'Raising Standards' or Rationing Education?
racism & social justice in policy and practice

David Gillborn

> 'Established in opposition to a very rigid and unfair system of selection between schools at the age of 11, the need to differentiate provision to individual aptitudes and abilities within [Comprehensive] schools often took second place. Inclusion too readily became an end in itself, rather than the means to identify and provide better for the talents of each individual pupil, not least those with high academic abilities and those requiring a high-quality vocational or work-related route post-14.'
> *Schools: Building on Success* (The Education Green Paper), DfEE 2001a, p. 5.

With stunning assuredness (some might say arrogance) the notion of inclusive education was thus re-defined in the 2001Green Paper on the future of education in England. Those of us who assumed that inclusion related to notions of social justice and common entitlement have been wrong; apparently, inclusion was supposed to be a means to a greater end, that is, to 'identify and provide better for the talents of each individual pupil' so that their education can be differentiated according to their 'aptitudes and abilities'. In the field of 'race' and ethnic diversity this stress on the individual, and their supposedly different 'abilities', is a real and growing danger.[1] In my recent work with Deborah Youdell I have argued that a growing trend, in education policy and classroom practice, is to assume a blinkered perspective that focuses on each individual case and denies the relevance of the wider picture. This approach sounds fair enough - judge every question on its individual merits - but what this really achieves is a denial of inequality. It is always possible to find a plausible reason why a Black child should be excluded; why an individual should be placed in a lower ranked teaching group; or why a bilingual pupil cannot receive the attention they are due because of the pragmatism necessarily in a situation where there are simply insufficient resources for all. Individually such decisions can have multiple explanations and justifications. It is only when we stand back from the detail of the individual case (and see that certain groups are hugely over-represented in exclusions, in lower sets, and in the ranks of the under-achieving) that the racist nature of the processes becomes clear. This is not to say that other factors are not involved also, but it *is* to highlight that racism is in play and that racism must be addressed. Similar arguments can be made for other labels that are socially constructed and which, for example, result in the disproportionate exclusion and under-achievement of pupils designated as having 'special educational needs' (SEN).

In this article I want to review some of the lessons for inclusive education that arise from recent research on racism in contemporary education policy and practice. The research itself did not accord a central role to special educational needs but the processes of selection and the rationing of education are clearly of wider relevance.

Inequality back on the agenda?
Following their election victory in 1997, New Labour's first detailed policy statement *'Excellence in Schools'* (DfEE 1997a) took education as its focus. Similarly, the newly established Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) made education its first concern by using its inaugural report to consider truancy and exclusions from school (SEU 1998). These high profile reports not only shared a concern for education, they also broke with dominant policy approaches under the Conservatives by explicitly addressing 'race' inequalities. Both reports

quoted statistics on the extent of 'race' inequalities and even went so far as to cite research that suggests an active (though often unintended) role for teachers and schools in creating and/or amplifying 'race' inequalities. In view of the Conservatives' historic refusal to address these issues during the 1990s, such changes were important. Unfortunately, they were not enough. Both the white paper *'Excellence in Schools'* and the SEU report treated 'race' and ethnic diversity as bolt-on features. They mentioned 'race' inequality in short, discrete sections that were separated from the major discussion of relevant issues. Consequently, when overall policy recommendations were formulated there was little or no sign that 'race' issues had seriously informed the decisions.
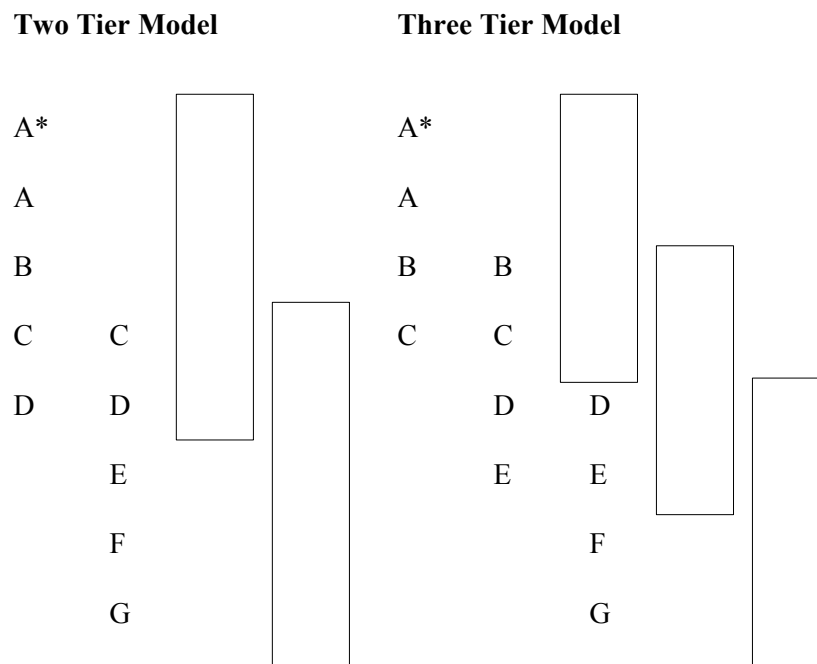
Although the language of policy under New Labour now allows for 'race' inequality to be mentioned, therefore, the thrust education reforms continues to pursue colour-blind targets. This approach fails to address the existing 'race' inequalities that scar the system *and* it leaves the way clear for the same processes to continue their discriminatory work, possibly leading to a worsening of the current situation. The dangers can be illustrated with reference to the use of selective pupil grouping strategies in schools, a policy that is to be extended still further under the latest reform proposals.

Selection: common sense discrimination and the GCSE
Several extensive reviews of research have suggested that the use of selective pupil grouping strategies (in sets, streams and bands) does *not* bring about any net improvement in overall achievement. Although pupils in higher ranked groups may benefit from increased teacher expectations and peer support, any gains are often balanced, or even outweighed, by the losses endured by pupils in the lower groups who face teachers with low expectations and work solely with peers who feel labelled as second-rate and destined for failure (see Hallam & Toutounji 1996; Slavin 1996; Sukhnandan & Lee 1998). There are particular dangers for minority ethnic students where the processes of selection lend institutional weight to differential teacher expectations and further entrench racialised inequalities of opportunity (see Gillborn 1997a; Hatcher 1997). My research with Deborah Youdell (Gillborn & Youdell 2000) adds further weight to the critique of selection. In addition to showing how setting and other forms of selective pupil grouping restrict opportunities for certain pupils (especially Black students and their peers of working class background), this new study demonstrates problems at the heart of the most popular and influential examination available to pupils as they finish their compulsory schooling, the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE).

Most GCSE subjects are now 'tiered'. Tiering means that, instead of pupils sitting a single common examination paper, entrants are separated into different papers depending on their teachers' assessment of their 'ability'. The most common approach is the two-tier model. Here, pupils in the 'Higher tier' can be awarded grades A*-D. Those in the lower ('Foundation') tier can only be awarded grades C-G. In this way, before a young person has answered a single exam question, the GCSE system effectively places a ceiling and floor on their attainments. In all but the most exceptional cases a pupil entered at the Higher tier who fails to earn a grade D will fall through the tier floor and be 'ungraded'. Similarly, pupils placed in the Foundation tier know that the highest grades (A*-B) are literally beyond them: this can have very important consequences in terms of the possibility of further studies at Advanced level. Additionally, the 'risk' of Higher tier pupils falling through the grade-floor, and being 'ungraded', prompts many teachers to 'play safe' by entering greater numbers for the lower tier. In this way some teachers are treating the Higher tier in a very selective manner so that only those viewed as 'the most able' are permitted entry (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Tiering in GCSE examinations

Two Tier Model   **Three Tier Model**

A*   A*

A   A

B   B   B

C   C   C   C

D   D   D   D

         E   E   E

         F   F

         G   G   G

Even more selective is the system in mathematics, where a three-tier model applies. Here, pupils in the Higher tier can be awarded grades A*-C; those in the middle ('Intermediate') tier can win grades B-E; those in the Foundation tier can only attain grades D-G. That means that as pupils enter the examination room those in the Foundation tier know that they _cannot_ attain the all-important grade C (commonly accepted as a minimum cut off by many selectors in education and job markets). There is insufficient space available here to detail the intricacies of tiering and the multiple ways in which it interacts with other factors to disadvantage particular groups of pupils (see Gillborn & Youdell 2000). Some indication of the devastating effects of such approaches can be gained from the fact that, in the two London secondaries that we studied, Black (African Caribbean) pupils and their white peers in receipt of free school meals were disproportionately under-represented in Higher tiers and over-represented in Foundation tiers. Interestingly, the inequality was most pronounced in the case study school with the longest history of selection (a grant maintained secondary) and in a subject (maths) that traditionally sets 'by ability': in this case not a single pupil in receipt of free school meals and no Black pupil were entered in the Higher tier. In contrast, more than 70 per cent of each group were entered at the Foundation level in maths, where grade C is simply not available.

Although shocking, such inequalities were not unexpected. Decades of research, in the UK and USA, have consistently shown that selection according to notions of 'behaviour' and/or 'ability' tend systematically to disadvantage children from working class and minority ethnic backgrounds. The very criteria and tests that are applied to make the distinctions embody middle class white perspectives and assumptions; they act as a powerful force for legitimating and extending existing inequalities (see Darling-Hammond 1995; Kirton 1997; Richards 1997). Despite such research, 'common sense' still preaches that some pupils have 'ability' and others do not. It is a myth that has enormous popular and political support:

'Children are not all of the same ability, nor do they learn at the same speed.

> That means "setting" children in classes to maximise progress, for the benefit
> of high fliers and slower learners alike.'
> (Labour Party Manifesto 1997, p. 7)

Although paper and pencil tests of 'cognitive abilities' have been repeatedly exposed as nothing more than tests of <u>learned</u> competencies (they can never measure innate potential) the fiction of 'ability' as a fixed and measurable potential has proven remarkably difficult to dislodge (see Montagu 1999; Sternberg 1998). It is a fiction embraced by both major political parties and (in the cruellest of twists) presented as a benefit to <u>all</u> pupils, including those deemed to be lacking the necessary ability:

> 'we will encourage all inner city secondary schools to set pupils in maths, science
> and modern foreign languages ... [we will] publish guidance on both pupil grouping
> and individual target-setting which we know has made a major contribution to raising
> standards in the best inner city schools'. (DfEE 1999).

> 'In the current comprehensive system, far too many pupils are still taught in mixed
> ability classes. The result is that less able pupils struggle to keep up, while more able
> pupils are not stretched. In Free Schools [i.e. under a Conservative Government] the
> headteacher and governors will be totally free to stream or set classes according to
> ability, so that every child gets the appropriate level of teaching.'
> William Hague *'Common Sense for Schools'* (2000, p. 6)

The Labour Party's historic opposition to 'selection by ability' to separate schools (via the 11-plus examination) has not prevented a growing obsession with selection by 'aptitude' and 'ability' within schools (via setting), between specialist schools and into special programmes for the 'gifted and talented'. This policy strand was first given a central role through the *Excellence in Cities* programme and has now been extended via the proposals in the 2001 Green Paper.

Excellence in Cities was published just weeks after the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson 1999) had supposedly put 'institutional racism' at the top of public policy agendas. It is revealing that the document gave 'gifted and talented' children around twice as many text references as 'ethnic minority' pupils (see Blair *et al* 1999). Of course, it is to be hoped that some Black and other minority ethnic students will benefit from provision for the 'highly able'. Unfortunately, past experience suggests that the processes by which such 'gifted' pupils will be identified will result in a disproportionately small number of children from Black ethnic heritage backgrounds. The racialised outcomes that result from supposedly colour-blind selection in setting and tiering procedures suggest a wider lesson. Although reforms might be conceived (and presented) in colour-blind terms their effects are frequently anything but blind to 'race'. Colour-blind policies tend to have racialized effects.

The fallacy of fair shares

> 'under-achievement is not confined to the ethnic minorities ... [Our] policies apply
> to all pupils irrespective of ethnic origin. As they bear fruit, ethnic minority pupils
> will share in the benefit' (<u>Hansard</u>, 14 March 1985: col. 451).

This was how Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State for Education and Science, argued against the call for specific action on 'race' inequalities embodied in the principal recommendations of the Swann report (1985). His words embody a common fallacy: the belief that as reforms trigger improvements in overall 'standards', so all groups will share in the benefit and existing inequalities will lessen. It is a belief repeated under John Major and now accepted as conventional wisdom by Blair's 'New Labour' government. It is a fallacy,

however, because different social groups do not draw equal benefit from reform. For example, the Youth Cohort Study of England and Wales (YCS)[2] suggests that the relative gap between the attainments of white and Black 16-year-olds actually worsened between the mid 1980s and 1990s. In 1985, 7 per cent of 16-year-old African Caribbean young people surveyed had attained five or more higher grade (A-C passes), compared with 21 per cent of their white peers (Drew 1995:76): a gap of 14 percentage points. In 1996 the comparable level of attainment was achieved by 23 per cent of Black pupils and 45 per cent of whites (CRE 1998: 2): a gap of 22 percentage points. During a period when overall attainments rose dramatically, therefore, the relative gap between white and Black students actually grew by around half as much again.[3]

Labour spin-doctors have made great use of recent YCS data that seems to show that some (but not all) ethnic inequalities have begun to reduce since the late 1990s. In a review of available statistics, with Heidi Safia Mirza, I noted that recent improvements had not yet restored inequalities to the level they were at when the 1988 Reform Act started the process of national key stage testing and the publication of crude examination league tables (begun in 1992): see Gillborn & Mirza (2000). The most recent available statistics, for example, show Black pupils attaining the level of GCSE success in 2000 that was enjoyed by their white peers eight years earlier (in 1992), since when whites have experienced a year-on-year improvement. Not surprisingly, the DfEE gave even less attention to the fact that Pakistani attainments had remained almost static and Bangladeshi results had actually fallen back (DfEE 2001b).

Policies are not enacted in a social vacuum. If policies do not explicitly address 'race' or social class issues it seems all too predictable that the same processes that have created the original inequalities will impact upon policy implementation so that groups draw different benefits. That would explain how white pupils, already doing better in terms of higher grade passes, came to draw even greater benefit from reforms that were associated with an unparalleled emphasis on A*-C grade passes (Gillborn & Mirza 2000). In trying to deliver year-on-year improvements schools have applied the same 'measures' and indicators of 'ability' that created the inequalities originally. Hence, the greater the use of selection, the more pronounced are the inequalities by social class and ethnic origin. My work with Deborah Youdell revealed that schools are responding to these pressures by rationing their time and resources.
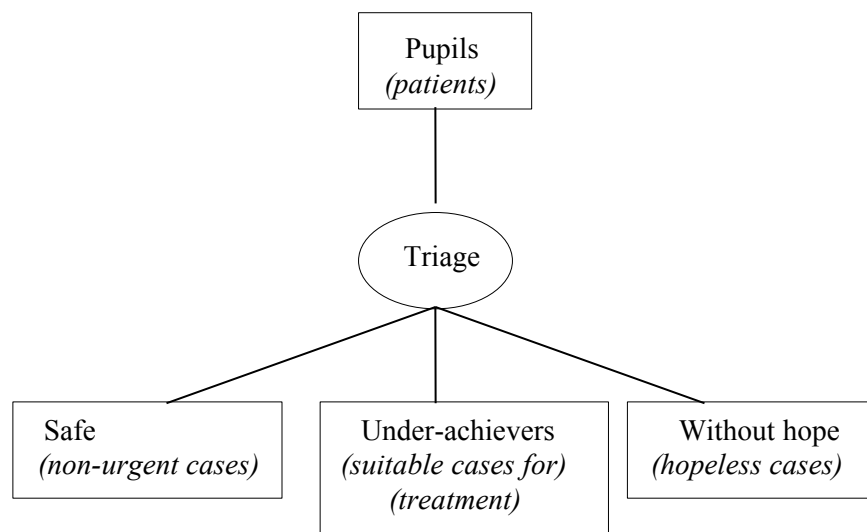
Rationing Education: triage in the school

> **triage** n. of action f. *trier* to pick, cull ... 1. The action of assorting according to quality ... 2. The assignment of degrees of urgency to wounds or illness in order to decide the order of suitability of treatment.
> (*Oxford English Dictionary*)

In medicine the principle of triage is followed as a means of sorting and prioritising those in greatest need. The procedure is most extreme in emergency and crisis situations where the overriding goal is to identify those who require urgent treatment but are not so severely injured that survival is unlikely whatever aid they receive. Some injuries may be painful but not life threatening: these cases have to wait. Some people have such severe injuries that, given the constraints of the situation (where there are insufficient resources to meet all needs) they are judged unlikely to survive even with additional attention: they may receive pain-killers but they are not rushed into the operating theatre. In effect, they are allowed to die. These decisions would be unthinkable under normal circumstances, but are made in response to a prioritisation of need in relation to current circumstances and finite resources (see figure 2). Comparable decisions are now being made by teachers as they try to ensure their school's survival within the educational market place. The extraordinary demands of successive reforms, for year-on-year improvements (especially in relation to the benchmark measure of

the proportion of 16 year-olds attaining five or more higher grade GCSE passes) are such that schools are seeking new ways of identifying *suitable cases for treatment*, i.e. pupils who will show the maximum return (in terms of the benchmark) from receipt of additional resources of teacher time and support.

Figure 2: Rationing Education: *The triage model*

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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │    Pupils    │
                    │  (patients)  │
                    └──────────────┘
                            │
                         ╭─────╮
                         │Triage│
                         ╰─────╯
                   ╱        │        ╲
          ┌────────────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌────────────────┐
          │    Safe    │ │Under-achievers│ │  Without hope  │
          │(non-urgent │ │(suitable cases│ │(hopeless cases)│
          │  cases)    │ │     for)      │ │                │
          └────────────┘ │  (treatment)  │ └────────────────┘
                         └──────────────┘
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        This rationing of education can be seen in many ways. Our research revealed, for example, the use of additional classes for certain pupils; the use of 'mentoring' and progress meetings with senior members of staff; and the provision of new resources (such as textbooks) where others (the hopeless cases) might have to make do with photocopied chapters or hand-outs. This form of educational triage also explains why in many schools the most experienced teachers are increasingly to be found in the second or third teaching group (rather than the 'top' group as used to be the case): it is here, with the suitable cases for treatment, that their skills are judged to have the greatest potential pay-off.

        It might be supposed that a push to extend achievement by adopting triage principles would begin to redress certain existing inequalities. Historically, pupils from some minority ethnic backgrounds, and those from working class families, do not emerge from education with average attainments comparable to their middle class and ethnic majority counterparts. By focusing extra resources on those 'in need', therefore, we might suppose that educational triage would raise the achievements of these groups. Unfortunately, the mechanisms of educational triage are informed by exactly the same assumptions that shape the wider system and result in the former inequalities of opportunity and attainment. Our research was very detailed, involving two years of interviews and observations in two London secondaries: although the schools were different in terms of ethos and past standing, both were effectively rationing their attention. In both schools the losers in this process were those groups that have so often suffered an inequality of opportunity. In both cases Black pupils and their peers in receipt of free school meals (a rough proxy for poverty) were significantly over-represented in the group of pupils deemed to be without hope. Even when they did gain entry to the 'treatment' group, in comparison with their white peers and those not in receipt of free meals, these pupils were markedly less likely to emerge with five or more higher grade passes (see Gillborn & Youdell 2000, chapter 6). Pupils designated as having 'special educational needs' were similarly seen as incapable of achieving the benchmark. They were seen as obvious hopeless cases, sometimes from the moment they entered the school.

Anti-racism in policy and practice: beyond words & good intentions
The election of a Labour government undoubtedly opened up possibilities for anti-racist

action that simply would not have been possible under a Conservative administration. Nevertheless, there is a long way to go before the fine words of social justice and inclusivity find expression in real changes to the life chances of minority students and their peers from working class backgrounds. African Caribbean students, whatever their gender and social class background, too often find themselves working against teacher expectations that embody assumptions about criminality, lack of motivation and lesser 'ability' (see Gaine & George 1999; Gillborn & Gipps 1996; Sewell 1997 & 1998). The same is often true of their white working class peers (Gillborn & Youdell 2000).

New Labour's rhetorical commitment to greater inclusivity and equality of opportunity is an important step forward but one that is severely limited by the administration's failure to grasp a critical understanding of the processes by which 'race' and class inequalities are made and re-made through education. Elsewhere, I have described Labour's approach to 'race' and education as a form of 'naïve multiculturalism' (Gillborn 1999). That is, a policy approach that accepts a limited understanding of equity based on a weak theory of social justice: this approach stresses _formal equality of access_ rather than _substantive equity of outcome_. This analysis explains Labour's readiness to grant state-funding to Muslim, Seventh Day Adventist and, most recently, a Sikh school while shying away from establishing 'race'-specific targets for levels of attainment or reductions in exclusions. It is an approach that consciously and explicitly celebrates ethnic diversity as a source of cultural richness but tends in the detail of policy to treat diversity as a marginal, complicating factor. For example, linguistic diversity is continually presented as a threat to attainment and additional funding for schools with high numbers of minority students is dependent upon a grant (not assured by demonstrating need) that is won by showing competence in view of centrally determined performance indicators and values. Naïve multiculturalism professes equal opportunity but manifestly fails (refuses?) to engage with the multiple and complex ways in which 'race' inequalities are constituted in and through education. The debates around selection by 'ability' are a perfect example of how 'common-sense' and colour-blind priorities have silenced or erased an understanding of how such processes actually serve to reinforce inequality in practice. If the Government is serious about reducing 'race' inequality in the British educational system it will have to undertake a fundamental rethinking of current policy goals and methods. This means elevating 'anti-racism' from a newly re-found slogan of intent (suddenly deemed acceptable in post-Stephen Lawrence politics) to a serious analysis of current problems that suggests challenging possibilities for action and a damning critique of current provision.

> 'The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.
>
> It persists because of the failure of the organisation openly and adequately to recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership.'
>
> The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson 1999) p. 28

This is the definition of 'institutional racism' offered by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. Like many previous definitions it attempts to cut through the fog of good intentions and focus instead on real outcomes. Such a definition requires that we examine the effects of actions and policies, not their intent. By this definition it is hard to avoid the conclusion that contemporary British education is institutionally racist.

First, there is the 'failure ... to provide an appropriate and professional service'.

There is compelling evidence of the system's failure in this respect. Witness the repeated and significant over-representation of Black children among suspensions and exclusions (Bridges 1994; Gillborn & Gipps 1996; Ofsted 1996); also the continuing and, in some cases, growing inequalities of achievement (see above).

Second, regarding the _processes_ of institutional racism, as 'discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping'. The nail bomb attacks against minority communities in London in April 1999 provided a vicious reminder that racism (and homophobia) can still adopt the most simple, crude and deadly forms. But these incidents, like the murder of Stephen Lawrence, do not lessen the importance of the more hidden and widespread forms of discrimination that operate through 'common-sense'. In relation to racialized processes at work in schools, for example, research demonstrates the more severe disciplining and control of Black pupils (e.g. Connolly 1998; Gillborn 1990; Sewell 1997; Wright 1986 & 1992); and the discrimination that occurs through low expectations of 'ability' that are fixed through processes such as setting and GCSE tiering (see above).

Finally it worth remembering Macpherson's views on leadership and policy: that institutional racism 'persists because of the failure of the organisation openly and adequately to recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership'. The concern with policy is instructive. It is simply inadequate to respond to racism in education by seeking to heap yet more blame on teachers and teacher trainers (the traditional 'villains' of popular attacks on education). It is certainly true that these groups have a vital role, and the response of teachers' leaders to these issues has been hugely disappointing (Blair _et al_ 1999). Nevertheless, there are other bodies with an equally important role. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), for example, oversees the National Curriculum and the examinations system. The QCA has yet to demonstrate any readiness to answer criticism of the National Curriculum as narrow and elitist. Similarly, tiering has been extended without any attempt to work against possible inequalities in access and attainment. The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) has a patchy record in this field; publishing a damning study of the failure of schools and LEAs seriously to address 'race' inequalities (Ofsted 1999) but itself standing accused of giving equal opportunities too low a priority in inspection reports (NAME 1998). Finally, the Government itself must accept a large degree of responsibility. New Labour inherited many problems but has also proved unwilling (or unable) to tackle the deeper structural issues related to existing 'race' inequalities. It is widely accepted that the attempt to create an education market, including the publication of league tables, has generated additional inequalities of opportunity associated with 'race' and class (Gewirtz _et al_ 1995; Gillborn 1997b; Tomlinson 1998; Whitty _et al_ 1998). The pressure to compete and deliver yearly league table improvements provides a powerful (sometimes irresistible) pressure to ration resources in ways that will best influence published scores. And yet one of Labour's first acts in Government was to re-assert the importance of league tables (DfEE 1997b). Similarly, the DfEE's response to the Lawrence Inquiry amounted to little more than a restatement of previously announced initiatives and the frightening complacent conclusion that the national curriculum already provided all necessary flexibility (see Blair _et al_ 1999). And now the scene has been set for yet further reforms.

Both major political parties have set out their plans for the future of education policy. Labour's Green Paper (DfEE 2001a) argues for greater specialisation, more use of selection, and yet further privileging of those marked out as 'gifted and talented'. I have already suggested how these processes will further reinforce the rationing of education in the state system. The Conservative Party's proposals for 'Free Schools' offer even more cause for concern to anyone remotely worried about equality of opportunity and social justice. William Hague first set out the 'Free Schools' initiative in a speech to the right wing 'think-tank' _Politeia_, in July 2000. In a speech of more than 7,000 words, the experiences and attainments of minority ethnic pupils did not warrant a single word. Special Educational Needs fared little better. Although SEN does appear in the speech, it is as a kind of policy after-thought,

as one of the few educational tasks that will be left over for councils after Local Education Authorities have been abolished:

> 'LEAs as we know them will cease to exist, although the local council will still have a role in certain areas of education - which we expect will include educational welfare, special needs statementing, and discharging the ultimate responsibility of seeing that every child gets an education.' William Hague (2000, p. 5).

It is difficult to see how councils are expected to perform these minimalist duties in a situation where schools have been granted the 'freedom' to refuse who they like and exclude who they like.[4]

As the next round of education reforms take hold, therefore, the situation for inclusion looks bleak. On one hand the extension of selection and separation via specialism, aptitude and giftedness; on the other hand, the extension of selection by ability and whatever other criteria a school judges to be appropriate. Past research suggests that this is very bad news for many minority ethnic pupils, working class children and their peers deemed to have special educational needs. The rationing of education is not inevitable but, for the moment, it appears to be a policy gaining in strength every day.

Correspondence
Professor David Gillborn
Head of Policy Studies
Institute of Education
University of London
59 Gordon Square
London WC1H 0NT

Notes

[1] There is no acceptable scientific basis for those categories that are commonly associated with the idea of 'racial' difference among humans. The use of quotation marks, therefore, is meant to signify the essentially constructed and contestable nature of 'race'.

[2] The YCS is a survey that gathers data from thousands of young people as they move from 16 to 19, bridging compulsory schooling and entry to the job market and/or further/higher education. Its samples are relatively large and nationally representative.

[3] This calculation focuses on the relative gap between the attainments of different groups and is a widely accepted way of identifying inequalities of opportunity (see Drew & Grey 1991; Gillborn 1990; Valli *et al* 1997).

[4] 'Headteachers and governors will then be free to manage their own budgets, free to employ their own staff, free to set their teachers' pay, free to determine their own admissions policy, free to run their own school transport, free to manage their own opening hours and term times, and free to set and enforce their own standards of discipline.' Hague, 2000, p. 5.