institutions, like a further education college *vis a vis* a Russell group university. The ‘first year’ at university equivalence therefore means it is impossible to disentangle those who are going to study for a university degree from those who are aiming for a vocational route. Given that Scottish Government definitions are not neutral (see Chapter 8) and that such a definition would inflate the number of ‘Higher Education’ destinations, the broadness of this categorisation is highlighted.

Further Education

This means then that what is routinely considered as ‘Further Education’ to the general public is a narrower definition that merely those studying vocational qualifications (e.g. HNCs) at college. Further Education, then, is the category of students who are not on the school roll and studying at a non-advanced level. This includes National Qualifications, Access courses, portfolio preparation, pre-vocational courses or Higher or A Levels, although not studied within the secondary

school system. These are the most basic qualifications in many instances, therefore.

Employment

Like Higher Education, Employment is a heterogenous category also, as it includes: those actually in paid employment, those doing modern apprenticeships, the self-employed and the part-time (less than 16 hours). For those in paid employment, it is impossible to tell into which industrial sector (e.g. Standard Industrial Classification I: Hospitality) or at which Occupational level (e.g. Standard Occupational Classification 6: Personal Services) they have entered the labour market. And therefore, unlike Goldthorpe's class schema (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006), it is impossible to tell the relation to the *market*: for the longer-term prospects, including possibilities of unemployment, training, security of contract etc. And also relation to *work or labour production*: including, autonomy and responsibility. Someone leaving to work in their father's or mother's successful business is in a very different relation to the labour market to someone who is working part-time or on a zero hours contract and likely to experience and be increasingly trapped in a recurring no pay/low pay cycle (Shildrick et al., 2010; Hurrell, 2013).

Finally, the categories of Training and Unemployment (Unemployed Seeking; Unemployed and not Seeking) have been left out of the analysis. For Unemployment, this does not contribute to the aim of the chapter: an analysis of the academic-vocational distinction. For Training, this *does* contribute to an analysis of the vocational trajectory. However, an initial analysis showed that averages for the respective local authorities were 7.6% (Glasgow City), 2.2% (East Dunbartonshire) and 1.8% (East Renfrewshire). For the sake of parsimony, a combination of Further Education and Employment was enough to represent the vocational trajectory for the purposes of the chapter. That said, the distribution of training ranged between 0% (min) and 22.0% (max), both in Glasgow City schools. Where the percentage of Training was high therefore, this is noted (see **Section 10.3.4 School Clusters**, below)

The Scottish Credit and Qualification Framework (SCQF)

To understand how these definitions overlap, the Scottish Credit and Qualification Framework is shown in **Table 10.2** below. It shows the full twelve levels and some examples of typical qualifications.

Table 10.2 Scottish Credit and Qualification Framework (SCQF)

SCQF Level	Qualifications
12	PhD
11	Masters
10	Honours Degree
9	Ordinary Degree
8	Higher National Diploma (HND), MA Level 3
7	Higher National Certificate (HNC), MA Level 2, SVQ 3
6	Scottish Higher, Foundation MA, SVQ 3
5	Skills for Work* National 5/ National 5/Standard Grade (Credit)
4	National Certificate, Skills for Work National 4, National 4, Standard Grade (General)
3	Skills for Work National 3, National 3, Standard Grade (Foundation)
2	National 2
1	National 1**

Source: Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework Partnership (2022)

* *The [Skills for Work] courses provide progression pathways to further education, training and employment. <https://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/5951.html> They are normally combined with learning at work and ‘for pupils in third or fourth year of secondary school and focus on the world of work’ <https://www.myworldofwork.co.uk/qualifications-0>*

** *National 1 and National 2 qualifications are set at SCQF levels 1 and 2 and are designed for learners who require additional support. They provide opportunities for learners to develop their knowledge and skills, and to have their achievements certificated.*

The school leaver destinations can themselves be categorised within this structure as in **Table 10.3** below. Firstly, the ambiguity of the ‘Higher Education’ classification means it overlaps both academic (SCQF Levels 9-12) and vocational qualifications (Levels 7-8). Secondly, the heterogeneity of ‘Employment’ means it

includes both those doing an apprenticeship and thus in employment (Levels 6-8⁷⁸) and, technically, anyone who leaves school to get a job, and thus potentially someone with little or no qualifications. However, complicating things, Skills for Work qualifications (Levels 3-5) are preparatory qualifications for employment. And, finally, Further Education means both those studying Highers but not on the school roll (Level 6) as well as the most basic pre-vocational qualifications (Level 1).

⁷⁸ And possibly higher, given the recent developments in Graduate Apprenticeships

Table 10.3 Scottish Credit & Qualification Framework and School Leaver Destinations

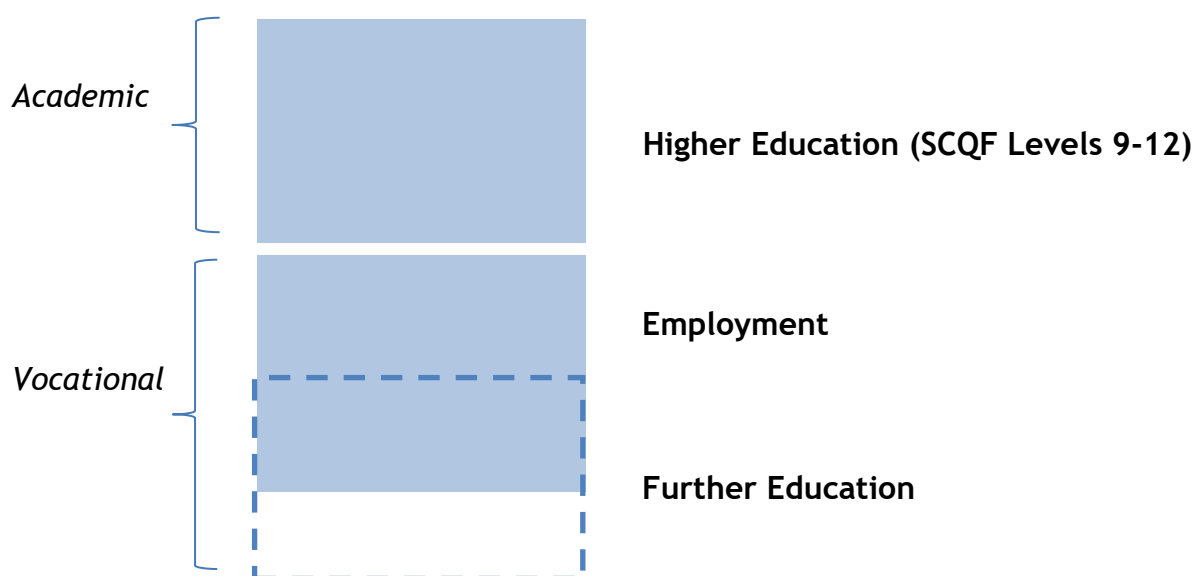
SCQF Level	Qualifications	
12	PhD	} Higher Education
11	Masters	
10	Honours Degree	
9	Ordinary Degree	
8	Higher National Diploma (HND), MA Level 3	} Employment
7	Higher National Certificate (HNC), MA Level 2, SVQ 3	
6	Scottish Higher, Foundation MA, SVQ 3	} Further Education
5	Skills for Work National 5/ National 5/Standard Grade (Credit)	
4	National Certificate, Skills for Work National 4, National 4, Standard Grade (General)	
3	Skills for Work National 3, National 3, Standard Grade (Foundation)	
2	National 2	
1	National 1	

Source: Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework Partnership (2022)

Note: the omitted school leaver destination category, Training, would also fit into structure above: likely between Levels 3-5 (Skills for Work). See **Appendix 1** for full definitions, including of the Training destination.

For the sake of simplicity, anything not degree related (below Level 9) is removed from 'Higher Education'. The structure might be seen thus:

Figure 10.2 Simplified conceptualisation of Academic and Vocational Destinations



What this means however is that, contrary to what might be expected, Further Education functions as the residual category, not Employment.

School Leavers and Secondary Schools

Finally, unlike in the previous chapter which looked at attainment in S5, pupils can exit the school system from S4 onwards. As a result, it is possible to see what percentages of pupils take more vocational routes (Further Education and Employment), even in the more elite state secondary schools. It has also to be noted that the grant maintained Jordanhill School is not included in the published School Leaver Destination Returns.

10.2.3 Methods

The methods used here are simple descriptive statistics of the destinations by school. Unlike in the previous chapter, any overall averages at local authority level have already been calculated from the individual data by Skills Development

Scotland. What has not been calculated, however, in the local authority Community Planning reports is a bespoke average for Glasgow Region. This is calculated manually from the reports and thus means taking an average of an average as described in Chapter 9. As in Chapter 9, this indicative mean average is calculated as a 'cut off' figure for the heuristic purpose of guiding the spatial analysis of the schools and their associated destination data, being used to analyse any emerging spatial patterns.

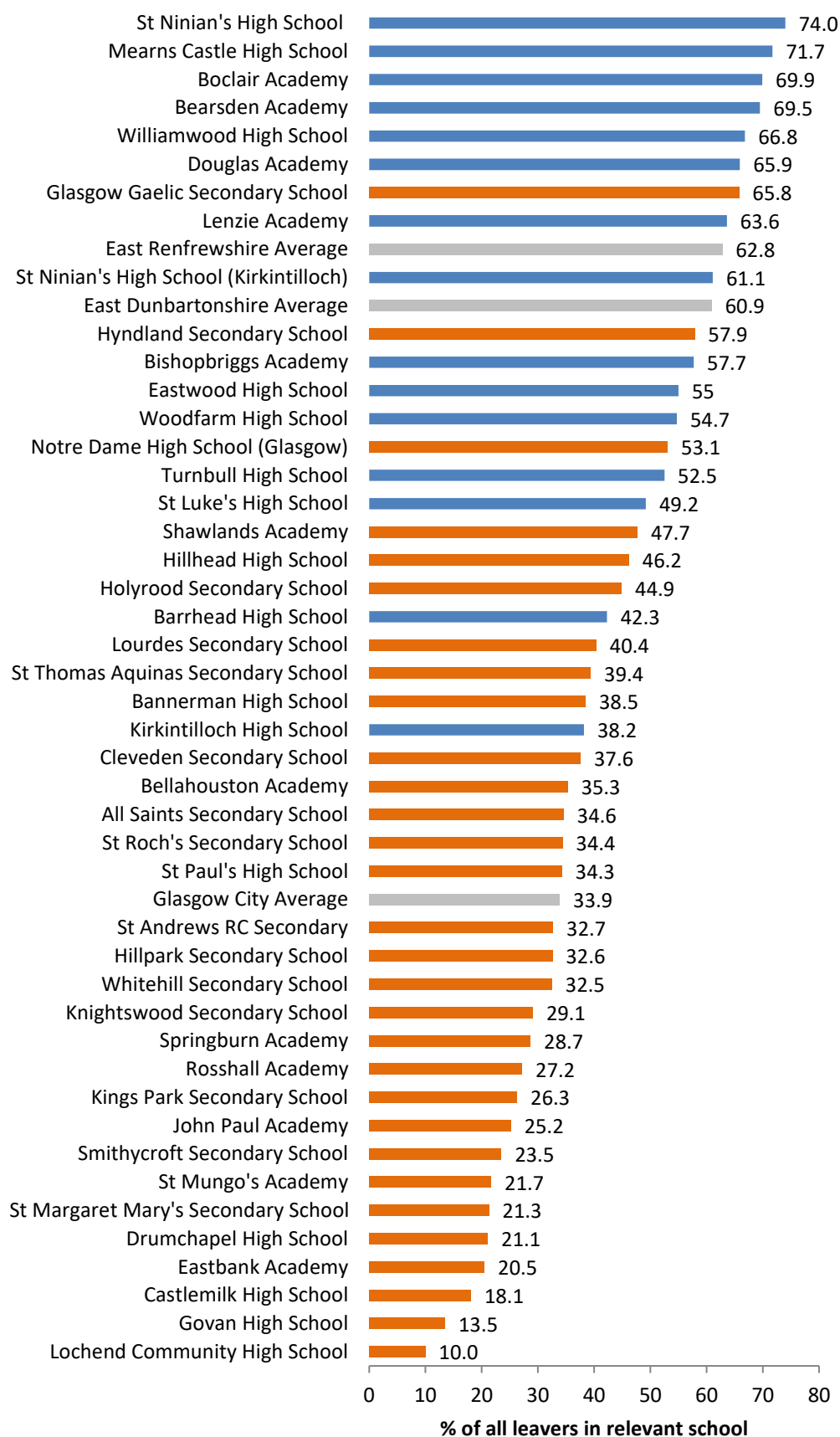
10.3 Findings

The findings here analyse, firstly, Higher Education destinations by school across the Glasgow Region, followed by Further Education and Employment destinations. The school clusters of Chapter 8 are also analysed before a comparison between Higher Education and Further Education is made exploring the large variation found in terms of their spatial distributions.

10.3.1 Higher Education Destinations

The percentage of Higher Education destinations by school for Glasgow Region is shown in **Figure 10.3** below. Glasgow City is highlighted in orange so that a visual comparison can be made between this local authority and the two others. The respective local authority averages are also highlighted (in grey).

Figure 10.3 Percentage of Higher Education School Leaver Destinations in Glasgow Region, 2015



Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

N.B. Distribution of Glasgow City schools highlighted in orange; mean averages in grey. Mean averages calculated by Skills Development Scotland.

Overall Glasgow Region Mean = 41.9%. Calculated manually from the respective 45 school averages.

Firstly, as **Table 10.4** shows below, at the local authority level East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire are very similar, whilst the gap is nearly double the gap (28.9%) between the latter and Glasgow City.

Table 10.4 Higher Education Destinations by Local Authority

Local Authority	Higher Education Destinations
Glasgow City	33.9%
East Renfrewshire	62.8%
East Dunbartonshire	60.9%

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

The Eastwood Elite cluster (St Ninian's, Mearns Castle and Williamwood) are at the very top of the distribution, above the East Renfrewshire average. Below this are the East Renfrewshire schools of Eastwood High and Woodfarm High, and further down the two 'west of M77' schools, St. Luke's High and Barrhead High. Similarly, those schools above the East Dunbartonshire average are Boclair Academy, Bearsden Academy, Douglas Academy, Lenzie Academy, and St Ninian's High School. Below them are Bishopbriggs Academy, Turnbull High School and Kirkintilloch High School. The latter is closer to the Glasgow City average and, both here and in the previous chapter, is more similar to these schools than those in its own local authority.

The prevalence of Glasgow City schools, highlighted, is obvious in the bottom half of the distribution although the West End schools (Glasgow School of Gaelic, Hyndland Secondary School, Notre Dame High School, Hillhead High School) and, to

a lesser extent some of the South Side schools (Shawlands Academy, Holyrood Secondary School) are in the upper half of the distribution. There is a greater range of Glasgow City schools around the mean compared with East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire, possibly reflecting its internal spatial divisions. as shown, for example, in **Figure 6.6** (*Owner Occupation in Glasgow City*). Below the Glasgow City average and therefore at the bottom of the distribution, are nine of the twelve Residualised schools. Three notable exceptions are All Saint's Secondary, St Roch's Secondary and St Paul's High, all above the Glasgow City average, although still below every East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire school.

10.3.2 Further Education Destinations

By contrast, the percentage of Further Education destinations by school for Glasgow Region is shown in **Figure 10.4** below.

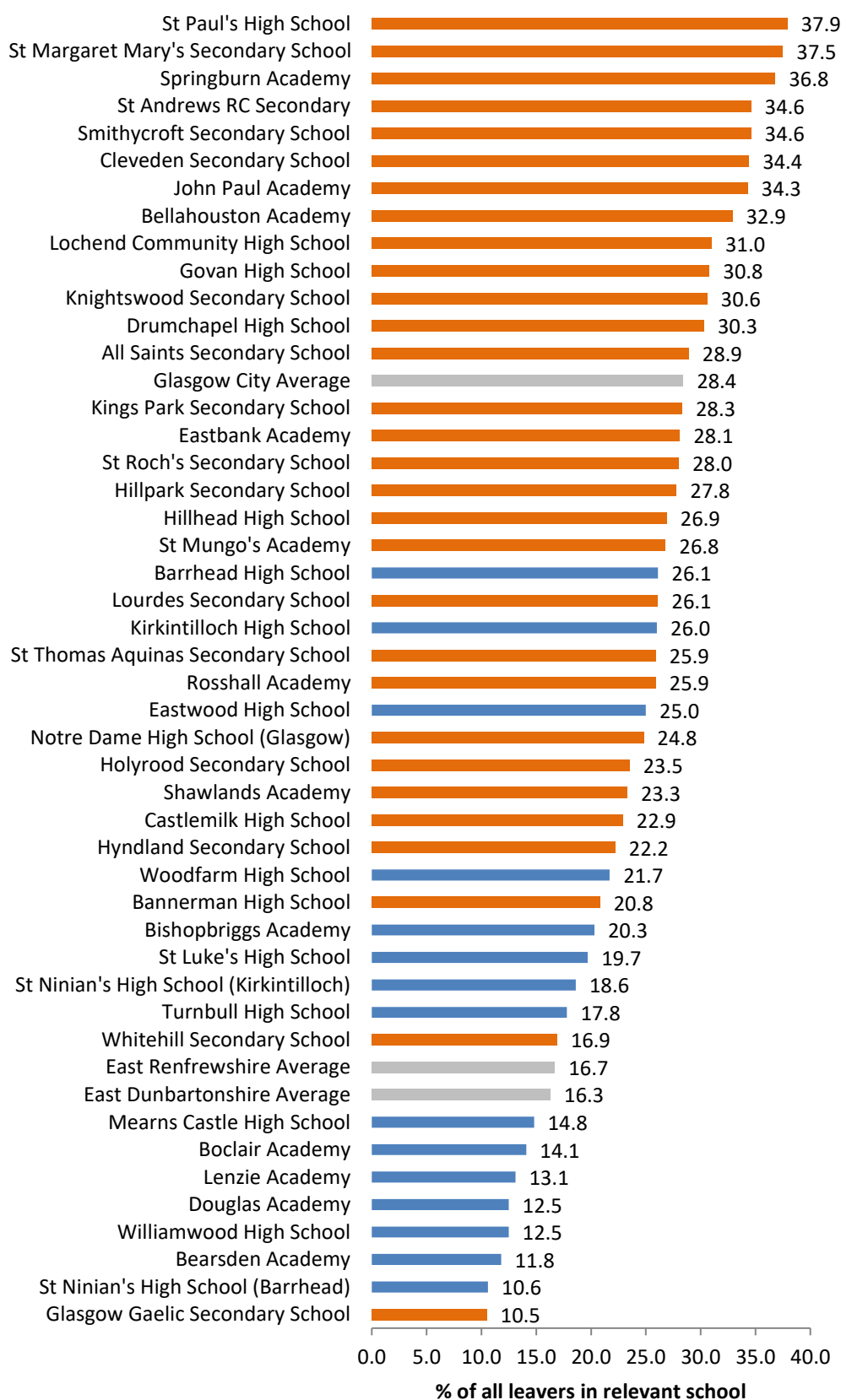
At the local authority level, there are some clear differences in Further Education destinations also. East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire have very similar percentages going into Further Education, distinctly lower than Glasgow City, as summarised in **Table 10.5** below.

Table 10.5 Further Education Destinations by Local Authority

Local Authority	Further Education Destinations
Glasgow City	28.4%
East Renfrewshire	16.7%
East Dunbartonshire	16.3%

Source: Community Planning Partnership reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire) 2015

Figure 10.4 Percentage of Further Education School Leaver Destinations in Glasgow Region, 2015



Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

N.B. Distribution of Glasgow City schools highlighted in orange; mean averages in grey. Mean averages calculated by Skills Development Scotland.

Overall Glasgow Region Mean = 24.6%. Calculated manually from the respective 45 school averages.

In a reversal of **Figure 10.3** (*Percentage of Higher Education School Leaver Destinations in Glasgow Region, 2015*), **Figure 10.4** shows that the top half of the distribution is dominated by the Glasgow City Schools. Of the Glasgow City average (28.4%), thirteen of its schools lie above this. The Residualised schools are either above this average (St Paul's High School, St Margaret Mary's Secondary School, Springburn Academy, St Andrew's Secondary School, Lochend Community High School, Govan High School, Drumchapel High School, All Saints Secondary School) or lie close to it: Eastbank Academy (28.1%), St Roch's Secondary School (28.0%), St Mungo's Academy (26.8%). The only exception is Castlemilk High School, not as high (22.9%) due to its much higher percentages of leavers going into employment (31.3%), the highest of any school in the wider Glasgow region.

The West End schools (Notre Dame, Hyndland) and the South Side schools (Holyrood High School, Shawlands Academy) and the Bailleston school (Bannerman High School) sit further down the distribution. Glasgow School of Gaelic has the lowest percentage of any school across the wider Glasgow region (10.5%).

The lowest percentages of Further Education destinations are dominated by the Eastwood Elite cluster: St Ninian's High (10.6%), Williamwood High (12.5%) and Mearns Castle High (14.8%). Along with those are the East Dunbartonshire schools: Bearsden Academy (11.8%), Douglas Academy (12.5%), Lenzie Academy (13.1%) and Boclair Academy (14.1%).

Overall, then the distribution of Further Education is dominated by Glasgow City schools in the same way as the East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire schools dominate the Higher Education distribution. Note however, that this is not the same as saying that Further Education is the *main* destination in Glasgow City. To take All Saint's Secondary School as an example: 34.6% of school leavers went on

to Higher Education and 28.9% went on to Further Education. In order to understand whether the vocational route was more prevalent in these schools, Further Education and Employment routes *need to be combined* and then compared to the Higher Education percentage.

10.3.3 Employment Destinations

As noted above, Employment is a heterogenous category. Nevertheless, **Figure 10.5** below shows some patterns.

At the local authority level, there are differences in the respective averages as shown in **Table 10.6** below, although not as pronounced as in the previous two destination categories:

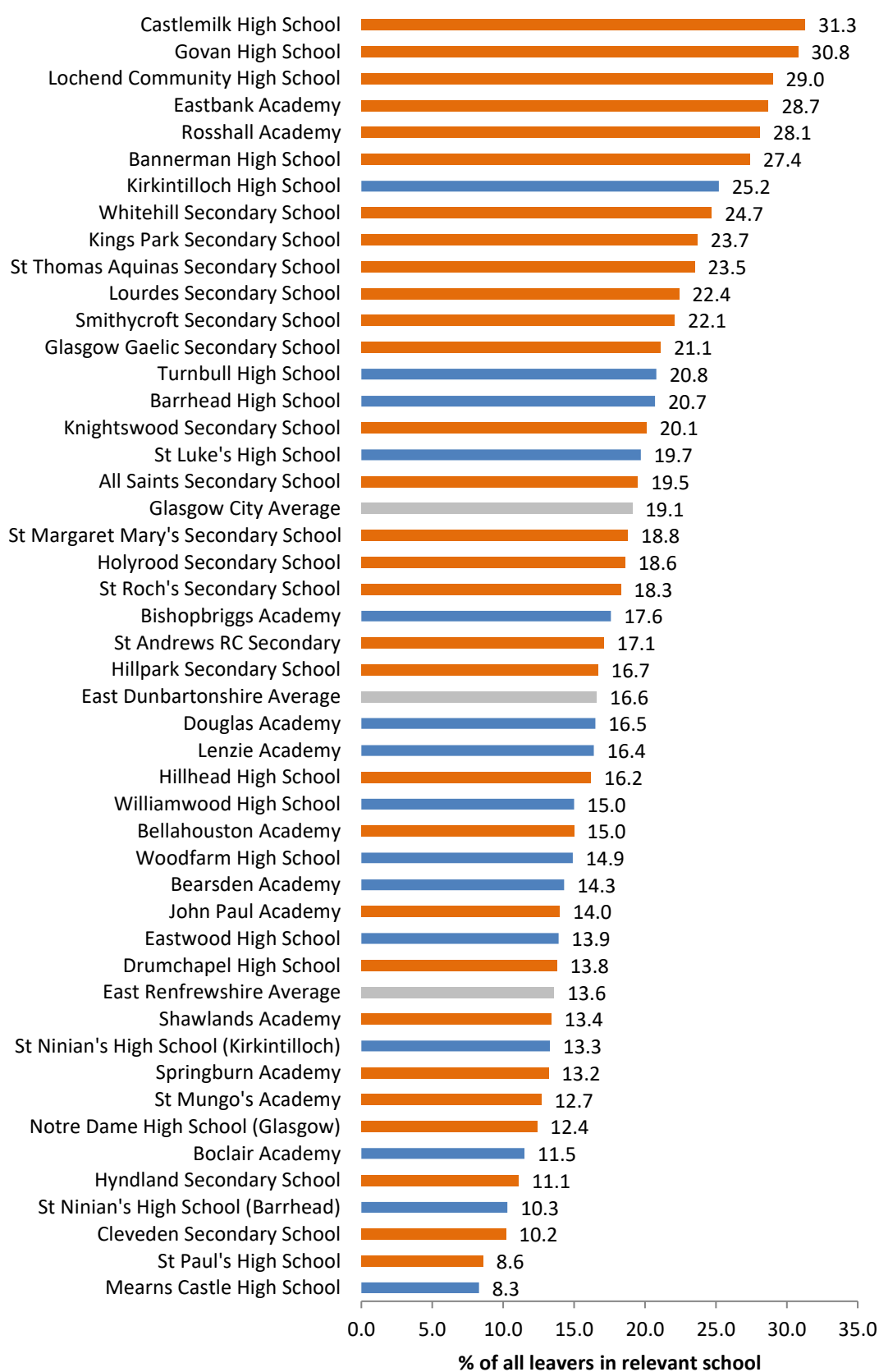
Table 10.6 Employment Destinations by Local Authority

	Local Authority Average
Glasgow City	19.1%
East Renfrewshire	13.6%
East Dunbartonshire	16.6%

Source: Community Planning Partnership reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire) 2015

Nearly one in five pupils in Glasgow City go into employment of some description in contrast to the lower percentages of East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire. At the school level however, the distribution of schools shows more of a concentration in Glasgow City: 14 of its schools have percentages over the local authority average (19.1%), nearly half.

Figure 10.5 Percentage of Employment School Leaver Destinations in Glasgow Region, 2015



Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

N.B. Distribution of Glasgow City schools highlighted in orange; mean averages in grey. Mean averages calculated by Skills Development Scotland.

Overall Glasgow Region Mean = 18.2%. Calculated manually from the respective 45 school averages.

Of the Residualised cluster of Glasgow schools in Chapter 8, there is no clear pattern. Of the 12 schools thus classified, four have above average percentages of employment: Castlemilk High School (31.3%), Govan High School (30.3%), Lochend Community High School (29.0%) and Eastbank Academy (28.7%). These are the highest of the distribution. That said, other residualised schools like Drumchapel High School (13.8%) has a lower percentage than Bearsden Academy (14.3%); St Paul's High School (8.3%) has a lower percentage than St Ninians High School (8.6%) in East Renfrewshire (10.3%). Therefore, other than the broader local authority averages and the top end of the distribution dominated by Glasgow City schools, any other patterns are hard to discern.

Some reasons for this may include the heterogenous nature of the category: finer patterns become aggregated and therefore occluded. Alternatively, it might be due to the common exit of non-academically inclined students at this point, regardless of the academic orientation of their school: there is simply less variation across this group who share a non-academic orientation. Ultimately, the data does not allow us to disentangle this, however.

10.3.4 School Clusters

The clusters of schools analysed in Chapter 8 are now compared here. Firstly, the Eastwood Elite cluster is shown in **Table 10.7** below.

Table 10.7 Eastwood Elite Cluster: Destinations

	Higher Education	Further Education	Employment
St Ninian's High School	74.0%	10.6%	10.3%

Williamwood High School	66.8%	12.5%	15.0%
Mearns Castle High School	71.7%	14.8%	8.3%

Source: Community Planning Partnership Report (East Renfrewshire), 2015

Note: will not sum to 100% due to omission of other categories (e.g. Training, Unemployed and Seeking)

The very high percentages going on to Higher Education, along with the ‘gold standard’ attainment levels analysed previously, would indicate an academic trajectory (Honours Degree/SCQF Level 10). The differences between this cluster and the Residualised Glasgow Cluster can be compared, using **Table 10.8** below.

Table 10.8 Residualised Glasgow Cluster: Destinations

	Higher Education	Further Education	Employment
Springburn Academy	27.2%	25.9%	28.1%
Castlemilk High School	18.1%	22.9%	31.3%
Lochend Community High School	10.0%	31.0%	29.0%
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	21.3%	37.5%	18.8%
St Mungo's Academy	21.7%	26.8%	12.7%
Drumchapel High School	21.1%	30.3%	13.8%
All Saints Secondary School	34.6%	28.9%	19.5%
St Paul's High School	34.3%	37.9%	8.6%
Eastbank Academy	20.5%	28.1%	28.7%
Govan High School	13.5%	30.8%	30.8
St Roch's Secondary School	34.4%	28.0%	18.3%
St Andrew's Secondary School	32.7%	34.6%	17.1%

Source: Community Planning Partnership Report (Glasgow City), 2015

The variations in Higher Education are very wide in some instances: for example, when comparing Lochend Community High School (10.0%) and Govan High School (13.5%) with St Ninian's High School (74.0%) and Mearns Castle High School (71.7%).

The predominant pattern for the Residualised schools is either:

- Firstly, *a concentration of Further Education*: seven of the twelve schools (All Saints Secondary School, St Margaret Mary's Secondary School, St Roch's Secondary School, St Andrew's Secondary School, Drumchapel High School, St Mungo's Academy and St Paul's High School).
- A balance between Further Education and Employment: four of the twelve schools (Govan High School, Lochend Community High School, Eastbank Academy and Springburn Academy).

Castlemilk High School is the exception with the balance towards Employment.

Overall, however, **Table 10.7** and **Table 10.8** mean the school clusters can now be compared in terms of the academic-vocational distinction. When Further Education and Employment are combined to represent the vocational trajectory, there are two prominent findings in the Residualised schools.

Firstly, where Higher Education was the main *single* destination or highest percentage, the percentage was still lower in the overall Glasgow Region distribution. This meant that vocational destinations (as Further Education and Employment *combined*) become the main trajectory. All Saints Secondary School represents such a type: the percentage of Higher Education destinations is 34.6%, the largest single category. When Further Education (28.9%) and Employment (19.5%) are combined however, this means 48.4% school leavers went on to a vocational trajectory. Since the Training category (11.9%) is above the local authority average (7.6%), this is added also and results in a final vocational category of 60.3% as opposed to 34.6% going to Higher Education. These categories combined represents 94.9% leavers in Positive Destinations, with the remaining 5% categorised as Unemployed and Seeking.

Secondly, there were residualised schools where *either* Further Education or Employment was the main single destination: Drumchapel High and Castlemilk High, respectively, illustrated these two types. Once again, combining them (as Further Education and Employment) results in the vocational category becoming the main trajectory. Taking Castlemilk High School, Employment was the single highest category of school leavers (31.3%), followed by Further Education (22.9%). This represents a combined vocational category of 54.2%. Since the Training category (8.4%) is also above the local authority average (7.6%), this results in a final vocational category of 62.6%. The Higher Education category is 18.1%. The remaining categories are Voluntary Work (1.2%) and Unemployed Seeking (15.7%) and Unemployed Seeking (2.4%), bringing this to 100%. At Drumchapel High, the combined vocational category was 66.1%, as opposed to 21.1% in Higher Education. In its vocational category, Further Education is highest (30.3%) and includes the maximum for Training in the entire Glasgow Region (22%), and is thus included also.

For the Elite Eastwood schools however, there is a notably different pattern: Higher Education by far outweighed any other destination, whether combined or not. Thus, St Ninian's High School had 74.0% going on to Higher Education. The vocational trajectory, as Further Education (10.6%) and Employment (10.3%), was 20.9%. Training (1%) would have given this a minimal boost. For reference, the remaining 4.1% was represented by Voluntary Work (1%), Unemployed Seeking (1.9%), Unemployed Not Seeking (0.6%) and Unconfirmed (0.6%).

Finally, there are some noteworthy elements in the other miscellaneous categories amongst the Residualised cluster (see **Appendix 6** for full figures).

Firstly, the Training category is higher than the Glasgow City average (7.6%) amongst some Residualised schools: for example, in Drumchapel High (22.0%), St Mungo's (15.3%), Govan High (13.5%), and Smithycroft (13.2%). For comparison the average in East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire is 2.2.% and 1.8%, respectively. As in **Table 10.3** (*Scottish Credit & Qualification Framework and*

School Leaver Destinations), Training could be seen as a sub-division of the residualised Further Education destination in that it encompasses SCQF Levels 3-5.

Secondly, the ‘Unemployed and Seeking Work’ category is higher amongst the residualised schools than the Glasgow City average (7.3%). Castlemilk High School has the highest, with over double the local authority average (15.7%) thus showing some mixed variation in destinations: lower than the local authority average for Higher Education and Further Education destinations and above average for both Employment and Unemployment. Its relatively high attainment analysed in the previous chapter from 2021 would therefore potentially show some change to this mix. Finally, St Mungo’s Academy (13.4%) and Eastbank Academy (12.3%) also show above average percentages in this category. For comparison, the average in East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire is 2.7.% and 2.9%, respectively.

10.3.5 Spatial analysis

Having analysed the academic-vocational distinction, the destinations for Higher Education and Further Education above are now plotted to explore their respective spatial distributions. The focus on these two destinations is because firstly, this is where the greatest variation is shown, which substantively means where the greatest inequalities potentially are; and secondly, because Higher and Further Education destinations represent the academic and the residualised vocational as shown in **Figure 10.2** above (*Simplified conceptualisation of Academic and Vocational Destinations*). In other words, these two destinations operationalise the theoretical focus of the chapter’s research questions best. Employment is shown for reference in **Appendix 5**.

Higher Education

Firstly, for Higher Education a mean average is calculated as in the previous chapter to act as a heuristic ‘cut off’ point to guide analysis. **Table 10.9** below shows the distribution of schools across the Glasgow Region with an above average percentage of Higher Education destinations. The average for the region is 41.6%, with a resulting distribution of 20 schools and a range of over 42% to 74%.

Table 10.9 Above average Higher Education Destinations in Glasgow Region, 2015

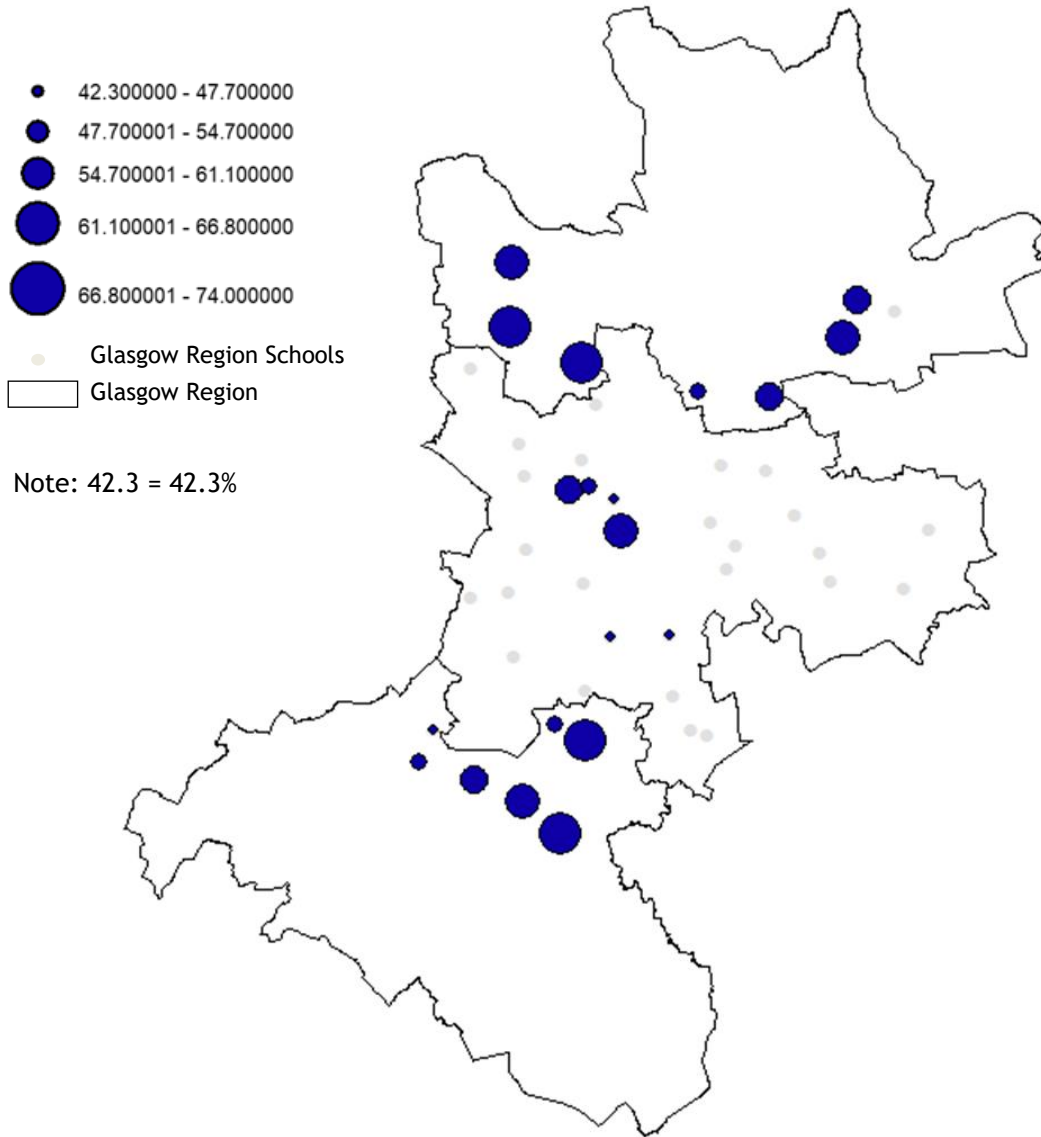
School	Higher Education
St Ninian's High School	74.0
Mearns Castle High School	71.7
Boclair Academy	69.9
Bearsden Academy	69.5
Williamwood High School	66.8
Douglas Academy	65.9
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	65.8
Lenzie Academy	63.6
St Ninian's High School (Kirkintilloch)	61.1
Hyndland Secondary School	57.9
Bishopbriggs Academy	57.7
Eastwood High School	55.0
Woodfarm High School	54.7
Notre Dame High School (Glasgow)	53.1
Turnbull High School	52.5
St Luke's High School	49.2
Shawlands Academy	47.7
Hillhead High School	46.2
Holyrood Secondary School	44.9
Barrhead High School	42.3

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

n = 20 schools

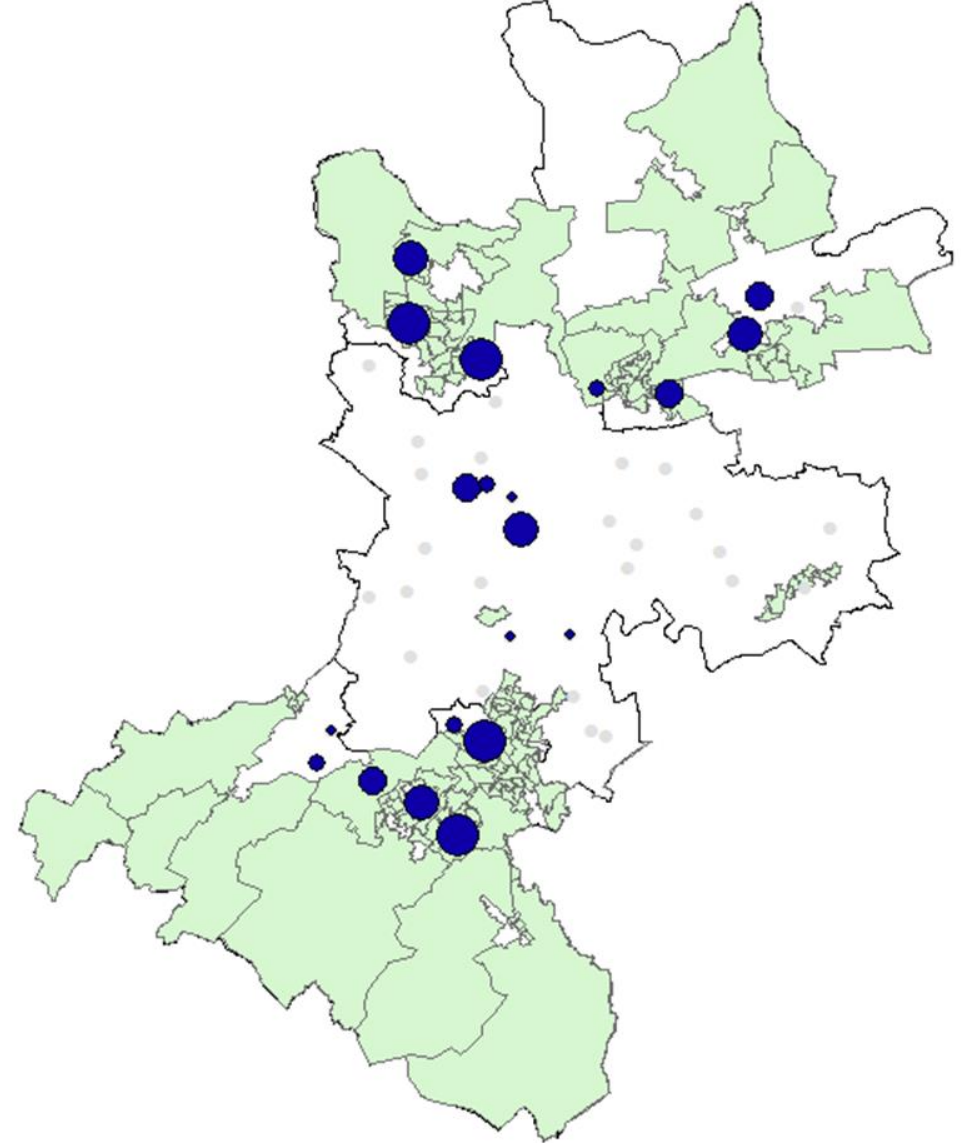
The resulting distribution above is classified into quantiles, which are then used to proportionally size the school point. Schools below the average are greyed out in a uniform sized circle for reference. **Figure 10.6** below shows the spatial distribution of schools with above average Higher Education destinations, therefore. On the right, the core clusters of owner occupation from Chapter 6 are added in **Figure 10.7** for comparison.

Figure 10.6 Distribution of Schools with above average Higher Education Destinations (> 42%)



Note: 42.3 = 42.3%

Figure 10.7 Previous figure with core owner occupation clusters



Source: Community Planning Partnerships reports, 2015; Census 2011

As shown in **Figure 10.6**, all the East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire schools, with the exception of Kirkintilloch High School, are included in the distribution outside of Glasgow City. When the owner occupation clusters are added in **Figure 10.7**, the larger percentages in East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire are associated with them are evident also. Where there are no core clusters, the proportions are smaller as in the west of East Renfrewshire (St Luke's High School and Barrhead High School) and Woodfarm High School in the north. In East Dunbartonshire, the biggest percentages are in the west of the local authority.

In Glasgow City, there are two South Side schools but the bigger proportions are in the West End, including the Gaelic school. The lack of owner occupied clusters in the West End (as a result of concentration of adjacent owner occupied datazones) might be explained by the fact that it has a sizeable university and private rented sector. The same heterogeneity of tenure can also be observed in the South Side of Glasgow (see Chapter 6).

Further Education

Table 10.10 shows the distribution of schools across the Glasgow Region with an above average percentage of Further Education destinations. The average for the region is 24.6%, with a resulting distribution of 26 schools and a range of 24.8% to 37.9%.

Table 10.10 Above average Further Education Destinations in Glasgow Region, 2015

School	Further Education
St Paul's High School	37.9
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	37.5
Springburn Academy	36.8
Smithycroft Secondary School	34.6
St Andrews RC Secondary	34.6
Cleveden Secondary School	34.4
John Paul Academy	34.3
Bellahouston Academy	32.9
Lochend Community High School	31.0

Govan High School	30.8
Knightswood Secondary School	30.6
Drumchapel High School	30.3
All Saints Secondary School	28.9
Kings Park Secondary School	28.3
Eastbank Academy	28.1
St Roch's Secondary School	28.0
Hillpark Secondary School	27.8
Hillhead High School	26.9
St Mungo's Academy	26.8
Lourdes Secondary School	26.1
Barrhead High School	26.1
Kirkintilloch High School	26.0
Rosshall Academy	25.9
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	25.9
Eastwood High School	25.0
Notre Dame High School (Glasgow)	24.8

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

n = 26 schools

As before, the resulting distribution above is classified into quantiles, which are then used to proportionally size the school point. Schools below the average are greyed out in a uniform sized circle for reference. **Figure 10.8** below shows the spatial distribution of schools with above average Further Education destinations, therefore. With the exception of the two 'wrong side of the M77' schools in East Renfrewshire (St Lukes' High and Barrhead High), and the now familiar exception of Kirkintilloch High, the distribution is entirely contained within Glasgow City. **Figure 10.9** below shows the core clusters of social housing from Chapter 6 added for comparison. In the main, there is a clear alignment or proximity of the schools with above average Further Education destinations and the Social Housing clusters.

Figure 10.8 Distribution of Schools with above average Further Education Destinations (> 24.6%)

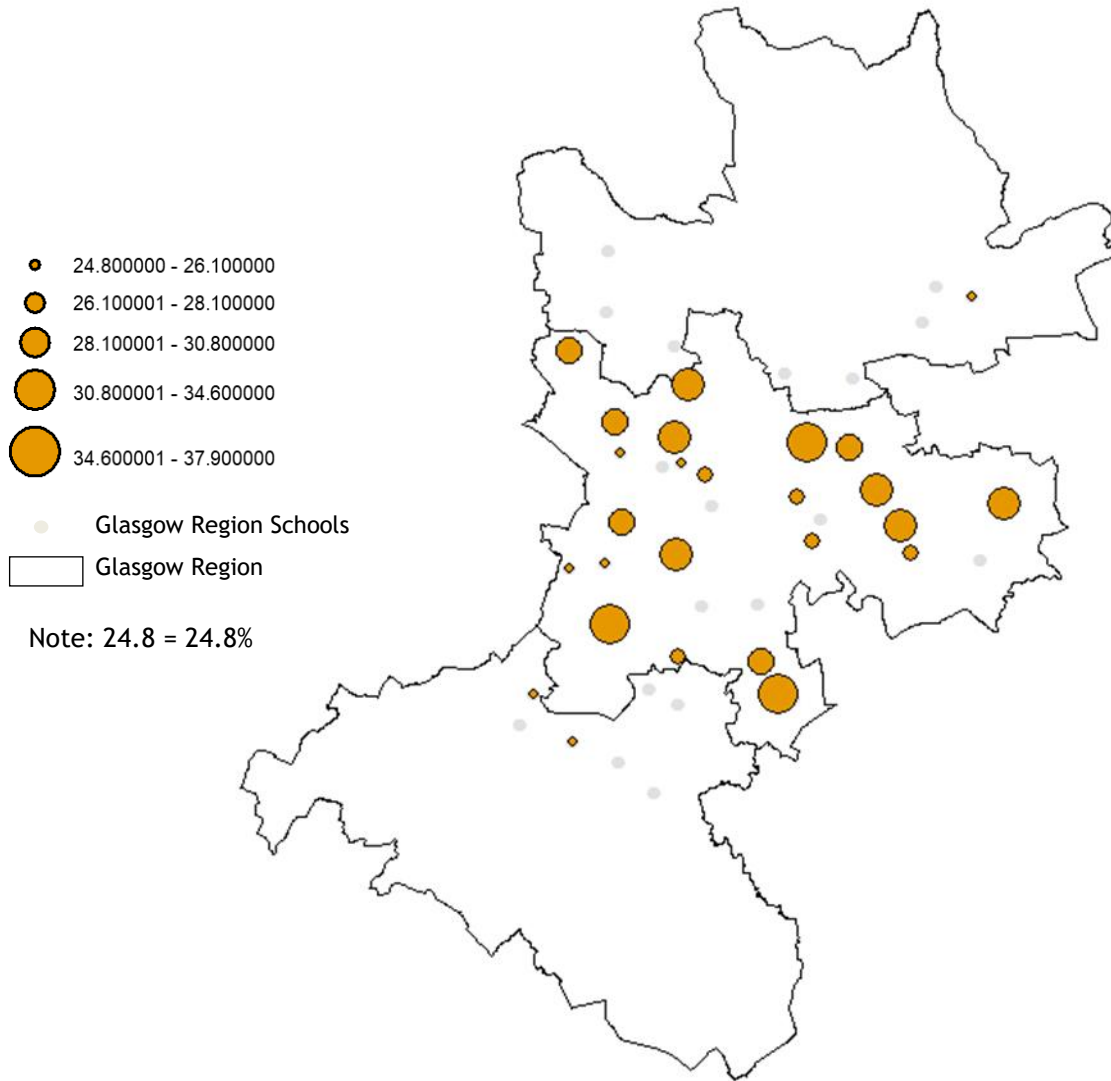
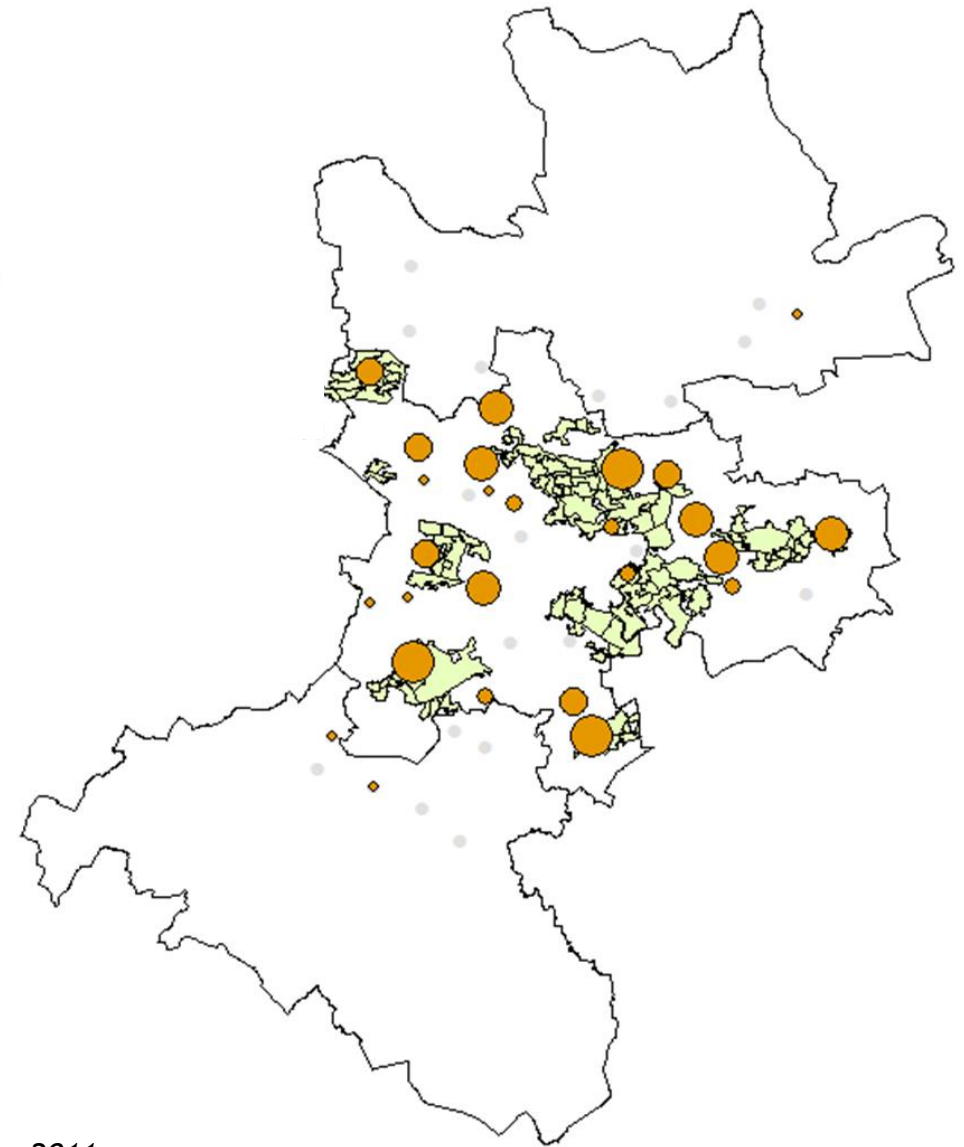


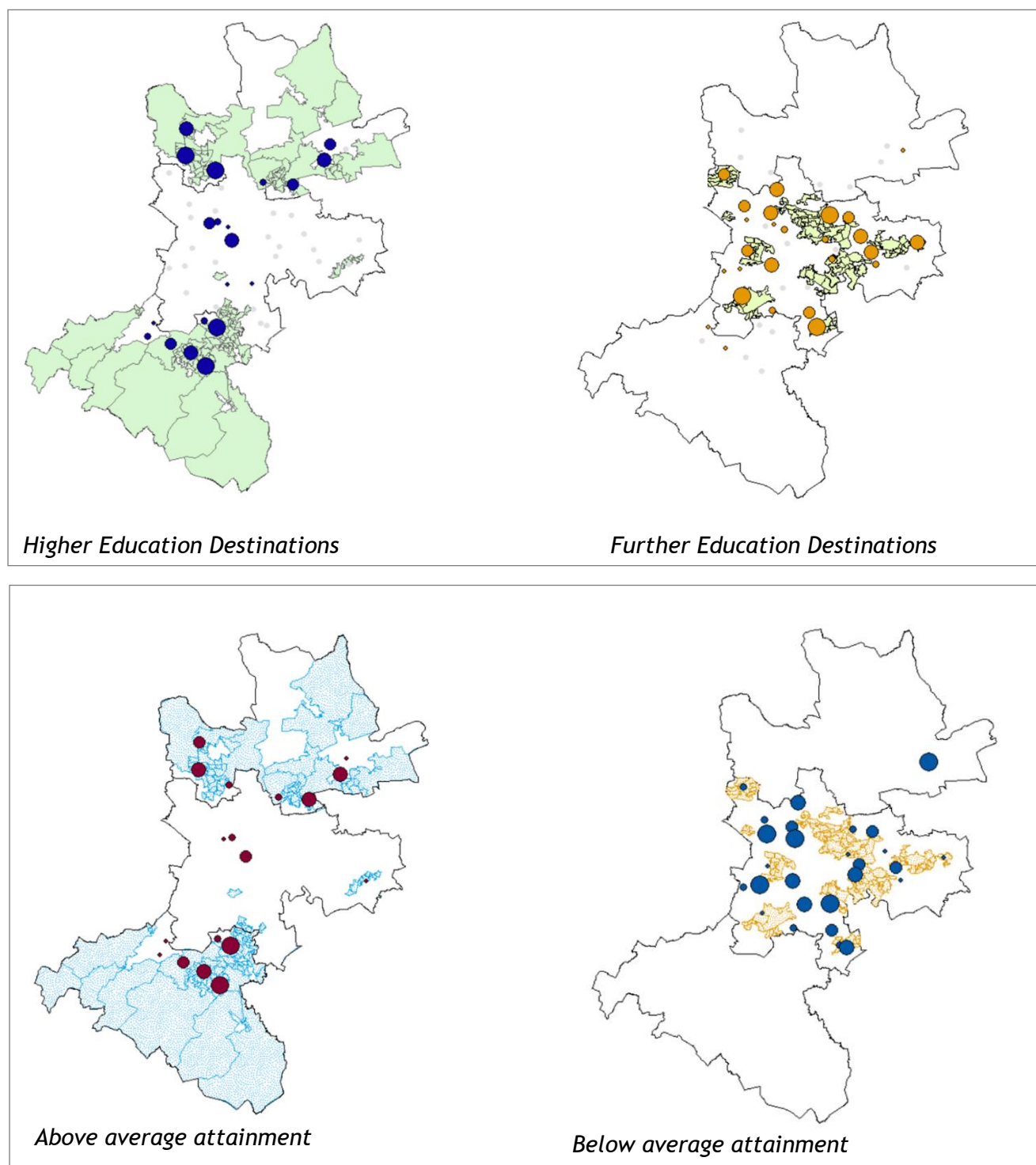
Figure 10.9 Previous figure with core social housing clusters



Source: Community Planning Partnerships reports, 2015; Census 2011

Bringing together both destinations and attainment in the previous chapter, a comparison can be made in terms of their respective distributions as shown in **Figure 10.10** below.

Figure 10.10 Comparison of Higher Education, Further Education and Attainment, with owner occupation and social housing clusters



Source: Community Planning Partnerships reports, 2015; Census 2011; Law, 2021

In the top panel, from left to right, Higher Education and Further Education destinations have a distinctive spatial distribution: the residualised element, conceptualised in this chapter as Further Education, is almost wholly confined with Glasgow City, with some exceptions: Kirkintilloch High School in East Dunbartonshire, and Barrhead High and Eastwood High in East Renfrewshire. For Higher Education, the predominant pattern lies outside Glasgow City: East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire. And within it: the West End of Glasgow. Further, Higher Education destinations are greater in the west of East Dunbartonshire and the east of East Renfrewshire. Overall, the pattern is very much similar to the one found in both Chapter 6 (see **Figure 6.5**, *Owner Occupation in Glasgow City*) and Chapter 9 (see **Figure 9.5**, *S5 Tariff Score 2012-2013, West of Scotland*), where the following can be observed from top to bottom:

- West of East Dunbartonshire (the former Bearsden and Milngavie district)
- West End of Glasgow
- East of East Renfrewshire (the former Eastwood district)

The result is a distinctive ‘Bearsden-Eastwood’ ridge or axis, which diagonally threads itself through the three affluent areas of their respective local authorities. Given that the former Bearsden and Milngavie district was merged with most of the former Strathkelvin district in 1996 to form East Dunbartonshire and the former Eastwood district was merged with part of the district of Renfrewshire to form East Renfrewshire, the maintenance of their geographical integrity within the post-1996 local authorities can be observed within this ‘Bearsden-Eastwood’ axis.

In the bottom panel, from left to right, a similar distribution holds with the more recent 2021 league table data. Lower than average attainment is completely confined within Glasgow City (with the exception of Kirkintilloch High) and above average attainment distributed either outside it or in the West End of Glasgow City, although the ‘Bearsden’ element of the ‘Bearsden-Eastwood’ is less salient here.

Looking from top to bottom, that is trying to compare attainment with destinations, is more problematic. Firstly, the data is taken from two different

points in time. Secondly, whereas the attainment data looks at post-S4 Highers, destinations can encompass any point of exit from S4-S6. Also, for those with below average attainment, Further Education is most prevalent but not the only option: for example, Employment, as **Table 10.8** (*Residualised Glasgow Cluster: Destinations*) showed. There are also other options like Training or Voluntary work, and although the data showed these latter two were less prevalent (see **Appendix 6**), in certain instances there were more noticeable: for example, in Drumchapel High, St Mungo's, Govan High, and Smithycroft, where percentages were all higher than 10%. A good illustration of this is Kirkintilloch High School (East Dunbartonshire), which had below average attainment in 2021. But for those not going taking the Higher Education route in 2015, there was virtually an even split between Further Education (26.0%) and Employment (25.2%) destinations. Thus an exact, one-to-one correspondence between attainment and destination is unlikely, due potential dispersal amongst options. That said, this makes the concentration of Further Education destinations within Glasgow City all the more striking.

However, a finer-grained comparison of attainment, destinations and an analysis of their correlations is not the aim of the chapter, even if the data facilitated this. What has been established instead is the distinctive spatial distribution which persists within both attainment and destinations. Despite the differences in time, in what is being measured, the different quantile categories to classify the distributions and the mean average cut offs used, the distributional similarities are apparent as **Figure 10.10** above shows.

10.4 Conclusion

Drawing on the Varieties of Capitalism literature, the vocational trajectory was conceptualised as the residual category. The overall aim was to investigate any systematic differences based on the academic-vocational distinction and its distribution across the secondary schools of the region. As in Chapter 9, there were some variations and anomalies within some of the residualised schools but, overall, the findings showed a clear spatial distribution of school leavers destinations in terms of this overall distinction. Some initial ground clearing was required however based on the Scottish Government's very broad definitions of higher education,

further education and employment: all of which overlapped, and therefore all of which made the academic-vocational distinction harder to disentangle. It was found that while Education and Further Education were able to be classified as vocational, Further Education was, in effect, the residualised element of that as shown in **Table 10.3** and **Figure 10.2**.

There were two findings in particular as regards the residualised schools: firstly, where Higher Education was the main single destination, the percentage was lower in the overall Glasgow Region distribution. This meant that vocational destinations (as Further Education and Employment combined) were the main trajectory. All Saints Secondary school represented such a type. Secondly, there were residualised schools where *either* Further Education or Employment was the main single destination: Castlemilk High, illustrated this type. Once again, combining them (as Further Education and Employment) resulted in the vocational becoming the main trajectory. For the Elite Eastwood schools, this was notably not the case: Higher Education by far outweighed any other destination, whether combined or not.

Looking at the distribution of Further Education, the highest percentages were seen in the residualised schools (seven of the twelve schools), followed by a balance between Further Education and Employment (four of the twelve schools). The spatial distribution of Further Education destinations was almost entirely within the Glasgow City boundaries and largely aligned with the core social housing clusters. By contrast, the greatest variation overall was found in the distribution of Higher Education destinations but there were clear differences between the local authority mean averages, with both East Renfrewshire (62.8%) and East Dunbartonshire (60.9%) almost double that of Glasgow City (33.9%). In the Eastwood Elite cluster, all three schools had some of the very highest values of the distribution, with St Ninian's High (74.0%) and Mearns Castle High (71.7%) the highest of all the Glasgow Region schools.

Further inspection revealed a 'Bearsden-Eastwood' axis, threading itself through three areas of affluence and pre-1996 local authority reorganisation. The latter points to a persistence over time, which the educational data used in this chapter

and the previous supports: in that it covers points at 2012-13, 2015 and 2021, respectively, covering destinations and attainment.

The two distributions in **Figure 10.10** thus show similar distributional characteristics to previous chapters: namely, of increasing differentiation (Higher Education) and residualisation (Further Education). Comparing them with the core tenure clusters of Chapter 6 made this clearer still, given that owner occupation and social housing showed precisely these two characteristics, developing Forrest and Murie's original observation (1983: 465). In other words, there is some evidence to suggest that the wider system of stratification posited in Chapter 7, that is, one of differentiation and residualisation, has a clear spatial distribution in Glasgow Region.

The three Research Questions can now be returned to, therefore:

- *RQ 1. Are there systematic differences in school leavers destinations in Glasgow Region?*
- *RQ 2. Can these be related to the spatial distribution of attainment in Chapter 8?*
- *RQ 3. Can these be related to the differences within the school system in Chapter 7?*

In answering RQ 1, there is a clear spatial distribution of school leavers destinations as shown in **Figure 10.6** and **Figure 10.8**. The East Dunbartonshire-West End of Glasgow-East Renfrewshire spatial distribution was associated with greater Higher Education destinations and far lower Further Education or Employment destinations. Comparing Higher Education and Further Education with attainment in **Figure 10.10** showed a clear similarity, thus answering RQ 2. And, finally, a comparison of the two clusters of schools in Chapter 8 and their respective destinations in **Table 10.7** (*Eastwood Elite Cluster: Destinations*) and **Table 10.8** (*Residualised Glasgow Cluster: Destinations*) provided evidence in answer to RQ 3.

Based then on the overall spatial distribution of school leaver destinations in Glasgow Region, there was evidence to support systematic differences along the academic-vocational distinction, thus answering the main research question of the

final empirical chapter. This means that the Education-Destination phase of the empirical research is complete.

Figure 10.11 Analytical Dualism approach to Education-Destination link

Structure 1: System Integration → *Chapter 8: School Quality*

Structure 2: Social Integration → *Chapter 9: School Attainment*

Structural Elaboration → *Chapter 10: School Leaver Destinations*

Here the internally differentiated system of school quality in the Glasgow Region functioned as the System Integration structure, with the Eastwood cluster functioning somewhat like an ideal type in the Weberian sense: that is, an extreme or one-sided case to which other cases can be compared, thus illustrating the wider relations of the system as a whole. Within these Eastwood schools, the implicit class nature of its intakes and ethos strongly orientated the schools and their pupils towards academic attainment. And bearing in mind they had the pupil compositions and parental support, the leadership, the teacher commitment, the highly functioning internal administrative systems (e.g. tracking), and the lack of need to ‘poverty proof’ the school day, this would seem logical.

The evidence for the second phase (Social Integration) lay in attainment. By choosing such a school, middle-class parents were choosing the academic trajectory for their child. In this sense, school attainment provided evidence for this class choice. And Chapter 9 showed that there was a spatial distribution of the academic trajectory, which could be related back to the social class choices of Chapter 7, and the ways it is euphemised *as* social class both in that chapter and, in policy, in Chapter 8. That it is no longer explicitly a choice however does not make it less of a one: only that the point at which it was made is more distant, and which still nevertheless requires a series of further choices to maintain the original one. What is more, these are still a set of ongoing class choices which include and exclude. What was included was the academic trajectory and, where possible, the ‘gold standard’ of attainment; what was excluded was the vocational. The

differences in attainment were related to the evidence of preceding chapters, to indicate that attainment varied across Glasgow Region by social class (however euphemized). And, strengthening this academic trajectory, a school's academic bent (as in the Eastwood cluster) meant the school could choose for parents who had already chosen, helping them avoid what parents had originally chosen to avoid: System integration and Social integration working together as in **Figure 10.12**.

Figure 10.12 Choice as the interplay of system and social integration

Structure 1: System Integration → *Chapter 8: School Quality*

Structure 2: Social Integration → *Chapter 9: School Attainment*

What was structurally elaborated was evidenced by a definite spatial distribution, a persistent one throughout the empirical chapters. And which in this chapter - and in this Education-Destination phase - eventuates in a structured and systematic series of exit points from the secondary school system.

Figure 10.13 *Structural Elaboration*: Analytical Dualism approach to Education-Destination link

Structure 1: System Integration → *Chapter 8: School Quality*

Structure 2: Social Integration → *Chapter 9: School Attainment*

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Structural Elaboration → *Chapter 10: School Leaver Destinations*

The final chapter now draws together the conclusions from the empirical chapters (Chapters 6-10) and relates them back to the original theoretical framework and methodology of the earlier chapters (Chapters 1-5).

Appendix 1: The Community Planning Partnership Reports

The Community Planning Partnership reports were published biannually on the Skills Development Scotland website, with two sets of reports produced at the local authority level: an initial leavers report and then a subsequent follow up report, in December and June respectively. The initial leavers reports are used in this chapter and were drawn from the following reports: Community Planning Partnership Report: East Dunbartonshire (2015); Community Planning Partnership Report: East Renfrewshire (2015); Community Planning Partnership Report: Glasgow City (2015).

Community Planning Partnership reports for 2013-2016 can still be found archived on the Skills Development Scotland website (see Skills Development Scotland, 2021). The 2015 reports were used because they were the most up-to-date reports which contained school leaver destinations data *at the school level*. The only 2016 reports available on the Skills Development Scotland are the follow up reports, which do not contain school level destinations data; only aggregate local authority data. And, hence, why the initial leavers reports are used.

The 2014/15 cohort used in the 2015 reports includes leavers from publicly funded secondary schools who left school between 1st August 2014 and 15th September 2015. These dates were used on a one-off basis only. The data used in the reports is data recorded about leavers from the shared data set held on the SDS customer support system (CSS). Leavers that were identified as having moved out with Scotland were excluded. Each local authority report relates to the leavers from publicly funded secondary schools in the relevant council area. For Glasgow City Council, the report does not include leavers from Jordanhill School. The specific data is taken from *Section 4: Percentage Destinations by School* of the relevant reports.

After 2016, the Community Planning Partnership reports were no longer produced (see Skills Development Scotland, 2021) and were instead replaced by 'Making Skills Work' publications, again produced on a biannual basis (December and June).

The reports were accessed and retrieved initially in July 2016 and saved to a hard drive. They were accessed again on the 28th March 2022 when they were found to be located on the Skills Development Scotland website. The reports are cited in the bibliography, using the March 2022 date, and can be retrieved from the Skills Development Scotland website (2021)

The Scottish Government defines a school leaver as a young person of school leaving age, who left during or at the end of the school year (Scottish Government, 2022). For 2020/21 school leavers, the leaver year is 16th September 2020 to 14th September 2021. The statistics cover school leavers from *all stages* of secondary school. For most young people, S4 (\approx 15-16 year olds) is the last compulsory year of school, but the majority choose to stay on and complete S5 (\approx 16-17 year olds) and S6 (\approx 17-18 year olds). These ages are based on approximate age ranges, and more information is available from the pupil census (see Scottish Government, 2021b).

Appendix 2: Full definitions of school leaver destinations

An excerpt from the Community Planning Partnership reports is given below:

Higher Education: This category includes all leavers who have entered University to study at degree level, or an FE/HE college to study at HNC/HND level. Leavers with a deferred, unconditional place in higher education have also been included in this category.

Further Education: This category includes all leavers who are studying at a non-advanced level and are not on a school roll e.g. National Qualifications, Access courses, portfolio preparation, pre-vocational courses or Highers or A Levels.

Training: This category includes leavers who are on a training course and in receipt of an allowance. This includes those participating in the SDS funded Employability programmes. It also includes those participating in placements through the community jobs fund. In addition, leavers who are in receipt of an allowance and the programme they are participating in, is not funded by SDS e.g. vocational programmes funded by local authorities or third sector organisations.

Employment: This category includes leavers who are employed and are in receipt of payment from their employers. It includes those undertaking formal training whilst in employment funded through modern apprenticeships. It also includes those who are Self Employed and those working on a part-time basis (less than 16 hours) who regard this employment as their main destination, irrespective of the hours worked.

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

Appendix 3: Table of Higher Education destinations

School	Higher Education (%)
Lochend Community High School	10.0
Govan High School	13.5
Castlemilk High School	18.1
Eastbank Academy	20.5
Drumchapel High School	21.1
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	21.3
St Mungo's Academy	21.7
Smithycroft Secondary School	23.5
John Paul Academy	25.2
Kings Park Secondary School	26.3
Rosshall Academy	27.2
Springburn Academy	28.7
Knightswood Secondary School	29.1
Whitehill Secondary School	32.5
Hillpark Secondary School	32.6
St Andrews RC Secondary	32.7
<i>Glasgow City Total</i>	<i>33.9</i>
St Paul's High School	34.3
St Roch's Secondary School	34.4
All Saints Secondary School	34.6
Bellahouston Academy	35.3
Cleveden Secondary School	37.6
Kirkintilloch High School	38.2
Bannerman High School	38.5
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	39.4
Lourdes Secondary School	40.4
Barrhead High School	42.3
Holyrood Secondary School	44.9
Hillhead High School	46.2
Shawlands Academy	47.7
St Luke's High School	49.2
Turnbull High School	52.5
Notre Dame High School (Glasgow)	53.1
Woodfarm High School	54.7
Eastwood High School	55.0
Bishopbriggs Academy	57.7
Hyndland Secondary School	57.9
<i>East Dunbartonshire Total</i>	<i>60.9</i>
St Ninian's High School (Kirkintilloch)	61.1
<i>East Renfrewshire Total</i>	<i>62.8</i>

Lenzie Academy	63.6
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	65.8
Douglas Academy	65.9
Williamwood High School	66.8
Bearsden Academy	69.5
Boclair Academy	69.9
Mearns Castle High School	71.7
St Ninian's High School	74.0

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

Appendix 4: Table of Further Education destinations

	Further Education (%)
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	10.5
St Ninian's High School (Barrhead)	10.6
Bearsden Academy	11.8
Williamwood High School	12.5
Douglas Academy	12.5
Lenzie Academy	13.1
Bocclair Academy	14.1
Mearns Castle High School	14.8
East Dunbartonshire Average	16.3
East Renfrewshire Average	16.7
Whitehill Secondary School	16.9
Turnbull High School	17.8
St Ninian's High School (Kirkintilloch)	18.6
St Luke's High School	19.7
Bishopbriggs Academy	20.3
Bannerman High School	20.8
Woodfarm High School	21.7
Hyndland Secondary School	22.2
Castlemilk High School	22.9
Shawlands Academy	23.3
Holyrood Secondary School	23.5
Notre Dame High School (Glasgow)	24.8
Eastwood High School	25.0
Rosshall Academy	25.9
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	25.9
Kirkintilloch High School	26.0
Lourdes Secondary School	26.1
Barrhead High School	26.1
St Mungo's Academy	26.8
Hillhead High School	26.9
Hillpark Secondary School	27.8
St Roch's Secondary School	28.0
Eastbank Academy	28.1
Kings Park Secondary School	28.3
Glasgow City Average	28.4
All Saints Secondary School	28.9
Drumchapel High School	30.3
Knightswood Secondary School	30.6
Govan High School	30.8
Lochend Community High School	31.0

Bellahouston Academy	32.9
John Paul Academy	34.3
Cleveden Secondary School	34.4
Smithycroft Secondary School	34.6
St Andrews RC Secondary	34.6
Springburn Academy	36.8
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	37.5
St Paul's High School	37.9

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

Appendix 5: Table of Employment destinations

	Employment (%)
Mearns Castle High School	8.3
St Paul's High School	8.6
Cleveden Secondary School	10.2
St Ninian's High School (Barrhead)	10.3
Hyndland Secondary School	11.1
Boclair Academy	11.5
Notre Dame High School (Glasgow)	12.4
St Mungo's Academy	12.7
Springburn Academy	13.2
St Ninian's High School (Kirkintilloch)	13.3
Shawlands Academy	13.4
East Renfrewshire Average	13.6
Drumchapel High School	13.8
Eastwood High School	13.9
John Paul Academy	14.0
Bearsden Academy	14.3
Woodfarm High School	14.9
Bellahouston Academy	15.0
Williamwood High School	15.0
Hillhead High School	16.2
Lenzie Academy	16.4
Douglas Academy	16.5
East Dunbartonshire Average	16.6
Hillpark Secondary School	16.7
St Andrews RC Secondary	17.1
Bishopbriggs Academy	17.6
St Roch's Secondary School	18.3
Holyrood Secondary School	18.6
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	18.8
Glasgow City Average	19.1
All Saints Secondary School	19.5
St Luke's High School	19.7
Knightswood Secondary School	20.1
Barrhead High School	20.7
Turnbull High School	20.8
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	21.1
Smithycroft Secondary School	22.1
Lourdes Secondary School	22.4
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	23.5
Kings Park Secondary School	23.7

Whitehill Secondary School	24.7
Kirkintilloch High School	25.2
Bannerman High School	27.4
Rosshall Academy	28.1
Eastbank Academy	28.7
Lochend Community High School	29.0
Govan High School	30.8
Castlemilk High School	31.3

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports (Glasgow City, East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire), 2015

Appendix 6: Full School Leaver Destination Data

Glasgow City: Excerpt (a)

School	Total Leavers	Higher Education (%)	Further Education (%)	Training (%)	Employment (%)	Voluntary Work (%)	Activity Agreements (%)	Unemployed Seeking (%)	Unemployed Not Seeking (%)	Unconfirmed (%)	Positive (%)
All Saints Secondary School	159	34.6	28.9	11.9	19.5	0	0	5	0	0	95
Bannerman High School	226	38.5	20.8	3.5	27.4	0	0.4	7.1	0.9	1.3	90.7
Bellahouston Academy	167	35.3	32.9	4.8	15	0	1.2	9	0.6	1.2	89.2
Castlemilk High School	83	18.1	22.9	8.4	31.3	1.2	0	15.7	2.4	0	81.9
Cleveden Secondary School	157	37.6	34.4	7.6	10.2	0	1.3	7	1.3	0.6	91.1
Drumchapel High School	109	21.1	30.3	22	13.8	0	2.8	6.4	0.9	2.8	89.9
Eastbank Academy	171	20.5	28.1	5.3	28.7	0	2.3	12.3	2.3	0.6	84.8
Glasgow Gaelic Secondary School	38	65.8	10.5	0	21.1	0	0	2.6	0	0	97.4
Govan High School	52	13.5	30.8	13.5	30.8	0	0	9.6	0	1.9	88.5
Hillhead High School	130	46.2	26.9	5.4	16.2	0.8	0.8	2.3	1.5	0	96.2
Hillpark Secondary School	144	32.6	27.8	7.6	16.7	0	0	13.2	1.4	0.7	84.7
Holyrood Secondary School	361	44.9	23.5	5.5	18.6	0	0.6	5.8	0.3	0.8	93.1
Hyndland Secondary School	171	57.9	22.2	2.9	11.1	1.2	0.6	2.3	1.2	0.6	95.9
John Paul Academy	143	25.2	34.3	8.4	14	1.4	0.7	10.5	2.8	2.8	83.9
Kings Park Secondary School	152	26.3	28.3	9.2	23.7	0	3.3	5.9	2	1.3	90.8

Glasgow City: Excerpt (b)

School	Total Leavers	Higher Education (%)	Further Education (%)	Training (%)	Employment (%)	Voluntary Work (%)	Activity Agreements (%)	Unemployed Seeking (%)	Unemployed Not Seeking (%)	Unconfirmed (%)	Positive (%)
Knightswood Secondary School	278	29.1	30.6	9.7	20.1	1.1	1.4	6.1	1.4	0.4	92.1
Lochend Community High School	100	10	31	10	29	0	0	18	1	1	80
Lourdes Secondary School	161	40.4	26.1	5	22.4	0	1.2	3.7	0	1.2	95
Notre Dame High School (Glasgow)	113	53.1	24.8	2.7	12.4	0.9	0	5.3	0.9	0	93.8
Rosshall Academy	224	27.2	25.9	8.5	28.1	0	0.9	6.3	0.4	2.7	90.6
Shawlands Academy	172	47.7	23.3	2.3	13.4	0.6	0.6	9.3	0.6	2.3	87.8
Smithycroft Secondary School	136	23.5	34.6	13.2	22.1	0.7	0.7	2.9	2.2	0	94.9
Springburn Academy	174	28.7	36.8	7.5	13.2	0	1.7	8	1.1	2.9	87.9
St Andrews RC Secondary	257	32.7	34.6	5.4	17.1	0	0.8	6.2	2.7	0.4	90.7
St Margaret Mary's Secondary School	80	21.3	37.5	10	18.8	0	1.3	10	1.3	0	88.8
St Mungo's Academy	157	21.7	26.8	15.3	12.7	1.3	1.9	13.4	3.2	3.8	79.6
St Paul's High School	140	34.3	37.9	10	8.6	0	0	7.1	1.4	0.7	90.7
St Roch's Secondary School	93	34.4	28	10.8	18.3	0	0	6.5	2.2	0	91.4
St Thomas Aquinas Secondary School	170	39.4	25.9	5.9	23.5	0	1.2	2.4	0	1.8	95.9
Whitehill Secondary School	77	32.5	16.9	7.8	24.7	0	3.9	10.4	3.9	0	85.7
Glasgow City Total	4,595	33.9	28.4	7.6	19.1	0.3	1	7.3	1.3	1.1	90.3

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports: Glasgow City (2015)

East Dunbartonshire

School	Total Leavers	Higher Education (%)	Further Education (%)	Training (%)	Employment (%)	Voluntary Work (%)	Activity Agreements (%)	Unemployed Seeking (%)	Unemployed Not Seeking (%)	Unconfirmed (%)	Positive (%)
Bearsden Academy	203	69.5	11.8	1	14.3	0.5	1	2	0	0	98
Bishopbriggs Academy	222	57.7	20.3	2.3	17.6	0.5	0	1.4	0.5	0	98.2
Boclair Academy	156	69.9	14.1	1.9	11.5	0	0	2.6	0	0	97.4
Douglas Academy	176	65.9	12.5	0.6	16.5	0.6	0	2.8	0	1.1	96
Kirkintilloch High School	131	38.2	26	5.3	25.2	0	0.8	2.3	2.3	0	95.4
Lenzie Academy	214	63.6	13.1	1.9	16.4	0.5	0	4.2	0.5	0	95.3
St Ninian's High School (Kirkintilloch)	113	61.1	18.6	3.5	13.3	0	0.9	1.8	0.9	0	97.3
Tumbull High School	101	52.5	17.8	3	20.8	0	1	5	0	0	95
East Dunbartonshire Total	1,316	60.9	16.3	2.2	16.6	0.3	0.4	2.7	0.5	0.2	96.7

Source: Community Planning Partnership Reports: East Dunbartonshire (2015)

East Renfrewshire

School	Total Leavers	Higher Education (%)	Further Education (%)	Training (%)	Employment (%)	Voluntary Work (%)	Activity Agreements (%)	Unemployed Seeking (%)	Unemployed Not Seeking (%)	Unconfirmed (%)	Positive (%)
Barrhead High School	111	42.3	26.1	4.5	20.7	0.9	0.9	1.8	0.9	1.8	95.5
Eastwood High School	180	55	25	2.2	13.9	1.1	0.6	0.6	1.7	0	97.8
Mearns Castle High School	230	71.7	14.8	0.9	8.3	2.2	0.4	1.7	0	0	98.3
St Luke's High School	132	49.2	19.7	3	19.7	0	0	6.8	0.8	0.8	91.7
St Ninian's High School (Barrhead)	312	74	10.6	1	10.3	1	0	1.9	0.6	0.6	96.8
Williamwood High School	313	66.8	12.5	1.3	15	0.3	0	4.2	0	0	95.8
Woodfarm High School	161	54.7	21.7	2.5	14.9	0.6	0.6	4.3	0.6	0	95
East Renfrewshire Total	1,439	62.8	16.7	1.8	13.6	0.9	0.3	2.9	0.6	0.3	96.2

Source: Community Planning Partnership Report: East Renfrewshire (2015)

Chapter 11: Conclusions

11.1 Summary of the research design

The theoretical argument of this thesis is that *System Integration* has been neglected in favour of explanations in terms of Social Integration, or social class. It is also argued that System Integration is causally prior to social class in explanations of educational inequalities and that explanations in terms of social class are therefore necessary but not sufficient. Finally, that the causal properties of System Integration are *compatibility* and *contradiction*, which have been explored through the literature in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively, in order to develop further the concept of the *LME State* in chapter 4.

Residualisation was understood in its original sense as a residual welfare state and its effect on social housing, but then the concept expanded: namely, that the effects of a residual welfare state and the LME State of which it is a part, are not confined to social housing alone. The concept was theoretically understood as the interaction of the two ontological structures of System Integration and Social Integration: or, in empirical terms, the UK State and social class.

In Chapter 5, the research design to operationalise this concept was based firstly on the Origin-Education-Destination (OED) triangle of Goldthorpe (2003) and Bukodi and Goldthorpe (2019), which was used to account for whether the education system was weakening the link between class origin and class origin destination, as Bell's Knowledge Economy theory suggests. The points on this triangle were used not to look at cohort movements through the class structure but to test whether there were a series of systemically produced 'poverty traps'. The second aspect of the research design was based on Archer's morphogenesis theory. This was similarly adapted, with residualisation, conceptualised as the interaction of system integration and social integration, replacing Archer's analytical separation of structure and agency respectively. And, from that interaction, their structural elaboration; which then potentially starts another cycle. Operationalising a morphogenetic cycle of residualisation therefore looked like this:

System Integration-Social Integration-Structural Elaboration

This meant breaking the OED triangle into two such morphogenetic sequences:

- **Origin-Education:** System Integration-Social Integration-Structural Elaboration
- **Education-Destination:** System Integration-Social Integration-Structural Elaboration

This also meant operationalising each element of the morphogenetic sequence.

Thus, for the First Cycle or Phase (Origin-Education):

- System Integration was operationalised as ‘part’ of the wider social system: here the wider housing system, which meant relations between tenure; itself meaning relations between the economy and wider financial system, and the welfare state.
- Social Integration, or class conflict/cooperation, was operationalised as predominantly middle-class school choice: conflict over the scarce resources of the best secondary schools and avoidance of the areas of social housing, indicating lower social classes.
- And structural elaboration: which meant the interaction of the housing system with class choices, resulting in residualisation: a set of areas and schools to avoid.

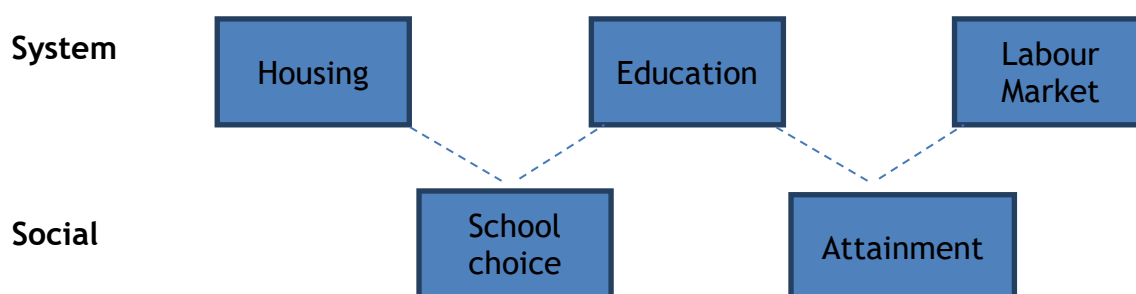
And for the Second Cycle or Phase Education-Destination:

- Here the labour market was operationalised as the ‘part’ of the wider social system.
- Social Integration, or class conflict/cooperation, was operationalised as predominantly middle-class conflict over the scarce resource of the best labour market outcomes, and avoidance of the vocational through the gold standard of qualifications leading onto Higher Education instead.

- And structural elaboration: which meant the interaction of the education system with class choices, resulting in residualisation and which school leaver destinations to avoid.

Bringing the research design together (into Origin-Destination) shows a series of interactions between parts of the social system (System Integration) and the class structure.

Figure 11.1 Research Design: Residualisation as interaction between System and Social Integration



The operationalisation of residualisation was through the interaction of System Integration and Social Integration, based on the original conception used in social housing as argued in Chapter 4. Since there are a series of such interactions, there should therefore be a way of understanding to what extent there is a series of residualities and whether they are linked. This enables an answer to the second research question:

Can educational inequalities be understood as a series of systemically linked residualities?

What emerged through the successive interactions in the empirical chapters (Chapters 6-10) was almost two separate systems of schooling operating within the Glasgow Region and within the formally equal secondary school system. Thus, in combining both Origin-Education (Chapter 6-8) and Education-Destination (Chapter 8-10), the combined effect was to understand the overall *Origin-Destination* link. But not in terms of schools as such, or individuals and where they live and what

destinations they go onto, but this *systemic* outcome which results in two separate systems of schooling: or rather, the ‘Origin’ in the Origin-Education link is in systemic terms, as the housing system and its interaction with the education system; the ‘Destination’ in the Education-Destination link is the labour market and its interaction with the education system. Thus the combined Origin-Destination link is about tracing causally how the various ‘parts’ outside the education system interacts with it in producing an internally stratified system of secondary schooling. This enables an answer to the main Research Question, Reay’s conundrum:

Why does the education system, given equality of opportunity and a formally equal state secondary school system, still produce inequalities, and to the extent that they do?

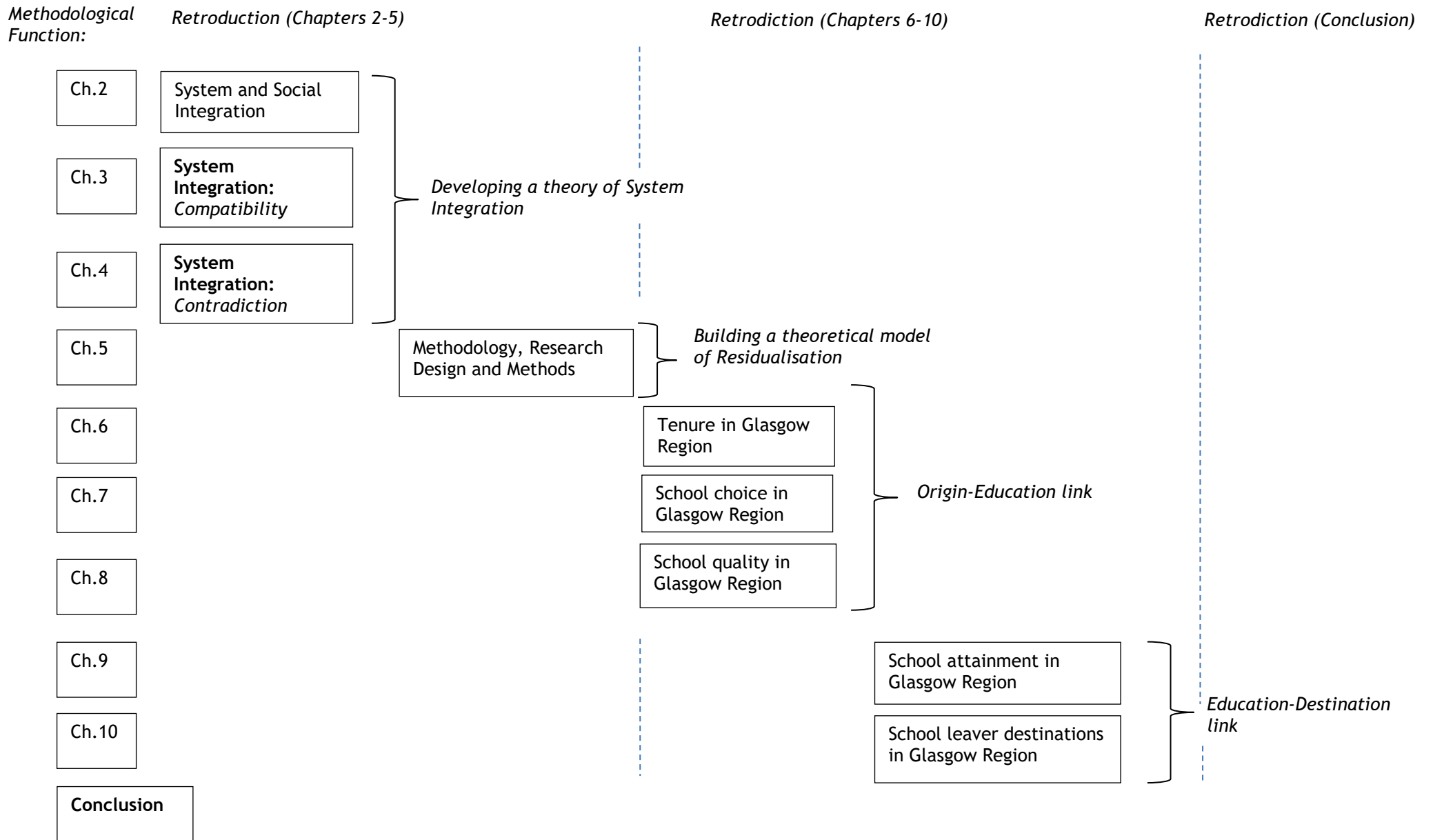
If this is so, then the final research question to be answered is:

Why is the education system thought able to correct inequalities generated by the wider system?

The larger theoretical framework of Chapters 2-4 is used to explain this particular question and the requirement in modern States for legitimation and crisis management.

Overall, the bringing together of the empirical case study (Chapters 6-10) and the theoretical framework (Chapter 2-4) in accordance with the principles of Chapter 5 enables a causal model of educational inequalities to be produced, drawing upon the Critical Realist concept of causation as natural necessity and the methodological process for generating such a model of causation as: retrodiction-retrodiction-retroduction. The theoretical framework and empirical case study cover the first two stages (retrodiction-retrodiction), as the movement from *General to Specific*. The map of the thesis is outlined again in **Figure 11.2** below, with all three stages of the overall methodological process now outlined.

Figure 11.2 Diagram of thesis and Retroduction-Retrodiction-Retroduction approach to Causal Analysis



This final chapter now moves back from the *Specific to the General*, analysing the case study in theoretical terms (retrodiction-retroduction), and thus satisfying the *retroduction-retrodiction-retroduction* sequence of causal inference outlined in Chapter 5. Its aims are as follows: to theoretically analyse the case study, firstly in its Origin-Education phase and then its Education-Destination phase. Then, to bring the two elements of the design together in order to show how the ‘poverty traps’ at each point of the OED triangle are systemically linked, and then to create a causal model of residualisation. Doing so then allows the three main research questions to be answered. Finally, the contribution to knowledge is outlined before ending with recommendations for future research.

11.2 Origin-Education Link

Chapters 6-8 focused on the Origin-Education link, the first phase of the empirical research design.

Figure 11.3 Analytical Dualism approach to Origin-Education link

Structure 1: System Integration → Chapter 6: Tenure

Structure 2: Social Integration → Chapter 7: School Choice

Structural Elaboration → Chapter 8: School Quality

This section interprets the internal differentiation in the state secondary school system which results in Glasgow Region as due to *quasi-privatisation*. It argues that since the class structure is not isomorphous with education structures, there is nothing to stop the comprehensive system being appropriated by middle-classes as an associated class strategy. It then accounts for how this works by using the conceptual framework of Chapter 4. Here it is argued that the post-Keynesian, Anglo-liberal growth strategy in Liberal Market Economy (LME) States like the UK, and what emerged from this in terms of financialisation and asset-based welfare, is the systemic underpinning which enables *quasi-privatisation*.

11.2.1 Social Integration: Quasi-Privatisation of state secondary schools

The starting point for the argument is the distribution of attainment and therefore requires jumping ahead briefly to Chapter 9. This chapter showed that the ‘best’ State schools - in their school attainment - were much closer in range to the independent sector than they were to many of the other state schools. **Table 9.11** (*Top End of Distribution of Higher Passes, 2021*), for example, showed the top end of this attainment distribution and noted the schools here were much closer to the grant-maintained school (86%) and to the average for Scottish independent schools (92.6%⁷⁹), substantiating to a great extent the Mumsnet calculations about trade offs *vis a vis* private schools and housing/state secondary schools in Chapter 7. **Figure 11.4** below shows a selection from Chapter 7’s conceptualisation of middle class fractions and their likely available practices from the Mumsnet data; typical attainment is added from Chapter 9.

Figure 11.4 A hierarchy of middle class practices and middle class fractions with associated attainment

Middle class fraction	Middle class practices	Attainment
Upper-Middle	Independent	92%
Middle	State school: catchment	74-80%

Source: Denholm, 2017; Law, 2021

Table 9.13 (*Below average attainment as measured by percentage of five higher passes*) showed there were 27 schools with below average attainment (mean = 42%)

⁷⁹ This is an average of course and not the full distribution.

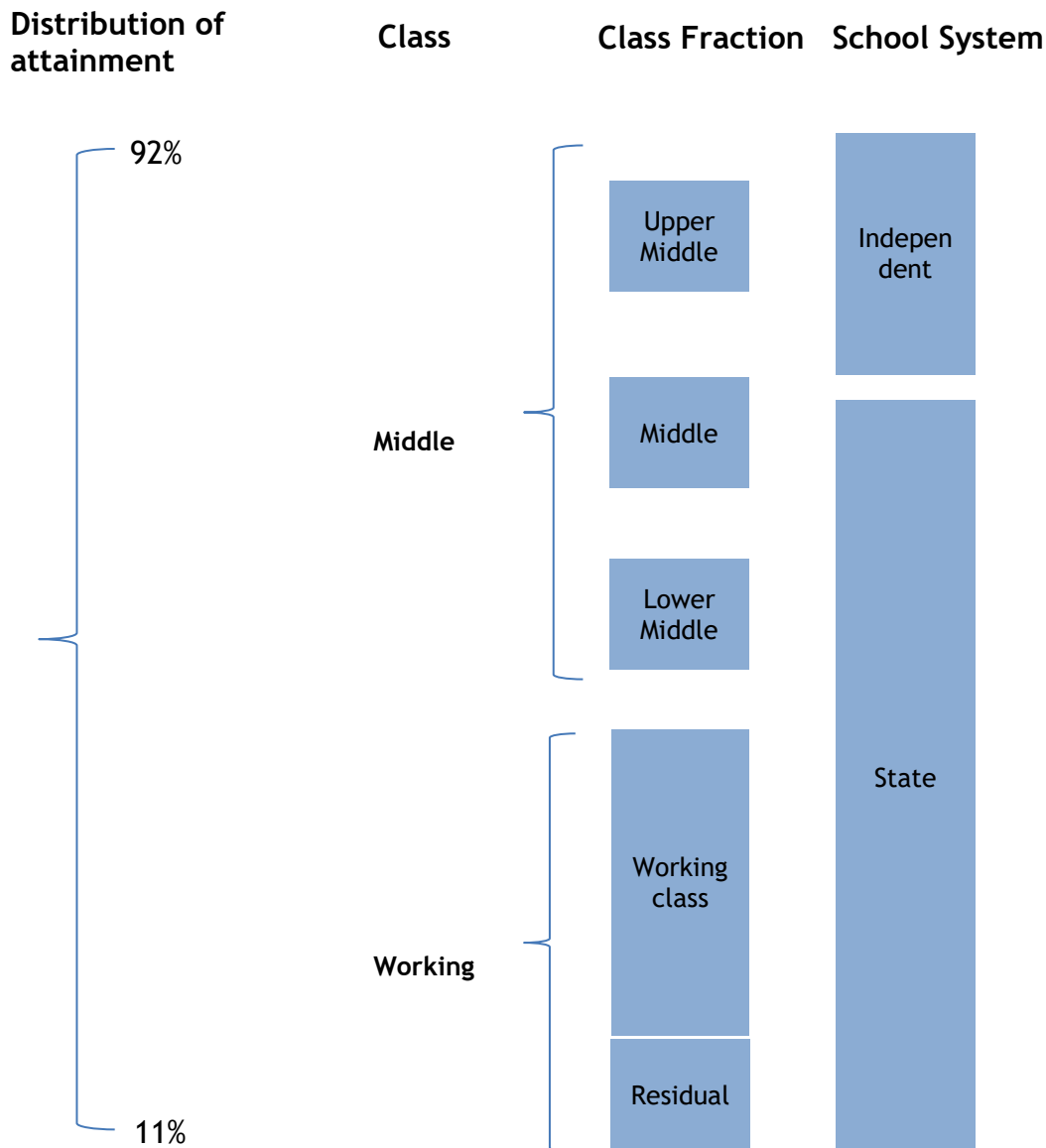
and 18 schools with above average attainment in Glasgow Region. Thus of the 45 state secondary schools in the Glasgow Region (excluding Jordanhill School), the top end of the distribution was closer to the independent schools' mean average than it was to the state secondary school average: a difference of around 12%-18% (taking the 74%-80% range from **Table 9.11**) between best state schools; compared to a difference of around 32%-38% between the best states schools and the middle of the distribution (again, taking the 74%-80% range from **Table 9.11** and the mean average of 42% from **Table 9.13**).

This might seem an obvious point, and perhaps even a skewed picture given that a comparison is being made between the top of a distribution with the average of another in the independent sector⁸⁰. However, the findings of Chapter 7 revealed a system of class practices, or a system of choices available to middle-class fractions: which *as* fractions, were differentiated by their economic and cultural capital and generated these available choices. And as class fractions, they are close to one another; and as *middle class* fractions much closer to each other than working class fractions, including the residualised fraction of that. Thus, proximity of class fractions may thus be the generative principle of the distribution of attainment: that is, the top end of the state distribution is closer to the independent schools because they are closer to it in class terms.

And rather than trying to understand differences *within* the state secondary sector, it might theoretically be more accurate to understand them in terms of class fractions, which as the system of choices showed, overlap the state secondary/independent sector structural division. In other words, the structures of the school system are the wrong comparators. The range of attainment is better understood in terms of class fractions:

⁸⁰ That said, there are fewer independent schools and unlikely to be big differences; and if there were, this would either bring some even closer to the top state schools (if lower) or, at its maximum (100%) a difference (20-26%) which still is closer to the state secondary mean (42%).

Figure 11.5 Stylised comparison of class fractions with Glasgow Region school system



Evidence for this has also been established in Chapter 8, where social class underpinned and was reified into the school quality indicators, which included the attainment indicator (Indicator 3.1) and where high attainment was found in that chapter to be associated with higher social class (e.g. the St Ninian's report, which found a mainly homogenous school composition drawn from the SIMD 9-10 deciles). The narrower range between the best state schools and independent schools, and the extreme disjuncture between attainment in the best secondary schools and residualised secondary schools can be better understood as a continuity between

middle class fractions at the top end, and their distance at top and bottom ends respectively.

Firstly then, the State secondary school sector therefore needs to be seen, *de facto*, as the site of differing class fractions and associated practices, not as a unified comprehensive system. Secondly, the comprehensive system and the independent system need to be joined back together, as it were, in order to see the underlying relational system of class fractions; choosing to see the distribution of attainment through the structures of the education system - as the State secondary system and the independent system - obscures this. Simply put: the distribution of attainment is better explained by class structures not educational ones.

If this is the case - that is, if class structures do not 'fit' with the structures of the education system - then there is an important corollary. The state education system, as a comprehensive education system, is based on a formal equality with an intention of some sort of equalization through its structures. However, the class system is based on inequality and has a different structure. They are separate structures operating under different principles. This is revealed, for example, in the middle-class Mumsnet users seeking to avoid schools with mixed demographics, thereby violating the very principle of comprehensive education. However, rather than focusing on collusive iniquities of middle-class mothers, *structurally, this is necessarily so* based on the asymmetry between class and educational structures. If this is accepted, then the middle and working classes are seen under the same system only because of the comprehensive values of formal equality and the same educational structure of state provision. Their accidental grouping is a formal one, not a real or *de facto* one.

The *de facto* principle is the class structure and associated class practices. Once the idea that the classes are working together cooperatively and adhering to the same comprehensive values is dispensed with rather than in conflict through the educational system, then the comprehensive system can be seen as a site of class conflict. The structure of the education system (formal, *de jure*) is asymmetric to

the class system (*de facto*). What this means is that the latter can work through the former. It also brings into question whether equality of opportunity can be achieved through it therefore, although this taken up later in the chapter. Which means a return to the system of choices of Chapter 7. The distinguishing break between middle class fractions in whether they were able to choose independent sector or state sector was not cultural capital but economic capital. For some middle class fractions, a trade off had to be made between either an independent school or a state school in a good area.

The trade off between independent and state secondary systems was thus not a commitment to the principles of the latter but a class strategy. There is thus nothing which prevents the state secondary system being used *as such*. The proximity of attainment between the two systems - elite or best state secondary and independent - was the starting point for analysis. What was argued is that this quantitative distribution in its close range of outcomes reveals the proximity of middle class fractions. What ultimately distinguishes *them* was economic capital and therefore the viability of the independent sector. But in terms of cultural capital, they still equally value the education system. Therefore, the lower middle class fractions *still seek the same benefits of the independent system*: a pre-selected intake, a high probability of school quality, high attainment and prestigious school leaver destinations. Although the benefits must be sought *through the state secondary system* instead, albeit in a slightly attenuated form. This colonisation, as it were, of the upper reaches of the state secondary system reveals reaping the benefits of the independent system through the state system. In other words, the operation of the class system through the education system results in a *quasi-privatisation* of the state secondary sector.

As the Education Director in East Renfrewshire said at the time:

“It’s easy to say, it doesn’t matter what we do, X number of parents will send their children to private schools anyway. We have shown in East Renfrewshire this is not true. We see ourselves as in competition with the private schools.” (Kemp, 2008)

A characteristic of independent schools is separation. Bourdieu (1998: 73-101), for example, in analysing the production of a state nobility looked at the *structural separation* of pupils in the 'symbolic confinement' of boarding schools; and the 'rites of institution' (ibid: 102-115) through which these pupils were socialised into their future trajectories as occupying influential social positions and careers (the state nobility): in other words, spatial boundaries (as separation, isolation) function as social boundaries. The structural separation cannot be effected through the education system. Within the state sector, this isolation needs to be effected through the housing market, as the 'private' principle.

However, this *quasi-privatisation* cannot be effected through the class structure alone, or agents' possession of economic capital. If the research design is correct, *quasi-privatisation* is the *result* or structural elaboration, which takes place within the secondary state sector (and *of* the sector). The interaction of system integration *and* social integration means that the prior condition of *quasi-privatisation* is the housing system.

Thus, the isolation required for *quasi-privatisation* needs to be effected, within the state sector, through the housing market. This disjuncture, effected within the secondary system, is supported by the finding in Chapter 9 that there are, in effect, two separate systems of schools within Glasgow Region. The question is why the housing market is able to act as such in systemic terms, enabling this to happen in the first place.

11.2.2 System Integration: Financialisation (Compatibilities)

Aalbers (2017: 2) argues that housing is a minor theme in the financialisation literature; equally, he argues, financialisation receives little attention in housing studies. He distinguishes between *privatisation* and *financialisation*. Using his distinctions (ibid) in accordance with the wider literature in Chapter 4, *privatisation* created the conditions for *financialisation* in the UK. Chapter 4 argued that initial market reforms of the social housing along with the Right-to-Buy in the 1980s led accidentally to a new growth model (Hay, 2013): one that substituted State intervention in the economy for one led by consumer-debt

(Crouch, 2009). And a subsequent financialization of the economy facilitated through the housing market. That is, the role played formerly by public debt in stimulating demand in the economy by a Keynesian welfare state is instead performed by private, *consumer* debt.

In Chapter 4, it was argued that the “Anglo-liberal growth model” (Hay, 2013) led to financialisation *and* residualisation: increasing asset ownership through the housing market meant legitimating cuts to welfare provision, with asset-based welfare promoted as a form of partial compensation. Chapter 4 argued for a *relational* understanding of asset-based welfare, involving similar structural relations in education. The central argument was that education became a form of asset-based welfare: as housing was a pillar of welfare restructuring in the 80s, education became so in the 90s. If the asset was a house in the first instance, the asset in the second instance was a credential; and they could be cashed in on the housing market and labour market respectively. Like housing, education also secured legitimation for a more residual welfare state: here in terms of unemployment (welfare to work and increased conditionality) and employment protection (labour market deregulation and flexibility). Asset-based welfare alleviates the double bind or steering problem of the State described in Chapter 4 in a new way: by solving both at once. Problems of legitimisation are solved through accumulation.

But though housing and education may both be forms of asset-based welfare, structurally, they are in different State domains. The former belongs to the market or economy (accumulation); the latter to the welfare state (legitimation). Education as an asset *and* as part of the welfare state cannot be appropriated in the same way directly through the market. However, it can be done so indirectly, through the other form of asset-based welfare, housing. The interaction of these two forms of asset-based welfare result in emergent effects: *quasi-privatisation*. When we combine the initial principle of privatisation, the development of financialisation from it, and thus the asset-based welfare model, we get to *quasi-privatisation* of the secondary school system.

Figure 11.6 Relations of Quasi-Privatisation

Privatisation (of housing) > Financialisation > Asset-Based Welfare >> *quasi-privatisation* of state education system

Quasi-privatisation therefore can be understood as the principle of privatisation - and more generally the market - applied to public provision: *not* as governments utilising private partners in public provision; but as agents using market principles in the appropriation of public services and gaining the benefits of private sector provision through it. If class is seen in Weberian terms as the relation of the individual to the market (Weber, 1947; Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2006), and if education is an asset, as argued, this means that the comprehensive state school system must necessarily be the site of class struggle and class strategies. The condition of spatial separation or isolation through the housing market substitutes for the structural separation of comprehensive and independent education systems.

Thus in solving one problem, it creates problems elsewhere: here the *quasi-privatisation* of the secondary school sector, and education system more generally, which was supposed to be the principle of equality (and therefore legitimacy): the equality of opportunity (as no formal barriers to accessing a market) thus undermines the equality of opportunity (as social mobility) provided in the education system. The accumulation principle of equality of opportunity undermines the legitimation principle. This would thus seem congruent with Offe's theory of continual crisis management (Offe, 1984), where problems are not ultimately solved but postponed, or created in new and unexpected forms, or displaced to other domains (e.g. from housing to education; from accumulation to legitimation).

Thus, the principle of *quasi-privatisation* does indeed lie in the housing market, and as a market, access to which is ultimately dependent upon position in the income distribution (and sociologically, therefore upon class position using either Weber or Goldthorpe's conception). However, it can only be fully understood in its

full relations if it is understood in relation to the consequent financialisation/residualisation growth model of a Liberal Market Economy, and the consequent asset-based welfare which emerged from that growth model - and, more structurally, the State's approach to the accumulation-legitimation problem.

11.2.3 Conclusions: Origin-Education

Using the attainment distribution, it was argued that the similarity in quantitative terms was the outcome of a similarity in qualitative or, rather, structural terms: where class structure as differences between classes and within class fractions was the generative principle of the distribution. The proximity of class fractions, the economic and cultural capital constituting them as fractions, and the available choices and strategies generated as a result was used to argue that the difference between state secondary school sector and the independent sector was not as wide as it seemed. And thus that there was nothing to stop comprehensive schools equally being used as a class strategy by those class fractions without enough economic capital to access both the independent sector *and* a good area. However, the latter could substitute for the former and the benefits of the independent sector could still largely be secured through the state secondary sector as the attainment distribution showed. And the separation between the secondary and independent sector and the benefits of the latter (pre-selected intakes, school quality and high attainment) could be approximated through the separation which the housing system afforded.

Quasi-privatisation and middle-class appropriation of the state education system had a systemic basis in this Origin-Education phase. Origin-Education was understood not as social class origin, as in Bukodi and Goldthorpe (2019), but in systemic terms as 'origin' or entry point into the state school system. And 'Origin' in systemic terms was facilitated and structured by the housing system. Although this is not a new finding, it was further argued that this was only possible because of the underlying structures of the post-1970s LME State, particularly the use of financialisation which Aalbers (2017) argued has been neglected in housing studies (and vice-versa). Applying this to the education system through the interaction of the two forms of asset-based welfare, means that the quasi-privatization effected

within the state secondary sector can be better understood, and the relations underlying this, as in **Figure 11.6** above.

11.3 Education-Destination Link

Chapters 8-10 focused on the Education-Destination link, the first phase of the empirical research design.

Figure 11.7 *Structural Elaboration: Analytical Dualism approach to Education-Destination link*

Structure 1: System Integration → *Chapter 8: School Quality*

Structure 2: Social Integration → *Chapter 9: School Attainment*

Structural Elaboration → *Chapter 10: School Leaver Destinations*

This section interprets the findings as what can be called a *systemic* appropriation of the secondary school system by LME States, through its being part of the institutional compatibility of a general skills system. In general skills systems, the distribution of skills is linked to the distribution of earnings. General skills systems however require a qualifications-skills proxy due to the lack of direct institutional coordination between general skill systems and labour markets (as employers, firms and industries) as in vocational skills systems. This means qualifications, and thus the school system, become a site of struggle over the earnings distribution. This then results in a *class* appropriation of the earnings distribution through the education system, which directly undermines Bell's thesis (Bell, 1974) of the weakening of the Origin-Destination link via it. The argument begins with *class appropriation* and then works to how *systemic appropriation* enables this, rather than weakens it. The two different types of appropriation are then finally related to the separate ontological structures of Social Integration and System Integration respectively, and their interaction to residualisation.

11.3.1 Social Integration: Social preconditions of attainment

In Chapter 8, the middle-class normative underpinned the optimal functioning of internal school systems, and the relations between their internal parts (curriculum, teaching, pupil learning, tracking etc.) This, in itself, was underpinned by the social relationships within the school (particularly pupil-teacher), which itself was dependent on social class for its maximal functioning. In effect, social class was the basis of the school quality indicators and reified into them (*and* at the same time neutralised as a category from them). If the findings of Chapter 8 above are telescoped together for now, then the ‘breadcrumb’ of social class can then be potentially further traced through the remainder of the Education-Destination phase (Chapters 8-10):

Figure 10.8 Class ‘breadcrumb’ in the Education-Destination phase



It can therefore be shown how social class is ultimately linked to destinations. Firstly, by looking at attainment.

Figure 10.9 Class ‘breadcrumb’ as explaining Attainment



The social basis of attainment is evident in the inspectorate comments on the Eastwood elite where the language of social evaluation sat alongside educational ones: the pupils are well-behaved, diligent learners with high attainment. Attainment is also associated with wider achievement, including contributions to

the school and wider community. An additional theme in this praise was the established social trajectories the pupils were on, here retranslated as ‘leadership skills’ (St Ninian’s) and their leadership roles (Williamwood).

As the Origin-Education phase shows, *quasi-privatisation* effects a disjuncture within the secondary school system, meaning the top schools are isolated from most of the Glasgow Region schools *by virtue* of separating it from the wider system of schools. They are largely held up *as* a success in educational terms by the inspectorate because they are, as a school, isolated from other schools. Thus, the inspectorate and Scottish Government neutralisation of the socio-spatial relations between schools results in *quasi-privatisation* becoming occluded. East Renfrewshire’s Education Director (the same interview as quoted above) also noted:

“East Renfrewshire’s recipe is traditional. Wilson cites moving the emphasis from inclusion to attainment” (Kemp, 2008)

Thus, the move can be made from inclusion to attainment because the precondition of exclusion of the excluded (Origin-Education phase) has been achieved through *quasi-privatisation*, and the social preconditions necessary for a focus on high attainment normally associated with independent schools. Hence, in the same article, the comment from the Scottish Parent teacher Council:

“You couldn’t transplant the East Renfrewshire schools into another area with totally different circumstances and replicate their attainment” (ibid)

And though they still work within the modern comprehensive system, the cultural signifiers of independent schools through competitive sports, tradition and discipline are apparent:

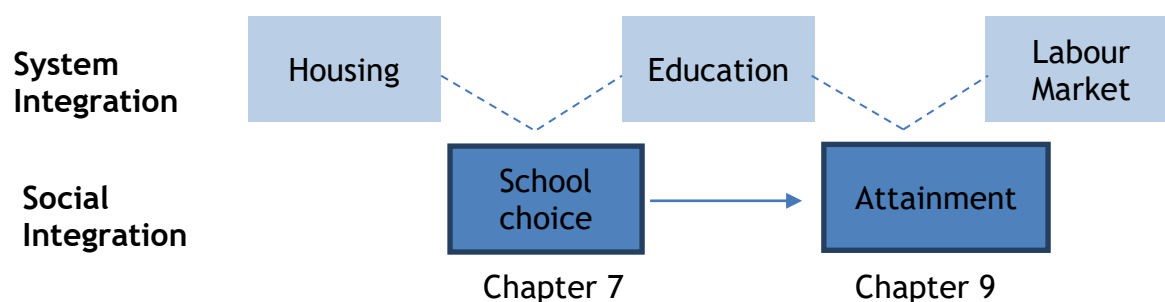
“... pushing uniforms, homework, competitive sport, outdoor education, discipline, and testing.” (ibid)

Discipline can be pushed where it is already largely pre-achieved. Thus, the other element of Bourdieu’s state nobility (1998) can be cultivated: where separation - or symbolic confinement - is achieved, the rites of institution can therefore be

cultivated, socialising the state nobility into their future roles. Analogously, having largely eliminated social mix within the state secondary sector, such schools can become sites of middle-class socialisation: active school and community members with leadership skills, becoming socialised into their likely future roles, which will be facilitated through the academic trajectory ('discipline', 'homework', 'testing'). It is thus that the Inspectorate comments on achievement and attainment can be understood: socialisation and high attainment associate with each other, through the middle-class preselection which *quasi-privatisation* affords. But the background for high attainment in the reports, its social preconditions (social integration, better schools, expansive opportunities, lack of financial constraints), its systemic preconditions (*quasi-privatisation*) are all thus lost in the certification of attainment.

Despite this, the emphasis on attainment is understood as higher academic attainment. In Chapter 9, the First Minister spoke of the 'gold standard' of attainment (McLaughlin and Greenwood, 2020), specifically in academic terms (5 Highers) and its link to higher education ('... as it is the benchmark for entry into many university courses.'). And, whilst the Scottish Government did not publish the data, the newspapers, presumably used by the middle-class Mumsnet users, did so using this same criterion to rank the schools: choice of schools (rank) was based on high attainment. Attainment as 'choice' of Higher Education was thus considered analogously to school choice in that the necessary attainment ('gold standard') was required to go on to university courses, and the necessary schools were required for high attainment.

Figure 11.10 Relating Chapters 7 and 9 through Social Integration



The middle-class strategies are thus long-term strategies. With the pre-selection of *quasi-privatisation* secured, the likely conditions for high attainment are in place. Thus, both the Chapters 7 and 9 can be seen as class conflict more generally and middle-class appropriation more specifically.

11.3.2 System Integration: a general skills system

School choice and middle-class appropriation, however, had a systemic basis in the Origin-Education phase. 'Origin' in systemic terms was facilitated/structured by the housing system, with private ownership enabling financialisation, and therefore structurally underpinning *quasi-privatisation*. Thus, the task is to understand how this works in the Education-Destination phase.

The Policy Background: The Academic-Vocational Distinction

Given the emphasis on academic attainment thus described, it seems counter-intuitive to then dissolve the distinction between them, as seen in Chapter 10 through the use of the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) by Skills Development Scotland and the Scottish Government in classifying school leaver destinations. That is, between university degrees and HNCs/HNDs when the SQA (2019: 21) itself designates them as vocational ('meeting the needs of employers'). Roberts (2004: 206) argues however that there has been a tendency to absorb vocational qualifications into national qualification frameworks and for governments to emphasise the equivalence of 'academic and vocational qualifications, rather than, as in many continental European countries, stressing their distinctiveness and different value.' Arguably, this is what is seen in Chapter 10. Another aspect of policy was the importance of attainment in Education Scotland's quality indicators in Chapter 8 and its wider links to the labour market and skills. The education system thus becomes tied to the labour market. Both these elements - the emphasising of skills 'in general' and minimising the differences between academic and vocational qualifications; the relation of attainment and education systems to wider policy objectives - can be seen as indicative of *general skills systems* rather than firm-specific or industry-specific vocational skills systems.

General Skills Systems & Residualisation

The Varieties of Capitalism literature (Chapter 3) argued that one of the institutional compatibilities of Liberal Market Economies (LMEs) was a general skills system, based on qualifications: as opposed to Coordinated Market Economies (CMEs), which have vocational skills systems, based on firm-specific or industry-specific skills. The argument advanced by Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) was that general skill systems were more likely to create poverty traps for the academically weaker. This was because the distribution of academic achievement translates into distribution of skills, and consequently into the distribution of earnings. The skewed nature of this in LMEs meant a lack of academic achievement results in being more likely to be trapped in low-paid, low-skilled jobs.

The central feature of general skills systems then is the overall link of the education system to earnings (qualifications-earnings). Breaking this down, two features of general skills systems are apparent:

- the link between the distribution of qualifications and the distribution of skills: the **qualifications-skills** link
- the link between distribution of skills and the distribution of earnings: the **skills-earnings** link

In other words, the distribution of labour market positions (and thus earnings and life chances) becomes tied to the education system in general skills systems (qualifications-earnings).

The argument of Estevez-Abe et al. (ibid) however has to be understood in systemic terms: there is no direct coordination between the skills system and the labour market in LMEs. The lack of a direct link between the labour market and skills systems means it needs to be mediated by the education system not through firm- or industry- specific skill systems. Thus, there needs to be a proxy link: qualifications. Instead of firm-specific training or industry certified or designed qualifications, skills are thought *roughly* to be indicated by qualifications, and higher skills through academic qualifications. Thus the 'stranglehold' of qualifications on the education system or the neoliberalism of qualifications

(Gilles, 2013: 117) can be understood as a functional necessity in LMEs: the *systemic appropriation* of the education system is necessary in creating the link between general skills systems and labour markets.

The other element of the LME State in relation to financialisation/residualisation is financialisation, which might seem less obvious in relation to mass education systems. More broadly however the institutional conditions and framework for supporting and strengthening financial capital and supply-side policies (inflation, labour market flexibility, stable macroeconomic policies for business confidence and inward investment, mass education and general skills systems) are the ones which attenuate industrial capital and labour generally (monetarist tolerance of unemployment, lack of labour market protection, lack of long-term investment in manufacturing and industry). Thus there is an association with financial capital and general skills or mass education systems: in that the institutional framework or system of compatibilities which support the former, necessitate the latter or rather create a path-dependency which means the creation of vocational skills systems are precluded. Hence why Finegold and Soskice (1988) concluded early on that the UK's lack of effective vocational skills systems were due to its lack of institutional infrastructure, and thus recommended the US route of a mass education system. And thus there is a systemic link between the Origin-Education phase and the Education-Destination phase, relating them both: the financialisation and residualisation of an LME State in the first, necessitates a general skills system in the second.

This *systemic appropriation* of the education system can now be related to *class appropriation* of the education system through the qualifications-earnings link created by the former. And the Varieties of Capitalism thesis can be integrated into a wider theory of an *LME State* and education as asset-based welfare. Firstly, there is the System Integration argument:

- (a) The lack of a link between the labour market and skills systems results in the qualifications-skills proxy. The integration of system parts results in a *systemic appropriation* of the education system, including the school system: **qualifications-skills.**

But this has a further dimension not explicitly recognised in the VoC thesis: the Social Integration, or class, argument:

(b) The qualifications-skills proxy results in *middle class appropriation* of the state secondary education system. This being the case, the class structure becomes necessarily linked to the qualifications-skills link. As in: **class-qualifications-skills**.

The Qualifications-Skills link: Attainment

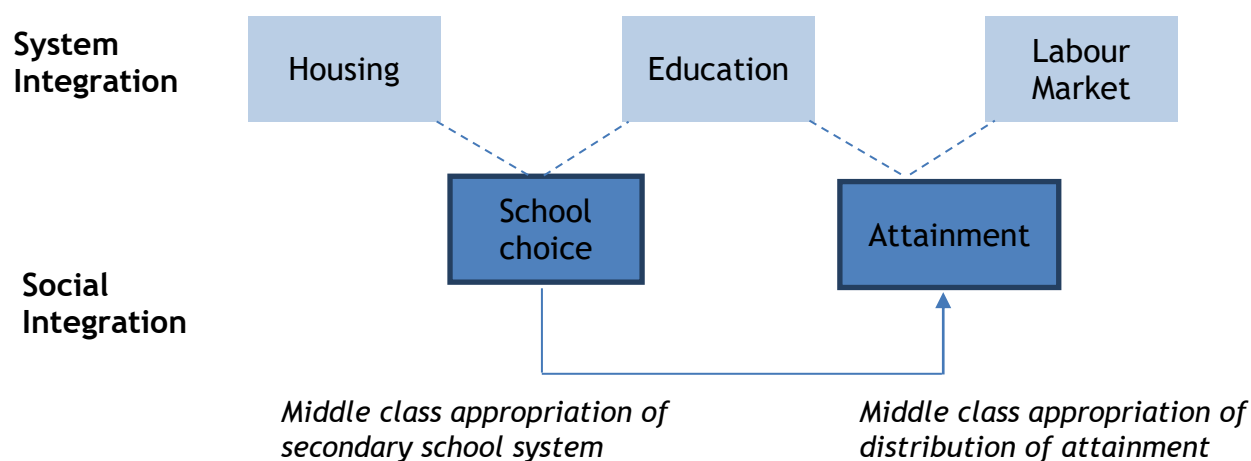
(c) When the distributions of skills is related to the distribution of earnings, the full relation is revealed: **class-qualifications-skills-earnings**. Due to proxy link (qualifications-skills), *the distribution of labour market positions (and thus earnings and life chances) becomes tied to the education system in general skills systems* (class-qualifications-earnings). In other words, the Education-Destination link has a systemic basis in LMEs: that is, to the labour market.

This relation, ultimately, is the relation between System Integration (argument a) and Social Integration (argument b). This was argued to result in residualisation in an *LME State* (Social Integration + Social Integration = Residualisation). More generally, it means that these systemic parts in LME States result in class conflict as in Lockwood (argument a + argument b). Struggle over the distribution of earnings is precisely class struggle: to appropriate the opportunities that positions in the labour market or occupational structure afford; and therefore the life chances afforded by position in a class structure. Since appropriation of the earnings distribution can only take place via the education system (qualification-skills-earnings) in general skills systems, this results in the education system and more specifically the distribution of qualifications as a necessary site of class struggle. The conclusion then is that the education system must become the site of class conflict, rather than the route to increased social fluidity as in Bell's thesis.

The findings of Chapter 9 therefore showed clear class differences in the distribution of attainment. Chapter 10 summarised this in **Figure 10.10** (*Comparison of Higher Education, Further Education and Attainment, with owner*

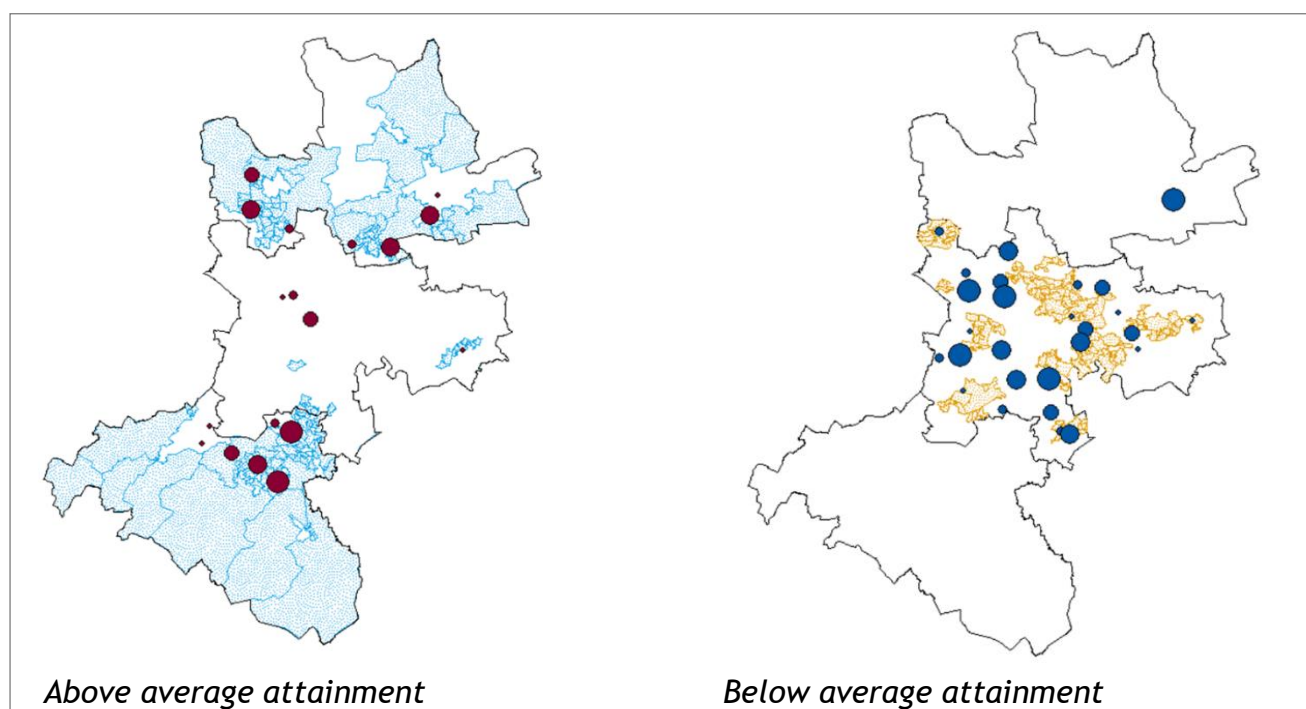
occupation and social housing clusters), where above average attainment was concentrated in the areas of higher owner occupation and thus what has been called *quasi-privatisation* in the previous part, and the areas the middle-class Mumsnet users sought out, as shown by their hierarchy of schools in **Figure 7.4** (*Hierarchy of State Secondary Schools in Glasgow Region*). Thus, the Mumsnet users understand both intuitively and explicitly, as likely higher education graduates themselves, that the distribution of skills is the distribution of earnings and life chances, and the means to secure them in the labour market is through academic qualifications. Attainment as ‘choice’ of qualifications was thus considered analogously to school choice. Thus, the middle-class appropriation of the state secondary school system in the Origin-Education phase secured the social preconditions necessary for high attainment and then, in Education-Destination phase, middle-class appropriation of the distribution of qualifications (or attainment, as seen in Chapter 9):

Figure 11.11 Middle class appropriation of the distribution of attainment



The two complementarities in Social Integration terms (school choice; attainment), thus reflect the complementarities in System Integration terms, that is between housing and education (Origin-Education), and education and the skills system and labour market (Education-Destination). Empirically, this results in the class differences seen in Chapter 8, reflected in the spatial distribution of attainment between schools in Glasgow Region as seen in **Figure 11.12** below.

Figure 11.12 Qualifications-Skills link: Comparison of Attainment, with owner occupation and social housing clusters



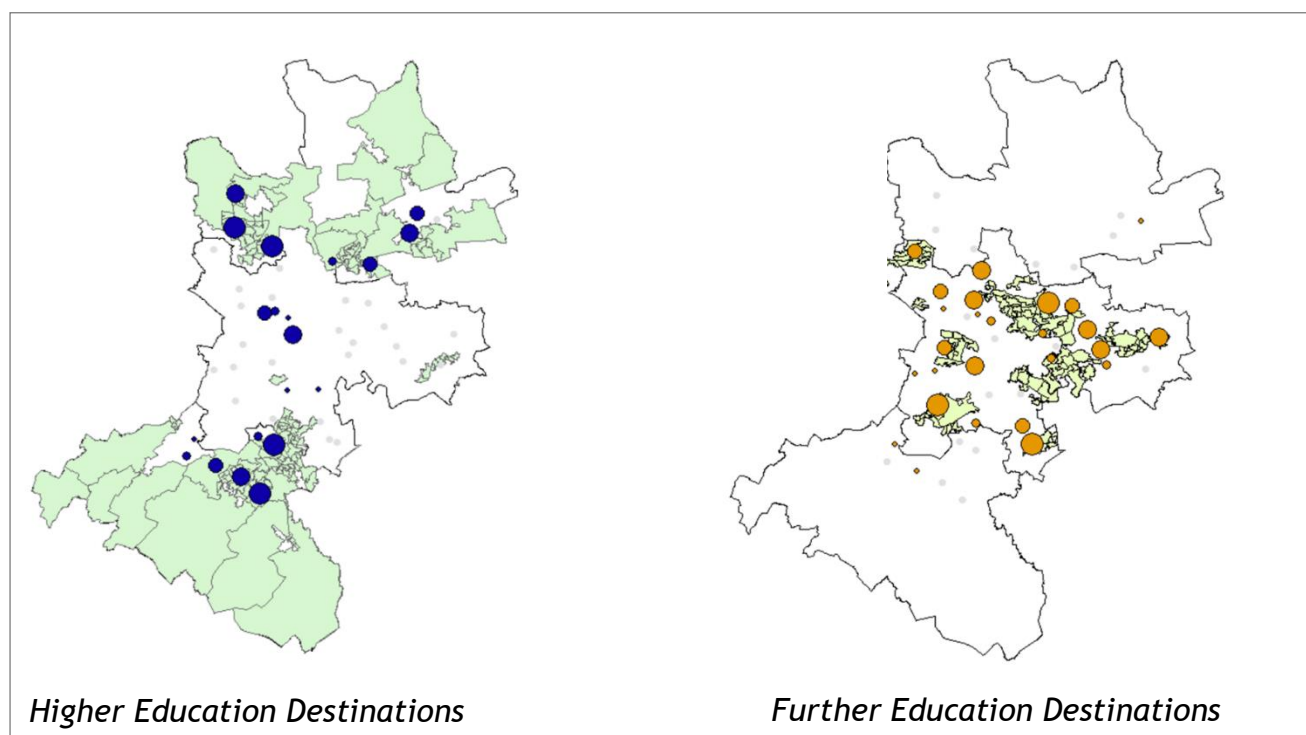
Source: Community Planning Partnerships reports, 2015; Census 2011; *The Times/Daily Record*, 2021

This distribution can thus be interpreted as *class appropriation*; but the Education-Destination phase explains why, in systemic terms, this must be necessarily so.

The skills-earnings link: Destinations

Finally, Chapter 10 used school leaver destinations as proxies for likely labour market destinations. The middle-class appropriation of academic qualifications thus, unsurprisingly, results in the structural elaboration of systemically divided school to work destinations. This can be understood in terms of the systemic link of **Skills-Earnings** in a general skill system, and the consequent valorisation of the academic trajectory and the devaluation of vocational trajectory. Understanding the distribution of school leaver destinations across the region on the basis of its systematic academic-vocational distinction therefore provides further evidence of the class appropriation of destinations, empirically demonstrating the **Class-Qualifications-Skills-Earnings** link:

Figure 11.13 Skills-Earnings Link: Comparison of Higher Education and Further Education, with owner occupation and social housing clusters



Source: Community Planning Partnerships reports, 2015; Census 2011; The Times/Daily Record, 2021

Lastly, it can be seen why Further Education was the residualised element of the residualised vocational trajectory. In simple terms, it covered a lower distribution of skills as translated through the SCQF framework. More theoretically, it can be seen in term of the **qualifications-skills** link. In an evaluation of vocational qualifications in England, Wolf (2011: 21) noted that:

Their programmes and experiences fail to promote progression into either stable, paid employment or higher level education and training in a consistent or an effective way.

Thus, further education qualifications neither:

- Insure against risk through the academic route
- Are actually *in* employment (and thus evidence demonstrable skills, even if low-skills and firm- or industry-specific and thus lower insurance against risk).

The qualification-skills proxy of general skills systems is exposed at its most extreme and tenuous in Further Education qualifications: where the lack of any relation between labour market and skills systems on the one hand (Wolf noted there was little to no labour market value of the qualifications); and between education systems/skills systems on the other (the qualifications did not bring anything that school qualifications could not have; and indeed one of the review members interviewed, labour market academic Professor Lorna Unwin, argued that the only real Level 2 qualification was English and Maths A*-C). Thus, Further Education qualifications reveal the structural lack of coordination in general skills systems between qualifications and labour market at their most visible i.e. where the **qualifications-skills-earnings** link is least in evidence.

11.3.3 Conclusion: Education-Destinations

The main thesis in the Education-Destination phase was that *systemic appropriation* results in *class appropriation*.

1. In general skills systems, qualifications function as proxy links to skills due the lack of direct coordination between labour market and skills system in Liberal Market Economies: **qualifications-skills**
2. The distribution of labour market positions (and thus earnings and life chances) becomes tied to the education system in general skills systems: **qualifications-skills-earnings**.
3. Since conflict over the distribution of earnings is precisely class conflict, this means: The education system and qualifications must become the site of class struggle: **class-qualifications-skills-earnings**

It was thus further argued that these structural relations generate the empirical distribution of attainment and destinations in Chapters 9 and 10. The middle-class appropriation of attainment in Education-Destination was related back its initial social preconditions, achieved through *quasi-privatisation* and thus middle class appropriation of secondary schools; and thus linking both phases. Thus, the dual system of schooling noted is ultimately due to the interaction of both phases.

Lastly, they were further linked in that general skills systems were related to the nature of *LME States*: the financialisation/residualisation of the UK State in the Origin-Education phase in relation to housing was apparent here, again through the institutional compatibilities required in LME States. There were two relevant areas:

1. Firstly, the lower welfare protection noted in the VoC thesis was related not just to how it reinforced the need to insure through the academic route in general skills systems but, as in housing, the use of it to make the welfare state more residual⁸¹.
2. Secondly, the VoC thesis was expanded to include the systemic balance of financial capital over industrial capital in LME States as argued in Chapter 2. Thus, in the same way there is a necessary relation between the former in the Origin-Education phases (as housing and financialisation), there is a necessary, if less obvious, relation to financial capital in the Education-Destination phase, in that vocational systems are not possible where this balance is maintained, not without a fundamental institutional resetting (Lloyd and Payne, 2003: 93). The balance weighing against industrial capital means that firm-specific and industry-specific skills are not supported by the institutional framework (or system of compatibilities) which privilege financial capital in LME States. This further means that the residualisation of the welfare state in relation to education is accompanied by a further residualisation: that of the vocational path. And it is thus that the academically weaker (and more likely to be from working classes) do not fare as well and are more likely to end up in lower paid and lower skilled jobs, as the VoC thesis predicts. Thus, the residualised schools in Glasgow Region have predominantly lower attainment as in Chapter 9 and more vocational destinations as in Chapter 10 (whether Further Education, Employment or both). That this can be related to the balance of financial capital can be understood only through general skills systems and the systemic appropriation of the education system in an *LME State*.

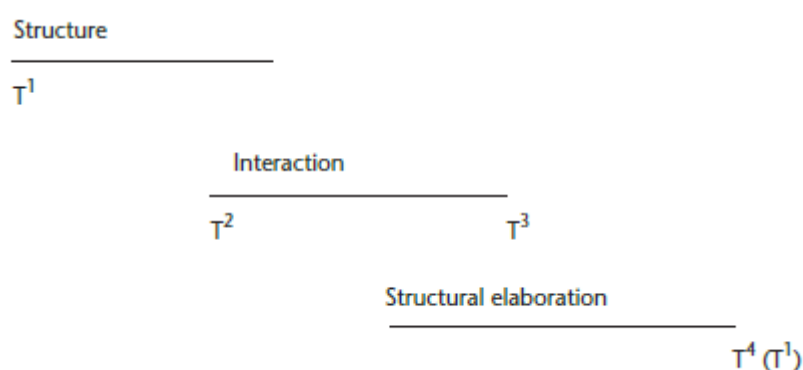
⁸¹ Thus, general skills systems allow us to understand why education as asset-based welfare has to be based in the public sphere rather than the private sphere: because of the requirement for general skills systems in LMEs, which in the UK were only possible through the mass education system, which is *publicly* funded.

Overall, then the data supports the VoC thesis rather than Bell's thesis, although with the additional arguments of this chapter: applying both a theory of the State (Chapter 4), the balance of financial and industrial capital and the institutional complementarities within such states (Chapter 3), and the introduction of class struggle. In other words, of System Integration and Social Integration, respectively. Bell's thesis of the weakening of the Origin-Destination link can be rejected based on the class appropriation of the education system (Origin-Education) and using this as the necessary basis for class appropriation of the distribution of attainment (Education-Destination). The combined effect is class appropriation of the distribution of earnings and thus conflict over the Origin-Destination link itself. In drawing this argument together, both phases of the design can be now brought together in a more concerted fashion.

11.4 Origin-Destinations: Bringing the design together

Residualisation and its various systemically generated forms can now be understood more fully in terms of the two phases. The basic theoretical model of residualisation (Chapter 5) was derived from the concept of residualisation as originally applied to council housing in the early 1980s (Chapter 4) and conceived ontologically as the interaction of System Integration and Social Integration. This was operationalised in a modified version of Archer's morphogenetic theory:

Figure 11.14 The interplay of structure and agency in Archer's analytical dualism



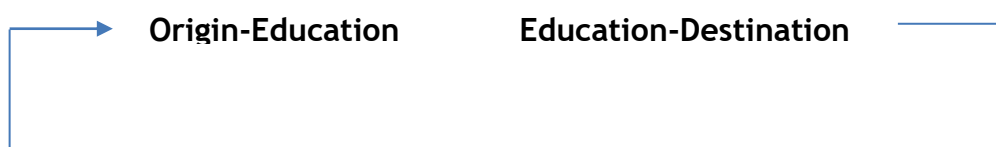
Source: Archer (1995: 76)

Archer's analytical distinction of these *in time* (T^1 , T^2 etc.) was necessary to understand their interaction (structures are in place first, then interact with agency). But this also enables an analysis of their cyclical interplay across a sequence, thus $T^4(T^1)$ or how what is structurally elaborated 'feedbacks' and becomes the new starting point for another sequence. This can therefore now be applied to the thesis.

11.4.1 T^1/T^4 : *Linked Residualities*

What this means is that the two phases of Origin-Education and Education-Destination can be joined together:

Figure 11.15 Analytical cycle: T^4/T^1



In the research design of the thesis, this means that the labour market, or the Destinations used as a proxy for this, then link back up in a circuit to Housing. Thus, position in the labour market - and thus place gained in the earnings distribution - eventually links back to purchasing power in the housing market, exercised within the geography of Chapter 6, and the system of choices in Chapter 7. The labour market starts the new cycle leading on to and back to housing. This then becomes related to the school system and school or area choice at a particular point in a family lifestage:

Figure 11.16 The two related phases

Origin-Education

Housing/Area choice-school

Education-Destination

Qualifications-Skills-Earnings

When the two phases are joined together (T^4/T^1), with the labour market now seen as initiating the cycle, this would then look like **Figure 10.17**:

Figure 11.17 The distribution of earnings as T^4/T^1

earnings-housing/area-school-qualifications-skills-earnings

Thus the whole cycle is about the distribution of earnings and thus necessarily becomes about class conflict (Social Integration), necessitating a class strategy.

However, it is also necessary to bring back System Integration into the design, as per the basic theoretical model of Chapter 4, which used the following basic equation: System Integration + Social Integration = Residualisation. Starting with Social Integration (as class resources) and then relating this to the underlying 'part' of the social system produces the following:

Figure 11.18 Systemically linked series of residualities

	Social Integration ('People')	Earnings	Residential housing	School	Qualifications	Skills-Earnings
+	System Integration ('Parts')	Housing Market	Education System	Education/Skills System		Labour Market
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed #000;"/>						
=	Residualisation	Social Housing	Residualised schools	Vocational destinations		Low skilled, low paid jobs
	<i>and</i>					
	Increasing Differentiation	Distribution of owner occupation	Elite state secondaries	Higher Education		Higher skill, higher paid occupations

The initial class position as earnings (T^4/T^1) or position in the labour market was explored in Chapter 7: Mumsnet users were more likely to be middle-class, professional and thus in relatively economically advantaged positions, which itself

meant possession of cultural capital: as **Figure 7.2** (*Classifying Catchment Areas*) showed, the cultural knowledge of the housing market was itself possible through economic capital, the analytical labour and digital capabilities facilitated through professional positions. The engagement here with the housing system in relation to education meant avoidance of social housing ('mixed demographics'). This resulted in both residualisation (away from). But it also meant the isolation of the affluence at the other end, where 'stratification and increasing differentiation' (Forrest and Murie, 1983) also lead and thus the resulting hierarchy of schools in Chapter 7. Restoring the chronological sequence (T^4/T^1) restores typical class resources which are then expressed through the parts of the social system. It was argued in Chapter 1 that social class inequalities in education traditionally have been approached either in terms of deployment of class resources and class strategies (Social Integration) or within the education system itself. It can be argued that these are necessary but not sufficient explanations for inequalities in education (as Origin-Destination); System Integration and the interaction of class with the 'parts' of the social system are also required.

11.4.2 Social Integration: Class & Stratification

Having worked this out in terms of the research design means that rather than seeing residualisation as separate from the wider class structure, it can instead be seen as the most residual class fraction *of* it. And since class fractions (Social Integration) and systemic parts (System Integration) interact in producing this, it is not separate from the former or the latter; and instead, in its interaction, produced *by* it. Excluded by the market, and residualised by LME State policy strategies dependent upon them, this fraction is least able to appropriate asset-based welfare and most subject to residual welfare states: thus solving problems of legitimation through accumulation - as housing, education, general skills and residual welfare states and flexible labour markets - produces systemically linked residualities: of social housing, residualised schools, vocational destinations, and low-skilled, low paid work. Thus, to see this merely in terms of deprivation, or gaps or the excluded is to quarantine the LME State and its institutional compatibilities which produce these linked residualities from view: just as was illustrated in Chapter 8 in analysing the politically approved inputs of deprivation.

In other words, increasing class appropriation, via access to the market, and increasing class residualisation, as decreasing access and exclusion from it, results in increasing differentiation (as in seen in Chapter 7 and middle class fractions) *and* residualisation (as also seen in the geography of tenure in Chapter 6). The two principles thus describe the structure of the class distribution. And thus why the ‘extremes’ of the school distribution in Glasgow Region were chosen in Chapter 8 to explore this: rather than simply an empiricist approach trying to sample equally throughout the distribution, without regard to the principles which structure it and thus destroying the object of research.

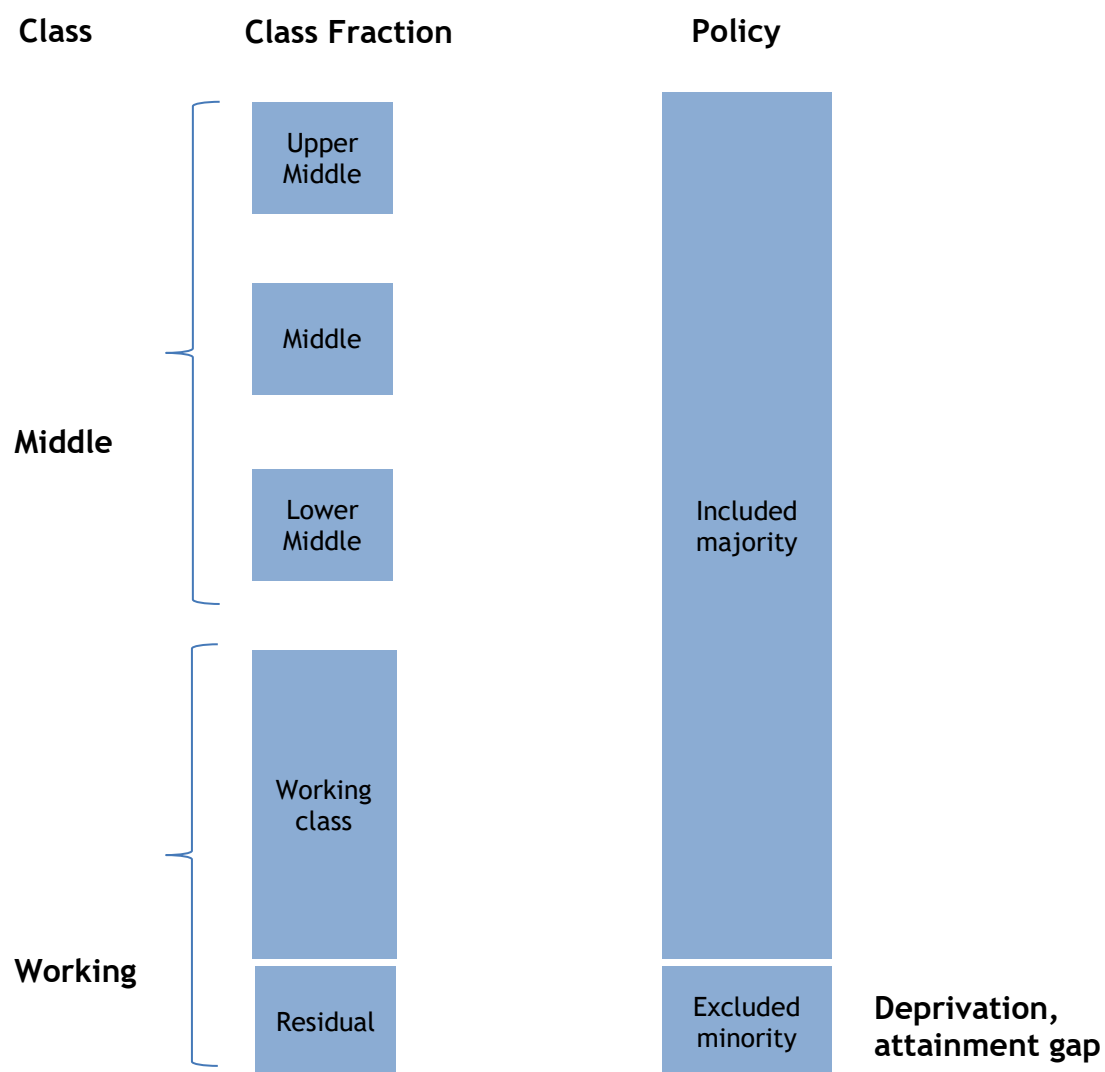
Therefore the principles observed by Forrest and Murie (1983) in housing in owner occupation and council housing as stratification and internal differentiation, and residualisation respectively, can be applied more widely since, given the argument in the Origin-Education phase about the role of housing in creating an Anglo-liberal growth model, these have been the principles of LME States (financialisation-residualisation) which, in its interaction with the class structure, result in residualisation. The hierarchy of schools in Chapter 7 was thus built on these principles of stratification and internal differentiation, and residualisation; and *also* the principles of financialisation-residualisation, as the two forms of asset-based welfare, housing and education, interacted. And, finally, these pairs can be seen to represent class (Social Integration) and LME State (System Integration) respectively:

- **stratification and internal differentiation, and residualisation:** class struggle through market
- **financialisation-residualisation:** restructuring of the LME State through the market

Residualisation, in its dual form analysed in Chapter 4 as *both* System Integration and Social Integration, is precisely these two sets of principles in their interaction as posited in the basic theoretical model of Chapter 5. And what has enabled its own analysis neither as class appropriation or systemic compatibilities alone.

However, this inclusion and exclusion in the market has led to the main social division of today (Westergaard, 1992; Levitas, 2005): the included majority and the excluded minority. This division underlies both welfare to work, deprivation and the various 'gaps' in policy (e.g. attainment gap).

Figure 11.19 Comparison of class fractions with Glasgow Region school system



However, this view results in the neutralisation of actual *de facto* class divisions and fractions. Hence, the neutralisation of social class seen in Chapter 8. And thus of the structures of Social Integration and System Integration which produce that gap. More immediately, the class appropriation of the attainment distribution, and its prior quasi-privatisation of the secondary school state - as well as the systemic structures analysed which enable this - disappear into a focus on the 'gap', a gap

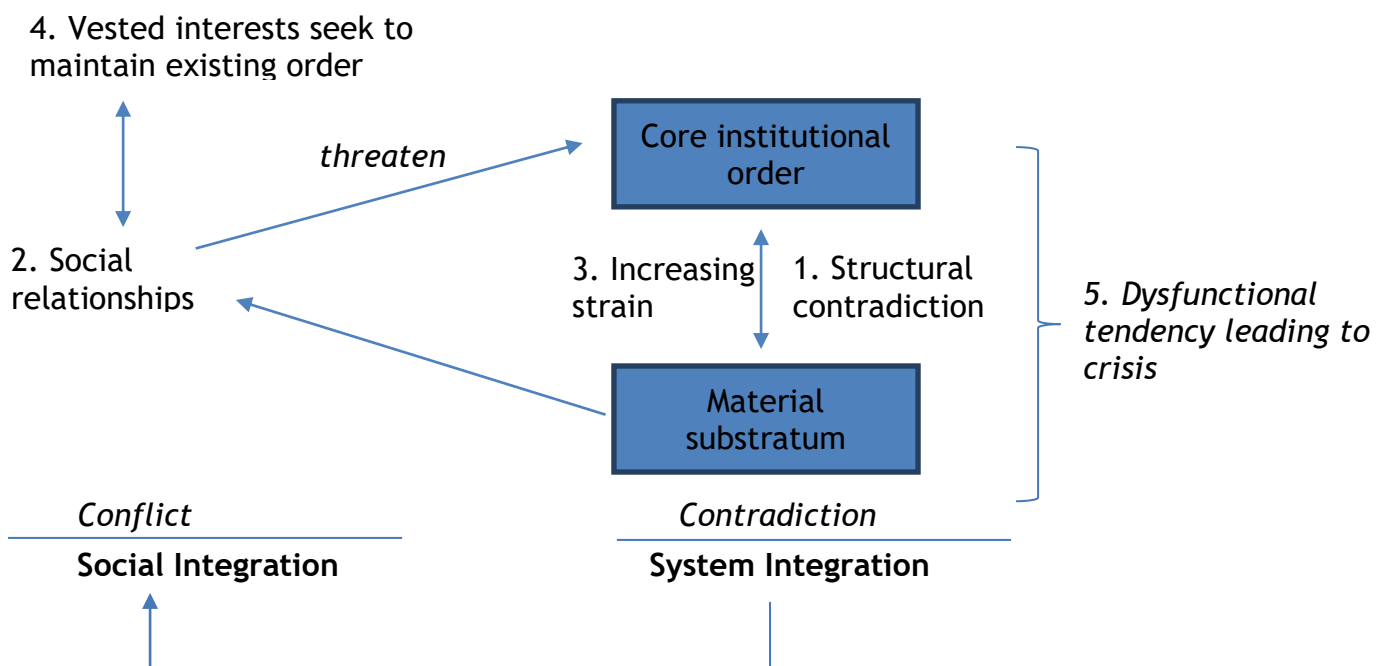
produced by class appropriation; which policy, in precisely neutralising this, then attempts, at least in principle, to solve.

11.4.3 System Integration: Contradictions and Classes

However, to understand class neutralisation rather than merely describe it means returning to Lockwood and Chapter 2, helping to resolve some final issues which require explanation at the system level (System Integration) and which help to draw Chapters 3-4 together into a more coherent whole.

Lockwood's conception of Marx and his integration of System and Social integration was of a *structural contradiction* between the means of production and the core institutional order: and this systemic contradiction led to social conflict: the core institutional order generated certain social relationships (e.g. alliances, vested interests), as did the material substratum, which threatened the vested interests of the former. The increasing structural contradiction exacerbates the social divisions and conflicts, which eventuates in crisis.

Figure 11.20 Lockwood's model of system and social integration in Marx



The thesis has now attempted to integrate Lockwood's model in Chapter 2 by developing it through the two causal properties of System Integration: *compatibility* and *contradiction*. Thus Chapter 3 explored the former through the concept institutional compatibilities and the Varieties of Capitalism literature, particularly the concept of a Liberal Market Economy. The latter was explored in Chapter 4, through the concept of the contradictions of the welfare state and argued that it was the State which ensured these institutional compatibilities.

Lockwood's model can be applied to the modern LME State, as was initially suggested in Chapter 2. However, the core element of System Integration is not the core institutional order and the material substratum but, as in Chapter 4, the *State*, now attempting to coordinate both as it were: coordinating the economy and the core institutional compatibilities which ensure a particular State regime, like an LME State. This means ensuring the predominance of financial capital and the vested interests associated with it; and the institutional compatibilities necessary to support this, such as a general skills system, labour market flexibility, short-term investments and shareholder returns etc. These compatibilities mean the functional strengthening of capital, particularly financial capital, over labour and industrial capital. And which in the UK, arguably, has long since happened.

However, the problem of legitimation still remains and the inequalities the market creates. There is an ongoing steering problem in that securing the condition of financial capital means rising social inequalities, and thus withdrawal of legitimation for the LME State and, for governments, votes. This, it has been argued in Chapter 4, has been effected by legitimation through the market: increased inclusion in the market, asset-based welfare, inclusive growth, welfare-to-work, the wellbeing economy are all the principle of legitimation but constructed as only possible through accumulation in modern LME States.

Thus, unlike Offe's prediction that the State's possible resources of legitimation have been exhausted in advanced capitalism, it has expanded its repertoire by securing legitimation through accumulation. However, as Offe predicted, this merely postpones the problem further down the line in a different form. The central argument here is that the predominance of financial capital over industrial

capital has consequences for education, which has become the means of social equality and therefore one of the most important means of legitimation for LME States.

Having revisited this model in Chapter 2, there are two contradictions relating to the education system and equality of opportunity that can now be addressed:

1. Bell's thesis was predicated upon a High Skills Economy, which in requiring higher skills economically also meant weakening the Origin-Destination link through the education system supplying these skills. Thus, there would be more equality of opportunity through the education system.
2. The contradiction of class neutralisation in education policy given class appropriation, and policy more widely.

In effect, one contradicts the other. However, by starting with the first, the second can be more fully explained.

The High Skills Economy

The balance of financial capital over industrial capital thus generates a contradiction for the State: the impossibility of a High Skills Economy based on short-term investment, labour market flexibility and low cost routes to profit *and* the necessity of a general skills system or mass education system, which precludes the creation of high quality vocational skills system which could create a High Skills Economy. That securing qualifications and skills through a mass education system will somehow solve both problems merely becomes the new site of class appropriation. And thus directly undermines the education system as the engine of social mobility and the weakening of the Origin-Destination link to any great extent.

If an actual High Skills Economy would require a 'fundamental institutional resetting' (Lloyd and Payne, 2003: 93), this would mean resistance from the vested interests of that core institutional order in Lockwood's terms: the interests particularly of financial capital. What remains is to provide the necessary but not

sufficient conditions for that resetting. This is achieved through 'equality of opportunity'. Since this is premised upon the Supply-Push thesis (supply will create its own demand), it means individuals are given the *necessary* means for that resetting (skills, qualifications) without the *sufficient* 'institution matrix' required for its realisation. What this necessary/sufficient split means ultimately is that the part (*necessary*) can restructure the whole (*sufficient*). However, as Critical Realist theory argues, an emergent structure has causal powers that cannot be reduced to its parts. In other words, the part cannot reorganise the whole since the principle of organisation lies at a higher level of ontological reality. Equality of opportunity as a concept encapsulates this ontological error. In empirical terms, this amounts to saying that a general skills system (as *part*, as *necessary* condition) can reorganise the system of institutional compatibilities of which it is a part (the *sufficient* condition).

This means that increased class conflict through the welfare structures of the state (education system, asset-based welfare) can proceed *at the same time* as vested interests are preserved. Thus equality of opportunity is consistent with existing or increased inequalities. This modern form of legitimation in the UK State, for example, takes the same form as Bell's thesis:

1. A simple functionalist argument (X needs Y)
2. A distributional argument (this leads to better social outcomes etc.)

This can be understood using Lockwood's argument: namely, that there can be a high degree of System Integration *and* a low degree of Social Integration (i.e. a lot of class conflict). What this means is that *management of class conflict* devolves to the State also.

The contradiction of class neutralisation in education policy given class appropriation

This then helps understand the prevalence of class neutralisation. Forrest and Murie (1983) argued that residualisation of council housing was accompanied by three forms of marginalization: economic, political and spatial. When describing

political marginalisation (ibid: 466), they referred to the unemployed ('the surplus labour force') and that, being unemployed, they were 'effectively excluded from formal channels of political expression' for example trade unions, and thus had no little bargaining power. Two themes can be drawn from this conception:

1. The existence of wage bargaining power and of organized labour more generally.
2. The articulation of class conflict through the political system, and institutional forms (such as trade unions) which support this.

The State management of class conflict was more, perhaps, visible in the late 70s and 80s because the institutional forms to express it were available. Arguably, this is not the case to the same extent. However, the necessity of class conflict management is still present in modern LME States. One of the ways this is done, is to change the ways in which class conflict can be expressed (Point 1 above); or, secondly, to change the form in which it is understood, in order to change the response to it (Point 2 above).

In terms of the latter, Goldthorpe (1978) argues that the government's monetarist use of inflation policy underwrites market forces as the key determinant of the distributional and relation aspects of inequality. His key argument is that inflation has positive value for governments in its economic neutrality:

"...it allows the distributional struggle to proceed and 'blindly, impartially, impersonally and *non-politically* scales down all its outcomes' (Tobin, 1972, p13)" cited in Goldthorpe, 1978: 208. Italics by Goldthorpe.

This has been evidenced in the empirical sections of the thesis: in the middle-class appropriation of the state school system, at the same time that class is removed, therefore allowing it to proceed. It is further evidenced, for example, in the relation between LME States and deprivation as shown in Chapter 8 and Figure 8.7 (*Corollaries of an area-based approach to deprivation*): in the non-political form of supply-side local authorities tackling deprivation; of deprivation as a non-political

concept itself, using residual welfare state inputs (e.g. JSA); concealing the 'distributional struggle' which results in deprivation and the possibilities for a structural approach to deprivation, which would necessarily be a political one (focusing on State structures, Townsend's original redistributive concept of deprivation and thus of existing vested interests). It is also in the inspectors' school quality indicators and educational evaluations, and the larger policy frameworks it is a product of. That the Mumsnet users use the same euphemized class evaluations as the inspectors but to form class strategies is strong evidence to support Goldthorpe's quote above. Thus, in order to protect the status quo, modern LME States need to look for what Offe (1985: 168) calls 'non-political means of decision-making' and, more broadly, non-political means of policy making, at least in relation to class and questions of redistribution; which can be achieved more readily if the understanding of this is changed.

In terms of the former (Point 1 above), of removing the means of expressing conflict, then declassifying class in policy as above already achieves this to a large extent. However, changing the way it can be expressed is also important. One of the consequences of the predominance of financial capital over industrial capital in the post-1970s UK LME State, has been the weakening of organised labour, of wage-bargaining and trade unions to an extent Forrest and Murie (1983) could not have predicted. Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) also argue that lower wage-bargaining is associated with LMEs. However, the struggle over earnings through collective representation of class interests and wage bargaining in the political system has arguably been displaced to the education system: that is, via the qualifications-skills-earnings link and the aligning of the distribution of skills with the distribution of earnings. Thus, LMEs can neutralise direct class struggle over earnings, replacing the class element through the individual, meritocratic element (qualifications) of the education system and further legitimate this distribution of earnings as the outcome of hard work and merit. However, the thesis has also shown that this very link to the earnings distribution means *the education system and qualifications must become the site of class struggle*.

Thus, industrial capital and the vocational skills systems which traditionally supported the working classes means that class must engage in the education system, where:

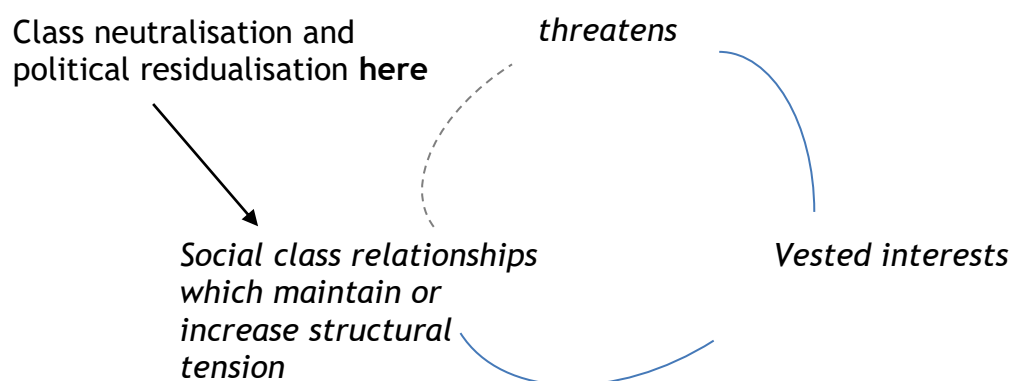
- Point 1 above: Traditional institutions expressing class conflict and distributional struggles over earnings are weakened, and largely displaced to the education system which is appropriated by the middle-classes.
- Point 2 above: this very appropriation is neutralised, and its form changed in policy.

This political residualisation of the working classes (and the residualised fraction of it) through the education system is expressed by Lloyd and Payne (2003: 100-101):

In the educational literature, there is little discussion of whether working class parents can be a potential agency for change, except in terms of the difficulties they face, relative to middle class parents, in finding an effective 'voice' to influence the school (Vincent, 2001). For this group, there is much to lose in an English education system that provides 'parental choice' to some but not to others, and where personal wealth allows you to buy a head start for your children in the educational race. Whilst such groups have much to lose from the current situation, they are also those who lack power and influence within the current political system. Instead, it is the expanded and aspirant middle class that is pulling Labour's education policy strings...

To borrow the terms from Offe (1985: 166), of conflict articulation and conflict resolution, LME States both change how class conflict can be articulated (a) through weakening the institutional forms in which it can be expressed (b) through policy, by changing the categories through which it is understood. And in doing so, it therefore, changes how it can be resolved: that is, not as class conflict, but in non-political terms e.g. as gaps, deprivation etc. The education system *itself* therefore becomes used as means of 'resolving' class conflict. And being so used, facilitates the political residualisation of the working class. Thus, whilst in Lockwood's conception the systemic steering problem led to escalating social conflict and eventually crisis, this is more actively managed in LMEs as in **Figure 11.21** below:

Figure 11.21 Lockwood's vicious circle of social disintegration (leading to change of core institutional order): *management of class conflict*



The threat is neutralised and thus the crisis management of States again assumes a new addition to its legitimacy repertoire: the declassification of class and political residualisation in order to preserve existing vested class interests.

Summary

Thus, understanding Lockwood's model in terms of the *LME State* means:

1. An understanding of the structural contradiction between financial capital and industrial capital.
2. That the institutional compatibilities required for the dominance of the former over the latter results in contradictions.
3. That for the State this means tackling problems of social inequalities and therefore of legitimation through these institutional compatibilities.
4. That one of which is the securing of legitimation through the education system, as equality of opportunity and the declining link between Origins and Destinations, or the declining influence of class.
5. That the institutional compatibilities required are also the ones which make this declining influence through the education system impossible as it merely displaces class struggle over Origin and Destinations *to* the education

system; which is the result of preserving existing State structures and institutional compatibilities, and the class structure.

6. That System Integration and Social Integration in LMEs results in residualisation and therefore the further need to manage class appropriation of the education system by management of how class can be articulated in policy and, in doing so, changing the means by which it can be treated and therefore resolved.

11.4.4 A Causal Model of Residualisation and Educational Inequalities

A causal analysis in Critical Realist terms is to understand how a structure works by virtue of its nature; how it *necessarily* acts (natural necessity) and therefore ultimately an aspect of how Reality is constituted. This has now been attempted in understanding residualisation and ultimately how LME States necessarily act; and, as result, how the education system functions within one. The methodological process for such a Critical Realist causal analysis was through identifying causal mechanisms and creating abstractions (retroduction) which is then validated by successfully applying this to an empirical case (retrodiction). Thus, the Realist principles of retroduction (Chapters 2-4) and its application to an empirical case in Chapters 6-10 (retrodiction). Causal inference, as the movement from the specific to the general, is applied in the third and final step: Using the retrodictive case to validate the abstracted model, as has been completed in this chapter.

Figure 11.22 Realist Causal Analysis Process

Retroduction >>	Retrodiction >>	Retrodiction
Chapters 2-4	Chapters 6-10	Conclusion

As a result, a final summary causal model of residualisation and educational inequalities can now be generated as in **Figure 11.23** below. In the Origin-Education phase, the financialisation principle meant housing could be seen as a

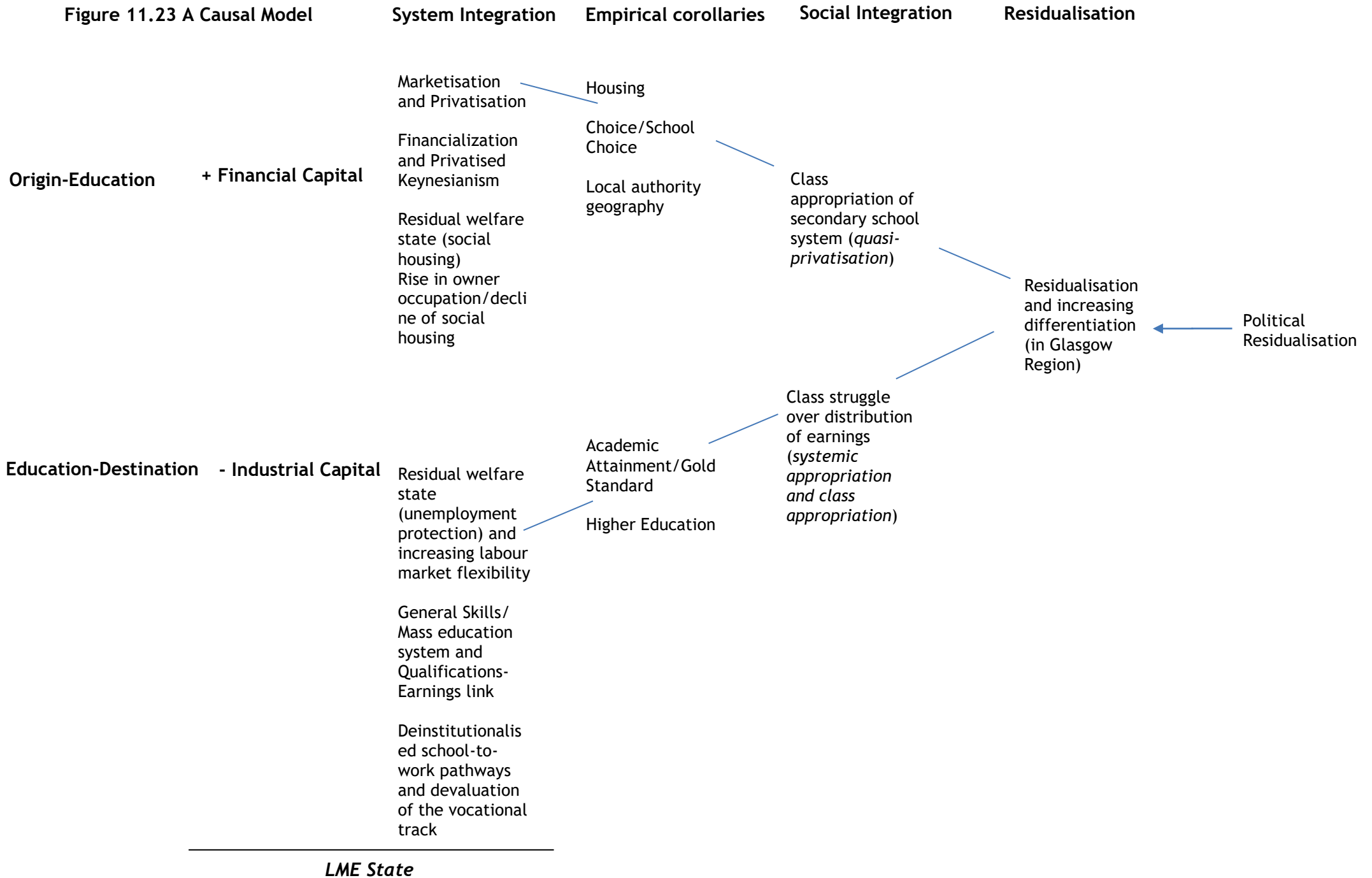
'part' of the institutional compatibilities of the UK LME State and later as asset-based welfare. Both the rise of owner occupation and the residualisation of social housing resulted, along with housing as asset-based welfare facilitating the further residualisation of the welfare state (as sickness insurance, pensions etc.). In its interaction with the geography of Glasgow Region and its class structure, it resulted in *quasi-privatisation*, as the private nature of housing facilitated the class appropriation of the state school sector.

In the Education-Destination phase, the weakening of industrial capital in post-Keynesian LME States and the restructuring along the lines of financial capital, meant the institutional framework for vocational skills systems were not in place. This creates residualisation along two fronts with education now as asset-based welfare: firstly, further residuality of the welfare state (conditional unemployment protection), as well as increased labour market flexibility, which itself either enables a low-skill equilibrium to be pursued by financial capital, or, given the nature of the service sector compared to the industrial and manufacturing sector, a high-low skills or hourglass economy. Secondly, and as a result, the pursuit of a general skills system, which creates a second residuality: that of the vocational path. This necessitates the functional use or *systemic appropriation* of the education system resulting in a class appropriation of the distribution of earnings through the distribution of attainment in Glasgow Region.

These two causal mechanisms and their interaction result in increasing differentiation and residualisation in Glasgow Region: in Forrest and Murie's terms (1983), this can be understood both spatially (as in Chapter 6), and economically as the economic exclusion of the residual fractions of the working class from accessing market provision, the principle of increasing differentiation and asset-based welfare. The interaction of these two causal mechanisms in Glasgow Region can thus be understood more theoretically as the interaction of the two forms of asset-based welfare and so as the State strategy in LMEs of providing legitimation through accumulation.

Finally, class appropriation is neutralised in *political* residualisation, where class conflict is managed by LME States in both its articulation and its resolution. In terms of its articulation, this means firstly, in the weakening of the institutions of organised labour (itself facilitated by the weakening of industrial capital and the industrial and manufacturing sectors) and employment protections, such as wage-bargaining, where the struggle over the earnings distribution can be displaced to the education system and general skills system. And secondly, through policy, in the removal of class as a category or possible classification and the main social division used instead understood as inclusion/exclusion from market provision: thus, changing the form in which class conflict is expressed and understood, and transforming them into non-political terms. As a result of this removal of class conflict articulation, its resolution can also be conducted in non-political terms i.e. through non-class categories. Thus, the class conflict generated by the structure of financial and industrial capital in LME States is also managed by them.

Figure 11.23 A Causal Model



11.5 The Research Questions

Thus far, the chapter has brought together the two empirical phases of the research design and, in bringing them back together in an analytical cycle $T^4(T^1)$, identified a series of linked residualities. The theoretical framework of Chapters 2-4 and the empirical sections of Chapters 6-10 were integrated via Chapter 5 through the Critical Realist concepts of retrodution in the former case, and retrodiction, in the latter case, moving from the general to the specific. The chapter represented the final phase: moving back again to the general, with this movement of specific to general completing the Critical Realist equivalent of causal inference.

This firstly meant analysing the linked residualities found in terms of Social Integration, which identified *both* residualisation and increasing differentiation and the wider structure of class stratification but, at the same time of, class neutralisation. Integrating Lockwood's initial model in Chapter 2 of System and Social Integration into the wider literature strands identified in Chapters 3 and 4 facilitated an analysis in terms of System Integration of why wider State contradictions meant this class neutralisation was functionally necessary, and how it resulted in a further political residualisation of the working class. Having completed the *retroduction-retrodiction-retroduction* methodological phases of a Critical Realist causal analysis meant a causal model of educational inequalities and residualisation could be generated as in **Figure 11.23** above. This means the three main research questions outlined at the beginning of the chapter can now be answered.

The **second main research question** was:

- Can educational inequalities be understood as a series of systemically linked residualities?

Bringing the research design together showed that this was correct. The interaction of parts of the social system, or rather the institutional compatibilities coordinated by LME States with the class structure resulted in residualisation.

Residualisation thus understood by the thesis in its dual ontological sense of systemic structures (Social Integration) and stigma (Social Integration).

Figure 11.24 Extract from Figure 11.18 (*Systemically linked series of residualities*)

Residualisation	Social	Residualised schools	Vocational destinations	Low skilled, low paid jobs
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An initial understanding of this came from the idea of ‘poverty traps’ from the Varieties of Capitalism literature (Estevez-Abe et al, 2001) and the following quote:

Payne’s analysis of the Youth Cohort Study (2003) demonstrated that Vocational study at ages 16-17 were associated with poorer academic attainment, higher truancy rates, less skilled and qualified parents, living in social rented accommodation and state rather than private education (Keep and Mayhew, 2004: 307).

Thus, this can be understood more theoretically: in that this series of residualities are generated by the class system and its enablement or constraint through systemic parts of larger wholes: like LME States and the institutional compatibilities they ensure. Thus, as compatible parts, these residualities are necessarily produced from and by them, and therefore *linked*. Drawing upon the Critical Realist conception of causality and natural necessity, these are *necessarily* produced by LME states - and the class structures they preserve and create. Thus, these are systemically linked pathways resulting from State structures, which themselves become the site of class conflict (as avoidance) and, for the residualised, structure their lives and become increasingly difficult to avoid in their path dependency, as the ‘weight of weighted possibilities’ (Fitzpatrick, 2005: 14) which each residuality accumulates means it is further difficult to avoid the next one. Thus, educational inequalities can be seen in this light and Payne’s analysis better understood, and therefore cannot be understood separately from the wider system within which they function and to which they are systemically related.

The main research question, is a slight modification of Reay's conundrum:

- Why does the education system, given equality of opportunity and a formally equal state secondary school system, still produce inequalities, and to the extent that they do?

In Glasgow Region, the inequalities produced were the result of *quasi-privatisation* of the formally equal state school sector on the one hand; and the *systemic appropriation* of the education system on the other, resulting in *class appropriation* of the earnings distribution through the appropriation of the qualifications-skills distribution. What resulted was internal stratification and differentiation within the secondary school system, and, where *quasi-privatisation* was most pronounced, amounted to a dual system of schooling. The combined effect was therefore class appropriation of the origin-destination link.

The structures of the State education system were fundamentally different from the structures of the class system, and it was the latter which explained the differences in attainment better: in other words, there was nothing to prevent middle-class fractions, who could not access the independent sector, from using the state sector as an alternative class strategy. Since class was actively neutralised as a policy concept in educational policy, it simply continued unabated. The answer from the thesis then is that the education system simply shifts class conflict (Origin-Destination) to the education system (Origin-Education-Destination), without changing either the class structure (Social Integration) or the wider systemic 'parts' through which class is able to operate (System Integration).

This leads on to the **third and final question** therefore:

- Why is the education system thought able to correct inequalities generated by the wider system?

An answer to this question is ultimately dependent upon a theory of the State and its systemic contradictions. If the previous two questions can be answered by applying the theoretical framework (Chapters 2-5) to the empirical design (Chapters 6-10), then this question requires the causal model in **Figure 11.23** above.

Firstly, the premise is that by creating skills, those skills will create their own demand: employers will readily absorb the new skills supply and reengineer their product-marketing strategies and routes to profit. The result of this Skills Push Thesis is a High Skills Economy. This creates inclusive growth where social equality and economic growth go hand in hand. The literature however suggests that High Skills Economies can only be produced within State structures with certain institutional compatibilities. The institutional compatibilities of LME States with their predominance of financial capital means an economy based on short-term investment, labour market flexibility and low cost routes to profit, and thus where high spec products and services and thus high skills are not the only possibility.

These two diverging accounts are best understood through the contradictions of a modern LME State. The thesis has attempted to develop this through the argument about asset-based welfare in Chapter 4, which in the Origin-Education phase (Chapters 6-8) is represented by housing and in the Education-Phase (Chapters 8-10), is represented by the education system and general skills system. The theses of *quasi-privatisation* and *systemic and class appropriation* respectively illustrates that creating one form of asset-based welfare undermines the other. The housing system undermines the state secondary school system. And, more generally, the State restructuring of financialisation and housing from early in the 80s, undermines the expansion of mass education in the 90s and the Skills Push Thesis: despite over thirty years of investment in education neither a High Skills Economy nor appreciable increases in productivity have emerged (Mayhew and Keep, 2014). Thus, institutional compatibilities produce contradictions also, as Chapters 3 and 4 argued. That this is so, ultimately is due to the 'steering problem' or structural contradiction in a modern LME State like the UK between financial and industrial capital. That the two forms of asset-based welfare undermine each other is due to this structural contradiction and can be understood so in that the institutional conditions for one undermines the institutional conditions for the other: the conditions of the financialisation of the economy undermine the conditions necessary for the High Skills Economy. Financial capital (housing) undermines industrial capital (education) in terms of System Integration, which leads to either the maintenance or exacerbation of class conflict (Social Integration). Thus, the

Lockwood model outlined in Chapter 2, at least in its basic principles, still holds: structural contradiction (System Integration) generates class conflict (Social Integration).

Having understood the contradictions which the two forms of asset based welfare have generated, and thus the contradiction between financial and industrial capital and the wider institutional compatibilities behind them, the question of equality of opportunity through the education system can be approached as a question of legitimation in modern LME States. And this equality of opportunity is best understood in terms of what it actually does.

- Firstly, what the Skills Push Thesis does is to push systemic change (to a High Skills Economy) onto individuals, without giving them the institutional conditions necessary to realise this. It thus legitimates those existing systemic structures in the meantime.
- Secondly, it displaces 'equal conditions of conflict' (Goldthorpe, 1979), of organised labour and conflict articulation over the earnings distribution through the political system, to the education system where a formal 'equality of opportunity' is substituted for *de facto* 'equal conditions of conflict' which engage in a political and collective representation of *de facto* inequality. To the detriment of the working classes, and thus legitimates the existing class structure.

Thus, whilst the first defers *systemic change* to an eventual High Skills Economy, the latter defers *class change* to an eventual equalisation or more legitimate and weakened relation between Origin and Destination. Both System Integration and Social Integration are preserved. This means that increased class conflict through the welfare structures of the state (education system, asset-based welfare) can proceed *at the same time* as vested interests are preserved. Equality of opportunity, therefore, is consistent with existing or increased inequalities and can be understood as a *de jure* legitimating principle of *de facto* inequalities.

The education system and equality of opportunity is thus better seen in terms of state 'overload', the reconciling of incompatible demands and crisis management.

Equality of opportunity becomes a new addition to the legitimatory repertoire, one which can manage and contain crises *within* the system rather than have to manage crises *of* the system. It provides legitimation through a perpetual deferral or postponement to a condition which, in its full implications, would require fundamental systemic change and therefore a crisis of that very system. Thus, equality of opportunity and the education system's implication within this is a *functional* requirement, not an actual commitment to changing the structures or violating the very conditions which this functional requirement preserves.

Legitimation therefore preserves the structural contradiction of the State and its own management of it. The answer from the thesis then is that state education and equality of opportunity are a central part of this in a modern LME State.

11.6 Contribution to Knowledge

The contribution to knowledge can be described in theoretical and empirical terms. The first theoretical problem, in relation to Bourdieu, was how to approach structures in a way that did not reduce them to structures between agents. An answer to this was explored through Chapters 2-4, in developing Lockwood's concepts of System Integration and Social Integration. Firstly, through conceptualising them as different ontological structures. Then in the case of System Integration, by identifying its causal powers, via the principles of Critical Realism, as *compatibility* and *contradiction*. This therefore meant being able to relate various *unrelated* strands of literature to that theory, thus extending the concept of System Integration more widely than before to encompass a theory of the State as contradiction and compatibilities as institutional compatibilities. Since Lockwood's account of Marx relates social structures as parts and people, this development itself is a contribution of sorts.

The second theoretical problem was accounting for the functional use of education without resorting to a reductive functionalist theory. Looking back to Chapters 3-4, this meant developing a theoretically informed account of the State and the education system. Rather than parts contributing to a harmonious whole, it meant retaining Lockwood's conflict model of strategic-functionalism and developing it. Thus, stratified societies do not provide the same function equally: for example,

formally equal education systems work differently and allocate rewards unequally depending on class, rewards which are fought over *by* classes. What is more, the whole is not the result of harmonious parts: compatibilities produce contradictions. In LME States, the institutional compatibilities of its accumulation function undermine its need for legitimation; its institutional compatibilities themselves reflect structural conflicts between capital and labour, and between financial and industrial capital. And vested class interests are in conflict over this core institutional order. This order, due to the structural divisions within it, generates contradictions. And both these compatibilities and contradictions need to be managed by the State. The State is required to use the education system as part of its functional requirement for legitimation: but not to functionally produce actual equality; instead to manage the demand for it, and in doing so, to preserve existing class interests. *Some* sort of functional understanding or theory is required to understand the *relations between parts of a social system*; but where this progresses beyond a simple and reductive functionalism is in understanding how this produces conflict and class inequalities. And, in doing so, it makes the contribution of allowing educational theory to account for its own functionalism through an account of *state* education. The answer to Reay's conundrum, therefore, is also an answer to a gap in educational theory.

Therefore, thirdly, a contribution has been made in understanding the path dependent inequalities or systemically related *residualities* produced from a particular State regime. And, therefore, a theoretical basis to the necessity of understanding the education system *as* an institutional compatibility, which needs therefore to be understood in relation to this wider system and not in isolation. Chapter 5 outlined a model of residualisation, understood as the interaction of System Integration and Social Integration. The empirical chapters applied this, showing that the interaction *necessarily* produced a series of 'poverty traps' in LME States. It has therefore made a contribution to educational inequalities beyond approaches of social class alone, or in system pairs (education-economy, education-housing) or in accounts solely within the education system alone.

That said, from a policy point-of-view the importance of social class has been shown to be entirely absent from analyses of educational inequalities. The thesis has argued in Chapter 8 for a neutralisation of class in policy discourse whilst, at the same time, the school choices of middle-class mothers in Chapter 7 were shown to *be* very much class choices, and which are allowed to continue unabated, therefore. However, the thesis has also shown that link to the earnings distribution in LME States means *the education system and qualifications must become the site of class struggle*. At the same time, class conflict can thus proceed whilst it is ‘neutralised’ into non-political terms. This, it has been argued, is a form of what has been called political residualisation. Traditional institutions expressing class conflict and distributional struggles over earnings have been largely weakened for the working classes, and largely displaced to the education system, which is appropriated by the middle-classes. The results themselves are then expressed in non-political terms (deprivation, attainment gaps) and attempted to be solved by the same system which produces them as in **Figure 8.7** (*Corollaries of an area-based approach to deprivation*). The contribution here has been to show that class conflict has not gone away and, further, that in LME States this must be *necessarily so*, as must be its neutralisation.

Finally, using a case study has made a further contribution. This time *empirical*. Scotland’s educational ‘data desert’ (Paterson, 2017; Paterson, 2018; Paterson 2020) has meant the efforts of this thesis to locate and knit data together that is otherwise not available or no longer available: there is no recent material on school choice in Scotland; nothing on inspection reports and therefore differences in school quality; there is nothing recent on attainment below the Scotland level, nor anything ever done on the School Leaver Destinations Returns (SLDR), and *a fortiori* not a school level. Since the late 90s (Pacione, 1997) there has been no attempt to understand Scotland’s educational system at the spatial level of the school level. And, whilst Pacione (ibid) looked at Glasgow City, there has been nothing ever done on the extreme educational inequalities within Glasgow Region. Chapter 5 described the difficulties in a Critical Realist approach where the data is not pre-given and what is given is often unsuitable, or not in the required form or

simply unavailable. The creativity required in finding data and relating different and unrelated datasets together, is also a potential contribution, therefore.

11.7 Recommendations for Future Research

The thesis therefore points towards several areas of possible future research. Firstly, it points to further empirical testing of the theoretical model of residualisation within Scotland. Relatedly, further testing and development of the theory would result from a comparative approach not just within the countries of the UK but where there are different institutional structures such as in those identified in the Varieties of Capitalism literature. This would develop the theory of systemic poverty traps in LME States. It would also help to develop a better understanding of the relation of the State to education, and develop a better understanding of *state* education, something largely absent from the literature (although see Green, 1990 and Archer, 2014; and more recently, Archer 2022), and entirely missing from the educational literature. In doing so, it would help develop a better understanding of the role of equality of opportunity and help proceed past the current focus on educational ‘gaps’. And, finally, developing a state education account in different political economies would progress past simple accounts of globalisation and a convergence of education systems in a competitive race for skills and human capital.

Relatedly, the concepts of System and Social Integration point towards their application in several areas of theory development. Firstly, in an analysis of Bourdieu whose influence looms large. However, there is scope to understand why his Social Integration approach precludes any System Integration approaches in education, and the implications of this in studying educational inequalities. This also means the possibility of an approach based on the development of Marxist concepts which goes beyond existing approaches in education, or Marxist educational theory as described in the introduction to the thesis. Relatedly, applying a theory of the state in relation to the skills literature might also potentially enable development here, and address a conspicuous gap noted by Lloyd and Payne (2003) but never subsequently addressed. Another area is on class and political residualisation. This is obviously a potentially large space of inquiry,

but initial work could focus on some of the following areas: consolidating the work on class neutralisation in Scottish Government educational policy; a critical policy analysis on deprivation, gaps and the attainment gap; and, finally, some potential qualitative work on those marginalised parents and pupils within the Scottish education system, and understanding how this relates to their potential 'lack power and influence within the current political system' (Lloyd and Payne, 2003: 100-101). Whilst there have been more recent indications of this in relation to Brexit and Trump, focusing on Scotland and the Scottish education system in particular, might help advance an understanding of political residualisation and progress past a conventional understanding of Scotland's commitment to welfare. A final related line of inquiry could potentially focus on to what extent Scotland's public sector is itself largely populated by the middle classes: an analysis focused on the education system (Skills Development Scotland, Education Scotland, for example) and related areas of the Scottish Government might prove illuminating, that its class basis itself might be an important explanatory factor in the types and kind of class-neutral policies produced. And whether the Scottish commitment to welfare might itself, using its education system as a case study, be entirely congruent with political residualisation of the working classes.

Thirdly, there is simply the further development of the empirical work here on school choice and school quality. Gaps were noted here in relation to understanding how school choice works now that the housing system is more developed than it was in the 1980s, where the focus of the literature in Scotland was on placement requests. There is also the possibility of using the Education Scotland reports to draw together a better understanding of school quality in Scotland, another noticeable gap. There is also a more basic understanding of school attainment at the school level and area level and a noticeable gap in understanding where pupils actually go on to, whether they sustain these destinations, and what kinds of labour market trajectories are produced by Scotland's skills system. Despite Wolf's (2011) work in England on the vocational system, there is no data on what happens to those in Scotland who go onto Further Education and what kinds of labour market destinations they secure. Given the

public investment in the education and skills system and the kinds of policies made conditional upon it, this would seem a fundamental area to develop.

Finally, the theory of systemically produced inequalities is one that potentially provides a theoretical basis for further multi-disciplinary work between education, educational sociology and other disciplines. Thus, not in chance or serendipitous *ad hoc* collaborations but, more systematically, within the theoretical framework of necessarily interlinked inequalities produced in political economies, which potentially provides the basis for a broader research agenda than perhaps is current within educational research.

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