

**RECONCILING SOCIAL JUSTICE WITH ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS: THE
COHERENCE OF NEW LABOUR'S DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION**

BY

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ABSTRACT

According to key figures within New Labour, the advent of the knowledge-based economy has ended the “sterile” battle between social justice and economic competitiveness; this now means that it is only through the provision of opportunities for all, achieved through high quality education, that the demands of the two goals can be fulfilled. I investigate the claims made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers that social objectives are being reconciled with economic considerations in the Party’s approach to education and, in doing so, explore the existence and content of a putative ‘New Labour’ discourse on education. I highlight the limitations of the existing literature in dealing with issues of discourse, agency and time. I contend that in overlooking questions of discourse and ignoring the potential for differences over time and between actors, the current literature fails to capture the dynamism and complexity of the Government’s discourse leading it to reach two inaccurate conclusions about New Labour as well as prohibiting us from gaining a proper sense of whether the Party has been coherent in its discussions of education. Conversely, I set out an alternative view of coherence, proposing discourse as an equivalent unit of analysis to policy and demonstrating sensitivity to differences both over time and between agents. I show that there is not one coherent ‘New Labour’ discourse on education, but a shared conception that is underpinned by three discourses that appeal to arguments about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. Within this however, are eighteen different arguments the use, meaning and significance of which varies between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and, over the three terms between 1997 and 2007.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION	1
THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE	4
DISCOURSE AND IDEAS IN THE EXISTING LITERATURE	5
MY THEORETICAL POSITION	6
THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE TO NEW LABOUR	8
THE EXISTING LITERATURE ON NEW LABOUR	10
METHODOLOGY	13
STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	16
CHAPTER I: LITERATURE REVIEW	20
SECTION ONE: THE COHERENCE OF NEW LABOUR	21
1.1 THE THIRD WAY	22
1.2 OVER TIME	24
1.3 ACROSS POLICY	27
1.4 ACROSS DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT	30
1.5 ACROSS ACTORS WITHIN NEW LABOUR	31
1.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES	33
1.6.2 NEW LABOUR IS NOT RECONCILING SOCIAL JUSTICE WITH ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS BECAUSE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO RECONCILE THEM IN EITHER THEORY OR PRACTICE	36
SECTION TWO: THE PRESUPPOSITIONS UNDERPINNING THE LITERATURE ON NEW LABOUR	41
2.1 TREATING NEW LABOUR AS A SINGLE ACTOR	42
2.2 EDUCATION SUBORDINATED TO THE ECONOMY	45
SECTION THREE: AN ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF COHERENCE	47
CONCLUSION	48
4.1 EXPECTATIONS FROM THE LITERATURE	49
CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY	51
SECTION ONE: JUSTIFICATION OF METHODOLOGY	52
1.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE	52
1.2 NEW LABOUR, NEW LANGUAGE?	55
1.3 THE LIMITATIONS OF THE CURRENT LITERATURE	56

1.4 THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF NEW LABOUR’S DISCOURSE	60
1.5 THE NECESSITY FOR QUANTITY AND QUALITY	69
1.5.1 FURTHER DISCUSSION OF METHODS: CONTENT ANALYSIS	72
1.5.2 FURTHER DISCUSSION OF METHODS: QSR NVIVO	73
SECTION TWO: MY METHOD IN FULL	74
2.1 THE EVOLUTION OF MY PROJECT	75
2.2 ANALYTIC PROCESS	77
CONCLUSION	103

CHAPTER III: ‘THE SOCIAL’: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE ‘SOCIAL’

SECTION ONE: ROLE OF ACTORS	107
1.1 HOW DO BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS CONCEPTUALISE THE ARGUMENTS WITHIN THE ‘SOCIAL’ IN RELATION TO EDUCATION?	109
1.2 HOW ARE THE ARGUMENTS WITHIN THE ‘SOCIAL’ USED BY BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS IN RELATION TO EDUCATION?	110
1.2.1 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF BLAIR’S LANGUAGE	110
1.2.2 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF BROWN’S LANGUAGE	111
1.2.3 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE EDUCATION MINISTERS’ LANGUAGE	120
1.2.4 ARGUMENTS UPON WHICH ALL THREE ACTORS DIFFER	121
1.2.5 CONSISTENCY ACROSS ALL THREE ACTORS	124
1.2.6 CONSISTENCY BETWEEN ONE OR MORE ACTORS	131
1.2.6.2BLAIR AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS	131
1.2.6.3BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS	136
1.2.7 THE COHERENCE OF BLAIR’S, BROWN’S AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS’ CONCEPTION OF THE ‘SOCIAL’	137
1.3 WHAT SIGNIFICANCE DOES BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS GIVE TO THE ARGUMENTS OF THE ‘SOCIAL’ IN RELATION TO EDUCATION?	142
1.3.1 CONSISTENCY ACROSS ALL THREE ACTORS	150
1.3.2 CONSISTENCY ACROSS ONE OR MORE ACTORS	150
1.3.3 DISTINCTIVENESS OF EACH ACTOR	150
SECTION TWO: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TIME	152
2.1 GENERAL TRENDS	155
2.2 SPECIFIC FINDINGS	160
SECTION THREE: THE STATUS OF ‘SOCIAL’ AND ‘ECONOMIC’ OBJECTIVES IN THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS	165
CONCLUSION	172
4.1 A ‘NEW LABOUR’ DISCOURSE OF THE ‘SOCIAL’ IN EDUCATION?	173

4.2	PERIODS OF RELATIVE STASIS AND HEIGHTENED ACTIVITY	175
4.3	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LITERATURE(S)	177

CHAPTER IV: ‘THE ECONOMIC’: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE ‘ECONOMIC’

180

SECTION ONE: ROLE OF ACTORS

182

1.1 HOW ARE THE ARGUMENTS WITHIN THE ‘ECONOMIC’ USED BY BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS IN RELATION TO EDUCATION?

183

1.1.1 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF BLAIR’S LANGUAGE

183

1.1.2 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF BROWN’S LANGUAGE

184

1.1.3 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE EDUCATION MINISTERS’ LANGUAGE

189

1.1.4 CONSISTENCY ACROSS ALL THREE ACTORS

198

1.1.5 CONSISTENCY BETWEEN ONE OR MORE ACTORS

205

1.1.5.1 BLAIR AND BROWN

206

1.1.5.2 BLAIR AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS

208

1.1.5.3 BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS

209

1.2 THE COHERENCE OF BLAIR’S, BROWN’S AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS’ CONCEPTION OF THE ‘ECONOMIC’

209

1.3 WHAT SIGNIFICANCE DOES BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS GIVE TO THE ARGUMENTS OF THE ‘ECONOMIC’ IN RELATION TO EDUCATION?

212

1.2.1 CONSISTENCY ACROSS ALL THREE ACTORS

218

1.2.2 CONSISTENCY ACROSS ONE OR MORE ACTORS

218

1.2.3 DISTINCTIVENESS OF EACH ACTOR

218

SECTION TWO: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TIME

219

2.1 GENERAL TRENDS

222

2.2 SPECIFIC FINDINGS

226

SECTION THREE: THE STATUS OF ‘SOCIAL’ AND ‘ECONOMIC’ OBJECTIVES IN THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS

232

CONCLUSION

238

4.1 A ‘NEW LABOUR’ DISCOURSE OF THE ‘ECONOMIC’ IN EDUCATION?

239

4.2 PERIODS OF RELATIVE STASIS AND HEIGHTENED ACTIVITY

240

4.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LITERATURE(S)

242

CHAPTER V: A COHERENT NEW LABOUR DISCOURSE OF EDUCATION? THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ‘SOCIAL’ AND THE ‘ECONOMIC’ IN THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EXISTING LITERATURES

244

SECTION ONE:THE	COHERENCE	OF	NEW	LABOUR	246
1.1	INVESTIGATING THE PRESUPPOSITION OF NEW LABOUR AS A SINGLE ACTOR				247
1.2	INVESTIGATING THE PRESUPPOSITION THAT EDUCATION IS SUBORDINATED TO THE ECONOMY				255
1.3	THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LITERATURE(S)				262
SECTION TWO:ADDRESSING	THE	RESEARCH		QUESTIONS	266
2.1	IS THERE A NEW LABOUR DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION AND IF SO, WHAT IS IT?				266
2.2	WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES IN NEW LABOUR'S DISCOURSE?				270
2.3	IS NEW LABOUR'S APPROACH TO EDUCATION COHERENT?				271
CONCLUSION					273
<u>CONCLUSION</u>					<u>275</u>
SECTION ONE: MY CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE					276
1.1	EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTION				276
1.2	METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION				281
SECTION TWO: FORWARD THINKING					283
2.1	REFLECTING ON THE LIMITATIONS OF MY ANALYSIS				284
2.1.1	WHY ARE THERE PERIODS OF HEIGHTENED ACTIVITY AND RELATIVE STASIS IN NEW LABOUR'S LANGUAGE ON EDUCATION?				286
2.1.2	WHAT EFFECT DOES POLICY HAVE ON DISCOURSE?				296
FINAL CONCLUSION					297
<u>APPENDIX I</u>					<u>299</u>
SECTION ONE: HOW DO BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS UNDERSTAND THE 'SOCIAL'?					301
SECTION TWO: WHEN DOES THE CONCEPT OF THE 'SOCIAL' FIRST APPEAR AND WHO USES IT?					334
SECTION THREE: WHAT SIGNIFICANCE IS GIVEN TO EACH ARGUMENT OF THE 'SOCIAL' BY EACH ACTOR?					338
SECTION FOUR: HOW IS THE 'SOCIAL' USED WITHIN BLAIR'S, BROWN'S AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS' SPEECHES?					343
<u>APPENDIX II</u>					<u>402</u>
SECTION ONE: HOW DO BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS UNDERSTAND THE CONCEPT OF THE 'ECONOMIC'?					404

SECTION TWO: WHEN DOES THE CONCEPT OF THE 'ECONOMIC' FIRST APPEAR AND WHO USES IT?	430
SECTION THREE: WHAT SIGNIFICANCE IS GIVEN TO EACH 'ECONOMIC' ARGUMENT BY EACH ACTOR?	432
SECTION FOUR: HOW IS THE CONCEPT OF THE 'ECONOMIC' USED WITHIN BLAIR'S, BROWN'S AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS' SPEECHES?	436
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	<u>468</u>

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: NVivo Screen Print Showing ‘Blair First Term’ Document Set	86
Figure 2.2: NVivo Screen Print Showing the Extracts Coded at the Node ‘Equal Worth’	91
Figure 2.3: Number of References and Speeches to Arguments About Education for Blair 1997-2007	94
Figure 2.4: Number of References and Speeches to Arguments About Education for Brown 1997-2007	96
Figure 2.5: Number of References and Speeches to Arguments About Education for Education Ministers 1997-2007	99
Figure 2.6: NVivo Screen Print Showing Coding Report for Node ‘Economic Success’ in Document Set ‘Brown Second Term’	102
Figure 3.1: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Social’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data ¹)	146
Figure 3.2: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Social’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	146
Figure 3.3: Timeline Illustrating Changes in Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ Language on Education 1997-2007	156
Figure 3.4: Diagram Illustrating Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ Use of Arguments Emphasising the Importance of Opportunity to the Achievement of Social Justice	157
Figure 3.5: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Blair’s Language (raw data)	162
Figure 3.6: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Blair’s Language (% of total incidence)	162
Figure 3.7: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Brown’s Language (raw data)	163
Figure 3.8: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Brown’s Language (% of total incidence)	163
Figure 3.9: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (raw data)	164

¹ Raw data refers to the actual number of references made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to each argument about education.

Figure 3.10: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (% of total incidence)	164
Figure 4.1: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)	215
Figure 4.2: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	215
Figure 4.3: Diagram Illustrating Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ Use of Arguments About The Knowledge-Based Economy	221
Figure 4.4: Timeline Illustrating Changes in Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ Language on Arguments About Economic Success 1997-2007	228
Figure 4.5: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Blair’s Language (raw data)	229
Figure 4.6: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Blair’s Language (% of total incidence)	229
Figure 4.7: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Brown’s Language (raw data)	230
Figure 4.8: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Brown’s Language (% of total incidence)	230
Figure 4.9: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (raw data)	231
Figure 4.10: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (% of total incidence)	231
Figure 5.1: New Labour Discourse on Education (raw data)	257
Figure 5.2: New Labour Discourse on Education (% of total incidence)	257
Figure 5.3: New Labour Discourse on Education 1997-2007 (raw data)	259
Figure 5.4: New Labour Discourse on Education 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	260
Figure 5.5: Periods of Heightened Activity or Relative Stasis in New Labour’s Language on Education – Economic Arguments (% of total incidence)	269
Figure 5.6: Periods of Heightened Activity or Relative Stasis in New Labour’s Language on Education – Social Arguments (% of total incidence)	269
Figure 5.7: Periods of Heightened Activity and Relative Stasis in New Labour’s Language on Education (% of total incidence)	270

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Number of Speeches Analysed for each Actor, in each Term	81
Table 3.1: Meanings Attached to Each Argument by Actor	112
Table 3.2: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)	147
Table 3.3: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	148
Table 3.4: The Three Arguments That Are Employed Most Frequently in Conjunction With ‘Social’ Arguments	167
Table 3.5: The Percentage of References to Each ‘Social’ Argument Given Priority	171
Table 4.1: Meanings Attached to Each Argument by Actor	191
Tables 4.2: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)	216
Table 4.3: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	217
Table 4.4: The Three Arguments That Are Employed Most Frequently in Conjunction With ‘Economic’ Arguments	234
Table 4.5: The Percentage of References to Each ‘Economic’ Argument Given Priority	236
Table 5.1: The Three Arguments That Are Referred to Most Frequently By Each Actor (raw data)	253
Table 5.2: The Three Arguments That Are Referred to Most Frequently By Each Actor (% of total incidence)	254
Table 5.3: Number of References to Social and Economic Arguments for All Actors	258
Table 6.1: Explaining Why New Labour’s Language Shifts to Emphasise ‘Social’ Rather than ‘Economic’ Arguments in the Second Term	287
Table A1.1: When is Each Argument Introduced?	335
Table A1.2: Overall Significance of ‘Social’ Arguments for Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)	338

Table A1.3: Overall Significance of ‘Social’ Arguments for Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	339
Tables A1.4: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Argumentss by Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)	341
Table A1.5: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)	342
Table A1.41: The Number of References to Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ by Each Actor (raw data)	344
Table A1.42: The Number of References to Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	344
Table A1.43: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ (raw data)	345
Table A1.44: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ By Term (% of total incidence)	346
Table A1.45: Percentage of References Asserting Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	349
Table A1.6: The Number of References to Arguments About Empowerment by Each Actor (raw data)	349
Table A1.7: The Number of References to Arguments About Empowerment by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	350
Table A1.8: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Empowerment Arguments (raw data)	351
Table A1.9: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Empowerment Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)	352
Table A1.10: Percentage of References Asserting Empowerment Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	354
Table A1.11: The Number of References to Arguments About Equal Worth by Each Actor (raw data)	354
Table A1.12: The Number of References Arguments About Equal Worth by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	355
Table A1.13: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Equal Worth Arguments (raw data)	356

Table A1.14: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Equal Worth Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)	357
Table A1.15: Percentage of References Asserting Equal Worth Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	359
Table A1.16: The Number of References to Arguments About Fairness by Each Actor (raw data)	360
Table A1.17: The Number of References to Arguments About Fairness by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	360
Table A1.18: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Fairness Arguments (raw data)	361
Table A1.19: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Fairness Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)	362
Table A1.20: Percentage of References Asserting Fairness Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	364
Table A1.21: The Number of References to Arguments About Liberation by Each Actor (raw data)	364
Table A1.22: The Number of References to Arguments About Liberation by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	365
Table A1.23: Arguments Employed in Conjunction with Liberation Arguments (raw data)	366
Table A1.24: Arguments Employed in Conjunction with Liberation Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)	367
Table A1.25: Percentage of References Asserting Liberation Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	369
Table A1.26: The Number of References to Arguments About Moral by Each Actor (raw data)	369
Table A1.27: The Number of References to Arguments About Moral by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	370
Table A1.28: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Moral Arguments (raw data)	370
Table A1.29: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Moral Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)	371

Table A1.30: Percentage of References Asserting Moral Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	373
Table A1.31: The Number of References to Arguments About Personal Fulfilment by Each Actor (raw data)	374
Table A1.32: The Number of References to Arguments About Personal Fulfilment by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	374
Table A1.33: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Personal Fulfilment (raw data)	375
Table A1.34: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Personal Fulfilment By Term (% of total incidence)	376
Table A1.35: Percentage of References Asserting Personal Fulfilment Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	377
Table A1.36: The Number of References to Arguments About Poverty by Each Actor (raw data)	378
Table A1.37: The Number of References to Arguments About Poverty by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	378
Table A1.38: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Poverty (raw data)	379
Table A1.39: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Poverty By Term (% of total incidence)	380
Table A1.40: Percentage of References Asserting Poverty Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	382
Table A1.46: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Control by Each Actor (raw data)	383
Table A1.47: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Control by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	383
Table A1.48: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Control (raw data)	384
Table A1.49: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Control By Term (% of total incidence)	385
Table A1.50: Percentage of References Asserting Social Control Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	387
Table A1.51: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Inclusion by	388

Each Actor (raw data)

Table A1.52: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Inclusion by Each Actor (% of total incidence) 388

Table A1.53: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Inclusion (raw data) 389

Table A1.54: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Inclusion Arguments By Term (% of total incidence) 389

Table A1.55: Percentage of References Asserting Social Inclusion Ahead of Other Arguments About Education 391

Table A1.56: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Justice by Each Actor (raw data) 391

Table A1.57: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Justice by Each Actor (% of total incidence) 392

Table A1.58: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Justice (raw data) 393

Table A1.59: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Justice By Term (% of total incidence) 394

Table A1.60: Percentage of References Asserting Social Justice Ahead of Other Arguments About Education 396

Table A1.61: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Mobility by Each Actor (raw data) 397

Table A1.62: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Mobility by Each Actor (% of total incidence) 397

Table A1.63: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Mobility (raw data) 398

Table A1.64: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Mobility By Term (% of total incidence) 399

Table A1.65: Percentage of References Asserting Social Mobility Ahead of Other Arguments About Education 400

Table A2.1: Number of References to Productivity as Element of Arguments About Competitiveness 1997-2007 408

Table A2.2: When is Each Argument Introduced? 431

Table A2.3: Overall Significance of Arguments of the 'Economic' for Each Actor 433

1997-2007 (raw data)

Figure A2.4: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 433
1997-2007 (% of total incidence)

Tables A2.5: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997- 434
2007 (raw data)

Table A2.6: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997- 435
2007 (% of total incidence)

Table A2.7: The Number of References to Arguments About Competitiveness by Each 437
Actor (raw data)

Table A2.8: The Number of References to Arguments About Competitiveness by Each 437
Actor (% of total incidence)

Table A2.9: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Competitiveness (raw data) 438

Table A2.10: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Competitiveness By Term (%) 439
of total incidence)

Table A2.11: Percentage of References Asserting Competitiveness Ahead of Other 442
Arguments About Education

Table A2.12: The Number of References to Arguments About Economic Success by 443
Each Actor (raw data)

Table A2.13: The Number of References to Arguments About Economic Success by 443
Each Actor (% of total incidence)

Table A2.14: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Economic Success (raw data) 444

Table A2.15: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Economic Success By Term 445
(% of total incidence)

Table A2.16: Percentage of References Asserting Economic Success Ahead of Other 448
Arguments About Education

Table A2.17: The Number of References to Arguments About Employability by Each 448
Actor (raw data)

Table A2.18: The Number of References to Arguments About Employability by Each 449
Actor (% of total incidence)

Table A2.19: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Employability (raw data) 449

Table A2.20: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Employability By Term (% of total incidence)	451
Table A2.21: Percentage of References Asserting Employability Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	453
Table A2.22: The Number of References to Arguments About Enterprise by Each Actor (raw data)	454
Table A2.23: The Number of References to Arguments About Enterprise by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	454
Table A2.24: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Enterprise (raw data)	455
Table A2.25: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Enterprise By Term (% of total incidence)	456
Table A2.26: Percentage of References Asserting Enterprise Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	457
Table A2.27: The Number of References to Arguments About The Knowledge-Based Economy by Each Actor (raw data)	458
Table A2.28: The Number of References to Arguments About The Knowledge-Based Economy by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	458
Table A2.29: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With The Knowledge-Based Economy (raw data)	459
Table A2.30: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With The Knowledge-Based Economy By Term (% of total incidence)	460
Table A2.31: Percentage of References Asserting Knowledge-Based Economy Ahead of Other Arguments About Education	462
Table A2.32: The Number of References to Arguments About Skills by Each Actor (raw data)	462
Table A2.33: The Number of References to Arguments About Skills by Each Actor (% of total incidence)	463
Table A2.34: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Skills (raw data)	463
Table A2.35: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Skills By Term (% of total incidence)	465
Table A2.36: Percentage of References Asserting Skills Ahead of Other Arguments	467

About Education

INTRODUCTION

Since 1997, education has been central to the political programme of New Labour. Key figures within the Party explain this because of its ability to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness. According to Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, the advent of the knowledge-based economy has ended the “sterile” battle between these two agendas; this now means that it is only through the provision of opportunities for all, achieved through high quality education, that the demands of the two goals can be fulfilled. In this thesis, I investigate the claims made by key figures within New Labour that social objectives are being reconciled with economic considerations in the Party’s approach to education. I analyse how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers discuss education in order to investigate how they perceive the relationship between education, social justice and economic competitiveness and to determine whether they prioritise economic, rather than social, considerations. I examine over one thousand speeches made by the three key actors within the Party: Tony Blair; Gordon Brown; and sixteen Education Ministers including both Secretaries of State and Ministers². I focus on Blair and Brown as the two most senior individuals within government, because they were central to the New Labour ‘project’, having been involved from the start; “[Blair and Brown] have been the most decisive actors in prosecuting the remaking of the party” (Chadwick and Heffernan 2003: 3). I also choose to focus on the speeches of the various Education Ministers over the period, given they were the Ministers responsible for the policy area that I analyse. This enables me both to provide a comprehensive analysis of the three actors’ language on education and to contextualise my

² I consider the language of the sixteen Education Ministers between 1997 and 2007 as one actor in this study. This makes it easier to compare findings across particular terms and between the Ministers, Blair and Brown. Where I identify an argument, or a component of argument, that is specific to a particular Education Minister, I outline the particular Minister responsible and highlight this in the text along with the speech in which the argument was made. See Chapter Two for more details.

findings so that I can determine whether there are any arguments that are common to all three actors' language and thus which may reflect a coherent 'New Labour' discourse, as well as any that are distinctive to each actor. This type of analysis also enables me to track the trajectory of each argument and thus determine any periods of heightened activity or relative stasis in using particular contentions. I analyse those speeches made from the start of New Labour's landslide electoral victory in 1997 until 2007, when Brown succeeded Blair as Prime Minister.

In order to investigate the relationship between education, social justice and economic competitiveness in New Labour's language and address the limitations of the existing literature, I have developed three research questions:

1. Is there a New Labour discourse on education?
2. If so, what is it?
3. What is the relationship between social and economic objectives in this discourse?

The advent of New Labour was based primarily upon a language of the Third Way. It was argued that the Third Way transcended the old political ideologies of Left and Right, which were now said to be obsolete, and that the Third Way provided a viable option that "married together" the old values of the left with the efficiency and value for money of the new right (Labour Party 1997). By moving beyond the seemingly outmoded ideologies of the past, proponents of the Third Way claimed that it could realise solutions to the new set of challenges said to face policymakers (Blair 1998i: 7. See also Giddens 2001: 42). Central to such claims was the contention that contemporary society had undergone major transformations, which required political actors to re-examine both how they conceptualised

society and how they acted towards it (Finlayson 1999: 271). The Third Ways' assessment of contemporary society was based upon an endorsement of the 'New Times' thesis published in *Marxism Today*³ (See Hall and Jacques 1989) and, the "philosophic conservatism" arguments of Anthony Giddens (Finlayson 1999: 272-274).

Although at pains to emphasise the endurance of the traditional values of the Left such as equal worth and social justice, New Labour's commitment to the Third Way was widely interpreted as an "abandonment" of its social democratic traditions (Chadwick & Heffernan 2003: 2; Panitch and Leys 1998). In looking for evidence of this, commentators referred to the Third Way's redefinition of equality as equality of opportunity and its substitution of concerns for poverty with those for inclusion and cohesion, in addition to well versed concerns with efficiency and economic stability. Such factors were seen as a break with the values and traditions of the Labour Party of the past and instead, an acceptance of, and subscription to the neoliberal views and policies of the Conservatives (see for example Fielding 2002, Hickson 2007; Meredith 2003, 2007; Rubenstein 2000; Hay 1999; Heffernan 2000; Shaw 2003; Taylor 1997). In putting forward these arguments, these commentators make a particular claim about the relationship between social and economic goals in New Labour's programme. For example, authors such as Shaw and Barrett-Brown and Coates argue that social objectives are subordinated to economic goals within New Labour's approach and this represents a break with the social democratic Labour Parties of the past (see

³ It should be noted here that although Finlayson identifies the work of *Marxism Today* as a source of the Third Way, the two (the 'New Times' thesis and the Third Way) differ in a number of important respects. The purpose of Hall's Gramscian analysis was to formulate an alternative vision of the current social predicament incorporating a new coalition for social change (Finlayson 1999: 274). Here, politics was seen as a tool, "a way to solve problems and a means of providing security and a stable sense of belonging" (Mulgan 1997: x-xii). In comparison, New Labour's Third Way, as viewed by Hall, both submits to and seeks to depoliticise social and economic trends initiated by Thatcherism (Finlayson 1999: 274). Consequently, critics of New Labour's Third Way argue that it lacks an ethical core with which to criticise capitalism and so can only advance an alternative way of managing the present condition rather than advocating an alternative condition (Finlayson 1999: 274).

Barrett-Brown and Coates 1996; Shaw 2003 although see Meredith 2003 and Rubenstein 2000 for alternative views). However, claims about the status of social and economic objectives in New Labour's programme have been based largely upon policy, overlooking issues of discourse as well as change over time and between actors.

The Importance of Language

I examine the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in order to determine the type and prevalence of the arguments employed by the key actors within the Party when they talk about education. This is important for two reasons. First, I believe that language is an important instrument of power that is particularly relevant in relation to government since: "much of the action of government is language" (Fairclough 2000: 157). In talking about language, I employ the term as an umbrella, or collective, term to refer to an actor's utterances on a given topic, in this case education. However, multiple arguments may be composed within language. These arguments may be employed by actors both genuinely to convey their true beliefs about education and, strategically as a means to defeat opponents and win support (see for example Krebs and Jackson 2007). Underpinning such arguments may be several discourses. Broadly speaking, I refer to discourse as those arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to justify or explain a position on education. In this sense, not everything that is said by the three actors about education is discourse. Rather, discourse is the combination of language and thought that makes implicit political arguments about education, thus designating what is true in the world, as opposed to what is false and shaping perceptions of what is possible, feasible and desirable (Hay 1999b: 11). In other

words, discourse is the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to present education in a certain way using particular arguments to describe, justify and reinforce it.

Discourse and Ideas in the Existing Literature

The importance of discourse and ideas is widely acknowledged within the existing literature although the extent to which such factors should be awarded an independent causal effect upon political outcomes is debated (see for example Hay 2002; Marsh 2007). For example, critical realism adheres to a foundationalist ontology, which, crudely put, holds that deep, structural relationships exist between social phenomena that are not directly observable by political or social scientists, but which are nonetheless vital to any explanation of behaviour (Marsh and Furlong 2002: 20). As such, the critical realist contends that, not only do social phenomena exist independently of our interpretation of them, but also our own interpretation and understanding acts in ways to affect outcomes. Thus, underlying structures such as patriarchy, do not determine outcomes, rather they facilitate and constrain them (Marsh & Furlong 2002: 31). A central concern within critical realism therefore, is the perceived dichotomy between reality and appearance and, specifically, the need to identify and understand both the external and socially constructed notions of this ‘reality’ before seeking to explain relationships between social phenomena. Despite the emphasis on structures, contemporary critical realism is sensitive to the role that individuals can play in the formulation of policy. Ideas often directly and indirectly influence political events and the individual strategies pursued by political parties and politicians. Changes in policy are often preceded by changes in the ideas that inform policy, therefore acting to: “orchestrate shifts in

societal preferences that may either quicken the pace, alter the trajectory or raise the stakes of institutional reform” (Hay 2002: 194).

My Theoretical Position

In recognising the importance of discourse and language, I put forward a position similar to the critical realist position outlined above in that, in my view, there is a dialectical relationship between the material and the ideational that is interactive and iterative. Therefore, not only do ideas have ‘real’ effects but there are also material constraints on the resonance of how such ideas are expressed discursively. I see discourse as fundamentally intertwined with the realm of the ideational. Ideas are the substantive content of discourse and discourse is the interactive process of conveying ideas (see Schmidt 2008). In some cases, discourse may be a direct expression of the ideas and beliefs held earnestly by an actor. For example, agents may select certain terms, phrases or arguments according to how they understand or perceive an issue. Thus, in this sense, language is used to ‘frame’ an issue in a particular way. Analysing these frames reveals how agents understand issues and, therefore, reveal the policy solutions or prescriptions that are likely to result from this conception. However, discourse may also be employed strategically by agents to achieve particular objectives. For instance, language may be used to justify particular views, ideas or arguments against others who propound alternate or contrasting views in the hope of securing political or electoral support. This is where the concepts of agency and the material come to the fore. Agency refers to the extent that we as actors have the capacity to shape our own destiny, opposed to the idea that our lives are structured so that destiny is out of our control (McAnulla 2002: 271). In political terms, these concepts refer to the extent that political conduct shapes political context and vice-versa (Hay

2002: 89). If we accept that agents have some capacity to act independently and exercise free will, then we must accept that they can shape their arguments according to how they perceive the context in which such arguments are made. This is why I choose to refer to 'discourse' in analysing New Labour's discussions of education. In accepting the capacity for agents to be reflexive, I am highlighting the role of discourse as social practice, that is the ability of agents to orient themselves and construct their discourse to fit their ideas about the context around them (see Gill 2000: 175). Thus, I believe that agents cannot advance an infinite number or type of discourses about a topic such as education. For such contentions to achieve the agent's objectives, for example securing electoral support, they must resonate with the agent's direct or mediated experiences of the context. In short, agents construct discourse based upon their ideas of what is likely to be acceptable within the political context; their discourse does not occur in a social vacuum and, in this sense, mirrors ideas in general since both are only ever relatively autonomous of context (Hay and Marsh 1999; Marsh 1999; Hay 2002: 212).

By examining the arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers about education, I do not wish to elevate the importance of discourse above concerns for agency, structure or the material. I recognise that discourse does not provide a complete account of the motivations or underlying rationale of those involved in policy making. For instance, actors may deliberately use discourse to mask their intentions, or they may make trivial choices in opting for one word, rather than another. This being the case, studying discourse alone cannot offer an absolute guide to policy implementation or agents' intentions. However, whilst I recognise the importance of such issues, addressing these issues is not possible without first attending to the weaknesses of the current literature on New Labour. I need to undertake a thorough analysis of New Labour's language on education before

tackling such questions about discourse in order to avoid falling foul of my own criticisms of the literature on New Labour and assert claims about its discourse without having done the necessary work first (see Chapter One). Thus, the first step in explaining why New Labour has taken the approach that it has to education is to determine the coherence of New Labour's conception of education and its relationship to social and economic objectives by analysing how such issues are presented discursively. In determining coherence, I will examine the extent to which New Labour's language on education is logically connected. This will involve, firstly, analysing each aspect of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' arguments to discover any tensions or contradictions and, secondly, examining whether their conclusions follow from their stated premises (see Denzin 1970). I believe that there is a dialectical relationship between the material and the ideational and structure and agency. Consequently, by analysing discourse I can identify the different ways in which New Labour has presented the issue, what factors it has given credence to and what it has rejected, thus pointing to the particular types of policies and solutions that may be favoured by the Party (Schon and Rein 1994: 23).

The Importance of Language to New Labour

The significance of such a study to the analysis of New Labour is very clear. In coming to power, key actors within New Labour actively sought to distance the Party from the 'Old' Labour Party of the past and rebrand themselves as 'New Labour'. In speeches, Blair has frequently drawn comparisons between 'New' and 'Old' Labour and, in doing so, has presented its approach as one based on pragmatism, rather than dogma or ideology:

By refusing to go for the short-term fix; by refusing to be categorised into the old rigidities of traditional left or right, we have taken a risk. The risk is that people say we believe in nothing unless we conform to those old political labels. But the risk to the nation's long-term future would be far greater if we did so: if we allowed parts of the left to push us into old-style spending that undermined economic efficiency; or the right to make investment in education or infrastructure the casualty of short-term and unsustainable tax cuts (Blair 2000c. See also Blair 2005d).

While the extent of New Labour's break with its past has been widely debated by commentators (Driver and Martell 2001; Meredith 2003; Rubenstein 2000), what remains clear is the Party's desire to portray itself, rhetorically, as different. Amidst charges of being obsessed with spin, New Labour has sought to manipulate its public perception through its choice of particular terms, for example by employing social exclusion and social justice in place of poverty and equality respectively. In addition, its deliberate avoidance of particular terms, such as redistribution and socialism, has been widely documented by commentators (see Fairclough 2000; Finlayson 2003; Levitas 1998; Lister 2000, Mulgan 2005a quoted in Hopkin and Wincott 2006: 62, Needham 2007: 13).

By analysing the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers between 1997 and 2007 comprehensively and systematically, I can determine the significance of particular arguments to the three actors' conception of education. This goes beyond simply identifying the particular terms employed but involves determining the meaning underpinning such terms and how these have, or have not, changed over time and between the different actors. Such findings enable me to address several of the issues permeating the literature on New Labour such as the differences between Blair and Brown but also, crucially, how New Labour understands the relationship between social and economic objectives (see for example Kenny 2010). Determining how education is presented in relation to social justice and economic

competitiveness in the language of the three central actors within New Labour (Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers) allows us to infer the importance attached to the two objectives by the Party in its overall political programme and thus to ascertain whether social objectives have been subordinated to economic considerations.

The Existing Literature on New Labour

The current literature on New Labour deals with the issue of coherence in terms of six different aspects of New Labour's programme: its belief in the ideology of the Third Way; coherence over time; across policy; over different levels of government; between different actors within the Party; and the relationship between social and economic objectives. Two presuppositions underpin this literature. First, the literature conceives the Party as a single actor, thereby collapsing distinctions between different actors and removing the possibility of change over time. Second, much of the literature is critical of the claims made by key actors within the Party to reconcile social and economic objectives and in doing so, contends that education policy under New Labour is completely directed towards the demands of the economy.

Commentators have offered three critical responses to the claim made by key actors within New Labour that they are able to reconcile the two goals and that they are achieving this reconciliation in practice: first, that social justice is not being reconciled with economic competitiveness because it is not possible to reconcile the two goals in either theory or practice; second, although the reconciliation of social justice and economic competitiveness may be possible theoretically, such a reconciliation is only occurring in some policy areas and

crucially, not in education; and third, while it may be possible to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness in theory, New Labour is not reconciling the two goals in any policy area. These three responses contradict the claims made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers that social justice can, and is, being reconciled with economic competitiveness. In advancing such claims, the New Labour actors propound an alternative response, arguing that no reconciliation of the two goals is necessary because the two are similar/non-antagonistic.

When assessing New Labour, the current literature focuses predominantly on policy analysis. Many authors invoke discourse as evidence to support their arguments. However, few studies analyse discourse exclusively with most preferring to employ it in conjunction with analyses of policy. Where discourse is employed alongside policy analysis, it is used mainly for illustrative purposes to exhibit specific examples rather than as the primary means to conduct the analysis. These analyses of discourse are limited both in the number and spread of documents that they examine as well as in the way that such documents are analysed. Thus, the existing literature concentrates mainly upon speeches made by Blair and employs only isolated quotes to support their arguments.

I contend that in employing the reductive approach outlined above, the current literature fails to capture the dynamism and complexity of the Government's discourse on education. This leads the existing literature to draw inaccurate conclusions about the nature of New Labour's approach, for example by exaggerating New Labour's emphasis upon managerialisation, authoritarianism and choice in its approach to education and by drawing a false dichotomy between social and economic objectives. This is because these arguments are based upon

analyses that focus on policy and only consider discourse intermittently therefore overlooking the possibility that such issues may be perceived differently by individual actors within the Party and, that this may change over time. The distinction between ‘social’ and ‘economic’ is useful as an initial ordering device in highlighting the two sets of arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers when talking about education. However, it is inadequate as a way of understanding these arguments because my analysis reveals New Labour’s understanding of the ‘social’ to be fundamentally ‘economic’ in that it is predicated upon three discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. I identify some elements of the ‘social’ arguments used by Brown and the Education Ministers, which may be conceptualised independently of concerns for the economy however, these are at tension with the arguments put forward by Blair and are not explored in sufficient depth by the actors in order for me to assess whether they constitute an alternative New Labour conception of education. Consequently, not only is the distinction made within the existing literature between the ‘social’ and ‘economic’ arbitrary, it also distracts us from identifying the particular moment/s when the three actors’ language changes to emphasise particular arguments about education. This prevents us from addressing the question why Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ use of certain arguments changes over time and, between one another. It can, therefore, be argued that New Labour’s discourse on education should be conceptualised less as a dichotomy between social and economic and more as a fluid web of coherent multiple arguments, whose use is subject to periods of heightened activity and relative stasis by a number of different actors. Furthermore, the distinction between social and economic prohibits us from gaining a proper sense of whether New Labour has been coherent because the understanding of coherence put forward in the current literature is reductive in that it does not consider discourse and does not look at differences

over time and between actors. Conversely, I set out an alternative view of coherence that is complex and multifaceted. My understanding of coherence situates discourse as equivalent to policy as the principal unit of analysis and is sensitive to differences over time and between agents. In order to determine whether Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are coherent in their conception of education, and whether it is legitimate to talk of a New Labour understanding in relation to social and economic objectives, I argue that we need to supplement the existing literature's analysis of policy with an examination of its discourse. This is to determine whether there have been any differences across Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers or shifts between 1997 and 2007.

Methodology

These research questions are not straightforward and require complicated answers. To address my three research questions and fulfil the requirement for a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the discourse of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, I undertook a mixed method analysis that drew upon both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have an important role to play in extending our understanding of a given topic (see Hammersley 1992) and combining the two serves several purposes such as overcoming the limitations of adopting a single method. The decision to combine quantitative and qualitative methods was partly pragmatic, being rooted in a desire to utilise those methods which offered the most appropriate means of addressing my research questions (Bryman 1988: 108-9, Devine 2002: 202). However, there was an additional requirement to select methods that would not compromise my fundamental ontological and epistemological position (Read and Marsh 2002: 291). As outlined earlier, my approach

stems from a non-positivist position that recognises the dynamic and constructed nature of social reality; my aim, as indicated above, was to uncover the subjective meanings attached by key actors within New Labour to the policy area of education. This necessarily meant establishing first, through exploratory qualitative analysis, how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers talk about education and, second, using this to inform the quantitative content analysis to establish the frequency that particular arguments about education were referred to by each actor and over time (Padgett 1988: 128-129 quoted in Read and Marsh 2002: 239).

My initial approach was to undertake an inductive exploration of the language used by Blair and Brown to talk about social justice. Originally, I focused only on these two actors, analysing the period from July 1994. I examined Blair and Brown's use of several concepts including social justice, opportunity, responsibility, fairness, choice and competitiveness. My corpus consisted of fifty documents. Using qualitative analysis, I read through the documents in their entirety to determine how the two actors talked about these concepts. My interest in social justice led me to analyse how Blair and Brown understood this concept, which necessarily entailed looking at how they conceptualised each of the values understood to be elements of this notion. Using qualitative analysis, I read through speeches made by the actors in order to determine how they talked about these concepts. My analysis revealed the significance of the following keywords within Blair's and Brown's conception, equal worth, opportunity, responsibility and choice. Initially, I focused on whether the two actors' discursive conception and the Party's practical application of these values of social justice was consistent with one another (see for example Kenny 2007). However, as I became more familiar and 'submerged' in the data, I realised the fundamental role played by the concepts of

‘education’ and ‘opportunity’ in Blair’s and Brown’s language to connect the goals of social justice and economic competitiveness; a central platform of New Labour’s programme. This finding is consistent with the claims made by key actors within New Labour itself (see Chapter Three). Both concepts were talked about by Blair and Brown in largely similar ways and, indeed, on many occasions, the two terms were substituted for one another, i.e. education was highlighted as increasing opportunity and vice-versa. I subsequently decided to focus my analysis on how the concept of education was talked about by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

I determined the content of each actor’s language by undertaking a close textual analysis of how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers talked about education to identify the arguments employed by the three actors. I analysed the three actors’ language according to a set of organising questions. These questions were formulated to examine: when each argument appeared and the first actor to employ it; the meaning of each argument and whether this was consistent across different actors and time; what other concepts it was linked to; whether there was a sequence of who uses this concept; and, finally, whether this resulted in periods of relative stasis and heightened activity. The full results of my analysis are outlined in Appendices One and Two. Second, I determined the frequency that each actor referred to a given argument and identified how it was used within the speeches. For instance, where did such arguments appear in the speech and what other, if any, arguments were they employed alongside? Addressing these areas of inquiry enabled me to determine whether a New Labour discourse on education existed and, if so, the content of such a discourse and the status of social and economic goals within it. This enabled me to combine the qualitative analysis of

those instances where the three actors talk about education with the quantitative content analysis of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speeches.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. In Chapter One, I conduct a review of the existing literature on New Labour. Here, I show that the majority of commentators on New Labour are concerned with its coherence. In investigating this issue, the literature analyses six aspects and I show that two presuppositions underpin this. The Chapter shows that, despite making claims about New Labour's coherence, current research designs do not provide an appropriate indication of whether the Party has been coherent since they are reductive. Such analyses fail to apprehend the multifariousness of New Labour's discourse over the period and to realise that the distinction between social and economic objectives is arbitrary. Conversely, I set out an alternative view of coherence, which is more inclusive. Thus, I argue that, in order to determine how coherent New Labour's conception of education is in relation to social and economic objectives, we need to undertake a detailed and systematic analysis of the language of the three key actors within it: Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, to determine whether there have been any shifts over time or across different actors. I also outline the three research questions that drive the thesis as well as the expectations that arise from the arguments put forward in the existing literature, which I examine in my analysis.

In Chapter Two, I outline the methodology that I employ to analyse Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education. The methodology adopted in this thesis utilises a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analysis using the computer software

programme QSR NVivo. This Chapter explains, in more detail, my rationale behind adopting this method, including justifying the importance I give to issues of language and discourse and the importance of such issues to analysing New Labour as well as, identifying the limitations of current analyses of discourse in the existing literature. It also outlines the largely inductive process I went through in collecting and analysing the data explaining the evolution of my project, as well as outlining a more detailed breakdown of the analytic process I undertook in examining the three actors' language. This Chapter also includes a critical discussion of the methods I adopt in this study focusing on content analysis and QSR NVivo. I also reflect on the difficulties I encountered during the analysis, thus preparing the ground for further reflection on the direction of my future research in the Conclusion.

Chapters Three and Four outline my empirical findings about New Labour's language on education. My analysis into New Labour's language revealed two sets of arguments that constitute the Party's discussions of education, which correspond with the distinction between 'social' and 'economic' in the existing literature. These are 'social' arguments which refer to arguments that are non-economic and include, for example, a specific focus on issues relating to redistribution and equality and, 'economic' arguments that refer to those arguments connecting education to economic and market goals. My results show that between 1997 and 2007, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to eighteen different arguments about education. Twelve of these arguments comprise the 'social' set of arguments while six comprise the 'economic' set of arguments. Underpinning these two sets of arguments are three discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses emphasise the importance of education to economic objectives and therefore infuse the 'social' arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers with concerns

about the economy; rendering the distinction between the two as meaningless. Using the expectations from the existing literature outlined in Chapter One, I sketch out the initial implications of my findings for the claims put forward in the current literature on New Labour.

Chapter Five uses my findings about New Labour's language to examine the claims of coherence put forward in the existing literature. I show the limitations of the reductive approach utilised within the existing literature. This leads the existing literature to reach two inaccurate conclusions about the nature of New Labour's approach to education and, prohibits it from determining whether New Labour has been coherent in its approach to education. I show that the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to talk about education, although varying between actors and over time, is coherent and it is essentially concerned with the perceived needs of the economy. Thus, I am able to show that New Labour's discourse and policy correspond in the primacy they afford to economic considerations. My analysis shows that New Labour's discourse and policy on education are coherent in its prioritisation of the economy however, I also show that the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is dynamic. This finding establishes the utility of conceiving coherence more inclusively because I am able to reveal the range of different arguments used by the three actors and the points at which their use of certain arguments changes.

I conclude by outlining the contribution of my thesis to the existing literature on New Labour and show how it enhances this literature empirically and methodologically. In addressing my three research questions, I have advanced original findings about how education is talked

about by New Labour between 1997 and 2007. These findings reveal the importance of employing a more expansive conception of coherence. In the Conclusion I also reflect upon the limitations of my thesis and discuss possible approaches to addressing the two questions that are raised by my analysis: why are there examples of periods of heightened activity and relative stasis in New Labour's language on education; and what relationship do these periods of heightened activity or relative stasis have to policy? Here, I sketch out my plans to address these two questions in my future research in a way that builds upon the analysis that I have already completed in this thesis but expands it to examine other types of explanations that are facilitated by my theoretical approach, drawing upon ideational, agential and material factors.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW

My intention in this thesis is to investigate how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers conceptualise education in order to determine the existence and content of a putative coherent ‘New Labour’ discourse. The claim made by actors within New Labour to reconcile social and economic goals is widely discussed within the broader literature. Commentators have frequently assessed the extent of New Labour’s coherence by focusing on the way in which the Party conceives the relationship between social and economic objectives. The literature analyses six different aspects of coherence. In propounding their claims about New Labour, the current literature focuses predominantly on policy analysis and largely overlooks issues of discourse. In this Chapter, I focus only on those authors that use discourse to support their arguments about New Labour either exclusively or, in conjunction with policy analysis. I show that the literature employs a reductive understanding of coherence, which fails in three important respects. In contrast, I employ a more inclusive conception that examines the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in addition to analysing policy. In order to investigate whether there is a coherent New Labour discourse on education and the relationship within this between education, social justice and economic competitiveness and address the limitations of the existing literature, I have developed three research questions:

1. Is there a New Labour discourse on education?
2. If so, what is it?
3. What is the relationship between social and economic objectives in this discourse?

This Chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I review the existing literature on New Labour, setting out how it discusses the issue of coherence. In the second section, I show that underpinning this literature are two presuppositions treating New Labour as a single actor and arguing that education is subordinated to economic demands. In arguing this, I demonstrate that the research designs utilised within the current literature do not allow us to get a proper sense of whether New Labour has been coherent. Conversely, in the third section I set out an alternative view of coherence that situates discourse alongside policy as the principal unit of analysis and is sensitive to differences over time and between agents. Thus, in order to determine how coherent New Labour's conception of education is in relation to social and economic objectives, I argue that we need to examine the discourse of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to determine whether there have been any shifts over time or across different actors.

Section One: The Coherence of New Labour

In discussing New Labour, much of the literature focuses upon examining the extent to which it has been coherent. In so doing, it concentrates upon six aspects of coherence examining New Labour's adherence to the ideology of the Third Way, its coherence over time, across policy, over different levels of government, different actors within the Party and, its conception of the relationship between social and economic objectives. In this section, I will outline how each of these six aspects of coherence is discussed within the existing literature on New Labour, drawing upon examples from the literature analysing education where possible. Although several authors adopt a critical theoretical approach to education (Ball

1990, 1994; Dale 1989; Hill 1999, 2000, 2001; Tomlinson 2001a), even in the literature that acknowledges the importance of discourse, this acknowledgement is commonly at an abstract theoretical level. That is, it asserts arguments about New Labour's discourse about education without undertaking a systematic and comprehensive analysis of this discourse.

1.1 The Third Way

In debating the coherence of New Labour, much reference is made to the Third Way as the ideology that is said to underpin its approach. Described as “fuzzy”, “vague” and “a masterwork of ambiguity” (Etzioni 2000: 13), the Third Way argues for a pragmatic approach to politics in an age where the old political ideologies of Left and Right are obsolete and where traditional economic, social and cultural roles have been eroded (Nobbio 1996 quoted in Callinicos 2001: 46, Giddens 1996: 13). New Labour documents emphasise the role of the Third Way in providing a viable option that “marries together” the old values of the left with the efficiency and value for money of the new right (Labour Party 1997). By transcending the old ideologies of the past, proponents of the Third Way claim that it can provide viable solutions to the new set of challenges said to face policymakers.

The majority of literature on the Third Way is concerned with defining this seemingly alternative approach. Gregor McLennan describes the Third Way as a ‘vehicular’ idea and explains it in terms of four characteristics that relate to its problem-solving ability, its “ineliminable vagueness and mobility”, its resistance to theorisation in any rigorous sense and its multiple interpretations (McLennan 2004: 485). Alan Finlayson identifies two sources of the Third Way, which he characterises as theoretical and sociological (Finlayson 1999, 2003). Central to both of these aspects is the belief that contemporary society has undergone major

transformations that require changes in how society is conceptualised and how we act towards it (Finlayson 1999: 271). Will Leggett likewise echoes this view that a diagnosis of contemporary society is central to the arguments of the Third Way (Leggett 2004). Although detecting different elements within it, these authors generally attribute coherence to the Third Way ideology and therefore coherence to New Labour in subscribing to it. This is due to its core set of values, particular diagnosis and acceptance of social and economic change and, the new role for social-democratic governments (Pollack 2000: 276). In contrast, critics of the Third Way such as Alex Callinicos (2001) and Norman Fairclough (2000) challenge the arguments implicit in the Third Way. They argue that it not only relies on an oversimplified and crude portrayal of the two ideologies it claims to transcend (see Callinicos 2001: 46) but it also underestimates the extent that opposites such as rights and responsibilities, responsibility and capitalism for example, can be made to blend harmoniously (see Fairclough 2000). In this way, Callinicos and Fairclough contest the coherence of the Third Way and therefore question the coherence of New Labour in its commitment to it. However, Callinicos and Fairclough operate with a different understanding of issues such as social justice than that which is expressed in the Third Way and consequently, conflate their normative views with their analysis of it. For example, the two authors criticise the Third Way for underestimating the extent that rights and responsibilities can be reconciled yet, this is based on their understanding of such issues rather than the conception outlined in the Third Way. Therefore, both Callinicos and Fairclough argue that the characterisation of rights and responsibility for example is wrong without considering the internal coherence of the arguments of the Third Way in its own terms. Furthermore, the two authors do not consider that New Labour may

coherently support the Third Way in its discourse without the Third Way itself being coherent⁴.

1.2 Over Time

Much of the literature on New Labour emphasises its relationship to the past. In determining novelty, New Labour is positioned variously against its own past, that of its predecessors the Conservative Party as well as against other political traditions such as liberalism and neoliberalism. Cronin shows the particular perspective taken by New Labour on the coherence and “embeddedness” of its past which he denotes as: “a view that the left, right and centre within the Labour Party were more or less equally implicated in its failures” (Cronin 2004: 10). Many others cite the centrality of modernisation to the New Labour project (Allender 2001; Coates 2000; Fairclough 2000; Finlayson 2003; Hay 1999b; Kenny and Smith 1997).

Focusing on questions of ideology, Freeden argues that the ideology of New Labour is an amalgam of the three traditions of liberalism, conservatism and socialism as well as containing ideational imports from the United States. Employing a “morphological” account of ideology, he argues that an ideology is composed of multiple political concepts defined as equality, justice, rights, liberty, democracy and power (Freeden 1996: 45, 61), these concepts do not occupy equal status and instead demonstrate a ‘morphological’ character where they are positioned as: “core, adjacent and peripheral concepts” (Freeden 1996: 77). The core consists of a cluster rather than a single concept, whose components can be assigned greater

⁴ I thank Mark Goodwin for highlighting this point to me.

or lesser importance by members of the same ideological family (Freeden 1996: 84). As well as changing position within the ideology, interpretations of the components within each political concept are not fixed and are derived from a: “potentially unlimited and essentially contestable universe of meanings” and thus, exhibit a wide range of variations (Freeden 1996: 54).

Critiquing Freedon’s approach, Mark Bevir argues for a: “non-reified, decentred model of ideology” where ideologies are both contingent and changing. Bevir contends that an ideology can only be described: “by tracing how it develops over time as its exponents inherit beliefs and actions, modify them and pass them on to others” (Bevir 2000: 280) and thus, to explain New Labour’s ideology:

[W]e have not only to locate it in the tradition from which its representatives set out, but also to grasp how they then modified this tradition in response to specific dilemmas (Bevir 2000: 281).

Employing this approach, Bevir explains New Labour’s ideology in terms of a modification of the broad socialist tradition. This modification took place largely as a response to issues such as inflation, the underclass and the changing structure of the working class that were made salient by the New Right (Bevir 2000: 287; Bevir 2005: 84). New Labour’s response to these issues was, according to Bevir, influenced by new institutionalism and communitarianism. Thus, its response to inflation entailed a modification of the socialist concept of social justice, its response to the underclass modified the notion of citizenship and adapting to the changing structure of the working class required a different conception of community (Bevir 2000: 288; Bevir 2005: 84).

Taking a broader view of New Labour, Finlayson demonstrates its coherence across policy areas through an exploration of the historical development of several key themes that informs its approach and how they are conceptualised by the Party itself (Finlayson 2003: 10). Finlayson explains that in order to be coherent, New Labour had to reconceptualise the economy as a “force for integration” thus, subordinating everything so that it is only understood in terms of its articulation with the economic (Finlayson 2003: 154). In contrast, Finlayson identifies the presuppositions that govern New Labour’s approach and “makes sense” of these in light of the context in which they developed and were subsequently employed by New Labour.

Ruth Levitas argues for an evolutionary conception of change in New Labour’s discourse. She analyses both discourse and policy to examine the construction of Labour’s discourse on social exclusion between 1994 and 1997 and in doing so, looks at the meanings of inclusion and exclusion in circulation within wider debates which fed into its language. Focusing on the development of the discourses of social exclusion, Levitas contends that as the term social exclusion became more prevalent, competing discourses emerged both within individual countries and within Europe. She traces the linear progression of New Labour’s approach towards social exclusion from one influenced by a Redistributionist Egalitarian Discourse (RED) to current Party thinking which incorporates elements from the Moral Underclass Discourse (MUD) and the Social Integrationist Discourse (SID). Put simply: “in RED they have no money, in SID they have no work, in MUD they have no morals” (Levitas 1998: 27). The extent of change within New Labour is assessed according to its adoption and rejection of particular ideas such as that of stakeholding and the recasting of job security as employability. Levitas reveals the complexity of New Labour’s approach to social exclusion by identifying

the prevalence of these three different, overlapping and contradictory discourses in the Party's language and policies.

1.3 Across Policy

Several authors emphasise the complexity of New Labour. Kerr et al acknowledge the significance of the Labour Party's history, Thatcherism and social democracy upon New Labour whilst contending that it represents a departure from each of these (Kerr et al. 2003). Challenging the view of coherence, Kerr et al contend that New Labour is "more singular, incoherent and difficult to pin down than most authors acknowledge" (Kerr et al 2003: 2). For example, they compare New Labour's policy agenda and ideology with those of Thatcher, social democracy and "Old" Labour and in doing so focus on three policy areas, economic policy, constitutional reform and the modernisation of government (Kerr et al 2003: 2). Similarly, Smith identifies the "often contradictory and conflicting" traditions of social democracy, social conservatism, Thatcherism and pragmatism as sources for New Labour (Smith 2001: 267).

Using evidence from the manifesto commitments of 1992 and 1997, supporting policy documents and conference speeches, Hay shows evidence of a bipartisan convergence between New Labour and Thatcherism (Hay 1999b: 107). Hay identifies clear policy differences between Labour and Conservatives in five different policy areas at the 1992 election and he considers the differences that have emerged since 1992. Focusing on five policy areas and individual policies within them, Hay argues that there has been significant policy convergence between the Labour and Conservative position on the policy areas of

labour market regulation, education and training policy, welfare reform and social policy and, economic and industrial policy since 1992. Furthermore, this convergence is largely the consequence of revisions by the Labour Party to pre-existing policy commitments (Hay 1999: 107). Hay argues that despite capitulating to the neoliberal politics of Thatcherism, which was coherent (Hay 1999b: 167), New Labour is incoherent and furthermore, it represents evidence of the lack of a coherently and consistently developed social democratic alternative to neoliberalism (Hay 1999b: 135, 144).

Focusing on the issue of coherence specifically within the policy area of education, authors writing within the literature on New Labour and education, offer a holistic analysis of its approach to education, emphasising the complexity of its policies and focus on identifying the different strands within the composition of New Labour's approach towards education. Here, New Labour's general trend towards neoliberal structural reforms are argued to sit alongside its attempts to use education to achieve social cohesions and build consensus and in doing so, such authors emphasise the ideological hybridity of New Labour's approach to education (Hill 1999, 2001; Trowler 2003; Whitty 2002). Explaining New Labour's record on education in terms of a balance between the traditions of egalitarianism and libertarianism, McCaig argues that education under New Labour can be seen as a synthesis of three elements. These are: an inherited, vague plural ideology from several different traditions such as egalitarianism and authoritarianism, the development of a centralised policymaking structure and the systematic courting of electoral popularity, which he contends explains its emphasis on the themes of standards and choice (McCaig 2001: 189, 201). Following this approach, Paterson identifies three strands within the educational ideology of New Labour. She characterises these as New Labourism (itself a composition of themes from the New Right of

the 1980s and nineteenth century liberalism), developmentalism which focuses on national competitiveness and finally, New Social Democracy, which has some consistencies with the previous two strands but has greater insistence on the inadequacies of unregulated capitalism (Paterson 2003: 166).

Of those authors propounding the view of New Labour as ideologically multifarious, most ascribe coherence to New Labour despite its ideological diversity. Focusing specifically on education, Hill (1999, 2001), Trowler (2003) and Whitty (2002) describe New Labour's approach to education as ideologically hybrid yet argue that it is coherent in that it represents a broad consensus of marketisation and managerialisation and a continued neoliberal commitment to market competition (see Mulderrig 2006: 76). This is because New Labour's attempts to use education to achieve social cohesion for example have now been incorporated into its commitment to working within a neoliberal paradigm. Similarly, McCaig (2001) contends that New Labour's education policy is coherent because it is a balance between egalitarian and libertarian left elements and a synthesis of three different elements.

Employing a 'policy sociology' approach, Ball uses concepts, ideas and research emanating from the field of sociology to make sense of education policy (Ball 2008: 4). This methodology focuses on the relationship of education policy to the needs of the state and the economy, which includes analysis of social authority, citizenship, social welfare, economic competitiveness as well as the issue of social class (Ball 2008: 4, 5). Central to Ball's policy sociology approach is the examination of discourse and he uses this in three ways. First Ball analyses the language of policy that is, how language is used: "to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others", which is characterised as "policy rhetorics and

discourses”. In establishing and maintaining such rhetoric and discourse, ‘policy intellectuals’: “play an important role in establishing credibility and ‘truthfulness’” and thus an examination of the discourse of policy intellectuals constitute an important part of Ball’s analysis (Ball 2008: 5). The third way that Ball employs discourse in his analysis is an analysis of how policies are represented and disseminated through ‘policy texts’. That is, the:

[D]ocuments and speeches that ‘articulate’ policies and policy ideas, which work to translate policy abstractions like globalisation and the knowledge economy and public sector reform, into roles and relationships and practices within institutions that enact policy and change what people do and how they think about what they do (Ball 2008: 6).

Ball analyses change in education policy over time and across political parties. He seeks to identify the main tendencies, patterns, key moments and significant developments in education policy and in doing so, examines how policies are represented and disseminated through ‘policy texts’ (Ball 2008: 3-6). In so doing, he identifies some of the circularities and discontinuities within education policy and connects these to six recurring themes. These are: the changing form and modalities of the state; the production of ‘new learners’; the subordination of education to economic imperatives; policy convergence across countries and sectors; the ‘privatisation’ of public sector education; and, the ‘joining up’ of social and educational policies (Ball 2008: 9). Ball argues that New Labour’s approach to education, underpinned as it is by the Third Way, is “embedded in powerful, coherent, global *policyscapes*” which emphasise the subordination of education to economic imperatives and, the ‘joining up’ of social and educational policies (Ball 2008: 151, italics author’s own).

1.4 Across Different Levels of Government

Catherine Needham looks at the relationship between citizenship and consumerism in New Labour's approach to public service reform and she identifies three narratives of public service delivery within New Labour's discourse. Two of these are based upon consumerism: rights and standardisation and choice and differentiation; with one based upon coproduction rather than consumerism, oriented around the concepts of empowerment, opportunity and responsibility (although its potential to be incorporated as a narrative of consumerism is revealed by Needham) (Needham 2007: 5). Needham reveals the complexity of New Labour's approach to public service reform by identifying the three narratives and showing how these narratives change over time, across the different levels of government and over different policy areas. Adopting a content analytic approach, she is able to provide empirical evidence to show the dominance of each narrative over time and in each of the level of government. In doing so, Needham argues that a consumerist narrative pervades the different levels of government, which extends beyond the speeches of Blair to the language used in different levels of government such as that employed in green and white papers in public service and interviews with officers, councillors and civil servants within local government (Needham 2007: 106). Although there are tensions between the three narratives of public service delivery, analysed together these narratives express an overarching coherent narrative of consumerism (Needham 2007: 201).

1.5 Across Actors Within New Labour

Both describing New Labour's language and criticising it, Fairclough's concern is to gain a clearer sense of how New Labour employs language (Fairclough 2000: 16). In analysing New

Labour's discourse, Fairclough warns against overlooking the internal diversity within the Party and instead argues that it is a disparate alliance of different political positions associated with different communicative styles: a point that we may extend to the study of all political parties (Fairclough 2000: 8, 15). He argues that New Labour's discourse is:

[N]ot a matter of a single person (e.g. Tony Blair) or for that matter a team working single-mindedly on developing and elaborating the discourse. It is rather a process that involves a number of people who may be pulling in more or less different directions (Fairclough 2000: 93).

However, whilst recognising the diverse discourse and voices within New Labour, Fairclough argues that within its discourse there is a: "sufficient commonality to give the sense of a broad unity and consistency of vision". He goes on to contend that:

[T]his unifying discourse is not a once-and-for-all achievement; it is constantly put at risk by events and changing circumstances, and it demands continuous work to sustain it. It is therefore constantly in flux, constantly being adapted and changed, and unevenly so across the diverse domains and activities of politics and government (Fairclough 2000: 21-22).

Fairclough's argument appears to direct us to analysing change both over time, across actors and indeed over different policy areas and levels of government. In implementing this conception of change, he focuses on three areas. First, he considers the development of New Labour's discourse in relation to Thatcherism, the New Democrats, the European Union as well as in connection to other international bodies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Second, Fairclough examines the difference and contestation within New Labour's discourse and illustrates this with an analysis of an interview conducted with John Prescott and, Barrett

Brown and Coates' book (1996). Finally, he looks at change in the discourse of New Labour, demonstrating this with a discussion of its appropriation of some aspects of the discourse of Thatcherism as well as with its adoption of the language of stakeholding.

1.6 The Relationship Between Social and Economic Objectives

In discussing the relationship between social and economic objectives in New Labour's programme, the literature diverges between those that deal with this issue directly and those that refer to it implicitly. Of those authors that address the issue directly, much discussion focuses upon the claim made by key actors within New Labour to be committed to providing opportunities for all as a means to achieving social justice. This commitment is built upon its reconciliation of economic competitiveness with social justice, where economic prosperity is seen as a prerequisite for social justice. As a core element of Third Way ideology, this claim is central to New Labour's programme and specifically its approach to education because this is understood to be the principal means to achieve this reconciliation.

The relationship between 'social' goals such as social justice and equality and 'economic' ones such as competitiveness, efficiency and growth has been the subject of much academic debate. Such debate ranges from those authors that propound, consistent with the key actors within New Labour, a compatibility argument (see Gough 1996) that greater social equality equals greater economic efficiency and economic growth (Kitson et al. 2000: 631, 635) to those espousing the opposite 'incompatibility' argument that greater social policy undermines national competitiveness (Fisher 1935; Gilder 1981; Okun 1975 cited in Gough 1996). Between these two positions however, are several authors who argue that, while there is no

necessary trade-off between efficiency and social justice, such a reconciliation is dependent on contingent factors such as the productivity of different social protection systems (Rhodes 2005: 365), and national institutional structures (Gough 1996: 209, Headey et al. 2000: 151).

Some authors argue normatively that social justice should not, or cannot, be reconciled with efficiency. Analysing the 1994 Report of the Commission on Social Justice (Commission on Social Justice 1994), White argues that the Commission exaggerates the extent to which the two values of social justice and economic competitiveness are mutually supportive (White 1995: 207). In making this argument, White emphasises the importance of affirming social justice as a value in its own right. This is because he believes that, in certain respects, the pursuit of justice will compromise economic competitiveness and therefore it is important for those who value social justice to continue to affirm claims of justice independently of its contribution to competitiveness (White 1995: 207-208). This position is supported by Gray who contends that the prioritisation of economic competitiveness over social justice is deeply corrosive of any active and consistently applied conception of social justice, whether Rawlsian, social democratic or otherwise (Gray 1997). Other authors reject the claim that equality of opportunity for lifelong learning reconciles social justice with economic competitiveness. Here, they echo White and Gray's concerns that the attempted fusion of social justice to competitive efficiency diminishes the inherent value to the pursuit of social justice for its own sake (Driver and Martell 1998: 106). Thus social justice becomes desirable only as far as it supports competitiveness; raising questions about future commitment to social justice should it fail to promote efficiency (O'Brien 2000: 408).

Critics contest the New Labour actors' assertion that it is reconciling social justice and economic competitiveness and in doing so propound one of the following four arguments:

- 1.6.1 No reconciliation of the two goals is necessary because the two are similar/non-antagonistic.
- 1.6.2 New Labour is not reconciling the two goals because it is not possible to reconcile the two goals in either theory or practice;
- 1.6.3 The reconciliation of social justice and economic competitiveness may be possible theoretically but New Labour is not reconciling the two goals in the policy area of education;
- 1.6.4 The reconciliation of social justice and economic competitiveness may be possible theoretically but New Labour is not reconciling the two goals in any policy area.

It is important to note that authors make their claims from different normative positions within these four arguments. For example, some authors may criticise New Labour for not reconciling social justice and economic efficiency because they believe that such reconciliation should not be undertaken, while others may believe that it is desirable to reconcile the two but criticise New Labour for not reconciling them in practice. This next section will briefly go through each of the four arguments and identify the principal arguments put forward and the key authors making them.

1.6.1 No Reconciliation of Social Justice with Economic Competitiveness is Necessary Because the Two Goals are Similar/Non-Antagonistic

New Labour's claim to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness rests on the understanding that in the past a false choice or antithesis was set up between the 'economic' and the 'social'. According to New Labour, history has shown, and the new knowledge economy has demonstrated, that social justice and economic competitiveness are: "two sides of the same coin" and "go hand in hand" with one another (see for example Blair 1999a, 2006a; Blair 1999c, 2005b; Blunkett 2000a; Brown 2000b, 2000g, 2003g, 2003h, 2004d, 2005s; Johnson 2003a, 2007c; Kelly 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2005a; Rammell 2007d). Such a view is supported in the report published by the Commission on Social Justice in 1994 that argued that there was no conflict between efficiency and equality and instead, "economic and social policy are inextricably linked; they are two sides of the same coin" (Commission on Social Justice 1994: 97).

1.6.2 New Labour is Not Reconciling Social Justice with Economic Competitiveness

Because it is Not Possible to Reconcile them in Either Theory or Practice

Fairclough highlights New Labour's consistent presentation of contradictory elements as equivalent (see Fairclough 2000: 43, 49). He argues that while the differences between social and economic objectives are profound, no evidence of the possible tension between the two goals is shown in New Labour's discourse. Similarly, while noting New Labour's "laudable and authentic commitment to social justice" (Fielding 2001: 8), Fielding highlights the difficulties with New Labour's proclamations that, first, the two goals can be reconciled and, second, that it is achieving this in practice through its education policies. Fielding argues that

simply stating that this reconciliation can occur and that it is occurring does not acknowledge or address the tensions between the two goals and the potential problems that such an approach might undergo. Furthermore, echoing Fairclough's concern, Fielding argues that New Labour needs to do more to understand the relationship between social and economic goals;

[New Labour's discourse] does nothing to help us understand the relationship between these things. A list is no substitute for argument: there are tensions to be acknowledged and properly addressed here (Fielding 2001: 10. See also Greene 1997: 64).

Offering a feminist critique of the Third Way's claims to reconcile: "the irreconcilable politics of left and right" (Franklin 2000: 138), Franklin contends that under New Labour's emphasis on consensus, the political distinctions between labour and capital as well as those between men and women are played down and, instead, these interests are seen as synonymous. Any suggestion that such interests are distinct is understood to be conflictual and, as such, has no place in New Labour's politics of consent (Franklin 2000: 141; see also Levitas 1998).

Alternatively, one might see the lack of discussion over the tension between the two goals as evidence of how successfully New Labour has reconciled social justice with economic competitiveness, at least discursively. The fact that it is never discussed by individuals within the Party, suggests that the idea that there is no tension between the goals of social justice and economic competitiveness has become widely accepted across a range of actors within New Labour.

1.6.3 Reconciling Social Justice with Economic Competitiveness May Be Possible Theoretically, but New Labour is Not Reconciling Them in the Policy Area of Education

Several authors demonstrate how education is employed by New Labour, both discursively and practically, to achieve economic goals such as increased productivity and competitiveness as well as social goals such as justice and inclusion. Much of this literature adopts a critical stance and argues that rather than reconciling the two objectives, education under New Labour has now been completely directed towards the demands of the economy (Ball 2001, 2008; Cole 1998; Hatcher 2008; Hulme and Hulme 2005; Lunt 2008; Mulderrig 2003, 2008; Selwyn 2008; Wolf 2002. See Lingard and Ozga 2007 for a broader critique of the neoliberal restructuring of education and its effect on education policy).

In her study of Labour Party discourse and policy, Gail Stedward shows how education has been repositioned in the Labour policy hierarchy from a social policy concern to a primary component of economic policy under New Labour. Charting the trajectory of ideas and trends that led to the “marriage” of social and economic policy and the central role awarded to education in reconciling the two, Stedward examines New Labour’s approach to education and investigates some of the problems arising from its approach (Stedward 2003: 140).

Utilising a cultural political economy (CPE) approach, Bob Jessop attempts to explain the ascendancy of economic ideas that delineated a central role for education in achieving a ‘knowledge-based economy’ (KBE) in Europe (Jessop 2008). He identifies the discursive and material factors behind the hegemonic ascendancy of the KBE imaginary and traces the

implications of this for changes in the role of education at different levels and their connection to the competitiveness and social exclusion agendas (Jessop 2008b: 4). Jessop argues that:

[Education] is increasingly construed as a directly economic factor ... and, where it is located outside the market or quasi-market economy, it is nonetheless increasingly seen as an extra-economic factor that bears directly and ever-more critically on economic competitiveness (Jessop 2008: 29).

Commenting on a recent special issue of the Oxford Review of Education, Whitty notes that: “a common theme [of the papers] ... included the government’s pursuit of neo-liberal market policies at the expense of its professed commitment to social justice” (Whitty 2009: 267). Furthermore, in recognising that “the economic value of education, as opposed to its other benefits, is emphasised by New Labour”, Whitty argues that although many contributors recognise that “there is a second key component of Blair’s education policy rhetoric - social justice ... this has too often been ignored at the expense of other priorities” (Whitty 2009: 275). In arguing this, Whitty claims that the economic value of education has been emphasised more emphatically by New Labour in its discourse. For example, the papers by Hatcher (2008) and Selwyn (2008) emphasise the predominance of economic narratives such as that of “human capital” (Hatcher 2008: 665) and “prevailing concerns over enhancing competitiveness in a globalising economy” in New Labour’s policies towards education (Selwyn 2008: 708). Concentrating on higher education, Lunt (2008) suggests that: “there is a tension between the market approach adopted by New Labour ... and its avowed commitment to social justice” (Lunt 2008: 750).

Hulme and Hulme argue that rather than reconciling social justice and economic competitiveness, New Labour’s approach to education is governed by the overarching theme

of the economic function of education (Hulme and Hulme 2005: 34). Analysing higher education over the period 1997-2001, Watson and Bowden argue that while the prospects for “excellence” (by excellence Watson and Bowden refer principally to education’s economic contribution), are good, those for “equality” are much less secure (Watson and Bowden 2001: 26). Furthermore, Tomlinson contends that in respect to New Labour’s education policy from 1997 to 2000:

‘[E]ducation’ had become a prop for a global market economy, a competitive enterprise in which a rhetoric of ‘opportunities for the many’ covered the retreat of policies promoting social justice and equity ... education in England, under New Labour, had by 2000 been reduced to economic ends” (Tomlinson 2001: 271, 272. See also Tomlinson 2005: 2).

Such a conclusion is echoed by Ball who demonstrates the: “increasing subordination of education to ‘the economic’ and the rendering of education itself into commodity form” through his analysis of New Labour’s discourse and policy on education (Ball 2001: 47). He argues that:

[T]he general orientation of Labour’s education policy to the global competitiveness of the economy is very clear and recurs constantly in policy texts of various kinds (Ball 2001: 50).

Offering an explanation of why some New Labour policies on education have failed to achieve economic goals, Wolf argues that the New Labour’s increased focus on education as the route to competitiveness and efficiency oversimplifies the relationship between education and the economy and thus, risks the achievement of both economic and social objectives through such policies (Wolf 2002: 245).

1.6.4 Reconciling Social Justice with Economic Competitiveness May Be Possible Theoretically, but New Labour is not Reconciling them in Any Policy Area

Hay and Watson argue that New Labour's much vaunted conception of social justice is heavily circumscribed by perceived economic necessity (Hay and Watson 1999: 173). Evidence of this can be seen in actual policy outcomes, where a clearer sense of competing priorities between social justice and economic efficiency is gained, particularly the extent that the Third Way rhetoric of social justice is subordinated to economic efficiency (Hay & Watson 1999b: 173). The inferiority of social justice to economic prosperity is captured in Alistair Darling's quote below:

I firmly believe ... that the best way to address inequality and social exclusion is to create a more affluent, more successful Britain with opportunities for everyone to fulfil their full potential ... The reality is that wealth creation is more important than wealth redistribution (Darling 1999).

Section Two: The Presuppositions Underpinning the Literature on New Labour

Two presuppositions underpin the existing literature's claims about New Labour's coherence. The first assumption treats New Labour as a single actor and is put forward in the general literature on the Party. The second claim argues that education is subordinated to the economy and this is made only in that literature discussing New Labour and education. In this section, I will examine each of these presuppositions and show how they are put forward within the existing literature on New Labour.

2.1 Treating New Labour as a Single Actor

In examining the six aspects of coherence within New Labour's programme, the current literature presents an image of New Labour as homogenous and static and, in doing so, employs a reductive approach that overlooks the possibility that there may be differences over time and between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of education.

In analysing the extent of New Labour's coherence over time, New Labour is compared historically against its own past, that of its predecessors in Government as well as against other political traditions such as liberalism and neoliberalism. This presents an overly simplistic view of New Labour as a single actor. For example, employing a historical approach, Rubenstein argues that the: "Blair-led Labour Party is the direct successor of the Labour Party of the past" demonstrating this by outlining the consistencies between the objectives of the Blair Government and those of Attlee and Wilson (Rubenstein 2000: 161. See also Fielding 2002; Hickson 2007; Meredith 2003, 2007). Freeden and Bevir examine the composition and development of New Labour's ideology. Both authors attribute coherence to New Labour through the way in which they define ideology. Freeden argues that while New Labour's ideology consists of an: "internal arena of competition, indeterminacy and uncertainty over key meaning of the political values and concepts with which it engages", this is symptomatic of a "healthy, non-doctrinaire ideology", which is always in state of flux and conceptual change within certain confines (Freeden 1999: 50). By contrast, Bevir conceives ideology as "webs of interconnected beliefs ... mapping onto a perceived reality at various points". Every part of the web can be revised and because of the interconnectedness, a revision in one part will cause further change throughout the ideology (Bevir 2000: 282). In

this way, Bevir's account of New Labour's ideology as a modification of the broad socialist tradition is coherent because it represents elements of New Labour's inherited ideology of socialism but also contains the modifications that the Labour Party undertook in the face of those issues made pertinent by the New Right (Bevir 2000: 281, 287, 2005: 84). However, whilst describing ideologies as contingent and changing, Freedon and Bevir fail to consider the possibility that such ideologies may be understood differently by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and not just over time. Finlayson also historicises New Labour by looking at the beliefs that govern its approach and "makes sense" of these in light of the context in which they developed and were subsequently employed by New Labour. However, as with Bevir and Freedon, Finlayson neglects to subject the ideas themselves to this analysis and ignores the level of ideational change that explores the differences in understanding of each concept across different actors within the Party. Similarly, while distinguishing between the Redistributionist Egalitarian, Moral Underclass and Social Integrationist discourses suggests the multifariousness of New Labour's approach, Levitas characterises Labour Party thinking as a linear progression from one discourse to another and therefore does not consider that such discourses interact, collide and contradict with one another.

Analysing coherence across policy, much of the literature presents a reductive view of New Labour which compares it to other traditions such as social democracy, Thatcherism or neoliberalism. Kerr et al compares New Labour's approach to three policy areas with that of Thatcher, social democracy and "Old" Labour. Other authors compare New Labour's policies with other traditions in order to argue that it represents a betrayal of its history and is instead a direct continuation of the Thatcher Administration (Hay 1994, 1997, 1999b; Heffernan 2000; Shaw 2003; Taylor 1997), neoliberalism (Hall 2003, 2007; Lee 2007, 2008), post-Thatcherite

(Driver and Martell 1998, 2001, 2002), structural-functionalism (Prideaux 2005) or the politics of dominance (Beech 2008). Similarly, in discussing New Labour's coherence in its approach to the policy area of education, most authors argue that this is hybrid and concentrate on identifying the different elements within its practice such as neoliberalism and egalitarianism for example. In putting forward such claims, authors propound a one-dimensional view of New Labour as being Thatcherite, neoliberal, post-Thatcherite, dominant or structural-functionalist. In so doing, they acknowledge the different strands within New Labour's programme but still argue that overall its approach can be characterised with a single description of it as post-Thatcherite for example. Alternatively, some authors offer a dual-dimensional understanding where New Labour is understood to be composed of two different approaches such as neoliberalism and social democracy (Hall 2003: 19, McAnulla and Marsh 2000; Smith 2000) or, pragmatism and populism (Lister 2001; Powell 2000). Whilst such approaches allow space for differences across policy domains, they do not analyse change over time.

Needham's analysis focuses on the degree of change across different public services, levels of government and over time. She demonstrates change in New Labour's reform of public services initially through an analysis of Blair's speeches in order to identify any patterns across different speeches and over time and then contrasts this to different levels of government (Needham 2007: 86, 106). However, this does not consider the scope for change between Blair's conception of public services and those of other actors such as Brown or the particular Ministers responsible for each public services area she examines. Moreover, in examining several different policy areas, Needham is unable to dedicate a great deal of detail

to examining each policy area individually and she thus cannot explore those changes in New Labour's conception that may be specific to the policy area of education.

Fairclough warns against overlooking the internal diversity of New Labour and argues that New Labour's discourse is "not a matter of a single person" (Fairclough 2000: 93). This would seem to suggest that he would analyse the discourse of a larger group of New Labour figures however, in demonstrating the "diverse discourse and voices within New Labour", Fairclough chooses to contrast an interview with John Prescott with the book written by Barrett Brown and Coates (Barrett Brown and Coates 1996) and two of Blair's speeches. This approach both overlooks the degree of change within the discourse of Prescott, Barrett Brown and Coates as well as ignoring other actors within New Labour.

Similarly, within the literature that discusses the relationship between social and economic objectives, most authors contest New Labour's claims to be reconciling the two goals. However, in discussing this, no space is given to the possibility that the relationship between social and economic goals is contingent upon both agent and time. Thus, New Labour may direct education to economic objectives such as competitiveness at one point in time but this may change when analysing a different period or a different actor.

2.2 Education Subordinated to the Economy

The majority of the literature is critical of the claim made by key actors within New Labour to be able to reconcile the two goals and to be achieving this in practice. In doing this, the literature argues variously that it is not possible to reconcile social and economic objectives in

either theory or practice and that while this reconciliation may be possible in theory, it is not happening in any, or all, policy area/s in practice.

Fairclough and Fielding highlight the absence of any discussion by key actors within New Labour of the possible tensions between social justice and economic competitiveness in its discussions of education and argue that its failure to acknowledge such difficulties is evidence of the inability to reconcile the two goals in both theory and practice (Fairclough 2000; Fielding 2001).

While acknowledging that the reconciliation of social justice with economic competitiveness may be possible theoretically, several authors show that this is not occurring in education policy. Here, authors propound that education policy under New Labour has now been completely directed towards the demands of the economy (Ball 2001, 2008; Cole 1998; Hatcher 2008; Hulme and Hulme 2005; Lunt 2008; Mulderrig 2003, 2008; Selwyn 2008; Tomlinson 2001, 2005; Whitty 2009; Wolf 2002). This is explained variously as the culmination of a strategy begun prior to the establishment of New Labour in the Labour Parties of the past (see Stedward 2003: 140) to those that connect the advent of ideas about education as “an extra-economic factor” to the ascendancy of ideas about how to achieve success in the ‘knowledge-based economy’ (Jessop 2008b: 4, 29).

Extending their analysis beyond education policy, Hay and Watson argue that it is New Labour’s conception of social justice, rather than just education, that is heavily circumscribed by perceived economic necessity (Hay and Watson 1999: 173).

Although adopting different standpoints on the question of whether social justice can be reconciled with economic competitiveness, these authors all employ a reductive approach to analysing New Labour, which fails to determine whether there are any differences between different actors within the Party and over time. This omission means that these authors cannot determine the status of social and economic objectives in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers or identify whether, if at all, social concerns of education are ever prioritised ahead of economic considerations and if so, the particular moments and the frequency that such instances occur.

Section Three: An Alternative Understanding of Coherence

The issue of coherence is understood narrowly within the existing literature. New Labour is assessed predominantly on the coherence of its approach to policy and, despite claims to the contrary, little consideration is given to the differences between individual actors within the Party and over time. The disregard shown in the current literature for these issues means that this understanding of coherence is inadequate to address the three research questions underpinning this study and determine whether New Labour has been coherent in its conception of education. Discourse is important because ideological discourses play a crucial role in policy texts (Fairclough and Wodak 2008: 110). The power of discourses to repress or exclude is rooted in their social embeddedness and this enables political arguments to be made that assert ‘truths’ about good practice. As I outlined in the Introduction, I understand there to be a dialectical relationship between the material and ideational and structure and agency. In examining the arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers about education, I do not wish to elevate the importance of discourse or language above

concerns for agency, structure or the material. Rather, I believe that the first step in explaining why New Labour has taken the approach that it has to education is to determine the coherence of its conception of education and its relationship to social and economic objectives by analysing how such issues are presented discursively. We can only determine this by undertaking a detailed analysis of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education. Consequently, in this Chapter I have advanced a more inclusive understanding of coherence that situates discourse alongside policy as an important factor and, the centrality of determining any changes over time and between actors in assessing coherence.

Conclusion

This Chapter has reviewed the existing literature on New Labour, setting out how it discusses the issue of coherence. In doing this, I have shown that coherence is understood in terms of six aspects within the existing literature on New Labour. Two presuppositions underpin the literature's examination of these six aspects of coherence. In analysing each of these presuppositions, I have shown that the research designs utilised within the current literature are too reductive to enable us to determine whether New Labour has been coherent. Consequently, in Section Three I set out an alternative view of coherence that is more expansive. My understanding of coherence situates discourse alongside policy as the principal unit of analysis and is sensitive to differences over time and between agents. I have developed three research questions that are sensitive to this understanding of coherence and are designed to enable me to address the gaps within the existing literature and determine how

education is conceptualised by the key actors within New Labour particularly in its relationship to social and economic objectives. These three research questions are:

1. Is there a New Labour discourse on education?
2. If so, what is it?
3. What is the relationship between social and economic objectives in this discourse?

4.1 Expectations from the Literature

A number of expectations for my analysis into the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on education can be derived from the existing literature. These expectations arise because of the arguments the existing literature makes about New Labour and are drawn from the particular claims to which these arguments appeal. Such expectations are:

1. In examining the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, I will not find any significant differences between each actor or, over time and thus, will be able to identify a clear New Labour discourse on education.
2. The language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers subordinates education completely to the demands of the economy or since New Labour does subordinate education to the economy, any appeal to social justice objectives by these key actors is disingenuous.

3. Within the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, social concerns may be reconciled discursively with economic concerns but if so, this is because:
 - a. Such concerns (social) are already conceived as subordinated to the demands of the economy or;
 - b. This language ignores the tensions between the two objectives, which are played out in practice.

The subsequent Chapters address these three research questions and examine the expectations set out by the literature and analyse New Labour's language on education. Next, in Chapter Two, I outline the theoretical perspective underpinning this study and the mixed-method methodology I employ in order to answer these questions and address the weaknesses of the current literature.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

As Chapter One outlined, although voluminous, the current literature on New Labour fails to undertake a systematic and detailed analysis of its language. In large part, this is because it is a difficult and arduous task. This thesis undertakes such an analysis and examines how education has been talked about by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in order to address the key research questions arising from my critical discussion of the literature. To address this brief adequately requires the adoption of a research methodology that is capable of undertaking such a comprehensive analysis. My methodology uses QSR NVivo to conduct both qualitative and quantitative content analysis (QSR 2000). This chapter explains, in more detail, my rationale behind adopting this method and outlines the process I went through in collecting and analysing the data (see Chapters Three and Four). I have three purposes: first, this approach fulfils the requirement of “good” qualitative researchers to be transparent when communicating their findings (Bringer 2004: 252. See also Richards 2002, Sparkes 2001); second, it goes some way to showing that content analysis is both valid and reliable (Needham 2007: 216); finally, it overcomes the shortcomings identified within the current literature on New Labour (see Chapter One). This Chapter is split into two sections, each of which explains and reflects upon different aspects of the method I have adopted in the thesis. Section One explains, in more detail, my rationale behind adopting a method that combines qualitative and quantitative content analysis using QSR NVivo, including justifying the importance I give to issues of language and discourse and the importance of such issues to analysing New Labour and, identifying the limitations of current analyses of discourse in the

existing literature. I show the limitations of the existing literature's consideration of discourse through five illustrative examples. These examples demonstrate the need for my study by outlining the limitations of the existing literature's focus and analysis of discourse. In doing this, I set out the need for an approach that considers both quantity and quality and I discuss critically the methods that I adopt in this thesis focusing on content analysis and the use of QSR NVivo. Section Two explains, in greater detail, the process I went through in collecting and analysing the data from the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. I demonstrate that my findings are drawn from the inductive analysis of the three actors' language and therefore have not been subject to a priori assumptions. I also reflect on the difficulties I encountered during this analysis.

Section One: Justification of Methodology

1.1 The Importance of Language and Discourse

This study is informed by a theoretical perspective that understands language to be an important instrument of power that is both constrained, and facilitated, by the context in which it operates. The concepts, categories and ontologies that comprise language act to both describe and constitute the world in which we live, thus helping us at once to understand and transform the world (Gibbs 2002: 1). As the principal medium that conveys such meaning and interpretation to others, analysing how New Labour talks about education is an appropriate starting point for any study that seeks to explore how the Government understands the relationship between education, social justice and economic competitiveness. In talking about language, I refer to all of the utterances made by Blair, Brown and the

Education Ministers on education. Composed within language are multiple arguments, which justify education on particular grounds and may be employed both genuinely and strategically. In putting forward these arguments, actors may draw upon a range of discourses that propound implicit political arguments and therefore not only describe reality, but also create it. These discourses may take several forms that overlap with each other and may not be mutually consistent (Edelman 1984: 45).

Although the importance of discourse and ideas is widely acknowledged within the existing literature, the extent that they represent independent causal factors on outcomes is debated. I espouse a position similar to critical realism in which there is a dialectical relationship between the material and the ideational and structure and agency. That is, I believe that ideas and discourse are fundamentally interconnected. Discourse may be both a direct expression of the ideas and beliefs held earnestly by an actor and may be employed strategically by agents to achieve particular objectives. In analysing discourse, I hope to point to some of the ideas held by the key actors within New Labour that are responsible for education in order to get closer to understanding its political behaviour (Hay 2002: 209). If we accept that agents have some capacity to act independently and exercise free will, then we must accept that they can shape their arguments according to how they perceive the context in which such arguments are made. Thus, agents shape their arguments according to their perceptions of the context around them (Hay and Marsh 1999; Marsh 1999). For example, Geoff Mulgan has spoken about New Labour's deliberate decision not to talk about redistribution because of the negative connotations they perceived it to have with the electorate (see Hopkin and Wincott 2006: 62).

In examining the arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers about education, I am not asserting discourse ahead of ideas, agency or the material. Discourse is not a simple or unmediated reflection of intentions or policy objectives. As Clarke warns: “we are perhaps too ready to treat policy texts and political visions as if they translate immediately and unproblematically into practice” (Clarke 2004h: 30). To address such questions requires an analysis that looks at the mediation of discourse and examines why some ideas are adopted and others are not analysing, in practice, the relationship between the material and ideational and structure and agency (Hay 1999a: 324; Marsh 1999: 13). Here factors relating to the domestic and international policymaking environment such as policy design and implementation and the British electoral and party system, as well as an examination of the role of local, national, regional, international and global actors in decision making may be relevant (see for example Coates 1996, 1999, 2001; Rhodes 2000). However, before addressing such issues, I need to overcome the limitations of the current literature and undertake a thorough analysis of the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on education in order to determine whether the three actors are coherent.

My aim in highlighting the particular arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers when talking about education is to determine whether a collective New Labour discourse on education exists and, if so, the content of such a discourse. I do this by, firstly, determining the content of each actor’s language on education. An assumption is made that Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language may not be internally consistent, but rather may consist of a number of arguments that are not easily connected, or reconciled with one another. Such internal inconsistency is to be expected when the corpus of documents analysed is so varied and the range of audiences so diverse (see for example Cruz and Lewis

1994; Hart 1991; Nightingale 1996). Furthermore, in constructing multiple realities, discourse is by its nature manifold (Bevir 2005; Finlayson 2003; Freedon 1999; Kasza 2002; Lieberman 2002). Upon identifying the different arguments employed by each actor, I then compare Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language to identify any common or recurring arguments across all three actors that may amount to elements of a coherent New Labour discourse on education (see Needham 2007: 195 for a similar approach on consumerism). I thus explore how far differences between agents and over time affect the existence and content of New Labour's discourse on education (see Needham 2007: 201).

1.2 New Labour, New Language?

Whilst I value the study of language and discourse in itself, the significance of such a study could not be more pertinent to New Labour. New Labour has consistently sought to distinguish itself from its past and that of its political opposition:

The reforms will naturally come under sustained attack. The right will say they don't go far enough. They will say there should be top-up vouchers in health and a free for all on selection in schools, with the LEA abolished. Both would lead to inequity. Parts of the left will say we are privatising public services and giving too much to the middle class. Again both criticisms are wrong and simply a version of the old "levelling down" mentality that kept us in Opposition for so long (Blair 2005d).

The Party's almost obsessive concern with how it is presented has led both Ministers and advisors within New Labour to characterise its search for ideological direction, consciously and explicitly, in narrative terms. Both have talked of the need for the Party to have a clear narrative to offer to voters. Others have criticised New Labour for not having a coherent or

suitably progressive narrative (Gamble 2007: 34; Toynbee 2006). Indeed, several commentators, both within and outside New Labour, have talked about the need for the Party to define or update its narrative (Mulgan 2005b; Taylor 2001).

1.3 The Limitations of the Current Literature

There are two key weaknesses in the current literature on New Labour's language. These relate to the presuppositions that underpin the literature's examination of the issue of coherence, which employ a reductive approach to the study of New Labour. Some examples from the literature in Chapter One might serve to illustrate this point. I have selected five pieces from the literature which I will analyse in more detail: two analyse discourse exclusively while three examine both discourse and policy in making their arguments. These pieces were selected irrespective of the argument/s made but were instead chosen due to the significance of the piece upon the literature on New Labour as a whole and are thus used representatively. Thus, I have sought to concentrate on the key authors within each category. From those authors analysing only discourse, I have chosen to examine more closely Norman Fairclough's (2000) *New Labour, New Language* and Catherine Needham's (2007) *The Reform of Public Services under New Labour: Narratives of Consumerism*. *New Labour, New Language* was one of the earliest works to undertake a critical analysis of New Labour's discourse. Despite being published so early, (only three years after New Labour assumed power), Fairclough's work is still widely quoted by other authors. Being more recent, Needham's work, has the advantage of analysing New Labour's approach to public service reform in its entirety, which allows her to trace the development of themes as they become more significant to New Labour's programme. Needham adopts a similar methodology to my

own, employing a mixed-method approach to content analysis. From those authors employing both discourse and policy, I have selected the work of Colin Hay (1999), Ruth Levitas (1998, 2005) and Stephen Ball (2001, 2008). Hay is one of the most prolific authors on New Labour and in *The Political Economy of New Labour*, he writes extensively, and persuasively, on the parity between New Labour's approach towards economic and social policy and that of Thatcherism. As one of the earliest studies to analyse New Labour's discourse on social exclusion, Levitas' work *The Inclusive Society: Social exclusion and New Labour* provides a critical analysis of the discourse and policies introduced by the Government and traces this back to three discourses of social exclusion. Working from a policy sociology approach, Ball employs sociological theories and methods to analyse policy processes and outcomes in *The Education Debate*. He has published extensively on education and particularly on New Labour's approach to education. While Chapter One reviews the principal arguments put forward in these five sources, this section summarises the method used by each author to analyse the discourse of New Labour. Here, I outline the number and type of documents examined by each author as well as the methodology employed to analyse these sources. After doing this, I show the limitations of the focus and method of such analyses and in doing so I demonstrate how my approach addresses the weaknesses of these five approaches.

Fairclough's analysis of New Labour discourse is based upon a wide range of New Labour texts that include Labour Party documents (such as manifestos); books and pamphlets published by the Fabian Society; Government documents (such as white and green papers); speeches; and other sources such as newspaper articles (Fairclough 2000: 17). In total, Fairclough analyses one hundred and seven documents that span the years 1994 to 1999

(Fairclough 2000: 170-172). He also draws upon an additional corpus of sixty-three texts that include a separate, smaller corpus of earlier Labour Party texts for comparison. The two corpuses differ in that the former consists of mainly written documents while the latter is comprised of mostly speeches (Fairclough 2000: 165-166). Fairclough develops a set of New Labour 'keywords' which contain a list of words that occur most frequently. This list is developed by comparing three much fuller lists. Two of these are based upon comparisons between the New Labour corpus and the much larger corpora of the British National Corpus of Written Texts and the corpora of texts from the Guardian Newspaper. The third is based on a comparison between the New Labour and earlier Labour Party corpora mentioned previously (Fairclough 2000: 166).

Examining the relationship between citizenship and consumerism, Needham analyses the period from May 1997 until December 2005, undertaking quantitative content analysis to look at the shifts and consistencies across several public services, local and central government and over time. She analyses one hundred and ninety-three of Blair's speeches, twenty-five command papers published by central Government departments and five documents for each public service area that she analyses. Needham undertakes qualitative analysis of key-word-in-context lists, using the software package N6 to show the full sentence in which a term is used, thus protecting against rogue hits. Using her qualitative analysis of interviews with four civil servants, twenty-eight local authority officers and councillors (from eighteen local authorities) and six experts, Needham then probes the distinctive aspects of her findings and then compares this with the results from ten focus groups with users of public services to explore correspondence between New Labour's arguments and public attitudes.

Hay analyses Labour and Conservative Party manifestos, supporting policy documents and conference speeches from the 1992 and 1997 general elections. Analysing the commitments at the 1997 election leads to Hay arguing that there has been significant policy convergence since 1992 and that this is a result of the revision made by Labour to pre-existing policy commitments (Hay 1999: 58, 107). He also considers the policy differences between the parties that have emerged since 1992. Focusing on five policy areas, Hay analyses the Labour and Conservative position on each policy area in order to investigate the proposition that there has been significant policy convergence between the parties since 1992 (Hay 1999: 107).

Levitas examines the construction of Labour's discourse on social exclusion between 1994 and 1997 and, in doing so, looks at the meanings of inclusion and exclusion in circulation within wider debates which fed into its language. This includes analysis of the work from think tanks such as the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), the report of the Commission on Social Justice, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation Inquiry into Income and Wealth and the Dahrendorf report. Additionally, she also analyses the understandings of stakeholding put forward by Will Hutton, the Commission on Public Policy and British Business, Trades Union Congress and the Green Party among others as well as the communitarianism of Amitai Etzioni, John Gray and John Macmurray. In propounding her arguments, Levitas analyses forty-three Labour Party documents that include reports and manifestos as well as quotes from speeches made by both Blair and Brown and other ministers such as Blunkett and Harman.

Ball examines discourse in his analysis of how policies are represented and disseminated through 'policy texts'. The 'policy texts' analysed by Ball include: speeches; Government

publications such as green and white papers and reports; Party publications such as manifestos; as well as other types of publications such as newspapers and websites. In relation to specific New Labour texts, Ball analyses a total of twenty-seven speeches, nineteen Government publications and selective quotes from the websites of the Departments for education and industry⁵.

1.4 The Need for a Comprehensive Analysis of New Labour's Discourse

The five illustrative examples discussed in Section 1.3 show the weaknesses of the existing literature's analyses of discourse. In examining discourse, the existing literature fails in two ways:

1. The focus of the analyses; and
2. How the analyses are conducted.

Of those authors focusing exclusively on discourse, the number and spread of documents analysed can be contrasted to that which is examined in this study. Fairclough examines one hundred and seven documents with an additional set of sixty-three for comparison purposes over the six years 1994 to 1999 while Needham analyses one hundred and ninety three of Blair's speeches, twenty-five command papers, thirty-eight interviews and ten focus groups over the nine years from 1997 to 2005. In comparison, of those authors examining both

⁵ 2007 saw the abolition of the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and the Department for Trade and Industry and the creation of two new departments: the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) and the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS). DIUS has since been incorporated in a new Department for Business, Innovation and Skills in 2009.

discourse and policy, Hay examines the manifesto commitments in five policy areas from two election years: 1992 and 1997 for both Labour and Conservative. Levitas analyses forty-three Labour Party documents that include both official publications and speeches made by various actors within New Labour. Ball in contrast, analyses twenty-seven speeches, nineteen Government publications and a selection of quotes from Blair and the Government department websites. In both the literature analysing discourse exclusively and that examining it in conjunction with policy, there is a bias towards Blair in the documents and quotes drawn upon by each author. Conversely, I analyse over one thousand documents. Rather than rely on the speeches of one actor in the Party to demonstrate New Labour thinking, my corpus includes three hundred and sixty-eight speeches made by Blair, two hundred and six made by Brown and four hundred and twenty seven made by the Education Ministers. These documents are spread over the three terms of government so that one hundred and sixty five documents are analysed from the first term, three hundred and thirty in the second and five hundred and six in the third (see Table 2.1).

The majority of sources that I analyse are speeches made by the three actors Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, although I also consider newspaper and magazine articles, statements to the House of Commons and interviews undertaken by the three actors. The purpose of including such a diverse selection of sources is to uncover how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers talk about education in a number of different contexts. For instance, because policymakers' speeches are often scripted, they can be analysed to determine the deliberate construction of education discourses, while sources such as interviews and press conferences provoke more 'off the cuff' responses, thereby possibly revealing more personal beliefs about education (Needham 2007: 87). While useful material on New Labour's

approach to education is not limited to these sources, they nevertheless “play a key role in signalling priorities and setting agenda” (Needham 2007: 87). Focusing on Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers provides two benefits to the study. First, as Party leader and Prime Minister and, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Blair and Brown are generally seen as the two main architects behind the New Labour project. Several authors highlight the crucial role that Blair and Brown play in forming policy in their respective roles (Burch and Holliday 1999, 2004; Hennessy 1999: 2-4, Hennessy 2000: 387, Hennessy 2002: 21, Hennessy 2005: 6, 9; Lipsey cited in Treasury Select Committee 2001: Para. 7; Norton 2003: 547-8; Riddell 2004: 267-8; Watson 2007). Second, as the Ministers with direct responsibility for the policy area of education, the inclusion of sources from the Education Ministers provide a useful and necessary adjunct to Blair and Brown in trying to determine whether a New Labour discourse on education exists. Moreover, it is important to explore how far the themes of Blair and Brown on education are reflected in the language used by other actors (Needham 2007: 107). Examining such a large corpus of documents allows me to explore how far dominant particular arguments about education are within the key actors of New Labour. This means that my analysis is founded upon a more extensive analysis of New Labour’s discourse than is current available within the existing literature thus making my results both more reliable and valid.

The second way in which my thesis addresses the weaknesses of the current literature is in the way that such documents are analysed. As one might expect, the most systematic analyses of New Labour’s discourse are found in those pieces that focus exclusively on discourse as the unit of analysis. Fairclough uses a methodology consistent with critical discourse analysis and performs keyword searches that look at the frequency of occurrence, the words it is

associated/substituted with, frequent collocations, terms it is linked to, when it is first used, how it is applied and how it is used and with what it is used. Needham undertakes quantitative content analysis on three sets of keywords to identify any shifts or consistencies over time, across different levels of government and different policy areas. She then performs detailed qualitative analysis that determines how New Labour employs such keywords. The mixed-method approach that I adopt both incorporates and expands the two approaches employed by Fairclough and Needham. In the first instance, I employ a similar quantitative approach that performs keyword searches through my corpus of documents. Secondly, I undertake more detailed qualitative analysis to examine every instance of such keywords in order to determine how such words are employed by New Labour. However, my analysis implements two further stages. First, I extend the techniques employed in Fairclough's analysis so that the data is revealed not simply as a total occurrence but is broken down by both actor and time. Thus, the frequency in which particular arguments are referred to, the first use of such arguments, what arguments are employed alongside one another and how they are positioned in relation to one another is shown for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers as well as according to each term of government. Second, in undertaking qualitative analysis of these arguments I explore, in detail, how each actor within New Labour conceptualises each argument and illustrate how such conceptions change over time. This facilitates a comparison of discourse both over time and across different actors within New Labour. These two additional stages ensure that my study offers the most systematic and comprehensive analysis of New Labour's discourse on education that is currently available. Such an approach has three benefits. First, it enables us to capture the full dynamism of New Labour's language by showing when the three actors introduce each argument about education and how these arguments are employed in their speeches across the period. In

doing this, it allows me to determine whether a coherent New Labour conception of education exists by looking at the differences between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language over three terms. Finally, by undertaking such an analysis, I can establish the relationship between social and economic objectives within New Labour's understanding of education and hence determine whether education is governed by an overarching economic imperative.

In the work of Ball, Hay and Levitas where discourse is employed alongside analyses of policy, discourse is used mainly to illustrate specific arguments put forward by the author. For example, in Chapter Four of *The Political Economy of New Labour*, Hay demonstrates empirically the political logic behind New Labour's 'modernisation' and thus accommodation to Thatcherism, in his analysis of Labour's manifesto commitments in 1992 and 1997. In conjunction, he includes several quotes from the manifestos to illustrate his arguments in the policy areas that he analyses. For example, when analysing education and training policy to examine the extent of bipartisan convergence between Labour and the Conservatives, Hay includes three quotes from Blair's 1996 speech to the Labour Party Conference in his reference to building a "skills superpower", for an "age of achievement" and his acceptance of the principle of selection at eleven (Hay 1999: 114, 115)⁶. Quoting this single speech of Blair's in this way not only ignores other arguments that may have been put forward in the speech but also other arguments that may have been put forward by other actors at the same time. For example, in the same speech, Blair propounds arguments asserting the importance of state-provided education in tackling social class and ensuring equal opportunity –

⁶ Hay uses the "skills superpower" and "age of achievement" quotes to illustrate firstly, a difference between the two parties over funding for training. Secondly, Hay argues that despite such statements, Labour has not developed substantive measures to raise the skills base of the British economy thus consigning Britain to compete on the basis of low wages and low regulation (Hay 1999: 117).

arguments that could be used to distinguish Labour Party policy on education from that of the Conservatives;

I would like a state education system in Britain so good, so attractive, that the parents choose to put behind us the educational apartheid of the past, private and state, and I do not believe anything would do more to break down the class divides that have no place in a modern country in the 21st century ... Education should not be about wealth (Blair 1996a).

Alternatively, had Hay looked wider than Blair, he may have found examples in the speeches of Brown and Blunkett (Education Minister at the time) to the same Labour Party Conference in 1996 that appear to suggest difference, rather than convergence, between Labour and the Conservatives. For instance, Brown also invokes arguments against social class in his speech:

So let us tell them first of all what we believe, what we have always been proud to believe, that every one of us, and not just a privileged few, should have the opportunity to realise our potential in education, in employment, in our everyday lives; that the greater the opportunities there are in education and work for each one of us, the better are the prospects of prosperity for us all that a truly classless Britain will not only offer a fairer society but deliver more efficient and prosperous economy too ... For generations we have dreamed of overcoming the divisions and prejudice that today stop Britain from being a truly classless society (Brown 1996).

Equally, in his speech to the Conference, Blunkett argues against inequality amongst participation at Oxford and Cambridge, a further issue that could be used to distinguish between Labour and the Conservatives:

It is those policies, through further and higher education, through opening up access to students at every level that will overcome the great divide, the fact that nearly half the students at Oxford and

Cambridge still come from private schools. The inequalities of the past are exemplified in the divisions of the present (Blunkett 1996).

Looking at New Labour's conception of opportunity, Levitas argues that this rests upon its construction of employability as an individual responsibility (Levitas 1998: 121). In making this argument, Levitas uses quotes from two speeches made by David Blunkett (Blunkett 1997a, 1997b), two Labour Party documents (Labour Party 1996a, 1996b), two speeches made by Blair (Blair 1996b, 1997c) and one speech made by both Brown and Harriet Harman (Brown 1997a; Harman 1997). This is said to demonstrate Labour's flight from RED to SID and MUD where the latter is demonstrated through New Labour's stress on responsibilities (Levitas 1998: 157). While Levitas draws evidence from a wider pool of sources than Hay and includes selections of discourse from other actors within New Labour, we can still demonstrate the limitations of relying on an approach that does not undertake a systematic and comprehensive analysis of New Labour's discourse. For instance, while Levitas argues that New Labour's conception of opportunity as employability is understood as an individual responsibility, Brown emphasises the role of Government in providing such opportunities; "[f]riends, it is the central job of government to help provide these opportunities" (Brown 1996).

And government is nothing more, nothing less, than the instrument of the people, and its duty is always and everywhere to advance opportunities for the many, never to perpetuate the privileges of the few (Brown 1997c).

Similarly, while Levitas equates New Labour's conception of opportunity with employment, alternative understandings of opportunity can be identified within its discourse in which the tackling of poverty and inequality are central;

Through education, the closing of the great economic and social divide in our country will at last be possible. We will lift people from welfare into work, we will overcome poverty and disadvantage (Blunkett 1995).

For generations we have dreamed of overcoming the divisions and prejudice that today stop Britain from being a truly classless society. For generations we have dreamed of a world in which people can achieve to the limits and inequality of opportunity does not limit their achievement (Brown 1996).

You know, when in Britain only 30 percent of young people can benefit from higher education, when in Oxbridge, Oxford and Cambridge, 50 percent of the places now go to private schools, it is time to change and to modernise, and; with our higher education reforms and our university for industry redistribute resources by extending opportunities (Brown 1997c).

Ball argues that education policy is:

[N]ow regarded primarily from an economic point of view. The social and economic purposes of education have been collapsed into a single overriding emphasis on policy making for economic competitiveness and an increasing neglect or sidelining (other than in rhetoric) of the social purposes of education (Ball 2008: 11-12).

However, while Ball seems to exclude language from demonstrating the subordination of education to the demands of the economy in the quote above, he relies on discursive examples to demonstrate this, using extracts from the 1998 Department for Education and Employment report (Department for Education and Employment 1998) and one of Blair's speeches (Blair 2005b). In addition, Ball explores how the overriding emphasis on competitiveness is constructed through an examination of New Labour's discourses on, among others, education reform and the knowledge-based economy (Ball 2008: 14-24). As Section One highlights, the

relationship between education and social and economic goals is an important issue within the literature on New Labour. However, it is unclear how this relationship is conceptualised by New Labour without the completion of a comprehensive analysis of its discourse. Ball's approach does not investigate the possibility that the relationship between education, social justice and economic competitiveness may be understood differently between individual actors and over time. Analysing the speeches made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers alternatively, is a particularly good way to determine such differences in comparison to policy documents for example because the latter represents a finished product where any conflict/s have already been ironed out and contestation over goals buried.

Much of the literature on New Labour's discourse can be accused of only selecting evidence that supports their conclusions, particularly that body of literature that analyses both discourse and policy. In comparison, my analysis has the advantage of being drawn from a comprehensive and systematic analysis of New Labour's discourse on education over the entire ten-year period of Blair as Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party in government. The results that I present in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis are drawn from the inductive analysis of the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on education and thus, have not been selected according to a priori arguments or conclusions about the nature or character of the Party. Conducting my analysis in this way does not restrict the range of arguments or discourses that can be identified within New Labour's discourse nor does it limit its discussion of discourse so that it is considered secondary to policy. Instead, it allows New Labour's language to speak for itself through the illustration of the content, shifts, consistencies and differences in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

The purpose of examining the literature in this way is not to simply dismiss its claims as incorrect. Rather, I seek to demonstrate the limitations of those approaches that are based upon incomplete analyses of discourse. As Chapters Three and Four highlight, undertaking a more detailed and systematic analysis of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language shows the full complexity and dynamism of their language and reveals whether a coherent New Labour discourse on education exists. Ultimately, such results may lead us to accept or reject the arguments about New Labour that are currently made in the literature (see Chapter Five). The main point however, is that we can properly address such issues because we have first completed a systematic, comprehensive and detailed examination of the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

1.5 The Necessity for Quantity and Quality

The nature of the three research questions that direct this study are not straightforward and require complex and multifaceted answers. This calls for a method that is sophisticated enough to be able to examine the data closely in order to reveal any changes, however small, over time and between different actors. Fundamentally, my research has two objectives. First, I look closely at how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers talk about education in order to identify the arguments employed by the three actors: that is, the particular words and/or phrases invoked by each actor in their discussions of education. Second, I determine the frequency with which a given argument is referred to by each actor and over time, and identify how each argument is used within the speeches in which they are employed. In so doing, I am able to determine the existence of a putative New Labour discourse on education.

I employed a mixed-method approach to textual analysis that utilised both quantitative and qualitative methods, allowing me to combine the qualitative analysis of those instances where the three actors talk about education (fulfilling my first objective), with the quantitative content analysis of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speeches (fulfilling my second objective).

While there is extensive debate about the use of particular methodologies in research (Devine 1995: 137-153, Miller 1995: 154-172), we can define quantitative methods broadly as being associated with the claim that the objective handling of knowledge is possible through experience and observation (John 2002: 218; Marsh and Stoker 1995: 14-15). In contrast, qualitative methods are often informed by the principle that reality is subject to interpretation (Devine 1995: 138). While not underestimating the differences between the two, recent research has highlighted the exaggeration of such differences and has shown the use of the two methodologies to be commensurate with a variety of epistemological positions (Bryman 1988: 93; Read and Marsh 2002: 232-234). Combining quantitative and qualitative methods serves several purposes. First, it aids the process of triangulation, where triangulation is defined as: "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon"⁷ (Denzin 1970: 308, Denzin 1978: 291 quoted in Jick 1979: 602). As Jick suggests, triangulation enables a: "more complete, holistic, and contextual portrayal of the unit(s) under study" (Jick 1979: 603). In doing this, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods serves a second purpose in overcoming the limitations of adopting a single method. Finally, this allows us to increase the validity of the analysis by using the results of each

⁷ Denzin distinguishes between three types of triangulation. First, methodological triangulation that is, where two or more different research methods are combined in the study of the same empirical issue. This takes the form of either: triangulation within methods, which distinguishes between the combination of different quantitative methods, or different qualitative methods; or, comprises triangulation between methods, where quantitative and qualitative methods are combined (Denzin 1970: 308 quoted in Read and Marsh 2002: 237).

method to corroborate one another (Davies 2001: 75; Read and Marsh 2002: 237-238; Webb et al. 1996: 12-7 cited in Needham 2007: 80). Indeed, as Bazeley (2002) notes:

Researchers seeking to understand or evaluate social processes benefit from being able to draw on multiple sources, involving mixed data types and employing diverse approaches to analysis (Bazeley 2002. See also Caracelli and Greene 1997; Datta 1997; Jick 1979; Patton 1990; Rossman and Wilson 1994).

Utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods not only offers the most appropriate way to answer the research questions that guide this study but is also consistent with my non-positivist ontological and epistemological position (Read and Marsh 2002: 291). Investigating whether there is a New Labour discourse on education involves examining the different arguments put forward by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and the particular meanings attached to each. Such a process requires both exploratory qualitative analysis and quantitative content analysis. As Bauer argues:

[C]ontent analysis bridges statistical formalism and the qualitative analysis of the materials ... [It] is a hybrid technique that can mediate in this unproductive dispute over virtues and methods (Bauer 2000: 132).

Only by adopting such an approach could I determine the extent to which particular arguments are shared across Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and establish the existence and content of a putative New Labour discourse of education. This section now discusses, in more detail, the particular quantitative and qualitative methods I adopted in the study.

1.5.1 Further Discussion of Methods: Content Analysis

Content analysis is a technique for gathering and analysing the content of a text. It identifies different words, meanings and themes and looks at how they are presented. Furthermore, it considers how words and concepts are used and with what frequency. As Weber notes, content analysis is a: “research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (Weber 1990: 9). Although usually associated exclusively with quantitative methodologies (see Holsti 1969: 3-5, Neuman 2003: 311), my use of this method involved both qualitative and quantitative techniques. This involved the inductive and interpretive coding of data (see Section Two), which was then analysed quantitatively (see Chapters Three, Four, Appendices One and Two). As Kracauer indicates, “one-sided reliance on quantitative content analysis may lead to a neglect of qualitative explorations, thus reducing the accuracy of analysis” (Kracauer 1952: 631. See also Holsti 1968: 602). Supplementing the quantitative aspect of content analysis with detailed qualitative analysis enables a focus on both the characteristics of language as communication in addition to the content or contextual meaning of the text therefore overcoming the limitations of relying exclusively on counting as a means to infer meaning (Franzosi 2004; Tesch 1990). In this way, qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examine language intensely in order to classify large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber 1990). Although sometimes criticised as a blunt instrument with which to analyse documents and texts, content analysis allowed me to identify any patterns or change over time and between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers when talking about education, by enabling me to determine the frequency to which particular arguments are referred. Content analysis can also serve several useful purposes:

First, counting generates results that allow for more precise comparisons among texts; second, we want to know how much more (or less) attention is devoted to some issues rather than others; third, qualitative analytical procedures often reveal similarities and differences among texts that would be difficult, if not impossible, to detect otherwise (Weber 1990: 74).

1.5.2 Further Discussion of Methods: QSR NVivo

I explored the frequency with which Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employed particular keywords and arguments by using the qualitative analysis software package NVivo. As one of the more sophisticated qualitative analysis packages (Weitzman and Miles 1995), NVivo enabled me to generate quantitative word counts, as well as undertaking qualitative analysis to determine the context within which the particular keywords and/or arguments were being employed; thus accomplishing the mixed-method approach demanded by the two objectives of my research. Despite the frequent links between QSR software and particular theoretical approaches, such as grounded theory, the use of NVivo does not determine any particular method. Rather, it provides support for many methods that require the development of an organising system (See Bringer 2004 for example; also Crowley et al. 2002: 199; Kelle 1997: 3.1, 6.1). Using NVivo gave me the practical benefits of being able to code and retrieve data quickly and easily; the benefit of “data administration and archiving” (Kelle 1997: 6.3). Text can be coded rapidly and simultaneously so that such text is then linked to particular codes. Furthermore, text can be retrieved according to the code, or codes, to which it is linked (Richards 2002: 268). By contrast, to critics of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS), utilising these functions does not, necessarily: “alienate the researcher from their

data” (Kelle 1997: 1.1). Indeed, such strategies still enable the context of such texts to be analysed alongside the unit coded and thus, remain sensitive to the richness of the data (Richards 2002: 268). It is important to note however, that, while employing terms such as ‘codes’ that have implicit ‘theory building’ connotations as is consistent with grounded theory, I employ the term to refer to the “creation of categories from my interpretation (qualitative analysis) into the data” (Charmaz 1983: 111 quoted in Kelle 1997: 3.7). Coding here thus represents ‘sign posting’ (Kelle 1997: 3.8).

Section Two: My Method in Full

This section explains the process I undertook in analysing New Labour’s speeches and outlines how the data was identified, coded and analysed. I include here a full description of the process I underwent in analysing the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. I also include several screen prints from the software programme NVivo that illustrate particular stages of analysis, to support the written account of how I came to my conclusions. I do this for two reasons. First, only by revealing the full details of my analysis can I legitimately claim to overcome the shortcomings of the current literature into New Labour’s language. Second, recounting my method in full illustrates the appropriateness of using CAQDAS and shows the extent to which such use has enhanced the quality of my analysis. Describing the method also enables a critical assessment of my methods to be undertaken by other researchers and will help to assess the impact of new techniques (Bringer 2004: 248, Richards 2002: 275). I have divided this section into two sub-sections: first, I explain the inductive approach I took to the project and outline how my project evolved; and, second, I recount the step-by-step process I undertook in coding and analysing the data.

2.1 The Evolution of My Project

I began my study by adopting an inductive analysis of the language of Blair and Brown on social justice. I focused on the period from July 1994, when Blair took over as leader of Labour Party, until June 2007, when Blair stepped down and Brown assumed leadership and the position of Prime Minister. My corpus of documents consisted of fifty documents and included both actors' speeches to the Labour Party Conference, the Mansion House as well as Brown's Budget speeches. I examined the documents to determine how the concept of social justice was presented by Blair and Brown. In so doing, I realised the importance of four keywords:

- Choice
- Equal worth
- Opportunity
- Responsibility

My analysis also revealed the centrality of concerns about the economy and economic performance to Blair's and Brown's conception of social justice. The achievement of social justice is frequently argued to rest upon the prior attainment of conditions for economic success such as stability and credibility. Furthermore, both Blair and Brown emphasise the mutual interdependence of the two objectives. In so doing, the actors connect the concepts of choice, opportunity and responsibility explicitly to the economic agenda. Two factors became apparent: first, I comprehended the difficulty of undertaking an analysis into New Labour's

language using a corpus of only fifty documents. My difficulty in obtaining sources from the early years of 'New Labour' (1994-1997) led me to re-categorise my period of analysis to focus only on the years in government (1997-2007). I ended the analysis at June 2007 when Brown assumed leadership of the Party in order to enable a complete account of New Labour's language on education under Blair and I decided to include the speeches of the Education Ministers in my corpus. While this excludes those documents produced after Brown's acceptance of the leadership, my analysis of both Brown's and the Education Ministers' language is intended to broaden the focus and counter any bias towards Blair. Here, we might also refer to those arguments made by several commentators about the extension of Treasury powers under Brown and to those who contend that it is he, rather than Blair, who ultimately controlled the domestic policy agenda (see for example Heffernan 2003: 366; Hennessey 2005: 9; Smithers 2005: 257-8; Stephens 2004: 174; Walters 2004). Halting the analysis at June 2007, means that the corpus for the third term is incomplete compared to the first and second terms, which are included in their entirety. While this may suggest treating the findings from this set with caution, when looking at Table 2.1, we can see that, for each actor, more speeches in the corpus are included from the third term than from either the first or the second terms. This is undoubtedly due to the easier access to these later sources, but also because of the greater number of Education Ministers analysed in this period.

Second, I apprehended the centrality of the concepts of 'education' and 'opportunity' to Blair's and Brown's language on education; a finding which is verified by both the claims made by key actors within New Labour and the literature on New Labour (see Blair 1998f, 1999c, 1999d, 2000a, 2000l, 2004f; Brown 1998f, 2002b, 2003a, 2003g, 2004d, 2005c, 2005s, 2007d; Blunkett 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001b; Clarke 2004d, 2004g; Hodge

2003; Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006c, 2006k, 2006l, 2006s, 2007c, 2007g, 2007i; Kelly 2005b, 2005d, 2005h, 2005j, 2005l, 2005o, 2005q, 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004b, 2004e, 2004f, 2004h, 2005a; Miliband 2003b, 2004c; Rammell 2005a, 2006a, 2007d, 2007f, 2007m; Smith 2006a). In using these concepts, the three actors frequently substituted one for the other and therefore I decided to focus on how education was talked about by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

2.2 Analytic Process

I collected a corpus of one thousand and one documents produced by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers between May 1997 and June 2007 from the archive of speeches on the websites of Downing Street, the Treasury, the Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (formerly Department for Education and Skills and now subsumed within the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills). The Education Ministers analysed includes all the Secretaries of State: David Blunkett⁸; Charles Clarke⁹; Alan Johnson¹⁰; Ruth Kelly¹¹; and Estelle Morris¹². In addition, I considered all of the Education Ministers covering the period, Andrew Adonis¹³, Parmjit Dhanda¹⁴, Geoffrey Filkin¹⁵, John Healey¹⁶, Margaret Hodge¹⁷, Beverley Hughes¹⁸, Jim

⁸ Shadow Secretary of State for Education 1994-1995, Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment 1995-1997, Secretary of State for Education and Employment 1997-2001.

⁹ Secretary of State for Education and Skills 2002-2004.

¹⁰ Minister of State for Lifelong Learning and Higher Education 2003-2004, Secretary of State for Education 2006-2007.

¹¹ Secretary of State for Education 2004-2006.

¹² Shadow Spokesperson Education, Department for Education and Employment 1995, Schools Minister, Department for Education and Employment 1997, Schools Standards Minister 1998, Secretary of State for Education 2001-2002.

¹³ Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Schools and Learners, Department for Education and Skills later Department for Children, Schools and Families 2005-2007.

¹⁴ Parliamentary under Secretary of State, Department of Education of Education 2006-2006.

¹⁵ Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Department for Education and Skills 2004-2005.

Knight¹⁹, Ivan Lewis²⁰, David Miliband²¹, Bill Rammell²² and Jacqui Smith²³. For ease of analysis, I treat the sixteen Education Ministers as one actor in the study. This makes it easier to compare findings between the three terms of government and between the Ministers, Blair and Brown. While I acknowledge the difficulty of emphasising the importance of treating individual agents' separately and then treating the Ministers as a block/single actor in my analysis, I have legitimate reasons for doing so. First, I have sought to protect myself against making blanket claims about the Ministers that misrepresent individual Ministers by highlighting those arguments, or aspects of arguments, that are specific to a particular individual. Although I am unable to explore these differences fully in this thesis, this is an area where my existing data could be developed in my future research in order to explore the significance of the individual views of each Minister on the overall New Labour discourse. This links in to my second point, which appeals to space constraints in preventing me from exploring fully the differences between individual Ministers. As a core requirement of substantive content analysis (Manheim and Rich 1991: 47), my corpus includes a sizeable number of varied documents. My intention in including so many varied documents was to try to ascertain not only the different arguments in use by policymakers over the period, but also the periods when particular arguments were introduced, dropped or experienced periods of heightened activity or relative stasis. Furthermore, analysing several Education Ministers,

¹⁶ Minister for Adult Skills 2001-2005.

¹⁷ Junior Minister, Department for Education and Employment 1998-2001, Minister of State for Lifelong Learning and Higher Education 2001-2003, Minister of State for Children 2003-2005.

¹⁸ Minister of State (Children), Department for Education and Skills 2005-2007, Minister of State, Department for Children, Schools and Families 2007-present.

¹⁹ Minister of State, Department of Education 2006-2007, Minister of State, Department for Children, Schools and Families 2007-present.

²⁰ Junior Minister for Young People and Adult Skills 2001-2005.

²¹ Schools Minister 2002-2004.

²² Minister of State (Universities), Department for Education and Skills 2005-2007, Minister of State, Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills 2007-2007.

²³ Junior Minister, Department for Education and Employment 1999-2001, Minister of State (Schools), Department for Education and Skills 2005-2006.

occupying different positions, would enable me to determine how widespread each argument about education was at every stage over the period. The corpus includes speeches made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in official capacity and those given at party functions, and, thus can be considered to fall within the “internally generated but externally directed” document category identified by Manheim and Rich (1991: 191).

Developed by Manheim and Rich (1991) to classify different types of communications, the “internally generated but externally directed” category is used to ensure that documents are interpreted in ways that reflect their purpose (see Harrison 2001: 118, Manheim and Rich 1991: 190). The speeches analysed in this study are understood to be directed to the immediate audience whom each speaker addresses for example, the Confederation of British Industry, Labour Party Conference and the wider national and global audience that the speech is made available to through various media outlets²⁴. Thus, the speeches should be analysed in the context of their apparent purpose, to present the Party’s position and frame it to ensure they are seen in a particular light (see for example Atkinson 1984; Przeworski 1980). The analysis of speeches raises some challenges for content analysis and consequently, two factors need to be considered when analysing them. First, political speeches tend to be relatively short and thus, statistical confidence in the results is likely to be reduced (Reicher and Hopkins 1996: 358). In counting the frequency with which particular arguments are referred to by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, my results show both the actual number of references and this as a percentage of overall references to the concept of education. Displaying both figures puts my findings into context by showing the prevalence of particular

²⁴ Several sources within the extensive literature in Media Studies examines the role that the audience plays in speeches (see for example Alasuutari 1999) and informal interviews with New Labour party activists indicate that the Party manipulates the composition of the immediate audience to convey a more favourable reception to the wider audience.

arguments in relation to the actors' overall language. Second, the well documented use of speechwriters by politicians, particularly those of New Labour, may pose difficulties for using them to infer the views of the politicians themselves and the existence of a coherent 'New Labour' view. Although I acknowledge the role of speechwriters, my understanding of the process, supported by some of the recent biographical accounts from key insiders working within New Labour (Campbell 2007), is that it remains the ultimate responsibility of the politician in question to verify and confirm the contents of the speech before delivery. Therefore, arguments propounded in the speech can legitimately be attributed to the politician delivering them. A further point could be made here about the relative insignificance of this point given the extensive role that both Blair and Brown are generally acknowledged to have played in engineering and managing the messages put out by New Labour officials (see for example Chadwick and Heffernan 2003: 4-5). Manheim and Rich also suggest that issues such as distribution and access should be considered when interpreting documents (Manheim and Rich 1991: 168-169). The documents were collected from the current and archive collections of three main websites: Number 10; the Treasury; and the Department of Education and Skills. These websites are available freely to all members of the public (both domestic and international) with access to a computer (which in itself may raise a number of questions relating to ease of access). In addition, particular speeches are quoted, either in part or in whole, by several daily newspapers thus increasing accessibility. While access to these sources is not subject to bias or special consideration, one must be aware that some transcripts posted on the websites were edited. Such editing is undertaken:

[I]n accordance with long-standing practice under the Ministerial and Civil Service codes, government websites cannot carry party political content, or because the audio quality has made it impossible to transcribe (see <http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page12156>).

Where possible I have sought to access an unedited transcript of the speech from other sources (mainly newspapers), but some documents included in the analysis remain edited.

Table 2.1 shows the number of speeches collected for each actor, in each term.

Table 2.1: Number of Speeches Analysed for each Actor, in each Term

<i>Actor</i>		<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Blair</i>		113	124	131	368
<i>Brown</i>		38	78	90	206
<i>Education</i>	<i>Adonis</i>	0	0	23	23
<i>Ministers</i>					
	<i>Blunkett</i>	14	0	0	14
	<i>Clarke</i>	0	29	0	29
	<i>Dhanda</i>	0	0	35	35
	<i>Filkin</i>	0	7	0	7
	<i>Healey</i>	0	1	0	1
	<i>Hodge</i>	0	11	0	11
	<i>Hughes</i>	0	0	56	56
	<i>Johnson</i>	0	8	58	66
	<i>Kelly</i>	0	6	30	36

<i>Knight</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Lewis</i>	0	14	0	14
<i>Miliband</i>	0	43	0	43
<i>Morris</i>	0	9	0	9
<i>Rammell</i>	0	0	56	56
<i>Smith</i>	0	0	26	26
<i>Total Education Ministers</i>	14	128	285	427
<i>Overall Total</i>	165	330	506	1001

As Table 2.1 shows, the corpus is significantly biased in favour of the Education Ministers and the third term. Both overall, and individually in the second and third term, the largest number of documents are from the Education Ministers, while the least amount are drawn from the speeches made by Brown. Across the three terms, the picture changes slightly, so that in the first term the majority of documents are from Blair, with the least amount from the Education Ministers. Furthermore, while the number of documents for all three actors increases consistently over the period, the greatest number of documents is in the third term. Indeed, there are double the number of speeches in the second term that there are in the first term; nearly one and a half times the number of speeches in the third term as there are in the second; and nearly three and a half times the number of documents in the third term as in the first term. Table 2.1 also indicates the bias towards particular Education Ministers in the corpus. In the first term, only Blunkett represents the Education Ministers; the documents in the second term are dominated by Miliband and Clarke; and in the third term, Johnson, Hughes and Rammell produce the greatest proportion of documents.

Once I had collected the speeches, the next stage was to organise my data to illustrate any changes that occurred over time and between actors. This was done using the attributes function on NVivo. I assigned each speech a value that listed the actor making the speech (Blair, Brown or the Education Ministers) and the year in which the speech was made. Once all speeches were assigned correctly, I then organised the speeches into nine sets, a set for each term and for each actor. The ‘First Term’ set included all speeches made from May 1997 until the start of May 2001; the ‘Second Term’ set included all speeches made from May 2001 until the beginning of May 2005; while the ‘Third Term’ set included all speeches made from May 2005 until June 2007. Figure 2.1 shows a screen print from NVivo that indicates the document set for Blair in the first term.

As Manheim and Rich note, a “search is only as good as the keywords we use” (Manheim and Rich 1991: 47) and so, using the search function in NVivo, I undertook keyword searches for the significant terms I had identified within my initial analysis of the speeches of Blair and Brown and those which accorded with the distinction between social and economic objectives that was prevalent in the existing literature. These keywords consisted of terms used by the two actors when talking about education and thus, given its central role in reconciling social justice with economic competitiveness, included words that referred to both objectives. I utilised word roots to enable NVivo to highlight a range of suffixes and so capture every instance of these terms. Below is a list of the word roots as well an indication of the terms that I searched for using the search function in NVivo.

1. Ambit* (Ambition)
2. Aspir* (Aspire, Aspiration)

3. Business
4. Chance
5. Choice
6. Compet* (Compete, Competitiveness, Competition)
7. Duty
8. Econ* (Economy, Economic)
9. Educ* (Education, Educate)
10. Efficien* (Efficiency, Efficient)
11. Employ* (Employ, Employment, Employability)
12. Empower* (Empower, Empowerment)
13. Enter* (Enterprise, Enterprising)
14. Entrepren* (Entrepreneur, Entrepreneurial)
15. Equal* (Equality, Equal, Equal worth)
16. Fair* (Fair, Fairness)
17. Fulfil* (Fulfil, Fulfilment)
18. Global* (Global, Globalisation/Globalization, Globalising/Globalizing)
19. Growth
20. Inclusion
21. Job
22. Just* (Just, Justice)
23. Knowledge
24. Learn* (Learning, Learn)
25. Liber* (Liberty, Liberate, Liberation)
26. Moral* (Moral, Morals, Morality)

- 27. Obligation
- 28. Opportun* (Opportunity, Opportunities)
- 29. Potential
- 30. Poverty
- 31. Prod* (Product, Production, Productivity)
- 32. Prosper* (Prosper, Prosperity)
- 33. Respon* (Responsible, Responsibility, Responsibilities)
- 34. Skill
- 35. Social* (Social justice)
- 36. Stab* (Stable, Stability)
- 37. Success
- 38. Talent
- 39. Work

My choice of keywords was designed to provide a comprehensive list that would include all potential words that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers might employ when talking about education, social justice and economic competitiveness. This collection developed as a consequence of the early pilot study I had conducted into a smaller number of Blair's and Brown's speeches (see 2.1), where I was able to apply a limited amount of inter-coder reliability to ascertain whether the same words had the same meaning for both actors (Harrison 2001: 117, Manheim and Rich 1991: 190). As the list shows, the keywords have both face validity and are semantically valid "words or other coding units classified together need to possess similar connotations" (Weber 1990b: 21, Neuendorf 2002: 115 quoted in Needham 2007: 83).

Figure 2.1: NVivo Screen Print Showing ‘Blair First Term’ Document Set

Name	Size	Nodes	Created	Modified
Blair address Irish Parl 26-11-98	17...	5	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair announces runaways 22-03-01	4153	18	07/11/2006 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair article Belfast Telegraph 5-07	6720	4	01/06/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair broadcast environmen 27-10-00	5053	9	08/02/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair LPC 01-10-97	15...	31	07/11/2006 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair LPC 26-9-00	31...	74	07/11/2006 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair LPC 28-9-99	32...	72	07/11/2006 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair LPC 29-9-98	11...	21	07/11/2006 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair Mansion 1997	10...	17	17/01/2007 - 2...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair Mansion House 13-11-00	13...	10	07/11/2006 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair opening Central Middlesex Ambu	8576	4	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair Press Briefing 08-02-01	15...	44	08/11/2006 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair Press Briefing 18-07-00	2089	11	08/11/2006 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair Press Briefing 22-11-00	6413	13	08/11/2006 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech 20-05-99	18...	17	08/02/2007 - 1...	09/08/2008 - 1...
Blair speech 2nd Asia-Eu meeting 3-0	5937	5	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech ACAD 15-02-01	4841	3	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech Active Community Conven	13...	3	16/05/2007 - 1...	08/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech AMEC yard 15-03-01	5616	4	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech anti-racism in sport 2-	3404	3	16/05/2007 - 1...	08/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech arrival ceremony White	3108	4	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech attracting intl student	4882	3	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...
Blair speech Bevan awards 5-07-99	5086	1	16/05/2007 - 1...	19/06/2008 - 1...
Blair speech Biotechnology 17-11-00	11...	4	16/05/2007 - 1...	09/07/2008 - 1...

The search tool in NVivo brought up every instance in which these terms were referred to, including surrounding paragraphs. I then went through every extract reading it and coding it as appropriate. I coded wherever New Labour talked about one of the terms for which I had searched. Where I identified an instance of Blair, Brown or the Education Ministers talking about one of these notions, I coded the individual line or sections of text (usually a sentence or at times more than this e.g. passage/paragraph) and categorised this according to the type of statement being made by the actor. This resulted in the creation of over three thousand nodes (3125). Each node was a category of the type of statement/argument being put forward. Reviewing these categories, I found that two sets of arguments were employed by Blair,

Brown and the Education Ministers to talk about education. First, the three actors utilised arguments that appealed predominantly to issues relating to redistribution and equality and therefore drew upon ‘social’ arguments in their discussions about education. Second, the three actors relied upon arguments that appealed to economic and market goals and therefore drew upon ‘economic’ arguments. However, composed within these two sets of arguments were multiple contentions that each referred to a different aspect or component of the ‘social’ or ‘economic’ justifications. I titled each node to convey the particular component of the ‘economic’ or ‘social’ argument to which they referred. In some cases, this involved coding those sections of text where particular ‘economic’ or ‘social’ ideas were specifically mentioned. For example, the following section was coded under the category of social justice because of its explicit reference to the term ‘social justice’:

We believe in social justice; in opportunity not for a privileged few but for all, whatever their start in life (Blair 2005a).

Similarly, the section below was coded under the category of employability because of its explicit reference to the term ‘employability’:

Breaking down the barriers between academic and vocational education will also be helped by an emphasis on employability and high quality work experience for pupils of all ability. Academic success may enhance your future prospects but it does not shield you from the world of work or the need to make a meaningful economic contribution (Blunkett 2001b).

In other cases, while the whole word was not referred to directly, the actor in question did refer to a derivative of the term. Thus, Brown’s quote below refers to the term ‘fair’ rather than ‘fairness’, but was still coded under the category of fairness:

And so I say honestly: I am a conviction politician. My conviction that everyone deserves a fair chance in life (Brown 2007a).

In the same way, Blair's quote below refers to the term 'compete' rather than 'competitiveness' but was still coded under the category of competitiveness:

It rests on one key belief: to succeed, today, Britain must be the world's No 1 creative economy. We will win by brains or not at all. We will compete on enterprise and talent or fail (Blair 1997e).

In the examples above, the coding formula is relatively transparent and simple. However, at other points during my analysis I coded sections of text that did not mention explicitly the term or a derivative word of it. In these cases, I analysed the passage of text to determine the key ideas and arguments it was referring to and coded it accordingly. At times, this process was made easier by the three actors' use of associated terms, such as Blair's use of 'social exclusion' rather than poverty or, the Education Ministers use of 'individual advancement' or 'love of learning' for personal fulfilment. Moreover, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers also used the following terms interchangeably: competitiveness for 'productivity', employability for 'work' and knowledge-based economy for 'globalisation'. However, at other times, the only way that I could find out what arguments the actor was referring to in particular passages was to read the text in its entirety and to determine it from there.

Once I had analysed all of New Labour's speeches and coded them appropriately, I then went through all of the categories that I had created and re-analysed them to uncover the particular elements that they referred to within the category. Looking at Blair's quote below, we see that he chooses to connect the notion of empowerment with employment and contends that it

is only through “good” jobs and careers – gained through high levels of education - that individuals can be, and crucially want to be, empowered. In contrast, the quote from Brown connects education’s role as empowering with arguments pertaining to developing countries and cites specifically the role of education in empowering the poor in such contexts. Finally, the Education Minister (Clarke) describes the empowering role of education as necessary to help people “conquer the challenges of change”:

It is about personal empowerment: a fulfilling job done and organised in such a way as to allow us the chance of fulfilling the non-work parts of our life. None of this means that there is not work that is indeed dull, dead-end, even wretched; or that people don't work primarily to earn money. Of course they do. But it is to say that today's generation want more than a job, more than to earn simply to enjoy. They want a good job. They want a career. They want to develop as individuals through work as well as through the hopes and fears of family life. Our purpose should be to help them achieve that ambition. From the education system that should be about opening up aspiration to all our children, not simply those of the comfortably off: to our policies for work, skills, training, re-training, and family: the purpose should be to give people greater power over what they decide for their own lives (Blair 2007b).

Education is the key to our real development goal through offering dignity in development, the empowerment of the poor (Brown 2006b).

Education is the means, the profound means, by which we empower the individual people of this country to conquer the challenges of change (Clarke 2003b).

These three quotes illustrate the nuances that exist within arguments about education. Although referring to the same argument, i.e. empowerment, each actor stresses certain aspects rather than others. Blair highlights the importance of employment, Brown highlights developing countries and the Education Ministers emphasise globalisation. Similarly, if we return to Blair’s quote above, we can see that here he connects Britain’s ability to compete, its

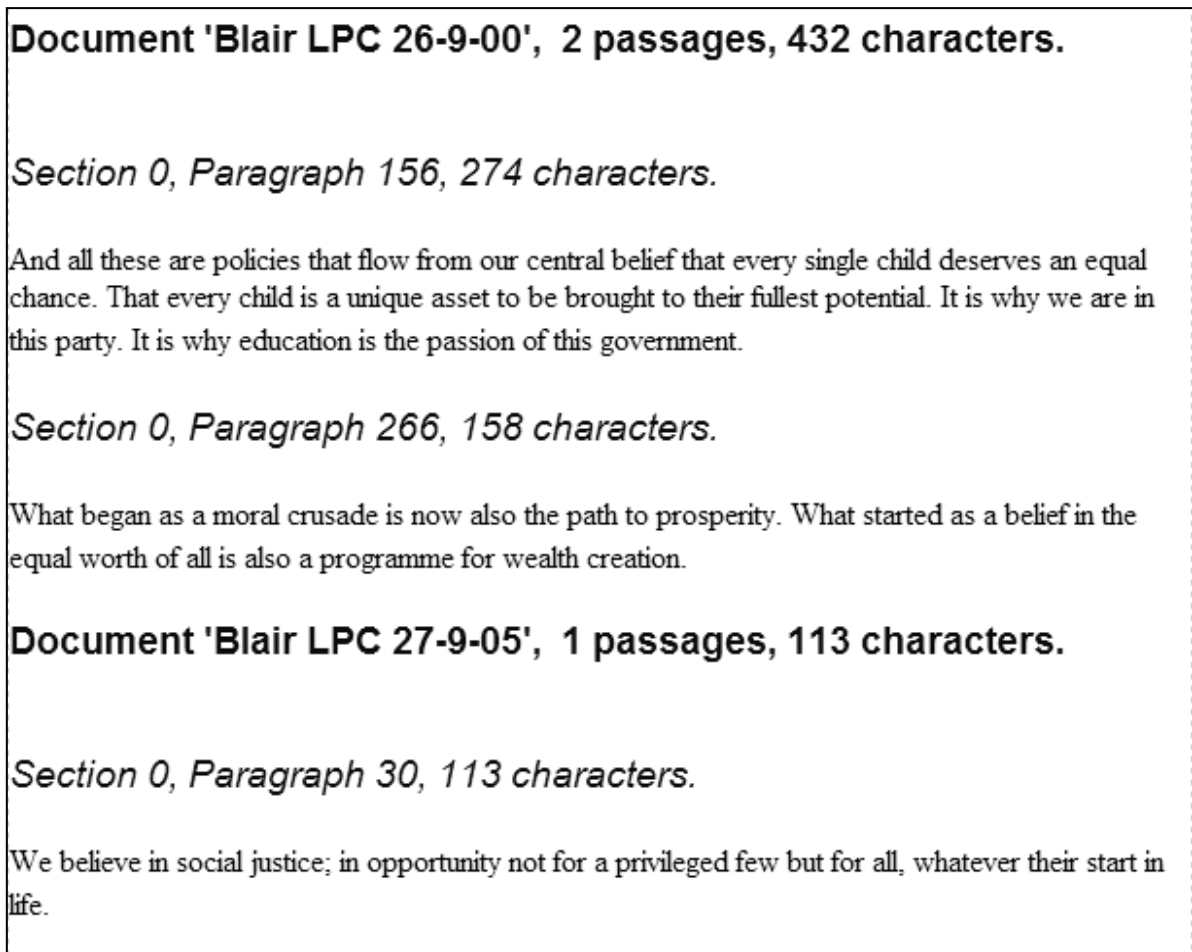
competitiveness, with ‘creativity’, ‘brains’, ‘enterprise’ and ‘talent’. Thus, I would classify this argument as indicating Blair emphasising the importance of creativity and enterprise to competitiveness. In contrast, Brown, in his quote below, still refers to the notion of competitiveness, but chooses to connect this, not with higher wages, but with raising the skill levels of Britain’s workforce:

China and India's wages are just five per cent of ours, but I say to you: we will not compete by lowering our wages or lowering standards but by raising our skills (Brown 2004j).

In some instances, particular sections and even sentences contained more than one theme and here I coded to all the themes raised. So as not to skew my results, I include a breakdown of the number of individual speeches from which such references are derived alongside a breakdown of the number of actual references to each notion. For those nodes that I have used in this analysis, a full breakdown of the meanings I uncovered in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is outlined in Appendices One and Two.

After reading through all the NVivo results and coding them, I then went through each of the nodes I had created and made sure that they were all coded appropriately. This resulted in some extracts being removed and some being recoded, either in existing codes or in additional, newly created, ones. I did this using the ‘Browse/code node’ tool in NVivo. Figure 2.2 shows a screen print from NVivo that illustrates how the units I had coded at particular nodes (in this case the node ‘Equal Worth’) were indicated in this tool.

Figure 2.2: NVivo Screen Print Showing the Extracts Coded at the Node ‘Equal Worth’



To ensure that I obtained every instance where such notions were talked about, I read through every speech in its entirety. This ensured both that the extracts I had coded at particular nodes had not been taken out of context and that I had not omitted any other relevant extracts. This protected my analysis against both any rogue hits that the computer software may have highlighted and any mis-coding on my part. Essentially, this involved me reading each speech in full so that each extract coded at each node could be read in context (Needham 2007: 218). These two steps were consistently adopted throughout my empirical research to

ensure the accuracy of my results. This meant that I could check the data that I had coded periodically as a test of “stability” (Weber 1990: 17 quoted in Needham 2007: 219).

Once I had completed these steps, I analysed my results. As mentioned above, at first my analysis concentrated exclusively on the how frequently each actor referred to each notion of education. This involved counting the number of references to each argument (where an argument is represented by a node) concerning education and the number of speeches that these references originated from, for every actor and for each term. I then calculated this as a percentage of total references to education made in order to control against any biased results that might result from the unstandardised measures (Manheim and Rich 1991: 162). Figures 2.3 - 2.5 show a full breakdown of my findings for the content analysis into Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ speeches. Each Figure shows the number of references and speeches, in relation to each argument about education in the three terms for each actor. At the bottom of each Figure is the total number of references and speeches to all arguments about education, followed by the total number of references and speeches to ‘social’ arguments (see Chapter Three) and, subsequently, to ‘economic’ arguments overall (see Chapter Four). Furthermore, the Figures also show the number of overall speeches made in each term, the number of actual speeches (the actual number of speeches that referred to an argument about education excluding repetitions), the percentage of speeches that refer to each argument about education of overall speeches made in each term and the average number of references per speech.

In addition to these Figures, I also made a note of the first use of each notion by each actor, the date and the speech it was made in (see Appendices One and Two), and looked at how

each notion was employed in each speech by each actor. This involved looking at four things. First, I examined where it featured in the speech, for example at the start, middle or end. Second, I looked at the other arguments, if any with which it was used in conjunction. Third, I analysed where the argument was positioned in the speech, in relation to the other notions it was employed alongside, for example, was the argument employed before, or after, the other arguments it was used alongside. Finally, I counted how many times each argument was prioritised ahead of the other arguments with which it was used in conjunction. I was able to determine these four things using the 'Node Coding Report' function on NVivo, which listed the units coded under particular nodes in selected document sets. This feature listed the unit (line/sentence/paragraph) coded and the paragraph number where it featured in the text. Figure 2.6 shows a screen print from NVivo of the report that illustrates the units coded under the node 'Economic Success' within the document set 'Brown Second Term'.

Figure 2.3: Number of References and Speeches to Arguments About Education for Blair 1997-2007

	<i>1st Term</i>		<i>2nd Term</i>		<i>3rd Term</i>	
	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	10	9	4	3	3	3
<i>Economic success</i>	16	10	14	9	11	7
<i>Employability</i>	18	14	10	6	6	3
<i>Empowerment</i>	3	3	1	1	2	1
<i>Enterprise</i>	2	2	0	0	1	1
<i>Equal worth</i>	16	10	5	5	1	1
<i>Fairness</i>	2	2	5	3	2	2
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	15	6	3	3	0	0

<i>Liberation</i>	8	6	9	8	2	2
<i>Moral</i>	5	4	1	1	0	0
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	2	2	3	3	2	2
<i>Poverty</i>	5	5	5	5	2	2
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'</i>	10	9	7	6	3	3
<i>Skills</i>	6	6	3	3	1	1
<i>Social inclusion</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social mobility</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social control</i>	8	7	4	3	0	0
<i>Social justice</i>	6	5	3	2	7	5
<i>Totals</i>	138	105	84	69	48	38

<i>References to the 65</i>	25	43	23	21	10
<i>'Social'</i>					
<i>References to the 73</i>	34	41	17	27	12
<i>'Economic'</i>					
<i>Overall Speeches</i>	113		124		131
<i>Actual Speeches</i>	43		30		16
<i>% Speeches</i>	38.05%		24.19%		12.21%
<i>Average References</i>	3.2093	2.8		3	
<i>/Speech</i>					

Figure 2.4: Number of References and Speeches to Arguments About Education for Brown 1997-2007

	<i>1st Term</i>		<i>2nd Term</i>		<i>3rd Term</i>	
	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	0	0	21	16	32	21

<i>Economic success</i>	18	12	29	18	29	16
<i>Employability</i>	23	15	9	9	11	9
<i>Empowerment</i>	0	0	3	3	9	6
<i>Enterprise</i>	4	3	16	12	3	3
<i>Equal worth</i>	3	3	8	7	8	7
<i>Fairness</i>	6	5	3	3	10	7
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	4	4	6	5	12	11
<i>Liberation</i>	0	0	5	4	5	5
<i>Moral</i>	2	2	1	1	6	4
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Poverty</i>	5	4	11	9	3	3
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the</i>	9	7	11	9	5	5

<i>'social' with the</i>						
<i>'economic'</i>						
<i>Skills</i>	7	6	15	9	2	2
<i>Social inclusion</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social mobility</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social control</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social justice</i>	6	2	9	7	5	4
<i>Totals</i>	89	65	152	117	146	108
<i>References to the</i>						
<i>'Social'</i>						
<i>References to the</i>	31	16	51	23	51	16
<i>'Economic'</i>						
<i>References to the</i>	58	24	101	37	95	26
<i>Overall Speeches</i>		38		78		90
<i>Actual Speeches</i>		29		43		28

%	<i>Education</i>	76.32%	55.13%	31.11%
<i>speeches/Overall</i>				
<i>speeches</i>				
Average	<i>References</i>	3.06897	3.53488	5.21429
<i>per Speech</i>				

Figure 2.5: Number of References and Speeches to Arguments About Education for Education Ministers 1997-2007

	<i>1st Term</i>		<i>2nd Term</i>		<i>3rd Term</i>	
	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Documents</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	6	3	15	15	61	53
<i>Economic success</i>	11	5	6	6	29	26
<i>Employability</i>	8	4	4	3	34	30
<i>Empowerment</i>	1	1	4	4	4	4
<i>Enterprise</i>	2	2	0	0	0	0

<i>Equal worth</i>	3	3	14	9	8	8
<i>Fairness</i>	3	3	2	2	10	8
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	6	4	3	3	18	16
<i>Liberation</i>	3	3	4	4	12	12
<i>Moral</i>	1	1	2	2	2	2
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	0	0	3	3	6	6
<i>Poverty</i>	2	2	2	2	16	14
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'</i>	9	5	21	18	35	28
<i>Skills</i>	4	2	3	3	16	15
<i>Social inclusion</i>	0	0	5	5	7	7

<i>Social mobility</i>	0	0	0	0	15	13
<i>Social control</i>	5	3	4	4	21	21
<i>Social justice</i>	6	5	22	20	48	42
<i>Totals</i>	72	48	116	107	371	334
<i>References to the 'Social'</i>	33	10	85	47	206	113
<i>References to the 'Economic'</i>	39	7	31	24	165	101
<i>Overall Speeches</i>		14		128		285
<i>Actual Speeches</i>		10		52		147
<i>% Education speeches/Overall speeches</i>	71.43%		40.63%		51.58%	
<i>Average References per Speech</i>	7.2		2.23077		2.52381	

Figure 2.6: NVivo Screen Print Showing Coding Report for Node ‘Economic Success’ in Document Set ‘Brown Second Term’

NODE CODING REPORT

**Node: /Sociological Assessment of
KBE/Citizenship/Morality/Education/Functions of Education/Education
reconciling two goals/Education as economic/Educ for econ success**

Treenode address: (1 3 1 1 8 3 1 3)

Created: 04/07/2007 - 12:36:35

Modified: 07/08/2008 - 16:20:09

Documents in Set: Brown Second Term 2001-2004

Document 1 of 78 Brown Adv Enterprise 04-02-05

Passage 1 of 1 Section 0, Paras 64 to 65, 742 chars.

64: So I commit us to moving our education system up a gear: demanding, in return for investment, the highest standards in our schools and colleges; making university and college funding a priority in the next Parliament; working with you - the leaders of business in this country - to invest in employee training... all the time encouraging and incentivising a work-your-way-up ethos of self improvement and self reliance.

65: What happens in schools is critical to our long-term future. But we cannot just leave education to the schools. Of the workforce we will have in 2015, 80 per cent have left school and are already in work. And it is their skill levels and flexibility that will, over the next decade, determine the prosperity of our country.

I collated this information into a table that recorded all the nodes coded in every document I had analysed, and their positions within the text. The full breakdown of my findings is outlined in Appendices One and Two.

Conclusion

Undertaking an extensive and detailed analysis into New Labour's discourse on education requires a methodology that is both sophisticated and thorough. This Chapter has outlined such a methodology and explains the mixed-method approach to textual analysis I employed to analyse the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on education. The Chapter explains the reasons why I chose this method by showing its ability to address all aspects of the key research questions guiding this analysis, while still being commensurate with my ontological and epistemological position. The Chapter explains how the data was identified, coded and analysed in doing so, addresses the criticisms about using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis and will likewise enable the critical assessment of my methods to take place. Fundamentally, the Chapter shows how, only by employing this method, I am able to both address, and, overcome, the weaknesses of the current literature on New Labour, by providing an analysis of wider scope and in greater depth, than previous studies. Applying this methodology in practice, the next two Chapters analyse Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education to determine the significance of issues of agency and time, as well as determining the status of 'social' and 'economic' objectives on its conception of education.

CHAPTER III

‘THE SOCIAL’: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE ‘SOCIAL’

In this Chapter, I analyse how education is talked about by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in relation to arguments about the ‘social’. As Chapter One makes clear, much of the literature on New Labour is focused upon determining its coherence. Within this question however, there is a particular emphasis on the relationship between economic and social goals. My analysis into the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers revealed the centrality of two sets of arguments that referred to either economic and market goals, or that included a specific focus on issues relating to redistribution and equality. These two sets of arguments propound implicit arguments about education asserting either its ‘social’ or ‘economic’ purposes. These accords with the distinction made within the existing literature on New Labour between social and economic objectives. Within these sets are multiple arguments that contend different aspects or components of the ‘social’ or ‘economic’ purposes of education. Using QSR NVivo to inductively code and analyse the speeches, I classified each statement about education according to which aspect of the ‘social’ or ‘economic’ it was directed. This method enabled me to uncover the three actors’ understanding of the ‘social’ within the area of education, which I found to be comprised of twelve arguments; these are listed below. Underpinning these twelve arguments are three discourses that draw upon arguments about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of

economic objectives and ensure that the ‘social’, within the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, is inherently bound up with concerns about the economy. This indicates that the distinction made between social and economic objectives within the literature is arbitrary because the two goals are not separate for New Labour.

- Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’
- Empowerment
- Equal worth
- Fairness
- Liberation
- Morality
- Personal fulfilment
- Poverty
- Social control
- Social inclusion
- Social justice
- Social mobility

By undertaking three stages of analysis into the twelve arguments above (see Appendix One)²⁵, my analysis enables me to draw three conclusions about Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education

²⁵ This analysis involved three stages. First, I analysed the particular meanings attached to each argument by each actor over time. Second, I determined how frequently each argument has been employed by each actor over time. Third, I revealed how each argument is employed over time by each actor within their speeches that is, where each

Ministers' language on the 'social' in education. These relate to the role of actors, the significance of time, and the status of 'social' compared with 'economic' arguments. My analysis shows that there are several differences between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conceptualisation of the arguments within the 'social'. These differences relate primarily to three areas: the arguments used to refer to the 'social' aspects of education; the meanings attached to each argument; and the significance awarded to them. I identify a number of possible tensions within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'social' however, regrettably, they do not explore these tensions in sufficient detail for me to assess their significance upon the coherence of their conception. The twelve arguments within the 'social' do not occupy equal positions within each actor's language and the significance awarded to each changes over time. However, whilst my analysis identifies several differences between the actors' use of these arguments, I argue that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are coherent in their conception of the 'social'. This Chapter is structured around the role of agency, the significance of time and the status of 'social' and 'economic' arguments. Each section includes a chart that summarises my findings and a discussion that explains how my results reveal the significance of either agency, time or the status of 'social' and 'economic' arguments upon Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on the 'social' in education. I also include here a discussion of any exceptions to these conclusions. For clarity, the three factors of agency, time and the relationship between the 'social' and the 'economic' are presented separately, though in reality it is impossible to make such a clear and simple distinction. Whilst I have taken every step to present the data as clearly as possible to the reader,

argument features within the actors' speeches, what other ideas it is used in conjunction with and how extensively it is talked about (see Chapter Two).

there is inevitably some overlap between the three factors; this is apparent in my discussion of the results. The need for such a comprehensive and detailed analysis of New Labour's language (see Chapter One) has resulted in the collection of a large amount of data. So as not to overwhelm the reader, I include only a selection of findings in this chapter to support the arguments that I put forward. Where necessary I refer the reader to the in-depth analysis that is included in Appendix One to provide further verification of the points I make.

Section One: Role of Actors

My first finding concerns the role of agency on the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. The effect of agency can be illustrated in three ways: first, in what arguments about the 'social' each actor chooses to employ when talking about education, second, in the meanings attached to each argument of the 'social' and third, in the significance awarded to each argument by each actor.

In setting out the role that agency plays in the existence and coherence of a 'New Labour' discourse on education, I show that while ostensibly employing different arguments about the 'social' in education, there is a group of eight arguments that are used by all three actors at some point over the period. Of these eight, arguments that seek to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness, equal worth and social justice are most important to the three actors as these are referred to most frequently overall. In contrast, arguments about empowerment, morality and personal fulfilment are least important to all three actors because they are not

referred to that often over the period. Five of this group are ‘core’ arguments that are employed by all three actors in all three terms. These arguments are based upon three discourses: the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses ensure that New Labour’s conception of the ‘social’ is both logical and consistent in that they emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives. Furthermore, they integrate the ‘social’ arguments used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers with concerns about the economy, supporting the contentions put forward in the literature that New Labour’s conception of education is completely directed towards the needs of the economy. This conviction appears to constitute the coherent foundation of Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ understanding of the ‘social’. Nonetheless, within this group of five ‘core’ arguments are a number of potential tensions between each actors’ use of such arguments. These differences appear to correlate with the distinction made in some of the literature that position Blair and Brown as “ideologically different” in that Blair is more concerned with the individual and is more market oriented while Brown is more of an “old fashioned socialist” (Bower 2004; Cerny and Evans 2004: 58; Eastham 2005; Foley 2004: 294; Macintyre 1994; Naughtie 2001; Needham 2007: 4; Osborne 2002; Routledge 1998; Seldon 2007; Smithers 2005: 275. However, see Kenny 2010 for an alternative view). Unfortunately, these tensions are not explored in sufficient depth in the three actors’ language; therefore, I am unable to determine their significance to the overall coherence of New Labour’s conception of the ‘social’.

1.1 How do Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers Conceptualise the Arguments Within the ‘Social’ in Relation to Education?

My empirical analysis identified twelve arguments that were composed within the ‘social’ in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. However, only the Education Ministers employ all twelve arguments. Blair does not emphasise arguments about social inclusion and social mobility, while Brown utilises the fewest arguments about the ‘social’. Like Blair, he does not emphasise either social inclusion or social mobility, but he also rejects arguments emphasising education’s role in achieving personal fulfilment and social control.

Despite such differences, eight arguments are referred to by all three actors at some point over the period: empowerment; equal worth; fairness; liberation; morality; poverty; arguments that seek to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness; and social justice. Of these, five arguments are referred to by all three actors in all three terms. These five are those arguments that seek to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness, equal worth, fairness, poverty and social justice. This suggests that this group of five ‘core’ arguments underpin Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ understanding of the ‘social’ and are central to New Labour’s conception of the ‘social’ in relation to education. Underpinning these five arguments are the three discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These three discourses emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives making the ‘social’ inherently ‘economic’ in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

1.2 How are the Arguments Within the ‘Social’ Used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in Relation to Education?

In this Section, I show the role that different actors play in New Labour’s discussions about the ‘social’ in education. Table 3.1 summarises how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers use the arguments of the ‘social’ in education (see Appendix One). Four points can be drawn from Table 3.1 that shows, individually, the distinctiveness of each of the three actors’ language on education.

1.2.1 The Distinctiveness of Blair’s Language

Blair’s language is distinct from that of Brown and the Education Ministers in two ways. First, Blair emphasises that there is a single chance for individuals and if they fail to take this opportunity up, they leave themselves vulnerable to social exclusion:

Good education shouldn't depend on your class, colour, background or birth. It should be each child's start in life. Their chance to make the most of themselves. Once they have that chance it's up to them. But to deny them that chance is the greatest personal and social injustice imaginable (Blair 2004e. See also Blair 20011).

Second, Blair includes the notion of desert in his use of arguments about equal worth. He employs the concept of desert to show that equal worth is actively sought, and deserved, by the people it governs, “we owe it to every child ... they deserve an equal chance” (Blair 1999a. See also Blair 1999c, 2000g, 2003f; Brown 2007a).

1.2.2 The Distinctiveness of Brown's Language

There is a clear distinction between Brown, on the one hand, and Blair and the Education Ministers, on the other, which manifests itself in three ways. First, when talking about education in conjunction with arguments about social justice, Brown chooses to employ the term 'equal' opportunities, which is rejected by both Blair and the Education Ministers:

Opportunity for all there is a thread that runs through all of these policies. It is the idea of opportunity for all – equality of opportunity – that encapsulates our approach (Brown 1998f. See also Brown 2004d, 2004j, 2006f).

Second, when emphasising the role of education in achieving the goal of equal worth from 2004, Brown changes his position in order to acknowledge the importance of outcomes, in addition to opportunity, and asserts the couplet: "equality of opportunity and fairness of outcome" (Brown 2004d).

Third, Brown propounds an alternative understanding of the relationship between education and poverty. When addressing international audiences, Brown presents educational failure as being a cause of poverty: "we are tackling the cause of poverty – lack of educational opportunity" (Brown 2000e. See also Brown 2000f, 2000h, 2002d, 2003f).

Table 3.1: Meanings Attached to Each Argument by Actor

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'</i>	Knowledge economy shown that 'the social' and 'the economic' go "hand in hand" with one another.	
	Emphasises 'economic success and social justice' and 'economic efficiency and social justice'.	Emphasises 'economic success and social justice' and 'economic efficiency and social justice'.
	Emphasises 'efficiency and fairness' and 'social justice and economic progress'.	
	Phrases specific to Blair: 'economic	Phrases specific to Brown: 'economic Phrases specific to the Education

dynamism and social justice', dynamism and social cohesion', Ministers: 'social justice and 'economic success as well as social 'enterprise and fairness', 'fair society economic vibrancy', 'economic stability', 'enterprise allied to social and strong economy', 'enterprise and prosperity and social cohesion', justice', and 'social and flexible'. social cohesion', and 'equity and 'excellence and fairness', 'social efficiency'. justice and economic prosperity', 'economic progress and social mobility', 'social mobility and prosperity', 'social mobility and competitiveness', and 'equity and excellence'.

Although social and economic goals presented as equivalent, opportunities justified frequently on basis of economic success.

Emphasises individual responsibility and wider societal notion.	Emphasises wider societal notion of individual responsibility.	Emphasises individual responsibility and wider societal notion.
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<i>Empowerment</i>	Picked up in 1999.	Not picked up until 2005 (start of the third term).	Picked up in 1999.
	Government seen as “enabling”, “helping” and “empowering”.		
	Talked about predominantly in terms of employment.	Applied overwhelmingly to developing countries.	Used frequently with the idea of globalisation.
<i>Equal worth</i>	Opportunities for all seen as core component in achieving equal worth.		
	Rejects concern for outcomes.	Begins by rejecting outcome but his position changes in 2004 when he begins to acknowledge “fairness of outcome”.	Rejects concern for outcomes.
	Barriers to opportunity seen as snobbery, prejudice, ignorance, waste of ambition & talent as well as social exclusion, social class, poverty and privilege.		
	Importance of high standards emphasised as key aspect of equal worth.	Importance of high standards emphasised as key aspect of equal worth.	

	Equal worth as citizens' right.
	Arguments about equal worth used in conjunction with the notion of desert.
	From 2006, Brown applies equal worth globally.
	Emphasises mutual obligation shared between Government and individuals. Emphasises responsibility as Government duty from 2004. Emphasises mutual obligation shared between Government and individuals.
<i>Fairness</i>	Fairness employed synchronously with opportunities for all and emphasises resources needed to make the most of them.
	Opportunity correlated with employment.
	Fairness seen as both opportunity and responsibility High standards seen as important for fairness by Kelly.
<i>Liberation</i>	Education seen as "the best means" and "vital" for people to realise their potential, where education directed

	towards employability and the economy.		
	Liberation through high standards and structural reform of system.		Liberation through high standards and structural reform of system.
<i>Morality</i>	Moral arguments employed to underpin discussions of education as contributing towards the ends of social justice, economic competitiveness, or the two combined.		
	Moral arguments supplemented with those that emphasise the economic contribution of these actions.		
	Opportunities for all seen as moral obligation.		Government, teachers and schools have moral obligation to provide 'good' education.
	Responsibility as Government duty and individual obligation.		
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	Education to 'broaden horizons', 'stretch imaginations' and 'individual advancement and fulfilment'.		Education to 'broaden horizons', 'stretch imaginations' and 'individual advancement and fulfilment'.
	Coupled with goal of improving		Coupled with goal of improving

	employability.		employability.
<i>Poverty</i>	Education seen as solution to poverty.		
	Education seen as solution to poverty, when speaking to international audiences.		
	When speaking to domestic audiences, poor education seen as a cause of poverty.		
	Poverty understood predominantly as child poverty.		
	Poverty seen as barrier to opportunity.		
	Term 'poverty' used interchangeably with the term 'social exclusion'.		
<i>Social control</i>	Term 'poverty' used interchangeably with the term 'social exclusion' by Blunkett.		
	Global aspect highlighted.		
	Term 'poverty' used to refer to "deep-rooted injustices".		
	Poor education linked to multitude		Poor education linked to multitude

	of social problems.		of social problems.
			From 2003, education as social control applied globally.
<i>Social inclusion</i>			Inclusion seen as higher grades, widening participation and social cohesion.
<i>Social justice</i>	Social justice understood as equal worth and opportunities for all.		
	Opportunity seen as reconciling ‘social’ and ‘economic’ goals and economic goals emphasised here.		
	Opportunity seen as both education and employment.		
	Contribution to social cohesion emphasised as component of equal worth.		
	Single chance given to individuals.	Continuous, lifelong chances given to individuals.	
	Social justice denoting social inclusion.		
	Rejects the term ‘equal opportunities’ preferring ‘opportunities for all’.	Frequently connects the phrase ‘opportunities for all’ with ‘equal opportunities’.	Rejects the term ‘equal opportunities’ preferring ‘opportunities for all’.

	Importance of high standards emphasised as crucial element of social justice.	Importance of high standards emphasised as crucial element of social justice.
	Emphasises individual responsibility in first term.	
Social mobility		Education seen as main driver of social mobility.
		Opportunities and outcomes emphasised by Kelly.
		Multiple chances emphasised by Kelly
		Barriers to social mobility cited.

1.2.3 The Distinctiveness of the Education Ministers' Language

The distinctiveness of the Education Ministers' language on education rests upon two elements outlined in Table 3.1. First, both Brown and the Education Ministers correlate opportunity with employment within arguments about fairness. However, while Brown understands fairness as a relationship between opportunity and responsibility, the Education Ministers, and specifically Kelly, emphasise high standards in education as a key component of fairness and equate fairness with greater levels of social mobility (Kelly 2006a, 2006b).

The second element of the Education Ministers' distinctive language concerns arguments about social control. From 2003, the Education Ministers emphasise the contribution education can make in terms of fostering community cohesion, both on a domestic and global level. Directed towards combating fear, distrust, disengagement and ignorance, education is understood to achieve greater global stability and "safer" communities (Rammell 2007f; Smith 2005c, 2005d, 2005f, 2005h):

Moreover, this is a world where the violent effects of fear, distrust and ignorance are all too clear. And ensuring people have access to good education throughout the world is an essential part of our work to tackle these challenges head on (Rammell 2006i. See also Kelly 2005a; Smith 2005h).

1.2.4 Arguments Upon Which All Three Actors Differ

The fourth difference is one that has significance for all three actors' language and relates to two arguments and one sub-argument that reappears frequently throughout Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'social'. The first argument is that which seeks to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'. The differences within this argument reflect how such contentions are presented by each actor. All actors agree, not only that the two goals can be reconciled, but also that education is the primary route to achieve this aim (see Blair 1998f, 1999c, 1999d, 2000a, 2000l, 2004f; Brown 1998f, 2002b, 2003a, 2003g, 2004d, 2005c, 2005s, 2007d; Blunkett 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001b; Clarke 2004d, 2004g; Hodge 2003; Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006c, 2006k, 2006l, 2006s, 2007c, 2007g, 2007i; Kelly 2005b, 2005d, 2005h, 2005j, 2005l, 2005o, 2005q, 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004b, 2004e, 2004f, 2004h, 2005a; Miliband 2003b, 2004c; Rammell 2005a, 2006a, 2007d, 2007f, 2007m; Smith 2006a). It is less clear however, what goals they see as being reconcilable. At times, particular characteristics are emphasised, such as prosperity, enterprise or social mobility and, at other times, these and other terms are presented as end goals in themselves. Twenty-one different combinations of terms can be identified within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speech: "economic dynamism and social justice" (Blair 1998c, 2001f); "economic success and social justice" (Blair 1998f; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2004h, 2005a); "economic success as well as social stability" (Blair 2000a); "enterprise allied to social justice" (Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001); "social and flexible" (Blair 2003e); "economic efficiency and social justice" (Blair 2004f, 2007b; Johnson 2007c, 2007i); "economic dynamism and social cohesion" (Brown 1998f); "enterprise and fairness" (Brown 1998d, 2003g); "fair society and strong economy" (Brown 1999c);

“enterprise and social cohesive” (Brown 1999g); “efficiency and fairness” (Brown 2000a, Blunkett 2001b); “social justice and economic progress” (Brown 2003i, Rammell 2006a); “equity and efficiency” (Brown 2003b); “socially just and economically vibrant society” (Adonis 2007); “economic prosperity and social cohesion” (Blunkett 2000a, 2000b, 2000c); “excellence and fairness” (Clarke 2003c); “social justice and economic prosperity” (Hodge 2003; Johnson 2003a; Kelly 2005f; Miliband 2003b); “economic progress and social mobility” (Kelly 2005l); “social mobility and prosperity” (Kelly 2005l, 2005o, 2005q; Rammell 2007f); “social mobility and competitiveness” (Kelly 2005b; Rammell 2007d); and “equity and excellence” (Kelly 2006b).

The existence of so many different combinations of terms makes it unclear whether the speakers are referring essentially to the same things (different words used interchangeably to mean the same thing), or referring to distinctive arguments, notwithstanding the subsequent questions about whether such understandings change over time and across actors. However, despite there being so many different combinations in use, no one combination is emphasised by all three actors. Furthermore, several combinations are unique to specific actors. For instance, only Blair emphasises the combinations of ‘economic dynamism and social justice’, ‘economic success as well as social stability’, ‘enterprise allied to social justice’ and ‘social and flexible’. Similarly, only Brown talks about ‘economic dynamism and social cohesion’, ‘enterprise and fairness’, ‘fair society and strong economy’, ‘enterprise and social cohesion’ and ‘equity and efficiency’. The Education Ministers in contrast emphasise exclusively ‘social justice and economic vibrancy’, ‘economic prosperity and social cohesion’, ‘excellence and fairness’, ‘social justice and economic prosperity’, ‘economic progress and social mobility’, ‘social mobility and prosperity’, ‘social mobility and competitiveness’ and ‘equity and excellence’.

The second argument that changes for all three actors is that of empowerment. Such arguments are applied in three areas, employment, developing countries and globalisation. Regarding employment, Blair contends that it is only through “good” jobs and careers – gained through high levels of education - that individuals can be, and crucially want to be, empowered (Blair 2007b). In contrast, Brown applies such arguments to developing countries and cites, specifically, the role of education in empowering the poor in such contexts (Brown 2005c, 2006b). Finally, the empowering role of education is presented as necessary to help people to: “benefit from the next stage of globalisation” (Brown 2007b) and “conquer the challenges of change” (Clarke 2003b).

The issue of responsibility recurs continually within Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ conception of the ‘social’. Responsibility is situated variously according to the actor and time. For instance, within arguments about social justice, responsibility refers specifically to individual responsibility and, although seen as one of the three core values of social justice by Blair (1998d: 3), it is only used in connection with education by Brown during the first term. Brown sees opportunity for all, in return for obligations from all, both as imperative for the achievement of social cohesion and the root of “responsible citizenship” (Brown 1998f, 2000c). Thus, responsibility is firmly placed at the door of the individual. However, while Brown refers to individual responsibility within the notion of social justice in the first term, he changes his language to one emphasising a wider societal responsibility when emphasising arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’. When talking about arguments about equal worth, responsibility is conceptualised in terms of a mutual obligation that is shared between

Government and individuals by Blair and the Education Ministers, but exclusively as Government duty by Brown from 2004.

Notwithstanding such differences, Table 3.1 also reveals some areas of consistency across all three actors on the one hand, and between one or more actors on the other.

1.2.5 Consistency Across All Three Actors

1.2.5.1 Arguments About Empowerment

Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers see the role of Government as “enabling”, “helping” and “empowering”, thus liberating human potential, so that individuals can make the most of their own potential and help themselves:

But it is because my underlying philosophy is that every child is special, every child is precious and therefore no child should be left behind in other words to ensure we empower every child and not just some with opportunity, that we need to recognise the enabling role of Government (Brown 2005e. See also Blair 1999a, 2002c; Blair 2000e, 2007b; Brown 2005f; Clarke 2003b; Lewis 2004e; Smith 2005b, 2005f).

1.2.5.2 Arguments About Equal Worth

Here, the emphasis is upon the recognition of the ability and inherent worth of every individual regardless of background, capability, creed or race (Blair 1998d: 3). Although the equal provision of basic rights is a necessary part of this, the principle calls for the economic and social

freedom for people to develop their potential to the full, and exercise such rights. This freedom is achieved through the Government's provision of opportunities for all (Blair 1999a, 2001b, 2004b; Blair 1999c, 2000e, 2000g, 2000l, 2001l, 2002d, 2004e; Brown 2001e, 2002b, 2003h, 2004d, 2004e, 2004j, 2005c, 2005e, 2006b, 2006d, 2006f, 2007c; Clarke 2003b; Morris 2002a; Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001). Realising this objective necessitates action against those barriers to opportunity that exist (Blair 1999a, 2001a; Blair 2000j; Brown 1998f, 2003h, 2004j, 2005p, 2006f, 2007a; Miliband 2002a, 2004a, 2004b; Morris 2002a; Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001; Smith 2005a, 2005c, 2005g); including snobbery, prejudice, ignorance and waste of ambition and talent, as well as factors such as social exclusion, privilege, social class, poverty and discrimination:

That no one be locked out of opportunity ... Opportunity for all - not just for the privileged (Brown 2003h. See also Blair 2005a; Blair 2000j, 2000l, 2001m, 2002d; Blunkett 2001a; Brown 1997c, 2000h).

Although generally understood as a top-down initiative, an alternative understanding of equal worth also exists in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speech. This understanding exhibits a more bottom-up approach and shifts the value of equal worth so that it is understood more as a 'right' than an option. For example, the notion of rights is used to demonstrate that equal worth is a value demanded from the public: "today's people will accept citizenship on nothing less than equal terms - opportunity to all, responsibility from all" (Blair 1999c. See also Blair 2000l; Brown 2007a; Miliband 2003a).

1.2.5.3 Arguments About Fairness

Arguments about fairness are employed together with the notion of opportunity for all in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers: “to be a fair society, we give opportunity for all” (Blair 2000g), “fairness is not simply a formal equality before the law, but is in fact a modern belief in an empowering equality of opportunity for all” (Brown 2006c. See also Hughes 2006b, Blair 2001h, 2005c, 2006b; Brown 1998e, 1999a, 2002a, 2005e, 2006a; Johnson 2006t; Kelly 2005e, 2005n, 2005p, 2006a; Rammell 2006f).

As the quote from Brown above indicates, fairness invokes not only the provision of opportunities for all but also “the capabilities, the resources, the aspirations to make the most of them” (Brown 2007d). This necessitates action on those things, which restrict opportunity such as low income and poverty, social class and; “the underlying structures of injustice that deny opportunity to millions” (Kelly 2005p. See also Blair 2005b; Brown 1999h). While opportunity in this context is generally taken to mean education (Blair 2003b; Blair 2005b; Blunkett 1997c, 2001b; Brown 2007d; Johnson 2006n, 2006t; Kelly 2005e, 2005n, 2005p, 2006a), it is also used to justify a number of different aspects of the New Labour programme. This ranges from specific policies such as equal pay, maternity rights and childcare (Brown 2004j, Kelly 2005n) to assets such as mortgages and pensions that are seen as favourable to New Labour²⁶. Both are understood to enable opportunity (see Johnson 2006n).

1.2.5.4 Arguments About Liberation

²⁶ The Treasury’s attempt, under Brown, to reconstitute individual economic subjectivities of the British population as “active saver-investors” in order to foster a new model of asset-based welfare is discussed by Watson 2007.

Presented by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers as “the greatest liberator of human potential there is” (Blair 1999a. See also Blunkett 2000d, 2000e, Brown 2007a, 2007d; Miliband 2002a; Rammell 2007e), education is seen as both “the best means” and “vital” for people to realise their potential (Blair 2001a; Blair 1999c, 1999f, 1999g, 2001d, 2001g, 2001j, 2002f, 2004e, 2005b; Brown 2005c, 2005e, 2005q; Clarke 2003b; Hughes 2005b; Smith 2006c, 2006d). However, only education directed towards employability achieves potential:

Education that for so long had been a social cause became an economic imperative. Then, as the jobs have risen and the numbers of unemployed have fallen, the employee’s position has strengthened. They can change employers. The challenge for today is to make the employee powerful, not in conflict with the employer but in terms of their marketability in the modern workforce. It is to reclaim flexibility for them, to make it about their empowerment, their ability to fulfil their aspirations (Blair 2007b. See also Blair 1999g; Brown 2001d, 2005q; Johnson 2006u; Miliband 2002a).

1.2.5.5 Arguments About Morality

Moral arguments are generally employed to underpin Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ discussions of education as contributing towards the ends of social justice, economic competitiveness or, most commonly, the two combined. Here, moral reasons are employed on their own, suggesting that, by themselves, they are significant enough to justify the approach taken by New Labour. However, notwithstanding such exceptions, most uses of arguments about morality by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are supplemented with arguments that emphasise the economic contributions of such actions:

It is the purpose that infuses our economic responsibilities with moral value, that everyone and not just a few should have opportunities in our country (Brown 1998e. See also Blair 1999a, 2002c; Blair 2000g; Blunkett 2000c; Brown 2004d).

1.2.5.6 Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’

The claim made by key actors within New Labour to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ is the platform upon which the Government’s approach to education is built upon. This claim rests on the understanding that, in the past, a false choice or antithesis was set up between the ‘economic’ and the ‘social’ (Blair 1999a, 2006a; Blair 1999c, 2005b; Blunkett 2000a; Brown 2000b, 2000g, 2003g, 2003h, 2004d, 2005s; Johnson 2003a, 2007c; Kelly 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2005a; Rammell 2007d). The advent of the knowledge-based economy has ended the ‘sterile’ battle between the economic and social agendas and meant that the demands of the two goals (opportunities for all) are now symbiotic and, thus, the two require each other;

I believe that in our country we have achieved a watershed in the entire public policy debate. We no longer believe at the beginning of the 21st Century that the way ahead for our country, our global economy or indeed our path to success is by offering a false choice between social justice and economic success. It’s not a question of on the one hand a fairer world, a fairer society, and on the other a more competitive, more productive economy. We believe that at the beginning of the 21st Century the two must be inextricably linked, and that’s whether it’s about making sure everybody has the opportunity to fulfil their potential, to know the dignity of self-improvement, to ensure that we replace intergenerational underperformance with intergenerational advance, or whether it’s hard edged productivity and competitiveness which enables our world to be economically successfully (Lewis 2005. See also Blair 2002c; Blair 2005b; Blunkett 2001b).

1.2.5.7 Arguments About Social Justice

Achieving the goal of social justice through education is one of the key aims of New Labour's programme. Consequently, it is a crucial feature of the speech of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Social justice is conceptualised by the three actors in terms of two values: equal worth and opportunity for all. Within arguments about social justice, the value of equal worth is used to argue against the existence of snobbery, prejudice, ignorance:

For how do you develop the talent of all, unless in a society that treats us all equally, where the closed doors of snobbery and prejudice, ignorance and poverty, fear and injustice no longer bar our way to fulfilment (Blair 1999a).

The notion of opportunities for all exercises a critical role in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language, as is clear in arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic':

We came to power driven by our belief that economic efficiency can co-exist with the promotion of social justice and that the key to this lies in providing educational opportunity for all (Johnson 2007i. See also Blair 1998f, 1999c, 1999d, 2000a, 2000l, 2004f; Brown 1998f, 2002b, 2003a, 2003g, 2004d, 2005c, 2005s, 2007d; Blunkett 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001b; Clarke 2004d, 2004g; Hodge 2003; Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006c, 2006k, 2006l, 2006s, 2007c, 2007g, 2007i; Kelly 2005b, 2005d, 2005h, 2005j, 2005l, 2005o, 2005q, 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004b, 2004e, 2004f, 2004h, 2005a; Miliband 2003b, 2004c; Rammell 2005a, 2006a, 2007d, 2007f, 2007m; Smith 2006a).

In the speech of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, opportunity relates to both education and employment (Brown 1997c, Blunkett 2001b). While at times the three actors talk about the

injustice of receiving a poor education and indicate that it is only by experiencing a “good” education that people can receive opportunity (Blair 2006e; Brown 2002f), at other times, it is employment that is prioritised as the main route to opportunity (Blunkett 1999, 2000c; Brown 2002b, 2002f). Indeed, the two are intimately connected within Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language with the argument that it is only through the provision of ‘good’ education that people are able to gain the skills necessary to obtain employment and succeed in the modern economy (see Chapter Four).

The foundation of New Labour’s programme is its desire to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’, where each is seen as impossible without the other. It is no surprise therefore that emphasising economic goals is a prominent element within arguments about social justice and is referred to by all three actors. Here, we see prosperity, enterprise, dynamism, economic success and productivity referred to variously by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, Blunkett, Kelly and Rammell, across the three terms:

The demands of justice that provide opportunities for all, and the requirement of a prosperous modern economy are symbiotic. This has been the central insight that has governed this New Labour Government’s economic policy, that far from social justice being a drag on economic good health, the two require each other (Blair 2005b).

Not just because education is crucial for social justice but because it is key to improving the productivity of the British economy (Brown 2002b).

But more than that. A prize of more and better skills that empower people. That enables people to find better jobs and earn more money. That improves the quality of their own lives and of their family. If we up-skill Britain we improve our economic performance, but we also improve

social justice (Rammell 2007n. See also Blair 1999g, 2000f, 2005b, 2006g; Blunkett 2000a, 2000d; Brown 1998f, 2002b, 2003i, 2004f; Kelly 2005b, 2005i, 2005l; Rammell 2007c, 2007n).

1.2.6 Consistency Between One or More Actors

1.2.6.1 Blair and Brown

i. Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’

Within arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’, Blair and Brown frequently justify the provision of opportunities for all because economic success in the new economy relies on such an approach (Blair 1999c, 2001h, 2002d, 2003e, 2004f, 2004g, 2007b; Brown 1998d, 1998f, 2004d, 2007b; Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001).

1.2.6.2 Blair and the Education Ministers

i. Arguments About Empowerment

Both Blair and the Education Ministers employ arguments about empowerment from as early as the first term (1999).

ii. Arguments About Equal Worth

In defining the concept of equality within arguments about equal worth, Blair and the Education Ministers contrast the view of equality as equal worth to the old left idea of equal incomes or outcomes and uniform lifestyles or taste or culture. In doing this, any element of concern for outcomes is removed from the definition of equality and this is justified as true equality:

What are the values? For me, they are best expressed in a modern idea of community. At the heart of it is the belief in the equal worth of all the central belief that drives my politics – and in our mutual responsibility in creating a society that advances such equal worth. Note: it is equal worth, not equality of income or outcome; or, simply, equality of opportunity (Blair 2000l. See also Blair 1999a, 2001b, 2004b; Blair 2000e, 2002e, 2004d; Blunkett 2000e, 2001b; Brown 2000c, 2005e, 2005o; Johnson 2006e; Miliband 2002a, 2003e, 2004a).

Furthermore, both actors cite the importance of high standards in education as a key factor to ensuring the equal worth of all children (Blair 2001i; Blunkett 2001a; Clarke 2003b).

iii. Arguments About Liberation

The liberation of potential is understood to be achieved through both higher standards in education and through structural reform of the education system. For Blair and Blunkett this involves a ‘modernisation’ of the school system to create greater diversity and more choice of schools (Blair 1999c, 1999e, 2001d; Blunkett 2001a), while Clarke refers to reform of the learning and curriculum structures; assessment regime; and funding packages (Clarke 2004b), and Johnson to a correction of its historic failures (Johnson 2007d).

iv. Arguments About Personal Fulfilment

Arguments about education “for its own intrinsic worth” form only a minor part of Blair’s and the Education Ministers’ language. Here, education is connected with ‘broadening horizons’, ‘stretching imaginations’ and ‘individual advancement’ and ‘fulfilment’ (Blair 2001b; Blair 1998g, 2001j, 2005b, 2006d; Johnson 2007b; Smith 2005c, 2005f). Education in this context is directed towards developing a “love of learning” in people (Blair 2005b; Clarke 2004a; Johnson 2007g; Rammell 2006c), which arises from the introduction of a broader curriculum that encompasses the “joy of art and culture” and includes activities such as music, cookery, and dance (Blair 2001b. See also Clarke 2004a).

Despite extolling the virtues of education for its own sake, the personal fulfilment aspects of education are frequently coupled with its role in improving employability by Blair and the Education Ministers, suggesting that such arguments are viewed as insufficient on their own;

Young people of course want education in order to broaden their horizons, to open up new visions and opportunities for them, but they also want to be in a position where what they learn ... has got a chance of getting them a decent job with a good standard of living, an opportunity to do well in the world of business and the world of trade and industry (Blair 2006d. See also Johnson 2007f; Rammell 2006c; Smith 2005f).

v. Arguments About Poverty

Both Blair and the Education Ministers see education as the solution, as opposed to the cause, of poverty (Blair 2002c, 2004a; Blair 2000f, 2002f; Blunkett 2000b, 2001a; Brown 2001b, 2001e, 2004g, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e; Johnson 2006g, 2006i, 2006p, 2006s, 2006t; Miliband

2004d; Rammell 2006a, 2006d, 2007g, 2007h). Furthermore, it is often used interchangeably with the term social exclusion by Blair and Blunkett, which can also refer to anti-social behaviour, teenage pregnancy, unemployment as well as personal attributes, such as a lack of ambition and/or aspiration (Blair 2003a; Blair 1999d, 2000f, 2000j, 2006b; Blunkett 2000b).

vi. Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’

In talking about arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’, Blair and the Education Ministers emphasise the couplets of “economic success and social justice” (Blair 1998f; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2004h, 2005a) and “economic efficiency and social justice” (Blair 2004f, 2007b; Johnson 2007c, 2007i).

vii. Arguments About Social Control

The high “personal and social cost” (Clarke 2004g; Hughes 2006c) of a poor education is emphasised through its connection with a multitude of social problems. For example, teenage pregnancy, poverty, crime, vandalism, drugs, anti-social behaviour, social exclusion, ignorance, and racism (Blair 1997b, 2002b, 2003a; Blair 1997d, 1998f, 2000f, 2001e, 2002e; Blunkett 2000b, 2001b; Dhanda 2006b, 2007; Hughes 2005d, 2006f, 2007c; Johnson 2006f, 2007d; Rammell 2006c, 2006e, 2007f). The negative connotations of these factors are illustrated in Blair’s use of the term “underclass” (Blair 1998f). Good education is seen both to tackle all of these problems and lay the foundations for a civilised society by spreading shared values such as

respect, courtesy and consideration (Clarke 2002a). In doing this, schools are seen to play a crucial role by effectively “socialising” its pupils by Blunkett (Blunkett 1998, 2000b).

viii. Arguments About Social Justice

Blair prefers the phrase ‘opportunities for all’ and distances this from its ‘other’, i.e. equal opportunities, by saying that the former is “about more than our passionate belief in equality of opportunity” (Blair 2002d). By and large, the Education Ministers follow this direction and emphasise opportunities for all rather than referring to equal opportunities:

In other words, the kind of fair society I want to live in is one where there are ladders of opportunity across individuals’ lives (Kelly 2005h. See also Clarke 2004d; Dhanda 2006b; Hughes 2006c, 2006d; Johnson 2006d; Kelly 2005b, 2005e, 2005h, 2005l, 2005q; Lewis 2003, 2004c, 2004d; Smith 2005e. Although there are a couple of exceptions, see for instance Johnson 2006d; Miliband 2003d).

The importance of high standards in education is understood as a crucial element of the achievement of social justice by Blair and the Education Ministers. Here they contrast “good”, “high quality” education with “poor” education, which in turn is directly connected with injustice (Blair 1998a, 2005a; Blair 1999g, 2000f, 2004e, 2006e, 2007a; Blunkett 1999, 2000d; Clarke 2003c, 2004g; Hughes 2005a, 2006c; Johnson 2007a; Kelly 2005e; Miliband 2003c, 2003d; Morris 2002b; Smith 2005e).

1.2.6.3 Brown and the Education Ministers

i. Arguments About Fairness

Although all three actors (Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers) talk about the concept of fairness, only the Education Minister Blunkett and Brown correlate opportunity explicitly with employment (Blunkett 2001b; Brown 2000b).

ii. Arguments About Poverty

The term poverty is used to refer explicitly to more “deep-rooted injustices” such as low income and wider inequality by Brown and the Education Ministers (Blunkett 2001a; Brown 2000h; Dhanda 2006a; Johnson 2006s; Miliband 2004d).

iii. Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’

The couplets of “efficiency and fairness” (Brown 2000a, Blunkett 2001b) and “social justice and economic progress” (Brown 2003i, Rammell 2006a) are emphasised by Brown and the Education Ministers.

iv. Arguments About Social Justice

The second use of the notion of equal worth within arguments about social justice denotes inclusion, in that opportunities for all should be granted regardless of factors such as income, background and social class. These factors are emphasised particularly in terms of their contribution to social cohesion and are referred to only by Brown and the Education Ministers;

That opportunity and social justice in Britain in 2003 should not depend on class or connexions, on birth or background, on where you come from or who you know but opportunity and social justice should be the promise of Britain not just to some but to everyone (Brown 2003h. See also Adonis 2006a; Brown 2002f, 2003h; Clarke 2004a, 2004f; Hughes 2005a, 2005c, 2006e; Johnson 2007a; Kelly 2005c, 2005d, 2005k, 2005r; Lewis 2004d; Morris 2001, 2002a; Smith 2005a, 2005e, 2006b).

Furthermore, Brown and the Education Ministers emphasise continuous opportunities within this argument, where individuals are given “every chance to achieve their potential” (Brown 2001e, 2004d; Johnson 2007a; Kelly 2005h; Lewis 2004c).

1.2.7 The Coherence of Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ Conception of the ‘Social’

Examining how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers understand the twelve arguments comprising the set of the ‘social’ reveals a number of findings about the coherence of their conception of education. Underpinning the twelve ‘social’ arguments is a shared understanding of education which is founded upon three discourses: the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. As Chapter Four will show, Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ understanding of the discourse of the knowledge-based economy is consistent with the

“hegemonic” paradigm pervading Europe that construes education as a directly economic factor that “bears ever more critically on economic competitiveness” (Jessop 2008a: 29. See also Andersson 2007). The discourse of opportunity is understood principally as economic in nature while that of responsibility is understood differently by the three actors over the period. For example, in the first term, responsibility emphasises individual obligation. In the second term however, responsibility is understood more as a shared obligation between the government, employers and the individuals. These shifts occur within Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ use of arguments about equal worth, social justice, liberation and poverty. This means that Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language on the ‘social’ is intimately connected with concerns for the economy.

The three discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility stress that social justice can, and indeed should, be reconciled with economic competitiveness. The actors contend that, in the new knowledge-based economy, this reconciliation can only take place through the provision of educational opportunities for all that are made available to individuals regardless of social background. However, education directed towards the skill needs of the economy best offers the hope of ensuring opportunity for individuals by raising their skill levels and thus improving their employability according to Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. It is the primary responsibility of Government to provide such opportunities. These opportunities should be directed towards the demands of the economy so that they can improve employability and thus, empower, fulfil and liberate individuals in addition to addressing the supply-side weaknesses of the British economy, increasing enterprise and entrepreneurship and improving Britain’s competitiveness against other countries. Where barriers to opportunity exist, it is the

role of Government to dismantle these however, it remains the ultimate responsibility of individuals themselves to take up and make the most of such opportunities. This conception, underpinned by the discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility, represent the coherent foundation to New Labour's understanding of education.

However, outside of this foundation there are some tensions within the three actors' understanding of the 'social'. First, while both Brown and the Education Ministers argue for continuous and indeed lifelong opportunities to be made available to all individuals, Blair propounds that there is a risk that individuals will be excluded if they fail to take advantage of the one chance that is given to them. This not only contradicts the arguments made by Brown and the Education Ministers in appealing for continuous and lifelong opportunities but it also risks conflicting with Brown's concern for outcomes. While both Blair and the Education Ministers reject a concern for outcomes, from 2004, Brown acknowledges the importance of outcomes to his understanding of equal worth. By contrast, Blair's and the Education Ministers' disregard for outcomes is at odds with the three actors' declaration to act against the barriers to opportunity, of which social exclusion is one. If Blair is effectively legitimising the exclusion of those individuals that fail to take up, or make the most of, the opportunities provided for them, then this may contradict Brown's arguments for "fair" outcomes and the Government's efforts to counter the effect of social exclusion on opportunity. However, while all three actors agree that fairness comprises the provision of opportunities for all and action against barriers against receiving such opportunities, it is unclear whether Brown's notion of "fairness of outcomes" permits the unequal distribution of resources so long as this does not result from a prior unequal distribution of opportunities or, results from the individual's own choices. This might constitute a key

difference between Blair and Brown and would be consistent with the popular perception of the differences between them (see Hennessey 2002; Needham 2007 for example). Such a conception would also be consistent with the conception put forward by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) a centre-left think-tank that has consistently been linked to New Labour (see Miller 2005: 16-19).

The notion of fairness is also of interest when we consider the issue of opportunity. Whilst Brown accepts the term ‘equal opportunities’ in his use of arguments about social justice, Blair and the Education Ministers actively distance themselves from this by emphasising their commitment to ‘opportunities for all’. Although this could merely represent a different choice of words by the three actors, we should not discount the possibility that this choice of words is deliberate and may represent a difference of views particularly given Blair’s and Brown’s central role in the presentation and media management of New Labour. In this vein, Blair’s and the Education Ministers’ emphasis upon opportunity for all rather than equal opportunities may refer to an underlying belief in meritocracy, a contention that is supported by Blair’s assertion that opportunity for all does not imply a dull uniformity in welfare provision and public services (Blair 1998i: 3). Thus, while Brown does not endorse meritocracy explicitly as Blair does (see Blair 2001j), his conception of ‘fairness of outcome’ is sufficiently vague so that it is unclear whether he implicitly endorses such ideas by permitting the unequal distribution of resources as a consequence of individuals’ choices. As other authors have elsewhere pointed out, a belief in meritocracy presents difficulties for anyone with a belief in equality as Blair, Brown and the Education Minister purport to do in their employment of arguments about equal worth (see for example Barry 2005).

Legitimising the exclusion of those individuals who fail to take advantage of the opportunities on offer also risks conflicting with the understanding of equal worth utilised by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in their discussions about education. For example, equal worth is presented as a right to be demanded by all citizens yet, the exclusion of individuals for failing to take up opportunities denies them this right and therefore their citizenship. The justification of this approach may be rooted in the terms of citizenship as employed by the three actors. According to Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, citizenship consists of both rights and responsibilities (see Appendix One). Thus, in failing to take advantage of the opportunities provided to them by government, individuals could be said to be reneging on their responsibilities therefore justifying their exclusion because they are no longer adhering to the terms of citizenship set out for them.

There are further tensions between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of the arguments within the 'social'. In invoking notions of responsibility, the three actors differ in where they situate responsibility in relation to achieving social justice, the reconciliation of social justice with economic competitiveness and equal worth. In making arguments about social justice, Brown chooses to emphasise the individual's responsibility in achieving the goal. Conversely, when employing arguments about reconciling social justice with economic competitiveness, Brown employs a wider sense of responsibility that falls onto society rather than the individual. This understanding is also invoked by Blair and the Education Ministers however; they also choose to employ a more individual notion of responsibility when using such arguments. When employing arguments about equal worth, the two actors revert to a mutual understanding of responsibility which involves Government providing opportunities and

individuals having a subsequent responsibility to grasp such opportunities. These differences in how the notion of responsibility is applied make it unclear which actors have responsibility for achieving particular ‘social’ objectives according to Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, the upshot being that it is likewise unclear whether these understandings are coherent with one another or not.

In declaring action against the barriers to opportunity, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers specifically mention poverty. However, poverty is largely understood in terms of child poverty by the three actors. This raises questions about whether adult poverty will be tackled either at all, or with as much rigour, as that for children in attempting to overcome the barriers to receiving opportunities.

Despite being able to identify these potential tensions, unfortunately, the actors’ language does not explore these issues in a sufficient level of detail to enable a proper assessment of the impact of such tensions on the coherence of their conception of education. As a result, I must conclude that the three actors are coherent in their conception of education.

1.3 What Significance does Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers Give to the Arguments of the ‘Social’ in Relation to Education?

The Chapter has so far set out how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers talk about education. It has done this in two ways: by outlining first, the ‘social’ arguments they employ

when talking about education; and, second, how they have understood these arguments over the period 1997-2007. However, until now, we have no perception of the significance each actor awards to a given argument. This section initially outlines how significant each argument is to each actor overall and subsequently examines how, if at all, this significance changes between terms. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 below show the overall significance awarded to each argument between 1997 and 2007 (see Appendix One for breakdown of figures). Figure 3.1 illustrates the significance utilising raw data i.e. the actual number of references to each notion whilst Figure 3.2 shows the significance according to the percentage of total references to education²⁷.

Although there are differences between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' use of particular arguments when talking about education, my analysis shows that three arguments are important to the language of all three actors and three are relatively unimportant. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show that arguments aiming to reconcile social justice with economic competitiveness, equal worth and social justice are referred to frequently by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and thus seem to be important to all three actors when talking about education. By contrast, arguments emphasising empowerment, morality and personal fulfilment (only Blair and the Education Ministers refer to this latter argument) appear to be relatively unimportant to the three actors because they comprise a low proportion of overall references to education in their language. Individually however, each actor emphasises particular arguments differently. For example, both Blair and the Education Ministers place a higher premium on arguments about

²⁷ The percentage of total incidence was calculated for each argument using the formula $N/T \times 100$ where N represents the number of references made to the argument by the actor and T represents the sum of the total number of references made to education by the actor in question. The figures for these references are illustrated in Appendix One. Where percentages equalled 0.5 of a whole number or above, I rounded the figure up to the next whole number and similarly if the percentage equalled lower than 0.5, the figure was rounded down.

liberation in their discussions about education, suggesting that they are important to their understanding of the 'social'. However, Brown does not refer to such arguments very often, which suggests that they are less important to his conception of the 'social'. Similarly, while arguments about poverty and fairness appear to be important to Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'social' they are relatively unimportant to Blair's understanding. In addition, although both Blair and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about social control when talking about social control these arguments appear to be much more important to the latter's conception of the 'social' than they are to the former's.

According to the actual number of references, Blair emphasises arguments about equal worth most frequently, followed by (in descending order) those arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic', liberation, social justice, poverty and social control, fairness, personal fulfilment, empowerment and morality. When we look at the proportion of references to each argument as a percentage of his total references to the notion of education, this hierarchy remains the same.

Analysing the results for Brown, we find that, in both charts, the order of most referenced arguments stays the same, with (in descending order): arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic', social justice, fairness, poverty and equal worth, empowerment liberation and morality.

In the language of the Education Ministers, the majority of arguments remain in the same hierarchy across Figures 3.1 and 3.2. However, a slight change in the order occurs that does not

occur in either Blair's or Brown's speech. According to raw data, fifth position is occupied by arguments about poverty and sixth position is occupied by arguments about liberation. However, in terms of the percentage of total references to education, these two arguments are equal and therefore are both fifth. This shifts the hierarchy up a place in the percentage figures. Therefore, according to raw data, the hierarchy of arguments for the Education Ministers is (in descending order) social justice, arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic', social control, equal worth, poverty, liberation, fairness and social mobility, social inclusion, empowerment and personal fulfilment and morality. Conversely, according to percentage of total references to education the hierarchy reads, social justice, arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic', social control, equal worth, liberation and poverty, fairness and social mobility, social inclusion, empowerment and personal fulfilment and morality.

Figure 3.1: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Social’ for Each Actor 1997-2007

(raw data²⁸)

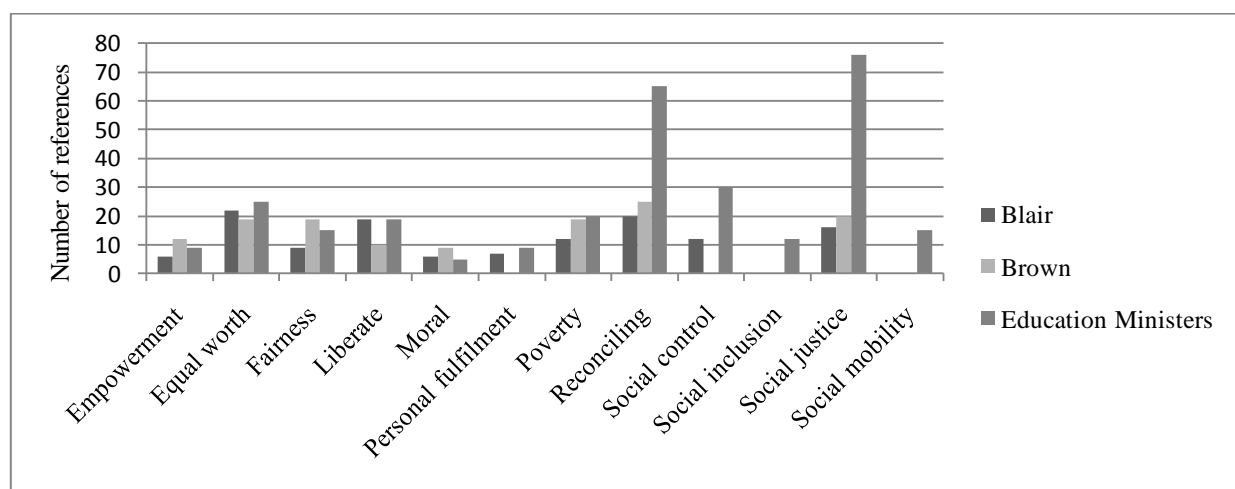
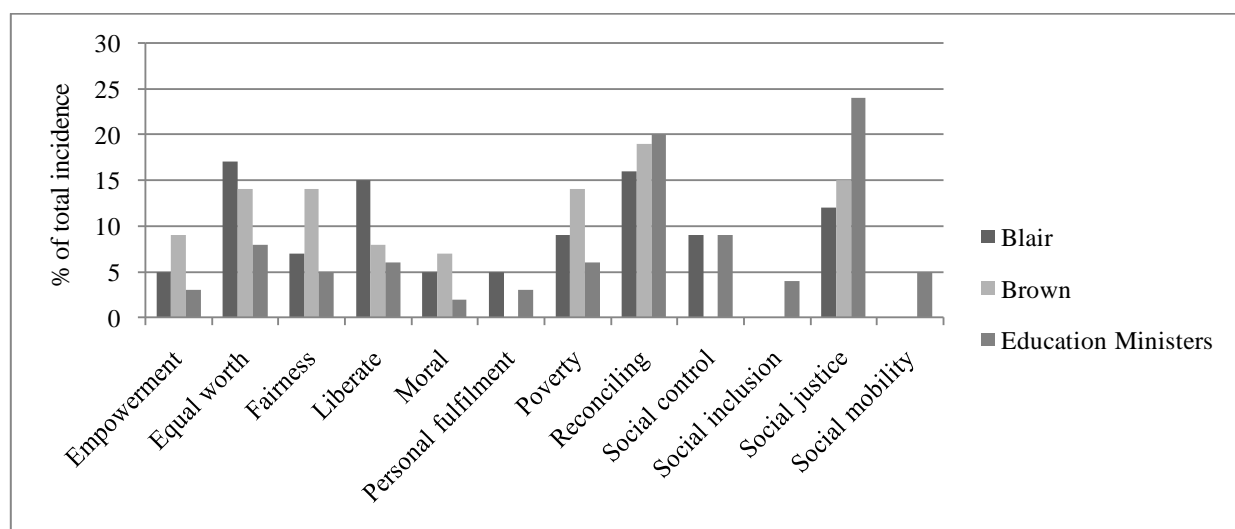


Figure 3.2: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Social’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)

(% of total incidence)



²⁸ Raw data refers to the actual number of references made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to each argument about education.

Although discussed in greater detail in relation to the significance of time, Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below, outline the three most frequently referenced arguments for each actor over the three terms. Analysing Tables 3.2 and 3.3 reveals that, overall, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers all choose to emphasise arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ as one of the three arguments that they refer to most frequently. Furthermore, it shows that arguments about social justice are important to Brown and the Education Ministers as these appear in both Tables as one of their three most referenced arguments, while arguments about equal worth are important to Blair and Brown as they appear in their three most frequently referenced arguments. However, the Tables also show the distinctiveness of each actor’s language on education. For example, only Blair includes arguments about liberation in his three most frequently referenced arguments. Only Brown emphasises arguments about fairness and poverty and only the Education Ministers prioritise arguments about social control in their discussions about education overall.

Table 3.2: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007

(raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Equal worth	Reconciling	Reconciling
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling	Fairness & Social justice	Social justice
	Liberation & Social	Poverty	Social control

	control		
<i>Second</i>	Liberation	Poverty & Reconciling	Social justice
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling	Social justice	Reconciling
	Equal worth & Fairness & Poverty	Equal worth	Equal worth
<i>Third</i>	Social justice	Fairness	Social justice
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling	Empowerment	Reconciling
	Empowerment & Fairness & Liberation & Personal fulfilment & Poverty	Equal worth	Social control
<i>Overall</i>	Equal worth	Reconciling	Social justice
	Reconciling	Social justice	Reconciling
	Liberation	Equal worth, Fairness & Poverty	Social control

Table 3.3: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Equal worth	Reconciling	Reconciling
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling	Fairness & Social justice	Social justice

	Liberation & Social control	Poverty	Social control
<i>Second</i>	Liberation	Poverty & Reconciling	Social justice
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling	Social justice	Reconciling
	Equal worth & Fairness & Poverty	Equal worth	Equal worth
<i>Third</i>	Social justice	Fairness	Social justice
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling	Empowerment	Reconciling
	Empowerment & Fairness & Liberation & Personal fulfilment & Poverty	Equal worth	Social control
<i>Overall</i>	Equal worth	Reconciling	Social justice
	Reconciling	Social justice	Reconciling
	Liberation	Equal worth, Fairness & Poverty	Social control

These Tables reveal three findings that are relevant to questions about the role of actors in a putative ‘New Labour’ discourse of education: the extent of consistency across all three actors, consistency across one or more actors and the distinctiveness of each actor’s language. Each one of these findings will be discussed in turn.

1.3.1 Consistency Across All Three Actors

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 reveal that no argument features in the three most frequently referenced arguments for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in all three terms. However, in the second term, all three actors choose to emphasise arguments about equal worth most frequently when talking about education.

1.3.2 Consistency Across One or More Actors

The Tables also reveal that in the second term, Blair and Brown place greater emphasis on arguments about poverty, which the Education Ministers do not, while in the third term they emphasise arguments about fairness and empowerment. The third term is the only point over the period when arguments about empowerment are referred to so frequently by any actor. There is also consistency between Blair and the Education Ministers in that they both refer frequently to arguments about social control in the first term and to arguments about social justice in the third term. Similarly, there is consistency between Brown and the Education Ministers in the priority they give to arguments about social justice in the first and second terms.

1.3.3 Distinctiveness of Each Actor

The distinctiveness of each actor's language on education is shown in three ways. First, Blair's speech is distinctive due to his consistent prioritisation of arguments about liberation in his

discussions about education across all three terms. Furthermore, he is the only actor to refer frequently to arguments about equal worth in the first term and to arguments about personal fulfilment and poverty in the third term. Brown's language on education is distinctive because he is the only actor to emphasise arguments about fairness and poverty in the first term and those about equal worth in the third term. The only point in which the Education Ministers are distinctive is in the third term when they refer frequently to arguments about social control and in their consistent prioritisation of social justice.

These results show that, although I have identified a coherent New Labour conception of education within the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, the three actors differ in the emphasis they give to each argument over the period. All actors refer to five arguments in all three terms; nevertheless, these are not always the arguments that are emphasised most frequently. Thus, the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on the 'social' experiences periods of heightened activity and relative stasis where particular arguments about education are referred to more or less frequently than at other points. This finding raises questions about why the actors choose to emphasise certain arguments about education at some points and not others and why this differing emphasis varies between actors. I set out a possible approach to answer this question in the Conclusion.

Section Two: The Significance of Time

The second finding arising from my analysis concerns the significance of time on Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of particular arguments about the 'social'. Table 3.1 shows, how the positions of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers change over time on the three arguments about empowerment, equal worth and social control. However, this pattern is shown more clearly in Figure 3.3, which shows when such changes occur over the period 1997-2007.

Figure 3.3 reveals three changes that occur over the period. First, three changes occur within Brown's language on the notion of equal worth between 2004 and 2006. He increasingly acknowledges the significance of outcomes. Second, from 2004 he also emphasises the Government's duty to strive towards equal worth in his modification to the notion of responsibility, which is framed in terms of mutual responsibility, with Government presented as enabling and empowering (Brown 2004d, 2005c, 2005e). This contrasts with his earlier understanding of responsibility within the notion of equal worth (which is also shared by Blair and the Education Ministers), where responsibility is understood as a reciprocal relationship between Government and individuals. Third, from 2006, Brown also broadens the scope of his arguments about equal worth and applies them to the global stage. Education for all is asserted as a global cause through which to affirm: "our dignity as human beings" (Brown 2006b, 2006d), and this is justified by equal worth arguments about the recognition of the worth of every individual regardless of background, capability, creed or race.

The shifts in Brown's language on arguments about equal worth and those on the issue of responsibility pose some potential difficulties for the coherence of a New Labour discourse of the 'social' as Section 1.2.7 illustrates. There are also differences in the time at which particular arguments are picked up by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (see Appendix One). However, whilst such differences reveal the complexity and dynamism of the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, they do not negate the coherence of their conception of the 'social'. The dynamism within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' use of the arguments within the 'social' can be illustrated with reference to six arguments. First, empowerment; despite Blair emphasising arguments about empowerment in his discussions of education in 1999 and the Education Ministers in 2000, Brown chooses not to pick up this argument until 2003 (compare Blair 1999a and Blunkett 2000a with Brown 2003i). Second, arguments about fairness are highlighted first by the Education Ministers in 1997 (Blunkett 1997c), it is then picked up by Brown in 1998 (Brown 1998e) but is not picked up by Blair until 2000 (Blair 2000g). Arguments about liberation are first highlighted by Blair in 1999 (Blair 1999f), Blunkett then emphasises them in 2000 (Blunkett 2000e) and they are finally picked up by Brown in 2001 in his speech to the Institute of Directors' Annual Dinner (Brown 2001d). Fourth, arguments about morality are emphasised by both Blair and Brown in 1998 (Blair 1998e, Brown 1998e) but not referred to by the Education Ministers until 2000 (Blunkett 2000c). Arguments about personal fulfilment are first emphasised in 1998 by Blair (Blair 1998g) but are not picked up by the Education Ministers until 2004 (Clarke 2004a). Finally, arguments about social justice are emphasised by Blair and Brown in 1998 (Blair 1998a, Brown 1998f) but are not picked up by the Education Minister David Blunkett until 2000 (Blunkett 2000e).

Similarly, in emphasising the opportunity element of social justice (see Appendix One), there is a pattern to who introduces the notion and when it is picked up by the other two actors. For instance, Brown initially introduces this line of argument in 1998 and he continues to emphasise it until the end of the second term. From 2003, the Education Ministers then pick up on this argument and begin to employ it and in the third term, it is then adopted by Blair. Thus, what we witness in the case of opportunity within arguments about social justice is a crescendo effect where Brown, the Education Ministers and Blair (in this sequence) take turns in emphasising this aspect most frequently across the period. For visual purposes only, I have mapped this trend diagrammatically in Figure 3.4 below. The three actors Brown, Education Ministers and Blair are represented by the three different shaded areas. The first area symbolises Brown and it shows that he emphasises opportunity most during the first term. The second area represents the Education Ministers, who although overlapping with Brown slightly, emphasise opportunity most frequently during the second term. Finally, the black section symbolises Blair and again, although it overlaps with the Education Ministers, it is evident that the majority of his references to opportunity occur in the third term.

The significance awarded to each argument within the ‘social’ by the three actors changes over time. After being introduced by each actor (see Appendix One), each argument about the ‘social’ aspects of education has a different trajectory within the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. The six charts below (Figures 3.5 – 3.10) illustrate how frequently each argument within the ‘social’ is referred to by each actor (each argument is represented by differently gradient and shaded lines). I include two charts for each actor. The first chart (presented on the left hand side of the page) illustrates the raw data that is the absolute number of

references to each argument, while the second chart (presented on the right hand side of the page) illustrates the frequency that each argument is referred to as a percentage of the overall references made to education (see Appendix One for actual figures). The charts reveal a number of findings about Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on the 'social' in education. These results fall into two categories: general and specific. The general findings analyse the broader trends over time for each actor, looking principally at two questions; 'do the number of references to any arguments increase/decrease consistently over the period' and 'is there a peak period when particular arguments are emphasised most frequently'? The second section analyses the specific findings, looking more closely at particular arguments. Here, we refer again to Tables 3.2 and 3.3 above to show the three arguments that are referred to most frequently in each term, and overall by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

2.1 General Trends

Two features of Blair's speech are apparent. First, his references to arguments about equal worth, morality and social control decline between 1997 and 2007. Second, in the first term Blair's language on the 'social' is characterised by a disproportionately high number of references to arguments about equal worth, morality and social control, while he makes a greater number of references to arguments about fairness and liberation in the second term and to arguments about social justice in the third term.

Figure 3.3: Timeline Illustrating Changes in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' Language on Education 1997-2007

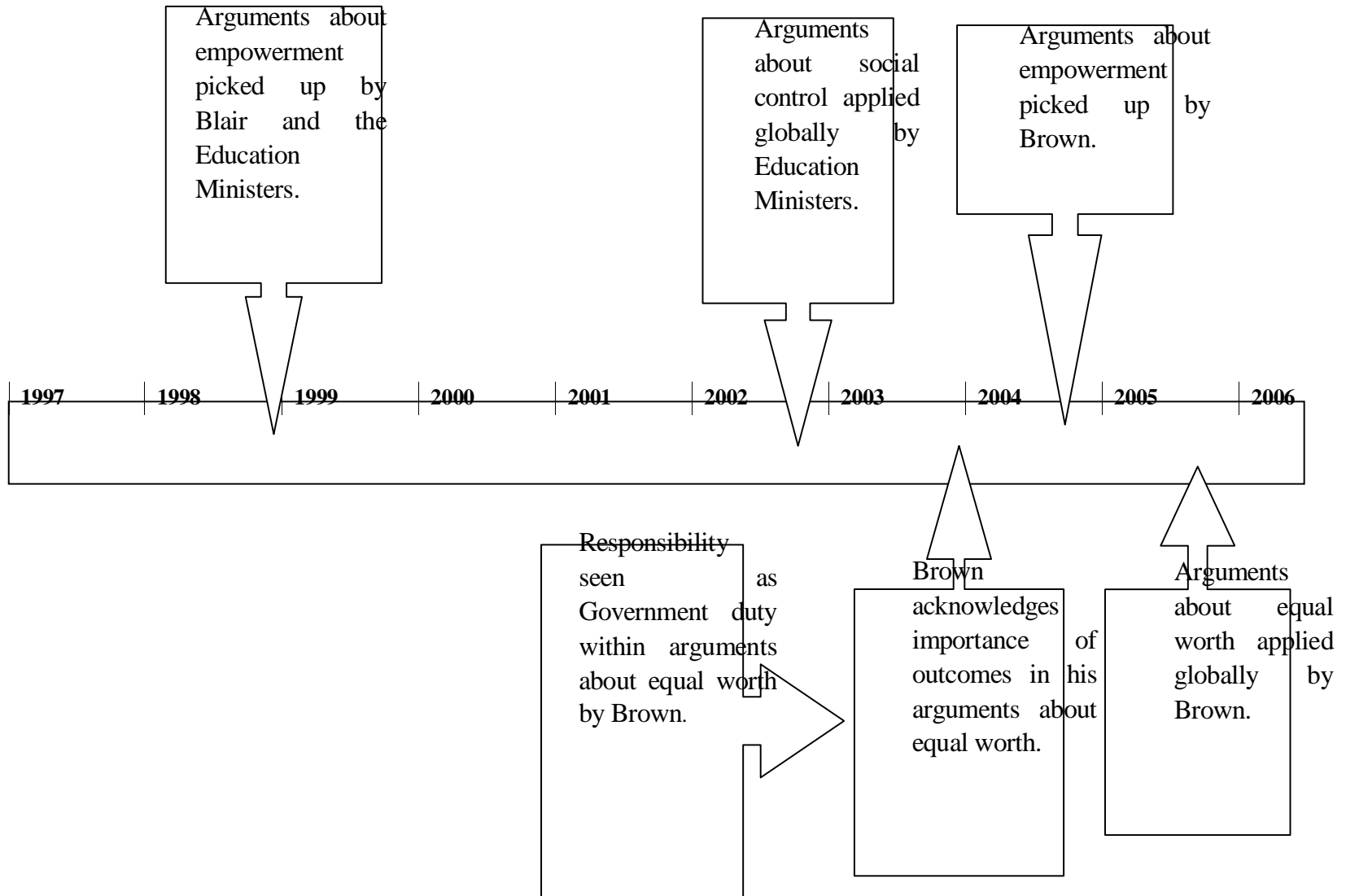
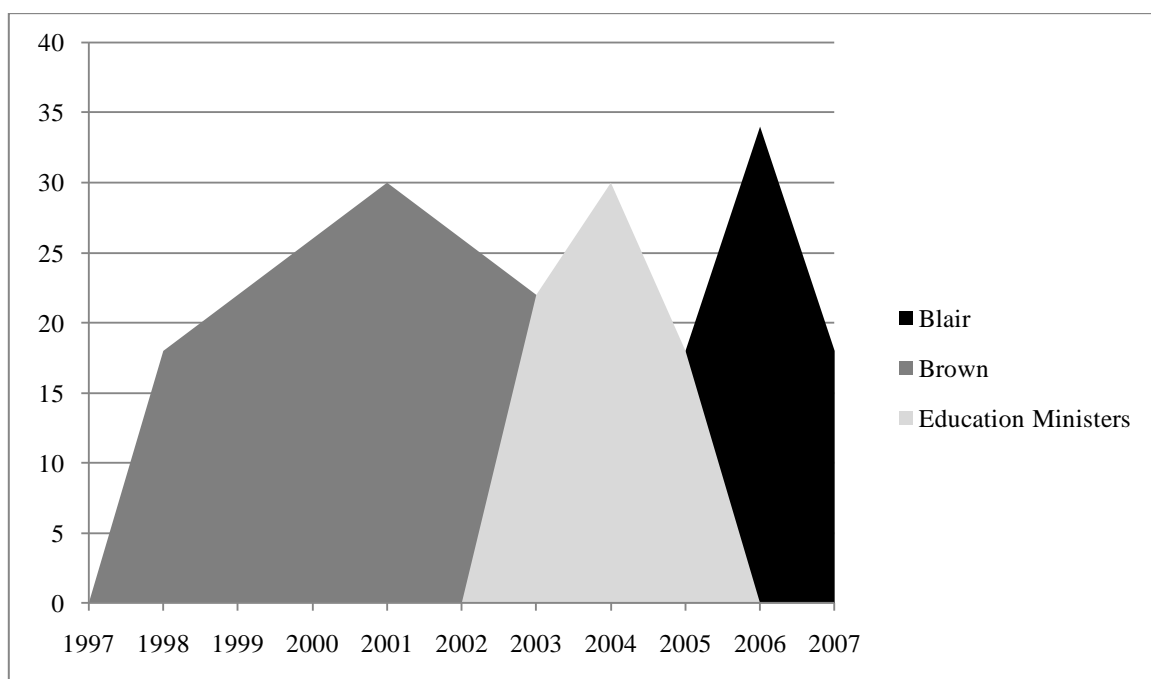


Figure 3.4: Diagram Illustrating Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ Use of Arguments Emphasising the Importance of Opportunity to the Achievement of Social Justice



Overall, the actual number of references that Blair makes to arguments comprising the ‘social’ decreases consistently over time (Figure 3.5). As a percentage of the overall references to education however (Figure 3.6), rather than declining consistently between 1997 and 2007, Blair’s references to the ‘social’ experience a peak in the second term before declining to their lowest level in the third term. The difference between the number of references he makes to ‘social’ arguments in each of the three terms is small with the biggest difference occurring between the second and third terms when he moves from dedicating fifty-one percent of his references to education to emphasising ‘social’ arguments to forty-four percent. This shows that

Blair is consistent in his use of ‘social’ arguments when talking about education, suggesting that his understanding of it is coherent.

Three results are apparent in relation to Brown’s speech. First, the number of references that Brown makes to arguments about empowerment in his discussions about education increases consistently over time. Over the ten-year period between 1997 and 2007, Brown makes the most references to arguments about poverty when talking about education in the second term while in the third term he chooses to emphasise arguments about empowerment, fairness and morality more often. Third, the number of references that Brown makes to arguments about equal worth and liberation stays the same between the second and third terms.

Figure 3.7 shows that overall; the number of references that Brown makes to arguments comprising the ‘social’ increases between the first and second terms but then stays the same between the second and third terms. According to the percentage of overall references to education however, the number of references made to arguments of the ‘social’ are the same in the first and third terms and decrease slightly in the second term. Brown does not alter his use of the ‘social’ between 1997 and 2007 and stays consistent in the proportion of references he dedicates to emphasising such arguments. Similar to Blair, Brown is remarkably consistent in his recourse to ‘social’ arguments, which suggests that his conception of education is coherent.

Within the Education Ministers’ language, two patterns are clear. The most references to arguments about poverty are made in the third term and the number of references to arguments about social mobility remains the same between the first and second terms.

In the first term, according to the actual number of references, the Education Ministers make a similar number of references to arguments within the ‘social’ as Brown however, as a percentage of overall references to education, the number of references made to arguments comprising the ‘social’ is broadly equivalent to that made by Blair. Overall, the actual number of references made by Education Ministers’ to arguments comprising the ‘social’ increase consistently over time and particularly rapidly between the second and third terms. As a percentage of overall references to education however, they experience a peak in the second term before declining in the third term.

These figures show that in terms of both raw data and percentages, the Education Ministers refer to ‘social’ arguments more frequently than either Blair or Brown from the first term onwards and, these references increase consistently over the period, which also differs to the composition of the other two actors’ language. In contrast, Brown’s use of ‘social’ arguments remains largely the same between 1997 and 2007 with the exception that, in terms of raw data, his references increase between the first and second terms. Furthermore, while Blair and the Education Ministers choose to emphasise a greater proportion of ‘social’ arguments compared to other arguments in the second term, this is the point when Brown places least emphasis onto such arguments therefore revealing a period when the three actors’ language on education differs. The Education Ministers make a much higher number of references to arguments of the ‘social’ than Brown and indeed, from the second term onwards, they make a higher number of references than either Blair or Brown. Although they start from a similar number to Blair as a percentage of

overall references to education, the Education Ministers again make a much higher amount of references to such arguments than either Blair or Brown.

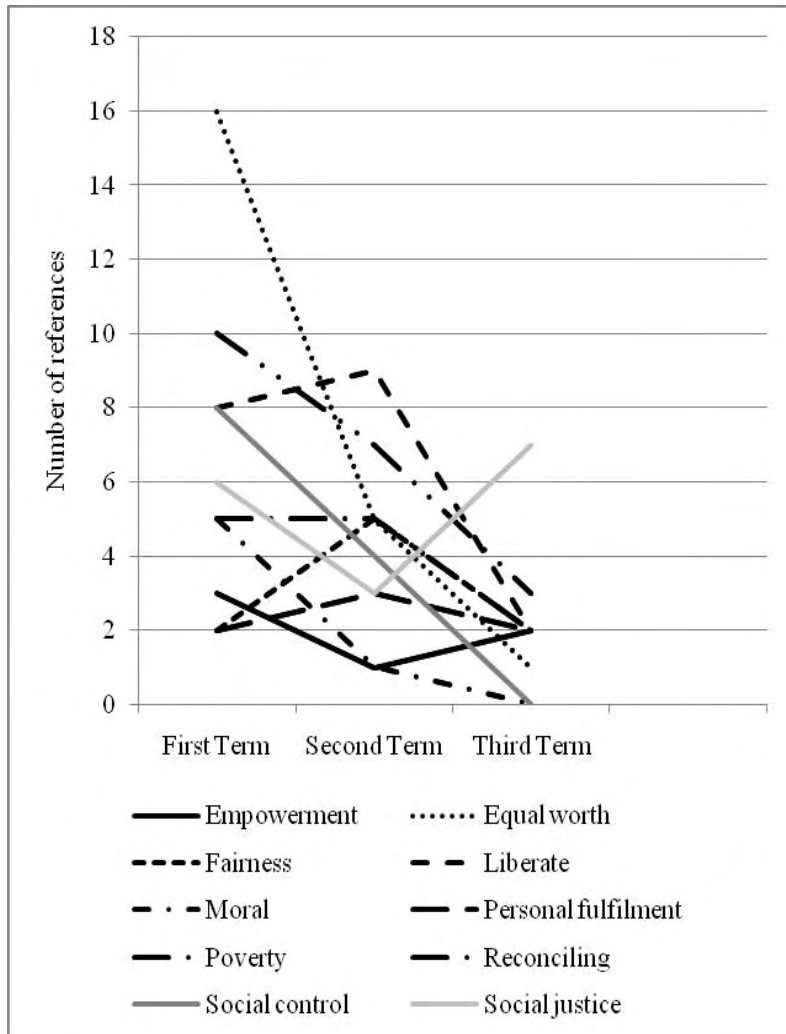
Such results may suggest a number of potential conclusions. First, ‘social’ arguments about education are more important to the Education Ministers than to either Blair or Brown and furthermore, this importance increased over time. Second, these findings suggest the occurrence of an event that was perceived to be significant to the three actors in the second term because this is a point where a shift occurs in their language. However, while Blair and the Education Ministers choose to greet this event by increasing the amount of references they make to ‘social’ arguments as a proportion of overall references, Brown chooses to reduce the proportion of references he makes to ‘social’ arguments as a percentage of the total references he makes to education. However, even withstanding this, Brown’s use of the ‘social’ appears to be largely immune from external events because the proportion of references he makes to ‘social’ arguments stays broadly consistent over the period.

2.2 Specific Findings

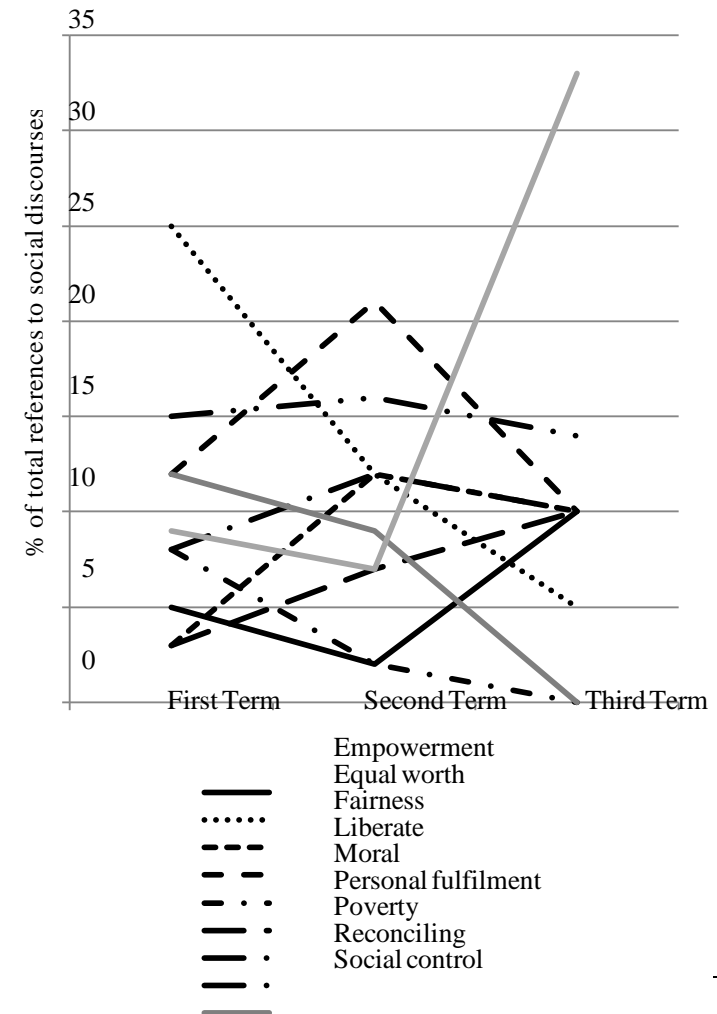
Tables 3.2 and 3.3 above outline the three most frequently referenced arguments for each actor over the three terms. Identifying those arguments that are used most often by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers highlights those areas of consistency, helping to determine the relationship between the constituent arguments of the ‘social’ in a putative New Labour discourse of education. While this does not affect the coherence of the three actors’ understanding of the

‘social’, which we have already shown to be logically connected in Section One, it does illustrate the dynamism of the New Labour discourse over time by showing those periods when the discourse changes thus pointing to the effect of events that may be outside discourse. The Tables show that, over time, only Blair and the Education Ministers emphasise two arguments in all three terms. These are arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ (both), liberation (Blair) and social justice (Education Ministers). In addition, Blair also emphasises arguments about equal worth in both the first and second terms and those of fairness and poverty in the second and third terms. The Education Ministers make frequent references to arguments about social control in the first and third terms. Brown by contrast, emphasises arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’, poverty and social justice consistently across the first and second terms, those about equal worth in the second and third terms and arguments about fairness in the first and third terms.

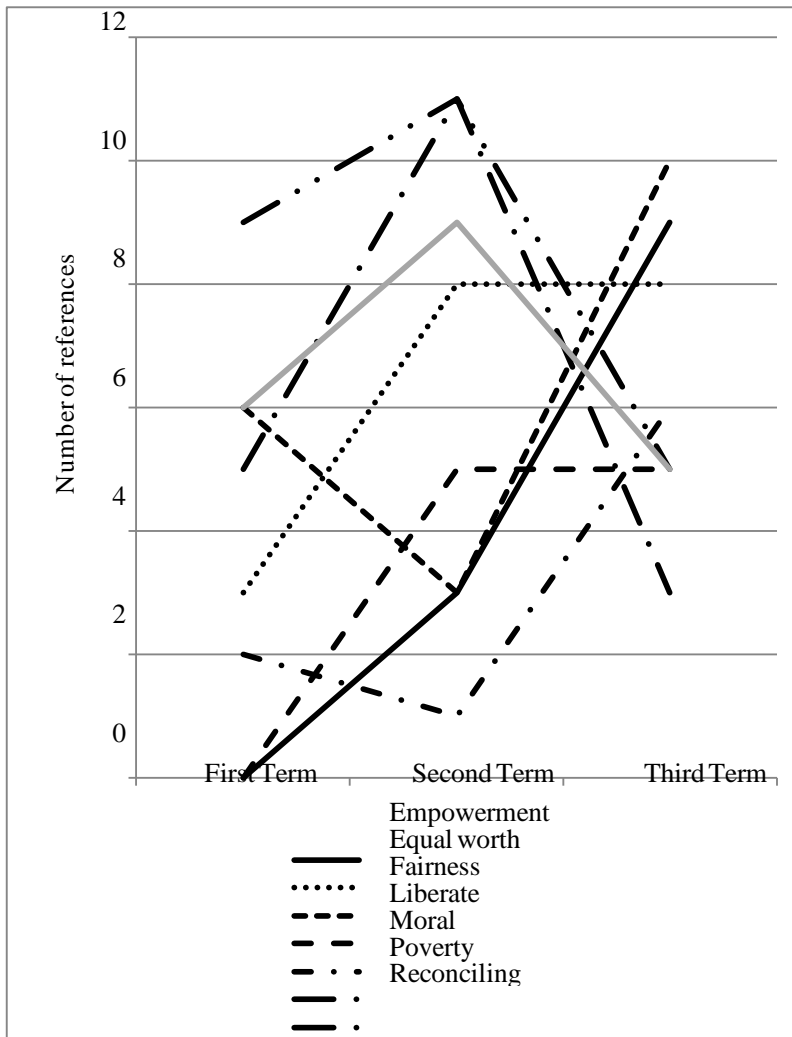
**Figure 3.5: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Blair’s
Language (raw data)**



**Figure 3.6: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Blair’s
Language (% of total incidence)**



**Figure 3.7: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Brown’s
Language (raw data)**



**Figure 3.8: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in Brown’s
Language (% of total incidence)**

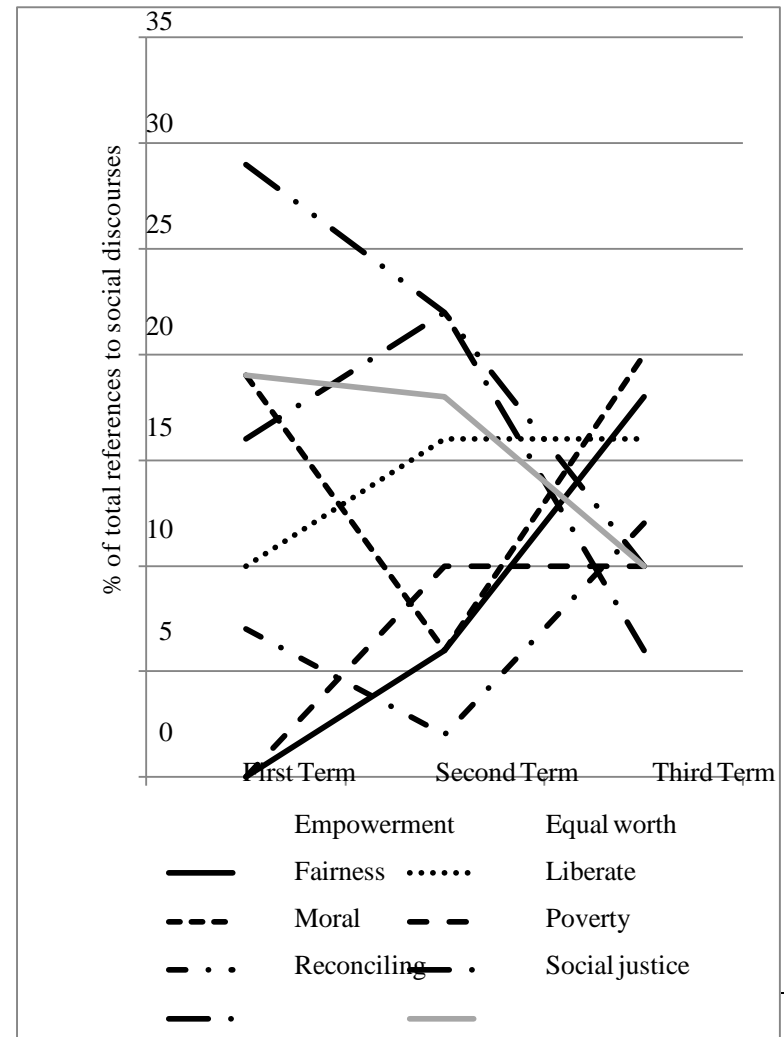


Figure 3.9: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (raw data)

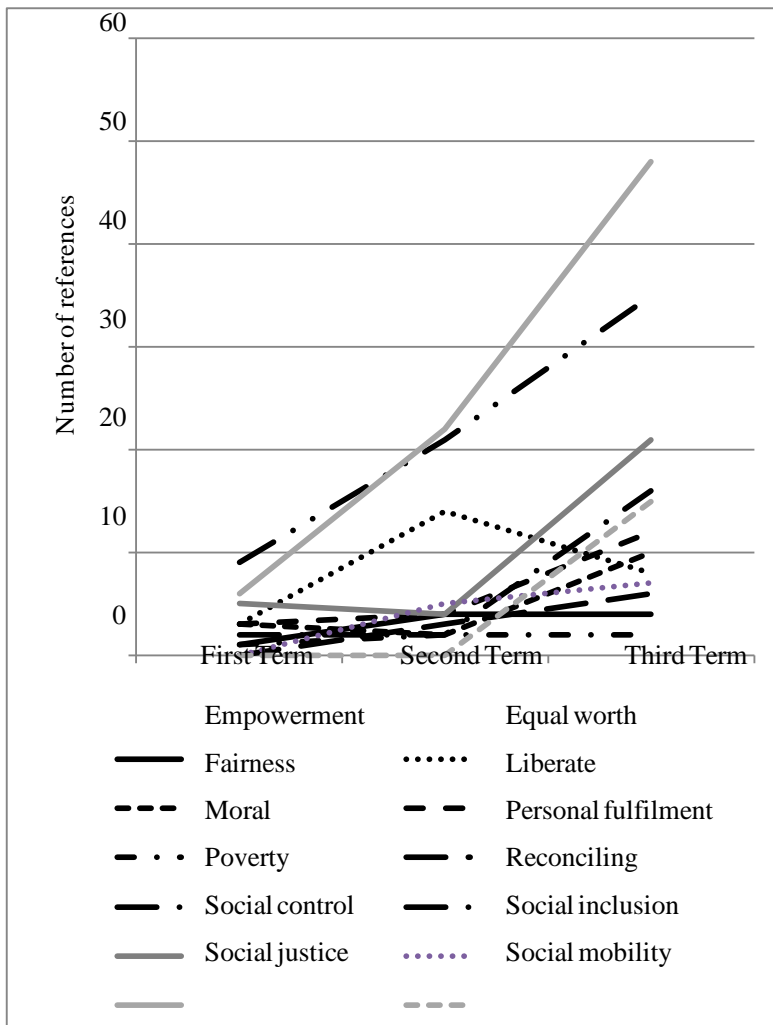
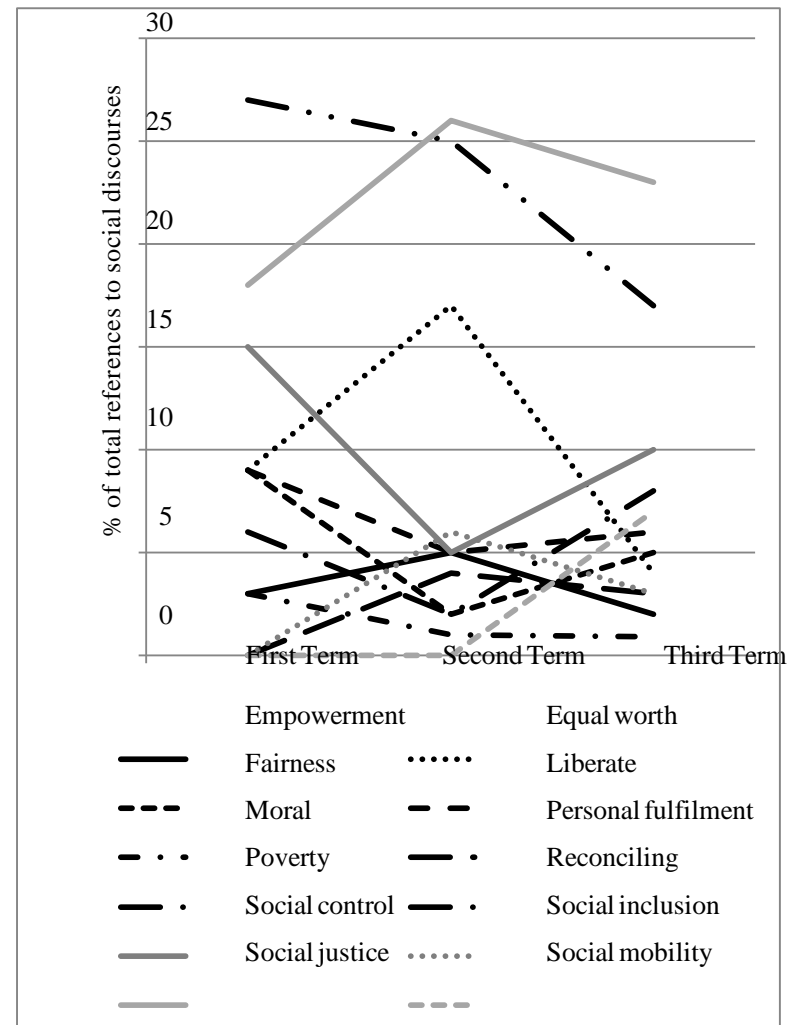


Figure 3.10: Incidence of ‘Social’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (% of total incidence)



Section Three: The Status of ‘Social’ and ‘Economic’ Objectives in the Language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers

While the two previous sections addressed the existence of a potential ‘New Labour’ discourse on education, the final section relates specifically to my second sub-research question about the status of ‘social’ and ‘economic’ objectives. My findings reveal that many of the arguments that comprise the ‘social’ within the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are employed in conjunction with ‘economic’ arguments, specifically those pertaining to economic success and (although to a lesser extent) employability and competitiveness. Moreover, my findings demonstrate that, when discussing education, Brown generally refers to ‘economic’ arguments before referring to ‘social’ arguments in his discussions about education while both Blair and the Education Ministers generally refer to ‘social’ arguments before recourse to ‘economic’ arguments in their speeches. This suggests that while ‘social’ arguments about education are clearly important to Blair’s and the Education Ministers’ discussions about education they are not as important to Brown, who places greater priority on ‘economic’ arguments. Such findings may not be surprising given Brown’s role as Chancellor of the Exchequer during this period in which he would be expected to refer predominantly to ‘economic’ justifications of public policy. Moreover, this finding appears to challenge the contention put forward in some of the literature that Brown is an “old fashioned socialist” (Cerny and Evans 2004: 58. See also Bower 2004; Eastham 2005; Foley 2004: 294; Macintyre 1994; Naughtie 2001; Needham 2007: 4; Osborne 2002; Routledge 1998; Seldon 2007; Smithers 2005: 275. Although see Kenny 2010 for an alternative view).

Table 3.4 outlines the three arguments that are connected most frequently with each of the twelve arguments within the ‘social’ by the three actors. With the exception of arguments about equal worth in the Education Ministers’ language²⁹, all ‘social’ arguments are combined most frequently with ‘economic’ arguments by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Furthermore, the Table shows that the ‘economic’ argument that is most frequently invoked is that of economic success while to a lesser extent, arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’, employability and competitiveness are also frequently used in conjunction with ‘social’ arguments. Blair and Brown employ arguments about economic success most frequently in conjunction with ‘social’ arguments while the Education Ministers emphasise arguments about competitiveness most frequently. Overall, Brown and the Education Ministers draw upon a wider range of ‘economic’ arguments to use in conjunction with ‘social’ arguments than Blair does. While Blair only employs three ‘economic’ arguments: employability, economic success and the knowledge-based economy, Brown employs all six ‘economic’ arguments and the Ministers use five arguments.

²⁹ While this is the only example of a ‘social’ argument being combined most frequently with another ‘social’ argument, there are several other examples where a ‘social’ argument is jointly combined most frequently with both a ‘social’ and an ‘economic’ argument. In Blair’s language, arguments about poverty are employed most frequently with other arguments about social control and economic success. Similarly, arguments about empowerment are jointly combined most frequently with arguments about employability and equal worth. In Brown’s speech, morality is emphasised in conjunction with arguments about equal worth and economic success. In the language of the Education Ministers, arguments about liberation are jointly combined most frequently with equal worth and competitiveness, arguments about personal fulfilment are emphasised in conjunction with social control and employability and finally, arguments about social inclusion are jointly combined with arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ and competitiveness.

Table 3.4: The Three Arguments That Are Employed Most Frequently in Conjunction With ‘Social’ Arguments³⁰

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Social justice	Social justice
	Equal worth	Employability	Employability
<i>Empowerment</i>	Employability & Economic success Equal worth	Economic success	Economic success
	Economic success & Liberation & Reconciling	Employability	Competitiveness & Employability & Equal worth & Reconciling & Social control & Social justice
	Morality	Competitiveness & Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy & Poverty & Reconciling	Knowledge-based economy & Personal fulfilment
<i>Equal worth</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Liberation & Social

³⁰ Table 3.4 shows the three arguments that are used in conjunction with each of the twelve arguments composed within the ‘social’ most frequently. The table only shows those arguments that attract two or more references. See Appendix One for a fuller breakdown.

			justice	
	Knowledge-based economy	Social justice	Poverty	
	Liberation	Employability Poverty	& Competitiveness	
<i>Fairness</i>	Economic success	Economic success & Employability	Economic success	
	Equal worth & Liberation & Poverty & Reconciling	Competitiveness	Competitiveness	
	Knowledge-based economy & Social control	Social justice	Employability & Reconciling	
<i>Liberation</i>	Economic success	Skills	Competitiveness & Equal worth	
	Equal worth	Competitiveness Economic success	& Knowledge-based economy	
	Employability	Empowerment Enterprise & Fairness & Reconciling	& Social justice	
<i>Morality</i>	Economic success	Economic success & Equal worth	Economic success	
	Equal worth &	Competitiveness &	Competitiveness	

	Knowledge-based economy	Fairness & Knowledge-based economy & Reconciling & Social justice	
	Liberation	Empowerment & Social justice Liberation	
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	Economic success		Employability & Social control
	Liberation		Empowerment
	Employability & Equal worth & Reconciling		Reconciling
<i>Poverty</i>	Economic success & Fairness	Economic success	Employability
	Reconciling & Social control	Equal worth & Skills	Reconciling
	Employability & Knowledge-based economy	Reconciling & Social justice	Social justice
<i>Social control</i>	Economic success		Competitiveness
	Equal worth & Knowledge-based		Economic success & Employability &

	economy & Poverty		Reconciling
	Employability &		Skills & Social
	Liberation &		mobility
	Reconciling		
<i>Social inclusion</i>			Competitiveness &
			Reconciling
			Social justice
			Economic success &
			Employability
<i>Social justice</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Equal worth	Competitiveness &	Reconciling
		Equal worth &	
		Reconciling	
	Liberation	Fairness & Morality	Economic success
<i>Social mobility</i>			Competitiveness
			Reconciling
			Social justice

This analysis has illustrated how each argument within the set categorised as the ‘social’ is employed in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers by outlining the three arguments that each notion is used in conjunction with most frequently. This has shown that, with only one exception, ‘social’ arguments are combined most often with ‘economic’ arguments within the three actors’ language, particularly those of economic success, competitiveness and employability. However, to investigate fully the relationship between

‘social’ and ‘economic’ objectives in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, we need to look at where references to each ‘social’ argument occur in those speeches in which they are used together with ‘economic’ arguments.

Table 3.5 shows the percentage of references to each ‘social’ argument that is given priority or referred to before, the other arguments it is used in conjunction with.

Table 3.5: The Percentage of References to Each ‘Social’ Argument Given Priority

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’</i>	25	16	49
<i>Empowerment</i>	33	58	56
<i>Equal worth</i>	36	11	56
<i>Fairness</i>	44	32	33
<i>Liberation</i>	47	20	90
<i>Morality</i>	17	0	80
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	43		44
<i>Poverty</i>	50	37	50
<i>Social control</i>	42		47
<i>Social inclusion</i>			33

<i>Social justice</i>	44	15	51
<i>Social mobility</i>			47
<i>Total</i>	381	189	636

Table 3.5 shows three things. Firstly, it reveals that ‘social’ arguments about education are prioritised more in the Education Ministers’ language than in the language of either Blair or Brown. No argument is prioritised less than one third of the time and only two (fairness and social inclusion) are prioritised at this level. Indeed, half of the ‘social’ arguments are prioritised on more than half of the occasions that they are employed in the Education Ministers’ speeches. The highest priority is given to arguments emphasising the liberating and moral aspects of education. Secondly, Brown prioritises the lowest proportion of ‘social’ arguments. Only one argument (empowerment) is prioritised more than fifty percent of the time and those of equal worth, liberation, morality, arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ and social justice, are prioritised twenty percent, or less, of the time. Finally, Blair is positioned in the middle of the Education Ministers and Brown. Only arguments about morality are prioritised less than one fifth of the time and, similarly, only one argument (poverty) is given priority fifty percent of the time. Most (8) feature between one third and fifty percent in the priority awarded to them.

Conclusion

This Chapter has examined how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers conceptualise the ‘social’ in relation to education. It has identified twelve arguments that comprise the three actors’ understanding of the ‘social’ and has examined each argument in order to determine

the meanings attached to each by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, as well as the significance awarded to each argument, both in comparison to one another and overall. The Chapter has shown the coherence of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'social', and the relationship between 'social' and 'economic' arguments within this conception, whilst also identifying the potential tensions and dynamism within this by demonstrating how this conception varies according to the actor and period under analysis. This conclusion is structured into three sections which reveal the complexity within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education and helps us to address the key research questions originating from the discussion of the literature in Chapter One and identify the implications for this literature. The first section reviews the findings above and evaluates the coherence of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'social' in education and determines whether this conception can legitimately be referred to as a coherent New Labour discourse on the 'social'. The second section outlines the periods of relative stasis and heightened activity in the three actors' use of the twelve arguments and, thus, illustrates the bouts of activity in employing particular arguments. Finally, the third section evaluates this in relation to the arguments put forward in the existing literature, drawing out the implications of my findings on these contentions.

4.1 A 'New Labour' Discourse of the 'Social' in Education?

While I have identified several differences between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'social', my findings show that all three actors talk about education by employing eight 'social' arguments: empowerment; equal worth; fairness; liberation; morality; poverty; reconciling; and social justice. Five of these are employed by

all three actors in all three terms. Underpinning these arguments are three discourses that draw upon arguments about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses construct a coherent understanding of education, which represent the foundation of a New Labour conception of the 'social' in relation to education. This argument is coherent in that its constituent parts are logically connected and consistent in that they do not contradict one another (Hodder 2003). However, outside of this foundation, there are some tensions within the three actors' understanding of the 'social', yet these are not explored in sufficient detail within the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in order to assess their significance on the coherence of New Labour's conception of education.

The discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives and infuse the 'social' arguments used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers with concerns about the economy. In employing the different arguments that comprise the 'social', Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers combine such arguments most often with propositions about the 'economic' aspects or purposes of education particularly those of economic success and competitiveness. Furthermore, excepting the Education Ministers, Blair and Brown choose to emphasise the 'economic' aspects of education before the 'social' elements in their speeches. These findings suggest that New Labour's conception of education is heavily directed towards the needs of the economy.

4.2 Periods of Relative Stasis and Heightened Activity

Analysing how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employ each of the twelve arguments that comprise the ‘social’ reveals periods in which particular arguments are referred to more or less frequently than they are at other points between 1997 and 2007. In the first term, Blair makes more references to arguments about equal worth, morality and social control than he does at any other point over the period, whilst Brown and the Education Ministers do not refer to any argument more frequently than at other points. In the second term, while Blair asserts arguments about fairness and liberation, Brown emphasises arguments about poverty. This argument is then picked up by the Education Ministers in the third term and asserted ahead of other arguments along with that of social mobility, while Brown emphasises arguments about empowerment, fairness and morality with Blair emphasising that of social justice. The emphasis upon arguments about equal worth and liberation do not change between the second and third term for Brown and no references are made to social mobility arguments until the third term by the Education Ministers. Overall, for Blair three arguments decrease consistently between 1997 and 2007 (equal worth, morality and social control) and none increase consistently. Arguments about empowerment increase consistently for Brown, while none decreases consistently, and no overall trends can be recorded for the Education Ministers.

Several arguments are referred to consistently over the period by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ are frequently referred to by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, arguments about social control are frequently referred to by Blair and the Education Ministers, while arguments about

social justice are frequently referred to by Brown and the Education Ministers. In the second term, all three actors refer frequently to arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' and equal worth arguments. Blair and Brown refer to arguments about poverty and Brown and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about social justice. In the third term, no argument is referred to frequently by all three actors, but Blair and Brown emphasise empowerment and fairness, and Blair and the Education Ministers refer to social justice and arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' arguments. There are further differences between the actors however, such as Blair's consistently frequent referrals to arguments about liberation.

My identification of these periods of heightened activity and relative stasis raise the question of why such periods occur in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. For instance, why does the proportion of references that Blair makes to all 'social' arguments decline consistently after the first term while the amount of references made by Brown and the Education Ministers increase? Furthermore, why do Brown's references to arguments about liberation and empowerment increase dramatically between the second and third terms yet he does not mention them at all in the first term? Although I am unable to address these questions thoroughly in this thesis because that requires an examination of factors that are beyond discourse, I can point to some factors that may explain such occurrences. For example, one could argue that after the election in 1997, Blair was more concerned with international conflicts and engagements rather than domestic policy, although his interventions in the 2002 act that introduced academies and the 2006 Education and Inspections Act would seem to contradict such a view (see for example Hennessy 2005: 9). Equally, Brown's desire to replace Tony Blair is well documented and may be a reason

for the broadening of his language on education. I will return to these points in the Conclusion.

4.3 Implications for the Literature(s)

This Chapter has shown the overall coherence of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of the 'social' in relation to education, supporting the view within the existing literature that there is a coherent 'New Labour' conception of education. This corresponds with the first expectation arising from the literature outlined in Chapter One that I would not identify any significant differences between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of education or over time and thus, would be able to determine a New Labour discourse on education. I have identified a number of potential tensions within this conception of education however; these issues are not talked about at sufficient length by the three actors to enable me to determine whether they challenge this coherence. Nevertheless, this conception does not consist of a single discourse, as is implied by the literature, which attributes such coherence to neoliberalism and consumerism for example (Hall 2003; Hay 1999b; Needham 2007). Rather it is founded upon three discourses that draw upon arguments about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses emphasise education's contribution to the economy causing the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on the 'social' to be inherently entangled with concerns for the economy. This finding supports the second expectation within the literature that the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers subordinates education completely to the demands of the economy. However, this is because the objectives of social justice and economic competitiveness are indistinguishable for New Labour and not because education is

subordinated to the latter. Furthermore, it also upholds the third expectation deriving from the literature that the reason why social concerns are reconciled discursively with those of economic considerations by New Labour is due to their subordination to concerns about the economy. Crucially though, it also reveals the inadequacy of ordering, mapping and understanding New Labour's language in terms of a distinction between social and economic objectives because such a difference is not present in New Labour's own understanding of education.

What should be clear by now is that Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on the 'social' in education consists of twelve arguments based upon three discourses which encompass a complex and fluid web of understanding and significance that varies according to actor and over time. While not all actors employ the same arguments when talking about education, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers all utilise a core group of eight arguments, five of which are referred to by all three actors in all three terms. This group of arguments represent the foundation of the three actors' understanding of the 'social' and are coherent in that the constituent parts of this group are logically connected and do not contradict one another. Thus, the differences that I have outlined in this Chapter, while interesting may act to distract us from the coherence of New Labour's conception of the 'social' and indeed from the coherence of a 'New Labour' discourse on education. However, what I have shown in this Chapter is that while Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are coherent in their conception of education, each actor differs in the emphasis they give to particular arguments over the period. Thus, the coherence of the three actors' understanding of education should not blind us to the periods of heightened activity and relative stasis in employing particular arguments. Nevertheless, in order for us to answer the question of

whether a New Labour discourse on education exists and what the substance of such a discourse might look like, we need to assess the consequence of such aspects of coherence in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education. However, we cannot do that before analysing how the three actors talk about the 'economic' in their discussions of education. It is to this task that the next Chapter now turns.

CHAPTER IV

‘THE ECONOMIC’: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS ON EDUCATION IN RELATION TO ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE ‘ECONOMIC’

This Chapter analyses Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language on education in relation to arguments about the ‘economic’. The data source is a detailed qualitative analysis into over one thousand of Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ speeches. Using QSR NVivo to inductively code and analyse the data, I identified six arguments used by the three actors when talking about education since 1997 that appealed to economic arguments drawing upon economic and market goals. Underpinning these arguments are three discourses that draw upon arguments about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives. In this Chapter, I analyse and assess the prevalence of the six arguments that comprise the ‘economic’ in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (see Smith and Hay 2008 for similar method applied to globalisation and European integration). The six arguments comprising the ‘economic’ are listed below.

- Competitiveness
- Economic success
- Employability
- Enterprise
- Knowledge-based economy

- Skills

As with the ‘social’, my analysis reveals three conclusions about Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language on the ‘economic’ in education relating to: the role of actors; the significance of time; and the status of ‘social’ compared with ‘economic’ objectives. I argue that while there are several differences between how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers conceptualise the arguments within the ‘economic’, the three actors are coherent in the way that they understand and employ this concept. All three actors refer to the six arguments composed within the ‘economic’ at some point between 1997 and 2007 and indeed, three of these: economic success, employability and skills, are referred to by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in all three terms. These arguments constitute the coherent foundation to the three actors’ conception of the ‘economic’ and they are based upon discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. In contrast to the actors’ conception of the ‘social’, the ‘economic’ in Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ language is largely independent. All ‘economic’ arguments are most frequently combined with other ‘economic’ arguments by all three actors, in most cases with arguments about economic success, although, to a lesser extent, also those of employability and competitiveness. However, each actor differs in the priority awarded to ‘economic’ arguments in their speeches. Thus, perhaps surprisingly given his role as Chancellor, Brown prioritises the lowest proportion of ‘economic’ arguments while the highest proportion is prioritised in Blair’s language. The Education Ministers are positioned in the middle of the other two actors. As with my findings into the ‘social’, I have identified some areas of potential tension in the three actors’ conception of the ‘economic’ however, these are not

talked about in enough detail for me to determine the significance of these on the coherence of the protagonists' conception of the 'economic'.

To aid comparison with my findings in Chapter Three, this Chapter is divided into three sections that examine the role of actors, the significance of time and the status of 'social' and 'economic' arguments. As with Chapter Three, within each of these headings, I include a chart that summarises the findings and a discussion that explains the significance of each factor upon Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on the 'economic' in education. I also include here a discussion of any exceptions to these conclusions

Section One: Role of Actors

My first finding concerns the role of agency in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language, which can be illustrated in two ways: first, in the meanings attached to each argument of the 'economic' and second, in the significance awarded to each argument by each actor.

In setting out the role that agency plays in the existence and coherence of a putative New Labour discourse on education, I show that all six arguments within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' conception of the 'economic', are employed by all three actors at some point over the period. Three of these are 'core' arguments that are employed by all three actors in all three terms, which are underpinned by three discourses: the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. This ensures that New Labour's conception of the 'economic' is both logical and consistent in that they emphasise the importance of education

to the achievement of economic objectives. However, despite being coherent, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers differ in the emphasis they give to each argument between 1997 and 2007. This section outlines both the distinctiveness of each actor's language on education in addition to those areas of overlap between Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding and use of the arguments comprised within the 'economic'.

1.1 How are the Arguments Within the 'Economic' Used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in Relation to Education?

In this section, I show the role that different actors play in a putative New Labour discourse on the 'economic' in education. Table 4.1 summarises how the three actors conceptualise the arguments within the 'economic' in education (see Appendix Two). Four points can be drawn from Table 4.1 that illustrate, individually, the distinctiveness of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education.

1.1.1 The Distinctiveness of Blair's Language

Blair's distinctiveness rests on his understanding and deployment of arguments about employability, which is evidenced in three ways. Firstly, Blair understands the benefits to the individual of using education to raise skills levels in terms of its prevention against social exclusion:

For the first time in over three decades we have slowed the economy down without recession. We know what works. Economic discipline. The embrace of the new information technology. Vigorous

competition. Investment in education and skills. Incentives to work and making work pay. Specific measures to tackle social exclusion, which economic demand management alone cannot cure (Blair 2000i. See also Blair 1999b, 2000f).

Secondly, after 2007, Blair connects the role of education in improving employability to the objective of empowerment:

The challenge today is to make the employee powerful, not in conflict with the employer but in terms of their marketability in the modern workforce. It is to reclaim flexibility for them, to make it about their empowerment, their ability to fulfil their aspirations (Blair 2007b).

Thirdly, Blair attaches education to employability because it allows him to reconcile the ‘economic’ with the ‘social’; a key platform upon which the New Labour project is built:

The central economic idea of New Labour - that economic efficiency and social justice ran together - was based on this fact. In the new knowledge economy, human capital, the skills that people possess, is critical. Work, the fact of work and the changed nature of work, was thus central to the Government's economic and social policy from the beginning (Blair 2007b. See also Blair 2004g).

1.1.2 The Distinctiveness of Brown’s Language

Brown is distinctive in his conceptualisation of four arguments. Within arguments about competitiveness, he sees strengthening the skills of the British workforce as crucial. Brown places a high premium on skills as the core of Britain’s competitive advantage and he chooses to emphasise the argument for competitiveness on this basis (high skills), rather than low pay (Brown 2003a, 2003d, 2003i, 2004j, 2005q, 2005s, 2006i). He refers to the pressure on

Britain to compete with countries that are bigger, with significantly lower rates of pay and, in doing so, emphasises the pressure on Britain to ‘win’, to be ‘number one’ or ‘world leaders’ against such competition:

Fourth, and most of all, investing in skills and education - because we cannot be number one in the world as an economy if we are number two in education (Brown 2002b).

In dealing with such challenges, Brown emphasises the need for sustained and “necessary” investment in workforce skills, technology and the creativity of the British people, as well as a “shared determination” or “shared national purpose” in creating a high skill workforce (Brown 2002b, 2003a, 2003d, 2003f, 2003i, 2004e, 2004i, 2004j, 2005a, 2005b, 2005d, 2005e, 2005g, 2005i, 2005l, 2005m, 2005n, 2005q, 2005r, 2006a, 2006g, 2006h, 2006i, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f, 2007g).

Neither Blair nor the Education Ministers address the issue of responsibility under the strand of competitiveness. Brown does raise this issue, and sees individuals as responsible, as he does for economic success. Within arguments about competitiveness, individual responsibility is emphasised in the second and third terms (Brown 2003d, 2004j, 2005n, 2006i). Brown’s change of stance towards responsibility as he approaches the third term is similar to that identified in relation to arguments about economic success; again, he calls for a shared determination between individuals and employers (Brown 2004e) and later between business and government (Brown 2007e, 2007g).

Two understandings of the notion of opportunity can be identified within arguments about economic success. Blair and the Education Ministers propound the first understanding (and

Brown in 1997), while Brown generally employs the second understanding of opportunity. Here, opportunity is seen as completely interwoven with entrepreneurial and enterprising talent. Thus, educational opportunities on their own do not achieve prosperity (not even those specifically directed towards skills needs); for Brown such opportunities have to support, encourage and release individuals' "enterprise", "creativity" and "inventiveness" in order to contribute to prosperity (Brown 1997c, 2002d, 2003d, 2004b, 2004e, 2004j, 2005a, 2005s):

To sum up: with too few scientists, too few skilled employees, too few men and women starting and growing businesses - the greatest constraint on the growth of Britain's productivity and prosperity today is now our failure to realise the educational and entrepreneurial potential of our own people (Brown 2002d).

However, whilst opportunity constitutes the principal method for achieving prosperity for the majority of the period, Brown adds another dimension of prosperity to his language during the third term. Here, prosperity, as a goal of competitiveness, is applied to the context of developing countries and, in particular, Africa. Educational opportunities for all still play a major role, yet, rather than linking it with entrepreneurship, Brown connects education (and importantly this involves primary, secondary and tertiary education), with rising wage levels as a symbol and marker of prosperity. Such a shift is illustrated if we compare two of Brown's quotes from 1998 and 2005:

When people ask us why Labour supports at one and the same time a pro-enterprise, pro-competition policy, and a pro-equality policy as well, as if they were contradictory, let us explain to them that in a modern economy economic success depends upon the enterprise of people, economic justice depends upon fairness to people, and both depend upon opportunity for all (Brown 1998e).

And education is also the best way of ensuring economic prosperity and business competitiveness for their country. Countries cannot develop properly if only elites are educated. Instead of developing some of the potential of some of the people, future economic growth depends upon developing all of the potential of all. And increasing access to secondary and tertiary education is just as important as primary, educating the future doctors, nurses, teachers, policy officers, lawyers and government workers of tomorrow (Brown 2005h. See also Brown 2005i, 2006b).

Opportunity exercises a central role within Blair's and Brown's understanding of economic success in general because it is understood to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' (Blair 2002c; Blair 1999c, 2000a, 2000g, 2002d, 2004g, 2006e, Brown 1998c, 1998e, 1999a, 1999d, 1999f, 2002f, 2003b, 2004a, 2004f, 2004j, 2006f, 2007d). However, rather than employing terms such as 'social stability' and 'social inclusion', Brown links opportunity explicitly with the goals of eradicating poverty and equality: "opportunity for all is the best pro-enterprise, pro-competition and pro-equality policy" (Brown 1998e) and "[educational opportunity] is the best anti-poverty, and the best economic development program" (Brown 2001b, 2005c, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e).

Furthermore, when arguing for the role that education plays in reconciling social justice with economic competitiveness within his utilisation of arguments about economic success, Brown presents the two goals as equivalent:

So in tackling these market failures - especially failures in the availability of information and the mobility of capital - a new agenda opens up that helps markets work better and delivers opportunity for all. It is our answer to those who allege that we can only pursue equity at the cost of efficiency, a demonstration that equity and efficiency need not be enemies but can be allies in the attainment of opportunity and security for all. Here social justice - equality of opportunity and fairness of outcomes - not bought at the cost of a successful economy but as part of achieving such a success - a point I

made when I gave the Smith Lecture six years ago, an agenda that must continue to be at the centre of our thinking and policy making (Brown 2003b. See also Brown 1997b, 1998e).

The barriers to opportunity are understood variously by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (see Table 4.1) however, Brown chooses to cite specifically the effect of social class (Brown 2002f, 2007c) and from the third term, his references to poverty as a barrier to opportunity, are applied exclusively to developing countries (Brown 1999a, 2001b, 2005c, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e).

Brown understands the role that enterprise and entrepreneurship plays within the goal of economic success in micro and macro terms. At a macro level, enterprise and entrepreneurship is posited as an overarching end goal. Only when Britain becomes truly “pro-enterprise”, can it be considered successful and, indeed, Brown frequently refers to the need to build a “dynamic” economy and business culture in order to “excel”, “win the race” and become “world leaders”. In these cases, greater focus and investment on science education is seen as the chief instrument with which to achieve both aims (Brown 1997b, 1997c, 1998e, 1999f, 2002d, 2003d, 2004c, 2004f, 2004h, 2004j, 2005a, 2005d, 2005l, 2005m, 2005r, 2005s, 2006f).

When talking about achieving economic success, Brown makes frequent references to the particular set of economic characteristics that he views as being necessary to ensure that this goal is reached. While characteristics such as stability, flexibility and growth are also referred to by Blair and the Education Ministers, two further characteristics are distinctive to Brown’s language in the third term: minimising regulation (Brown 2005r, 2005s, 2006g, 2007e) and keeping taxes competitive (Brown 2006g, 2007e).

Responsibility for ensuring economic success falls on a number of actors in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language. In the first term, Brown switches responsibility between individuals themselves (Blair 1997a; Brown 1997c) and employers (Blair 1998e; Brown 1998c, 1999d). From the middle of the second term however, this has changed to a partnership between business and government (Brown 2003d), while he finally adopts the broader notion of "a shared national economic purpose" (Brown 2005r).

In Brown's use of arguments about employability, using education to improve individuals' employability has one principal benefit. This is to ensure economic opportunity for all and that all people benefit from the three values of: "self-improvement, value of education, [and] the dignity of work" (Brown 1997c, 2000d).

Brown focuses on the role of schools and colleges in raising enterprise levels and creating an enterprise culture in arguments about enterprise (Brown 2001d, 2002c, 2002d, 2004c, 2005j, 2005k). In the first term, Brown also connects enterprise to a 'modern' role of government in which the state's role is: "not to interfere but to enable" (Brown 2001c. See also Brown 1998a).

1.1.3 The Distinctiveness of the Education Ministers' Language

The Education Ministers' language on the 'economic' is distinctive in relation to three arguments. In referring to the contribution that education can make to productivity, as a basis for competitiveness, the Education Ministers frequently draw upon the objectives set out in

the Lisbon Strategy, where skills and talents are associated with creating ‘value-added’ rather than focusing on low wages (Johnson 2007e, Kelly 2005b, 2005m, 2005q, Rammell 2005a, 2006l, Smith 2005h). The link between education and productivity is again associated explicitly with the European Union’s Lisbon agenda by Kelly within arguments emphasising the importance of skills (Kelly 2005b). Here, education is linked directly to the development of skills in order to improve Britain’s human capital and create value-added products.

Improving Britain’s competitiveness involves raising the skills level of its workforce. However, from 2000 onwards, all Education Ministers stress the importance of skills to increase opportunities for all and widen participation in addition to improving productivity. In doing this, the Education Ministers give prominence to increasing participation and ensuring an education system that is inclusive, in order to engage the talents and potential of all:

But I want to be as clear as I can, it’s not just something that would be quite nice, it’s not just a social aspiration (although it is both those things) - it’s far more important than that. You know that way back in 1997 our Government made the decision that as a nation we wanted to compete on the world stage as a high-value-added and high skills economy. We can’t do that without investment in skills, investment in education and increasing participation in higher education (Morris 2001. See also Blunkett 2000a; Clarke 2004c; Hughes 2007d; Johnson 2006f; Kelly 2005m; Lewis 2004d; Morris 2001; Rammell 2007f; Smith 2005h).

Within arguments about the knowledge-based economy, global change is presented positively because of its ability to provide opportunities by the Education Ministers (Blunkett 2000b, Lewis 2004g, Rammell 2006d, 2007b).

Table 4.1: Meanings Attached to Each Argument by Actor

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	Not referred to until 2002.	
Productivity seen as basis for competitiveness from 2001.	Productivity seen as basis for competitiveness only in 2003 and 2004.	Productivity seen as basis for competitiveness from 2000.
		Most references made to the notion that competitiveness achieved through productivity.
		Lisbon strategy objectives drawn upon.
Enterprise and technology seen as important to productivity.		
Skills seen as crucial to competitiveness.		
	Competitiveness through high skills, not low pay.	From 2000 skills seen as important for both opportunities for all and widening participation, as well as

	competitiveness.
	Britain must “win” be “number one”.
	Justification that need to bridge productivity gap with Britain’s competitors US, EU, China and India.
	High skills should result from shared national purpose.
	Individual responsibility cited in the second and third term.
	Third terms Brown also introduces notion of shared responsibility.
	Graduate skills emphasised.
	Enterprise levels seen as important to competitiveness.
	Enterprise levels seen as important to competitiveness from 2004.
	Enterprise levels seen as important to competitiveness.
<i>Economic</i>	Prosperity seen as indicator of economic success.

<i>success</i>	Prosperity realised through opportunities for all.		
	From 2000, opportunity realised through education directed towards skills needs. Referred to as ‘human capital’.	The understanding that opportunity is realised through education directed towards skills needs, is only emphasised in 1997 and from 2002 onwards.	Opportunity realised through education directed towards skills needs.
	Opportunity also understood as interwoven with enterprise.		
	Prosperity applied to developing countries in the third term.		
	Standards as indicator of success in first term.	Standards as indicator of success in third term.	
	Barriers to opportunity seen as snobbery, prejudice, ignorance, waste of ambition & talent as well as social exclusion, poverty and privilege.	Barriers same as Blair and the Education Ministers but includes specific references to social class.	Barriers to opportunity seen as snobbery, prejudice, ignorance, waste of ambition & talent as well as social exclusion, poverty and privilege.

Poverty as barrier to opportunity applied exclusively to developing countries from third term.		
Opportunity seen to reconcile ‘the social’ with ‘the economic’.		
Opportunity connected with the goal of eradicating poverty and inequality.		
Antithesis set up between employing opportunity for ‘social’ causes and using for ‘economic’ purposes.	Brown presents ‘social’ and ‘economic’ goals as comparable.	Antithesis set up between employing opportunity for ‘social’ causes and using for ‘economic’ purposes.
Opportunity only has limited period when in use between 2000-2005.	Employs opportunity consistently throughout period.	Opportunity picked up in 2000 but dropped until 2005.
Micro level understanding of enterprise for economic success employed from 2000.	Micro level understanding of enterprise for economic success.	
Macro level understanding of enterprise		

	<p>Economic characteristics: stability (2004), flexibility (1999, 2000, 2004)</p> <p>Economic characteristics: stability (1997, 2002, 2005, 2007), low regulation (2005-2007), tax competitive (2006-2007), flexibility (2004-2007), growth (1999, 2005-06)</p> <p>Economic characteristic: growth (2000. 2005)</p>
	<p>Shared responsibility in first term but unclear who actors are.</p> <p>Individual responsibility and employers in first term.</p> <p>Second term: partnership business and government.</p> <p>Third term: shared responsibility</p>
<i>Employability</i>	<p>Refers predominantly to individual benefits.</p>
	<p>Individual benefits of using education to improve employability: stops improve employability: dignity of work</p>

	exclusion	
	Distinguishes between a job and a career.	Distinguishes between a job and a career.
	Connects employability to empowerment.	
	Education to improve employability reconciles 'the social' and 'the economic'.	
	Necessary to meet challenges of globalisation.	
	Human capital and full employment (Brown only in first term).	
<i>Enterprise</i>	Enterprise seen as creativity, talent and brains of British people.	
	Schools play crucial role in raising enterprise levels.	
	In first term, enterprise connected to modern	

	role for government.
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	Term “knowledge economy” appears after 2000, to refer to new economic approach required by era of global change and associated with globalisation.
	Several euphemisms used for term “knowledge economy”.
	Pronouns such as ‘we’, ‘our’ ‘you’ etc used extensively. More extensive in Brown’s language.
	Understood both in positive and negative terms.
	Global change also understood as offering opportunities.
<i>Skills</i>	Refers mainly to wider gains of addressing skills e.g. productivity and wealth etc.
	Education and productivity explicitly connected to Lisbon agenda by Kelly.
	Skills understood variously and the term is used in the context of a host of topics, such as technology, science, innovation, enterprise, business creation, transport, infrastructure, knowledge and education, where it is connected to the globalisation and knowledge economy agenda.

1.1.4 Consistency Across All Three Actors

1.1.4.1 Arguments About Competitiveness

From 2000 onwards, all three actors refer to the contribution that education can make to productivity, as a basis for competitiveness (Blair 2001c, 2001k, 2005e, Brown 2003d, 2004e, Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Clarke 2004c, Hodge 2003, Johnson 2007e, Kelly 2005l, 2005p, Lewis 2004d, 2004e, 2004h, 2005b, 2005c, Rammell 2006h, 2007b, 2007j). Productivity is cited as a concern due to the performance of Britain's competitors, the United States and Europe and, more recently, China and India:

In terms of economic success, globalisation is a reality - we need to support people and communities through the consequences of that globalisation, in a world where people are anxious and insecure, to make sure people feel they have the skills, and the capacity to cope with this dynamic and changing environment. Because it's about hard-edged competitiveness and productivity - whilst we do have an economy which is fundamentally strong we continue to lag behind in terms of competitiveness and productivity. We've compared ourselves traditionally with France and Germany but of course those comparisons are almost irrelevant now the emerging competition is coming from China, from India and from the countries that have recently joined the European Union (Lewis 2005c).

Addressing Britain's low productivity requires investment in human capital that is, principally, in education and skills although the importance of enterprise and technology is also cited (Blair 2001c, 2001k, 2005e; Brown 2003d, 2004e; Blunkett 2000a, 2001b; Clarke 2004c; Lewis 2004d, 2005c; Hodge 2003; Hughes 2006a, 2007d; Johnson 2006f, 2006o, 2007e; Lewis 2004g; Kelly 2005l, 2005m; Rammell 2006h, 2007b, 2007f; Smith 2005h).

Raising the skills of the British workforce is a crucial element of improving national competitiveness for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (Blair 2002b; Blair 1997e, 1998c, 2000d, 2001c, 2005e, 2005f; Brown 2002b, 2003a, 2003d, 2003f, 2003i, 2004e, 2004i, 2004j, 2005a, 2005b, 2005d, 2005e, 2005g, 2005i, 2005l, 2005m, 2005n, 2005q, 2005r, 2006a, 2006g, 2006h, 2006i, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f, 2007g. See also Blunkett 2000a; Clarke 2004c; Hughes 2007d; Johnson 2006f; Kelly 2005m; Lewis 2004d; Morris 2001; Rammell 2007f; Smith 2005h). Arguments over competitiveness continually emphasise the importance of graduate skills (Blair 2006c; Brown 2005d, 2005i, 2005m, 2006h, 2007e, 2007g; Johnson 2006n, 2006r, 2007d, 2007e, 2007h; Morris 2001; Rammell 2006c, 2006h, 2006j, 2007a, 2007f, 2007i, 2007n).

1.1.4.2 Arguments About Economic Success

Prosperity is seen as an important indicator of economic success for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. One of the principal ways to achieve prosperity according to the three actors, is through the realisation of opportunities for all, where opportunity is available irrespective of background, capability, creed or race (Blair 2000g, 2000c, 2000j, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d, 2003b, 2003d, 2004b, 2004g, 2005a, 2005b, 2006d, 2006e, 2006h, 2007c, Brown 1997c, 2002d, 2003d, 2004e, 2004j, 2004b, 2005a, 2005h, 2005s, Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Clarke 2004g, Johnson 2006o, 2007b, Kelly 2005m, 2006b, Rammell 2006k, 2007f, 2007n, Smith 2005i).

All three actors understand opportunity as education (Blair 2000g, 2000c, 2002b, 2003d, 2004g, 2005b, Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Clarke 2004g, Johnson 2006o, Kelly 2005m,

Rammell 2006k, 2007f, Smith 2005i. See also Brown 1997c, 2002d, 2003d, 2004e, 2004j, 2004b, 2005a, 2005h, 2005s). However, it is not education per se that leads to prosperity, rather only education directed towards the skills needs of the economy and ultimately productivity, fulfils this objective. Opportunities here are seen as investment in human capital and they are referred to variously as developing “potential”, “talent” and, of course, “skills”:

In today's world, where skills and education are the absolute essence of success and prosperity, failure to develop potential is, for each young person, a personal and national tragedy (Blair 2003d).

Opportunity realised through education exercises a central role within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of economic success in general, because it is understood to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' (Blair 2002c; Blair 1999c, 2000a, 2000g, 2002d, 2004g, 2006e, Brown 1998c, 1998e, 1999a, 1999d, 1999f, 2002f, 2003b, 2004a, 2004f, 2004j, 2006f, 2007d). Although opportunity is a crucial notion for many of the Education Ministers, only Blunkett, Kelly and Johnson choose to talk about opportunities as a basis for economic success (Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Kelly 2005m, Johnson 2006o).

Through applying education and employment policies, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers can tackle injustices, such as low pay, low aspiration and unemployment that pose a barrier to individuals receiving opportunities (Blair 2000c).

Within arguments about economic success, enterprise and entrepreneurship functions on a micro level for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Here, the three actors emphasise

the need for Britain³¹ to: “develop”, “unlock”, “unleash”, “release”, “nurture”, “engage” and “exploit” the “knowledge”, “skills”, “creativity”, “innovation” and “entrepreneurship” of all people in order to be successful, as is shown in the three quotes below (Blair 1997b; Blair 1997e, 1998c, 2000c, 2004g, 2006d, 2006h, Blunkett 2001b, Kelly 2005m, Rammell 2007a):

And as we get closer to getting all children into primary school, the demand will increase for secondary and higher education. This again is crucial to give people the skills they need in developing countries to work in a growing economy and to be the teachers, the doctors, the nurses and the entrepreneurs needed to provide health and education for the next generation. In our forthcoming White Paper the government will set out how we will increase our support for post-primary education to underpin economic growth, good governance and public services (Blair 2006h).

We know how much stronger our economy and our society will be if we see released all the dynamism, creativity and potential of all our people. So we now want to see a dynamic business culture which makes people feel that enterprise is not for an elite but potentially for them too (Brown 2004f).

My experience in five different ministerial positions at DTI and DFES leaves me in no doubt about how important it is that we better link up our education with our economy; academia with business; and skills with industry if Britain’s brains, ingenuity and creativity are to be nurtured, expanded and converted into more jobs and greater wealth (Johnson 2006h).

1.1.4.3 Arguments About Employability

Arguments about employability emphasise education’s role in raising the skills levels of all individuals and improving their employability. This is generally presented in terms of the direct benefits this strategy has for the individual:

³¹ Britain is understood variously as: government, individuals, themselves and business by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Education and learning help people realise their potential, it gives them more freedom, greater choices and the chance to gain the qualifications and skills that employers want and they need (Lewis 2004e; see also Blair 2006d, Blair 2000f, 2001i, 2002g, 2003f, 2004c, 2004g, 2007b; Blunkett 1997c; Brown 1997c, 1998a, 2006b; Johnson 2006q; Lewis 2004e; Rammell 2007i, 2007k).

1.1.4.4 Arguments About Enterprise

Enterprise is connected to the creativity, talent and ultimately brains, of the British people and, here, education plays a crucial part:

To run a well-managed economy with low inflation and tough rules on public finances; where having got stability for the long-term in place we focus policy on using the creative talent of all our people to build a true enterprise economy for the 21st century. We compete on brains not brawn (Blair 1997a. See also Brown 1998f, 2002d, 2003e, 2007c).

1.1.4.5 Arguments About The Knowledge-based Economy

The rise of the knowledge-based economy represents a significantly new era of global change for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Connected to ideas about human capital accumulation, arguments about the knowledge-based economy frequently draw upon the contention that investment should be made in education, as the primary means to provide opportunity, in order to raise the knowledge and skills of the nation. This is essential to economic success because knowledge is vital to research and development, which has itself been demonstrated to be critical for the dynamism of an economy. Although only appearing in their speech after 2000, the term knowledge economy is employed to refer to the type of

economic approach that has resulted from, and is required by, the processes and transformations associated with the notion of globalisation:

Globalisation is not merely an economic phenomenon, and that is why our response cannot simply be an economic one... On top has to be built a modern economy whose raw material is knowledge, skills, the aptitude and intelligence of people. Here there is certainly a political divide. For me, the challenge is to use the power of the community, acting together, to break down the barriers holding back opportunity for all. Education based on excellence for all and learning through life, not just at school becomes the economic, as well as social priority for a modern nation in the knowledge economy ... Today, it is the knowledge race (Blair 2000l).

The knowledge economy is understood both positively and negatively. In positive terms, it is presented as progress and something towards we should strive. It is defended as a good thing in itself because it represents advancement for both the nation and individuals because competitiveness and economic success are now sought on the basis of high skills rather than low pay. Here, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employ several euphemisms for the term knowledge economy, which emphasise its appeal for example, terms such as: “new”, “information-age”, “global”, “modern” and “21st century” are associated with either ‘economy’ or ‘world’ (Blair 2002b, 2003b; Blair 1998d, 2000c, 2000e, 2000l, 2001h, 2001m, Brown 1998f, 2000f, 2001a, 2001f, 2004d, 2004h, 2005a, 2005q, 2005r, 2006a, 2006f, 2006g, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f, Blunkett 1999, 2000b, Johnson 2006j, 2006p, Kelly 2005k, 2006c, Rammell 2006d, 2007b). Alongside these positive justifications however, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to the “perils”, “challenges” and “demands” of change brought about by the “new” knowledge economy:

It is a substantial agenda. But the view I have is that the world is changing faster than ever. The group of people who say just stop the

world I want to get off, simply won't succeed. The process of change will accelerate. The challenge facing the whole of the education system, but particularly the universities, is how we use our knowledge, use our understanding and equip our people so that we are the masters to the process of change rather than the victims of it (Clarke 2003a).

Governments can, through investment in education, “help”, “enable” and “empower” people to equip themselves with the necessary skills to cope and master change and it is by deconstructing this idea that we can uncover where Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers place responsibility for such actions. Here, pronouns play a significant part in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speech. Pronouns such as “we”, “our”, “you” and “us” are used extensively by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. By providing education on an equal basis for all individuals, the Government can enable the self-actualisation of individuals where they assume responsibility for improving their skills and gaining meaningful and worthwhile employment that benefits the whole of society not just themselves. Self-actualisation is a process through which each individual person seeks to achieve complete self-fulfilment (Prideaux 2001: 87). As Chapter Three outlines however, for Blair and the Education Ministers, personal fulfilment cannot be divorced from improving employability. Thus, pursuing personal fulfilment through education, individuals benefit not only themselves but the whole society by helping to raise the skill levels of the workforce, generating gains in productivity, competitiveness and thus, economic success. This is at the crux of Blair's ‘social-ism’ where “the collective power of all [is] used for the individual good of each—[so] that the individual's interest can be advanced” (Blair 1994: 4 quoted in Prideaux 2001: 87).

However, it is unclear whether such terms are being used exclusively (referring only to the Government) or inclusively (broader understanding such as the nation) and, therefore, who, or what, is being addressed (see Fairclough 2000: 164). In terms of the knowledge-based economy strand, this technique is used much more extensively by Brown than by any of the other actors (see Blair 2000c, Brown 1998f, 2006a, 2007c, 2007e, Blunkett 2000b, Clarke 2003a, Lewis 2004d, Johnson 2006a, Rammell 2006g, 2006l).

1.1.4.6 Arguments About Skills

In contrast to arguments about employability, where the emphasis is placed principally on the individual, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employ arguments about skills to emphasise the wider gains achieved by addressing Britain's supply side weaknesses and "Achilles' heel" of historically low levels of workforce skills. Increased productivity, growth, prosperity, wealth, employment and labour flexibility are cited as such gains (Blair 2002a; Blair 1998h, 1999c, 2000b, 2000h, 2000k, 2001g, 2004g, 2006f; Brown 1998b, 1998e, 1998g, 1999b, 1999e, 2001d, 2002b, 2002d, 2003d, 2004d, 2004e, 2005i, 2005p, 2006d). Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers understand skills variously and the term is used in the context of a host of topics such as technology, science, innovation, enterprise, business creation, transport, infrastructure, knowledge and education, where it is connected to the globalisation and knowledge economy agenda.

1.1.5 Consistency Between One or More Actors

1.1.5.1 Blair and Brown

i. Arguments About Economic Success

An alternative understanding of opportunity within arguments about economic success is employed by Brown consistently across the three terms and by Blair until 2000. Here, opportunity is seen as completely interwoven with entrepreneurial and enterprising talent.

Although not a dominant argument within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education, the contention that raising and maintaining high standards in education leads to economic success is one that is emphasised by Blair in the first term (Blair 1998c, 2000e) and Brown from the third term onwards:

Unleashing the full potential of people - our most valuable resource - is the third element of the new, modern economy ... In another, it means an endless emphasis on education, and on skills - a ceaseless focus on driving up standards in order to ensure that opportunity for all is real (Blair 2000c).

Because we the Labour party understand that in this new world a nation cannot be first in prosperity if you are second in education. So, our economic goal now and for the future must be to become the world's number one power in education. And that means matching the best in the world for standards in our schools, leading in science, excelling for the creativity and inventiveness of all our people (Brown 2005s).

Indeed, both Blair and Brown stress the importance of raising standards in education in order to deliver efficiently the goal of opportunities for all (Blair 1998c, 2000b, Brown 2002d, 2003c, 2005f).

Two economic characteristics are emphasised as necessary to ensure economic success by Blair and Brown: ensuring stability as a platform to providing opportunities for all (Blair 2004g; Brown 1997b, 2002d, 2005m, 2005r, 2007e); and flexibility³² (Blair 1999g, 2000c, 2004g, Brown 2004e, 2004j, 2005d, 2005h, 2005r, 2006g, 2006i, 2007e).

Responsibility for ensuring economic success falls on a number of actors in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language. In the first term, Blair talks about the need for a shared responsibility (Blair 1999a, 2002b; Blair 2000c). However, it is unclear who the actors are within this partnership. At times, Blair refers explicitly to parents, teachers and pupils (Blair 1999a; Blair 2000c), while, at other times, he is less clear and, instead, broad actors such as 'the country' are invoked, which may or may not include the Government or employers (Blair 2000c, 2005b). Brown also adopts this view of responsibility in the third term when he talks about "a shared national economic purpose" (Brown 2005r).

ii. Arguments About Employability

When referring to arguments about employability, Blair and Brown point out the benefit of education in giving everybody the skills to meet and master the challenges of the new global economy, enabling them to become beneficiaries, rather than victims, of globalisation (Blair 2000i, 2004g, 2007b; Brown 2000d, 2005i). Fundamentally, investment in education is

³² Flexibility is seen as critical to improving productivity, competitiveness and ultimately ensuring economic success. Flexibility here is seen as labour market flexibility where it is the individual who is deemed responsible for the undertaking of education, training and employment opportunities throughout the course of their career. More than this though flexibility is required by the individual so that they assume responsibility for the upgrading and changing of their skills where it is required by their employment or the wider economy. If the individual does not assume such responsibility then they will be subject to any consequences for example unemployment and social exclusion (see Blunkett 2000a, Brown 2003d, Brown 2004e).

understood to be vital to the development of “tomorrow’s workforce” (Blair 1998c). It is under the employability strand that education is explicitly tied to the achievement of economic opportunity and greater human capital, which, in turn, delivers the traditional Labour objective of full employment (Blair 1999b, 2000f, 2000i, 2000l, 2001i, 2003c, 2004g, 2007b; Brown 1997c, 2000d).

1.1.5.2 Blair and the Education Ministers

i. Arguments About Economic Success

When deploying the notion of opportunity as a reconciling force between the ‘economic’ and the ‘social’, Blair and the Education Ministers frequently set up an implicit contrast between the two objectives. This is achieved by the particular rhetorical technique of ‘not only, but also’ that they employ when talking about opportunity (see Fairclough 2000: 52-53). For example, Blair argues that: “opportunity is a good thing in itself but it is vital to success” (Blair 2002d. See also Blair 2004g, 2004h, 2006e). Similarly, Blunkett emphasises that: “[e]quality of opportunity is not simply a moral objective - it is an economic imperative” (Blunkett 2000c. See also Clarke 2002b, 2004e, Kelly 2005a).

ii. Arguments About Employability

In referring to arguments about employability, Blair and the Education Ministers distinguish between a job and a career by using positive adjectives such as “good”, “fulfilling” or “decent” in relation to the latter, and “dull”, “dead-end” and even “wretched” when talking of

the former (Blair 2000d, 2004d, 2007b; Blunkett 2001b; Hughes 2007a; Johnson 2006q; Kelly 2005b; Rammell 2006c; Smith 2006c).

1.1.5.3 Brown and the Education Ministers

i. Arguments About Economic Success

Both Brown and the Education Ministers emphasise the importance of ‘economic growth’ as necessary for national economic success (Brown 1999a, 2005h, 2006b, Blunkett 2000c, Kelly 2005m, Rammell 2005b).

1.2 The Coherence of Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ Conception of the ‘Economic’

Examining how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers understand the six arguments comprising the ‘economic’ reveals a number of findings about the coherence of their conception of education. Underpinning the six ‘economic’ arguments is a shared understanding of education which is founded upon three discourses: the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. Section 1.2.7 in Chapter Three outlines how these three discourses are understood by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. In relation to the three actors’ conception of the ‘economic’, opportunity is understood principally as economic in nature while responsibility emphasises individual obligation. The three discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility propound that social justice can, and indeed should, be reconciled with economic competitiveness. The

actors contend that, in the new knowledge-based economy, this reconciliation can only take place through the provision of educational opportunities for all that are made available to individuals regardless of background, colour or race. However, it is education that is directed towards the skill needs of the economy that best offers the hope of ensuring opportunity for individuals by raising their skill levels and thus improving their employability according to Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Where barriers to opportunity exist, it is the role of Government to dismantle these however, it remains the ultimate responsibility of individuals themselves to take up and make the most of such opportunities. Analysed in conjunction with my findings into the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on the 'social', this suggests that this understanding represents the coherent foundation to New Labour's discourse on education.

However, outside of this foundation there are some tensions within the three actors' understanding of the 'economic'. Although Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are coherent in their understanding of the 'economic', I have identified three areas of possible tension in the three actors' conception. The first concerns the issue of employability. As this and the previous Chapter outlines, employment is central to reconciling social justice with economic competitiveness. It is through employment that individuals can be personally fulfilled, liberated and empowered as well as avoiding social exclusion. However, in achieving employment, the Government's approach is 'supply-side' that is, the Government is responsible for the provision of opportunities, principally educational opportunities, to help improve individuals' employability and raise skill levels. Thompson argues that this not only represents a departure from previous Labour Party policy, but it likewise means that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers make no commitment to intervene on the demand-side to

ensure that there are actual opportunities in employment for individuals to take up once they have attained the necessary level of education and skills (Thompson 1996a, 1996b). There are a number of difficulties with supply-side approaches, one is that it risks an outcome where people are educated up to a good level and have attained the type of skills that are set out by Government but are either forced into unemployment, or are forced to take low-skilled employment with accompanying low rates of pay because no suitable jobs exist (see for example Jessop 2002; Peck 2001; Peck and Theodore 2000). However, no such difficulties are discussed or even acknowledged in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Another area of possible tension concerns the status of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' commitment to improving employability compared to their pledge to economic stability. This issue is likely to become more pertinent as the Government seeks to reduce spending in light of the concerns over national debt and recession (see for example Barker 2000; Congdon 2009; Wolf 2002). It is not clear from the actors' language how the two commitments will be reconciled in times of scarce or limited resources although perhaps this is to be expected given the period under analysis.

The final area of possible tension is one that was also highlighted within the 'social'; this is the issue of responsibility. Brown's understanding of responsibility within the 'economic' appears to shift over time from one emphasising the individual's obligation to upgrade their skills to a shared notion of responsibility where this obligation is divided between employers and government. However, in shifting his language between the second and third terms, Brown employs two different and contrasting understandings of responsibility concurrently in

his use of arguments about competitiveness. For example, Brown begins by emphasising individuals' duty to contribute to Britain's competitiveness by taking responsibility for upgrading their own skills in the second term and continues his use of this throughout the third term. However, in the third term he also employs an alternative understanding of responsibility which shares the obligation to improve national competitiveness onto both individuals and employers and, business and government. The differences in the use of arguments about responsibility mean that it is unclear which actors, in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are responsible for the achievement of particular 'economic' objectives and whether such views are coherent across the three actors.

However, while my analysis has identified these potential tensions, these issues are only dealt with fleetingly in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers preventing a full assessment of whether they pose a threat to the coherence of their conception of education.

1.3 What Significance does Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers Give to the Arguments of the 'Economic' in Relation to Education?

This section examines the significance that each actor awards to each argument in his language. Consequently, this section serves to, first, set out how significant each argument is to each actor overall; and, second, identify how, if at all, this significance changes over time. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below show the overall significance afforded to each argument between 1997 and 2007 (see Appendix Two for breakdown of figures). Figure 4.1 presents the raw data i.e. the actual number of references to each notion, whilst Figure 4.2 presents the number of references as a percentage of total references to education.

My analysis shows that although Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to all six arguments comprising the ‘economic’ at some point over the period, arguments about enterprise and skills constitute a low proportion of the three actors’ language on education and therefore appear to be relatively unimportant to their understanding. By contrast, arguments about economic success and employability are referred to frequently by the three actors and therefore seem to be integral to Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ conception of education. However, aside from these similarities the actors differ in the status they afford to arguments about competitiveness and the knowledge-based economy. While both Brown and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about competitiveness they are frequently afforded a relatively low status within Blair’s language. Conversely, arguments about the knowledge-based economy are referred to frequently by Blair and the Education Ministers but are not emphasised much by Brown. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the different hierarchy of arguments within the ‘economic’ for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

According to the actual number of references, Blair emphasises arguments about economic success most frequently, followed by (in descending order) employability, knowledge-based economy, competitiveness, skills and enterprise. This order stays the same when we look at the percentages.

For Brown, there is a difference between the hierarchies generated when analysing the actual number of references he makes to each argument and that representing each argument as a percentage of overall references to education. In numerical terms, Brown refers most frequently to (in descending order): economic success, competitiveness, employability, skills,

enterprise and knowledge-based economy. In comparison, in percentage terms, arguments about enterprise and skills amount to the same percentage and, thus, the order shifts slightly so it reads economic success, competitiveness, employability, enterprise and skills and knowledge-based economy.

The overall hierarchy of arguments within the Education Ministers' language is consistent in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, and this order reads as follows (in descending order) competitiveness, economic success and employability, knowledge-based economy, skills and enterprise.

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 illustrate the three most frequently referenced 'economic' arguments for each of the three terms. Arguments about economic success and employability are one of the three arguments that are referred to most frequently by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in all three terms and thus appear to be central to the three actors' understanding of the 'economic'. Both Blair and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about the knowledge-based economy as one of their three most referred to arguments in all three terms while, Brown and the Education Ministers include arguments about competitiveness as one of their three most frequently referenced arguments. Unlike the 'social', none of the actors are distinctive in emphasising a particular argument more frequently than the others. This suggests that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers have a more coherent understanding of the 'economic' aspects of education and, they are consistent in the emphasis given to certain arguments when talking about education. These findings indicate the importance of arguments about economic success, employability, competitiveness and the knowledge-based economy not only to the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers but also to a putative New Labour 'economic' discourse of education.

Figure 4.1: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 1997-

2007 (raw data)

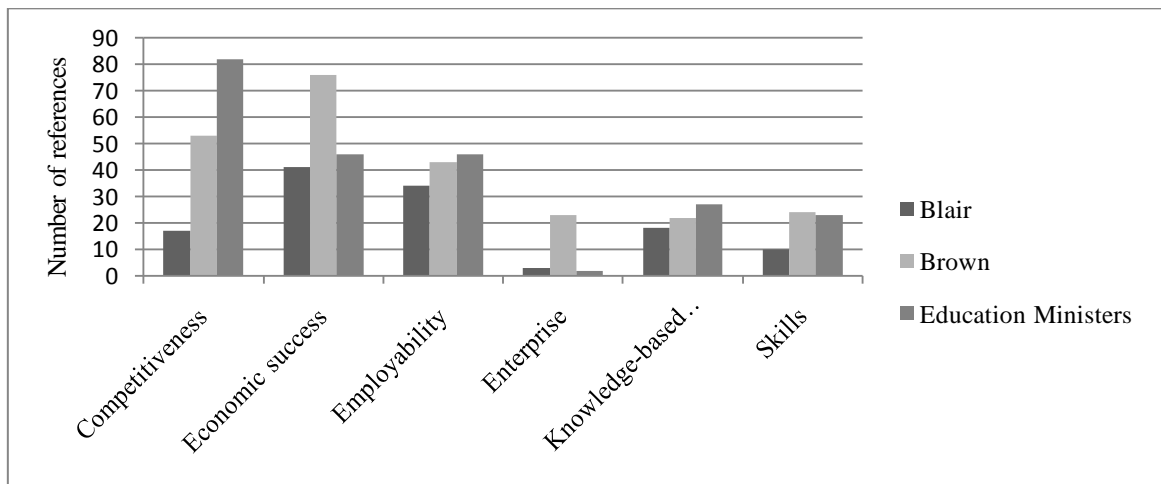
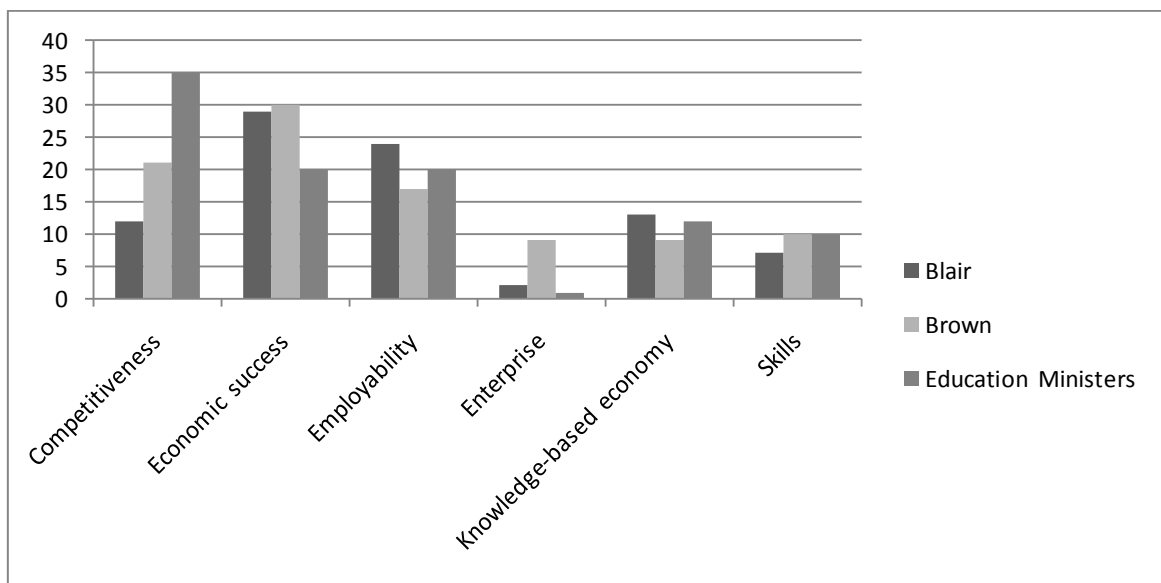


Figure 4.2: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 1997-

2007 (% of total incidence)



Tables 4.2: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Employability	Employability	Economic success
<i>Term</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Employability
	Knowledge-based economy	Skills	Competitiveness & Knowledge-based economy
<i>Second</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
<i>Term</i>	Employability	Competitiveness	Economic success
	Competitiveness	Enterprise	Employability
<i>Third</i>	Economic success	Competitiveness	Competitiveness
<i>Term</i>	Employability	Economic success	Employability
	Competitiveness	Knowledge-based economy	Economic success
<i>Overall</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Competitiveness	Economic success & Employability
	Knowledge-based economy	Employability	Knowledge-based economy

Table 4.3: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007

(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Employability	Employability	Economic success
	Economic success	Economic success	Employability
	Knowledge-based economy	Skills	Competitiveness & Knowledge-based economy
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Competitiveness	Economic success
	Competitiveness	Enterprise	Employability
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success	Competitiveness	Competitiveness
	Employability	Economic success	Employability
	Competitiveness	Knowledge-based economy	Economic success
<i>Overall</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Competitiveness	Economic success & Employability
	Knowledge-based economy	Employability	Knowledge-based economy

Although discussed further in relation to the significance of time on Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education, Tables 4.2 and 4.3 reveal three findings that are

relevant to questions about agency, covering the extent of consistency across all three actors; the extent of consistency across one or more actors; and the extent that each actor is distinctive. Each one of these findings will be discussed in turn.

1.2.1 Consistency Across All Three Actors

Arguments about economic success are among the three most referenced in all three terms and for all three actors. Furthermore, employability is emphasised frequently by all three actors in the first term, while competitiveness features as one of the three most referenced arguments for all three actors in the second and third terms.

1.2.2 Consistency Across One or More Actors

Blair and the Education Ministers are consistent in emphasising employability arguments in all three terms. Similarly, arguments about knowledge-based economy are the third most frequently referenced notion in the first term for both actors.

1.2.3 Distinctiveness of Each Actor

In addition to arguments about economic success, competitiveness features in all three terms for the Education Ministers. Thus, the Education Ministers emphasise the same three arguments consistently most frequently across all three terms. Furthermore, the Education Ministers' language is distinctive in the first term due to Blunkett's emphasis on arguments

about competitiveness and in the second term for the Ministers' emphasis on arguments about the knowledge-based economy and skills.

Brown's language is distinctive in the first term when he chooses to emphasise arguments about education's contribution to the skills agenda frequently. In the second term, his language is distinctive due to the inclusion of arguments about enterprise in his three most referenced notions whilst in the third term; this is arguments about knowledge-based economy.

Section Two: The Significance of Time

The second finding arising from my analysis concerns the significance of time as it impacts upon Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language. The significance of time to the three actors' language on the 'economic' can be shown in three ways. First, the meanings attached to some arguments within the concept of the 'economic' change over time. Table 4.1 has outlined how the positions of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on arguments about competitiveness, economic success, enterprise, employability, knowledge-based economy and skills have changed over time. However, Figure 4.4 illustrates these adjustments more clearly using a timeline of the changes within arguments about economic success over the period 1997-2007³³. Although only economic success is represented in Figure 4.4, similar diagrams could be drawn for the other five arguments (see Table 4.1).

³³ The changes undergone by the particular economic characteristics within the notion of economic success are not represented on this timeline due to space considerations. However, on a similar diagram it would show Brown's emphasis on the goal of stability at regular points across the period, his inclusion of the goal of growth as an objective of economic success from 1999 and then again in 2005 and 2006 and then his move to

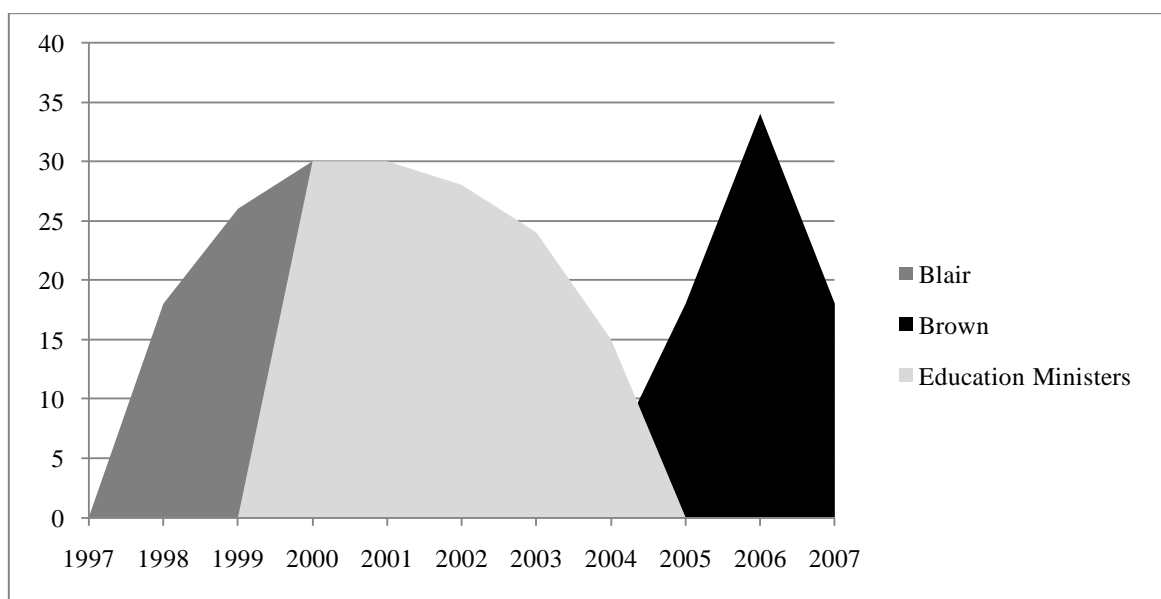
Two shifts that occur in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers may present some difficulties for the coherence of a ‘New Labour’ discourse of the ‘economic’ as outlined in Section 1.2. Time is also significant upon the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers on the ‘economic’ when particular arguments are picked up by each actor particularly arguments about competitiveness (see Appendix Two). Despite Blair referring to competitiveness arguments as early as 1997 (Blair 1997e) and the Education Minister Blunkett highlighting these concerns in 2000 (Blunkett 2000c), Brown does not pick up arguments about competitiveness until 2002 in his speech to the Amicus Conference (Brown 2002b). Similar examples can be shown in arguments about economic success, enterprise and skills. For instance, the Education Ministers do not pick these up until 2000, while Blair and Brown had referred to them in 1997 and 1998 (for economic success compare Brown 1997c and Blair 1998c with Blunkett 2000d, for enterprise compare Blair 1997a and Brown 1998a with Blunkett 2000c and for skills compare Brown 1997b and Blair 1998b with Blunkett 2000a).

The significance awarded to each argument within the ‘economic’ also changes over time. Two points are crucial here. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 outline the three arguments that are referred to most frequently for the three terms and by each of the three actors. A pattern emerges as to when each actor chooses to emphasise arguments about competitiveness, the knowledge-based economy and skills most frequently. Blair and the Education Ministers emphasise arguments about knowledge-based economy most frequently in the first term, this is continued by the Education Ministers in the second term and then picked up by Brown in the

incorporate the goals of low regulation, flexibility and competitive taxes in the third term along with the emphases of Blair and the Education Ministers.

third term. Similarly, the Education Ministers emphasise competitiveness frequently in the first term but these arguments are then adopted emphatically by all three actors in the second and third term. Furthermore, arguments about skills are emphasised frequently in the first term by Brown, then taken up by the Education Ministers in the second term, only to be dropped by all three actors in the third term. These examples reveal a crescendo effect where Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers take turns in emphasising these arguments most frequently across the period. For visual purposes only, I have mapped one of these patterns in Figure 4.3 below. Figure 4.3 shows the periods when Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers choose to emphasise arguments about the knowledge-based economy most frequently. The three actors Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are represented by differently shaded areas. The Education Ministers' refer most frequently to such arguments, along with Blair, in the first term, which also extends into the second term.

Figure 4.3: Diagram Illustrating Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' Use of Arguments About The Knowledge-Based Economy



The final way in which the significance of time on the language employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers when utilising the ‘economic’ is reflected is in the trajectory of each argument in each actor’s speech. After being introduced by each actor (see Appendix Two), each of the six arguments takes a different trajectory within the language of each actor. The six charts below (Figures 4.5 – 4.10) illustrate the frequency with which each argument (represented by differently gradient and shaded lines) is referred to by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. As with Chapter Three, I include two charts for each actor which show both the actual number of references made to each argument and this figure as a percentage of the total references made to education (see Appendix Two for actual figures). Comparing the charts reveals a number of findings about Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language on the ‘economic’ in education. These results fall into two categories, general and specific. The general findings analyse the broader trends over time for each actor, looking principally at two questions: ‘do the number of references to any arguments increase/decrease consistently over the period’ and ‘is there a peak period when particular arguments are emphasised most frequently?’ The second section analyses the specific findings, looking more closely at particular arguments. Here, we refer again to Tables 4.2 and 4.3 above to show the three arguments that are referred to most frequently in each term, and overall by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

2.1 General Trends

Overall, two features of Blair’s language are apparent. First, Blair’s references to arguments about the knowledge-based economy decline between 1997 and 2007 suggesting that such

arguments become less important to his understanding of the ‘economic’ in relation to education. Indeed, this corresponds with the global fortunes of the term as the East Asian crisis and the dotcom collapse occurred. In the first term, Blair makes a greater number of references to arguments about competitiveness and the knowledge-based economy, which as Chapter Three outlined, is also the period when he refers to ‘social’ arguments about equal worth, moral and social control most frequently.

Overall, as a proportion of his total references to education, Blair makes roughly the same number of references to ‘economic’ arguments over the three terms. In the first and third terms, Blair refers to the ‘economic’ aspects of education similarly frequently however such references experience a dip in the second term. This contrasts with the findings identified in Chapter Three, where Blair makes more references to the ‘social’ in the second term compared to the first and third, which remain at largely the same level. Analysing Blair’s use of the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’ together, we find that, despite notable shifts between emphasising one type of argument more frequently than the other (for instance, in the first and third terms, he refers much more frequently to ‘economic’ arguments yet, in the second term his language shifts so that he gives greater emphasis to ‘social’ arguments) Blair makes broadly the same number of references to each type of argument over the period and therefore any difference in emphasis is only slight. To this end, Blair’s emphasis on ‘social’ arguments in the second term may seem to corroborate the arguments put forward in some of the literature that he sought to shift attention onto domestic policy in order to shore up support for the Labour Party in light of the opposition to the war in Iraq (see Needham 2007: 89). My findings show however, that while this is true, the difference between his emphasis on ‘social’ rather than ‘economic’ arguments is only slight.

Three results are apparent in Brown's speech. First, his references to arguments about competitiveness increase consistently over time. The majority of Brown's references to arguments about employability occur in the first term while most of his references to enterprise and skills take place in the second term with arguments about competitiveness, the knowledge-based economy and economic success occurring most in the third term. In addition to making the greatest number of references to enterprise and skills, the second term is also when Brown makes the most references to arguments about poverty, while in the third term, alongside arguments about competitiveness, knowledge-based economy and economic success he also emphasises empowerment, fairness and moral arguments. While arguments about competitiveness appear to become progressively more important to Brown's understanding of the 'economic' in relation to education, arguments emphasising its contribution to economic success remain largely the same over the period, suggesting that they are fundamental to Brown's conception.

Overall, when analysing the amount of references that Brown makes to 'economic' arguments as a percentage of his total references to education, the number of references he makes stays largely the same between 1997 and 2007. This is also the case for his use of 'social' arguments as outlined in the previous Chapter. This shows two things. First, that Brown is much more consistent than either Blair or the Education Ministers in his recourse to 'social' and 'economic' arguments about education and second, that in his use of these types of arguments, Brown consistently emphasises 'economic' aspects of education more frequently than those of 'social'. As Chancellor of the Exchequer we might expect this however, we may also have expected Brown to alter his language to appear more Prime Ministerial in light

of the serious criticism that Blair faced during the third term when repeated calls were made for him to stand down. While we should be careful not to read too much into such results, this suggests that Brown may be less influenced by external events in his discussions about education than either Blair or the Education Ministers. Such consistency could be an indication that Brown's discussions about education reflect his true beliefs more closely and therefore feel less obliged to shape his language around other factors.

According to the actual number of references, all 'economic' arguments, with the exception of those emphasising competitiveness, in the language of the Education Ministers decline between the first and second term and then increase in the third term so that the Ministers make the most number of references to each argument in the final term. However, analysing the Ministers' use of 'economic' arguments as a percentage of the overall references they make to education the picture is more mixed. For example, while arguments about employability follow this pattern the opposite occurs in their use of arguments about competitiveness and skills, where references increase between terms one and two but then decline between two and three. All the other arguments decline between the first and second term but then remain largely stable between the second and third terms.

Overall, the Education Ministers make the majority of their references to arguments emphasising the 'economic' aspects of education in the first term. In the second term, the Ministers make the least number of references to such arguments before increasing them again in the third term. Reviewing the Education Ministers' use of 'social' and 'economic' arguments together reveals that they emphasise one type of argument about education more frequently at the expense of the other. This is similar to the findings I identified within

Blair's language; however, the difference in emphasis is much more acute in the Ministers' language.

2.2 Specific Findings

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 above outline the three most frequently referenced arguments for each actor over the three terms. By highlighting those arguments that are referred to most frequently by each of the three actors, I hope to determine whether the three actors are consistent in the arguments that they emphasise most frequently in each of the three terms and in the importance they afford to particular arguments in their discussions about education overall. This will enable me to determine not only whether a putative New Labour discourse on education exists but also to illustrate the shifting relationship between different arguments over time. The Tables show that, over time, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers place most emphasis on one argument, most frequently, in all three terms: economic success. This is the only argument that is referred to most frequently in all three terms by all three actors and thus appears to be critical to a New Labour discourse of the 'economic'. We can also identify those arguments that are consistently important to each actor's understanding of the 'economic'. Individually, Blair also frequently refers to arguments about employability, while the Education Ministers also emphasise arguments about competitiveness.

As well as analysing these results by actor, we can also determine how education was talked about in each term. In the first term, New Labour's language about the 'economic' aspects of education was dominated by arguments about employability and economic success because these were the only two arguments that were referred to frequently by Blair, Brown and the

Education Ministers. In contrast, Blair and the Education Ministers emphasised arguments about the knowledge-based economy, Brown individually referred to arguments about skills and the Education Ministers emphasised competitiveness arguments about education.

In the second term, in addition to referring to arguments about economic success, the three actors also emphasise competitiveness. At the same time, Blair and the Education Ministers emphasise employability arguments while Brown is the only actor to refer to arguments about enterprise frequently.

In the third term, both economic success and competitiveness arguments are referred to by all three actors and the only other 'economic' argument to be emphasised frequently is that of employability, which is emphasised by Blair and the Education Ministers. In the next Chapter, I will look at the relationship between these arguments and the 'social' arguments that they are emphasised concurrently with in order to determine the coherence of New Labour's language on education both in each term and overall.

Figure 4.4: Timeline Illustrating Changes in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' Language on Arguments About Economic Success 1997-2007

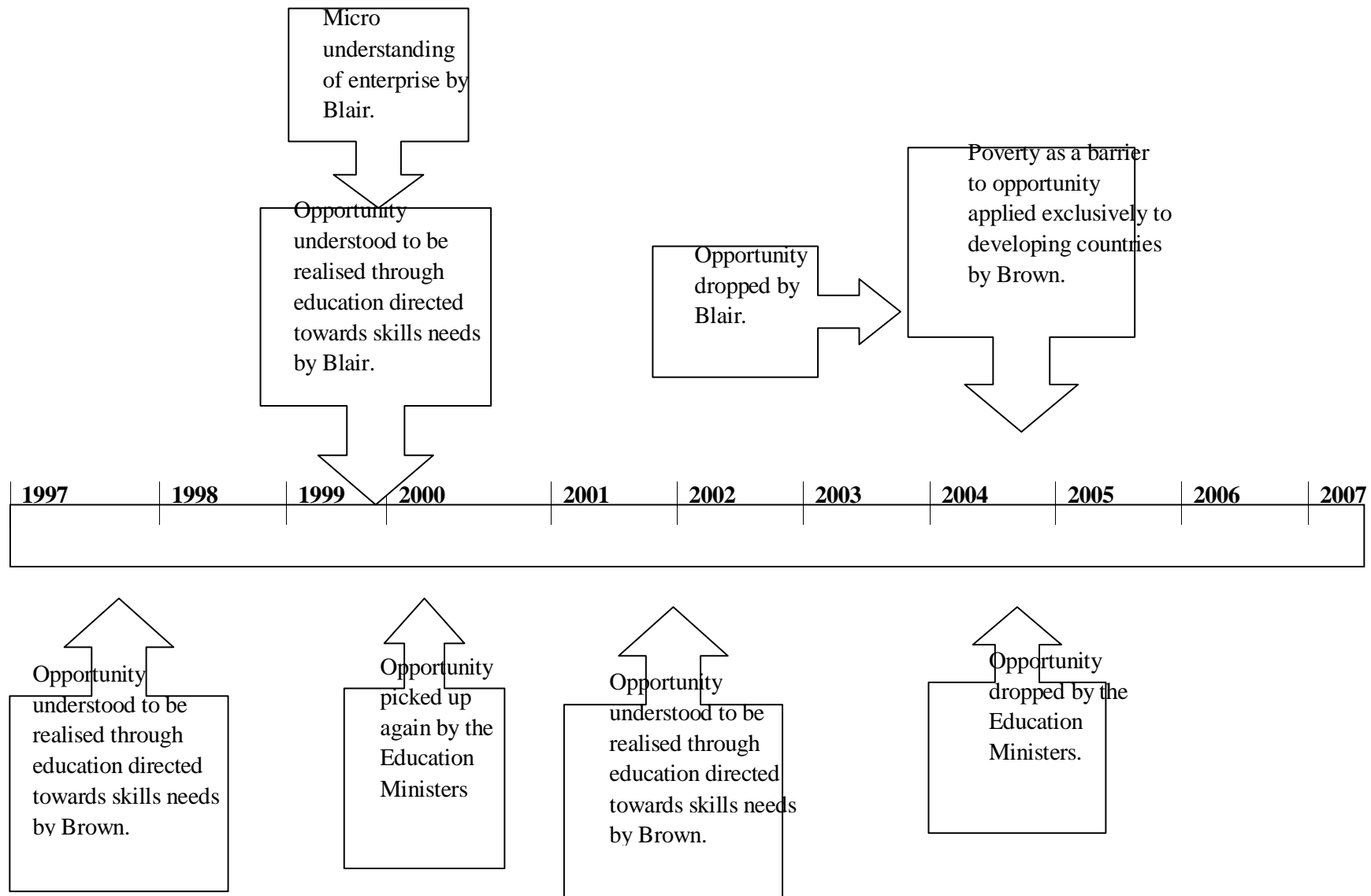


Figure 4.5: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Blair’s Language (raw data)

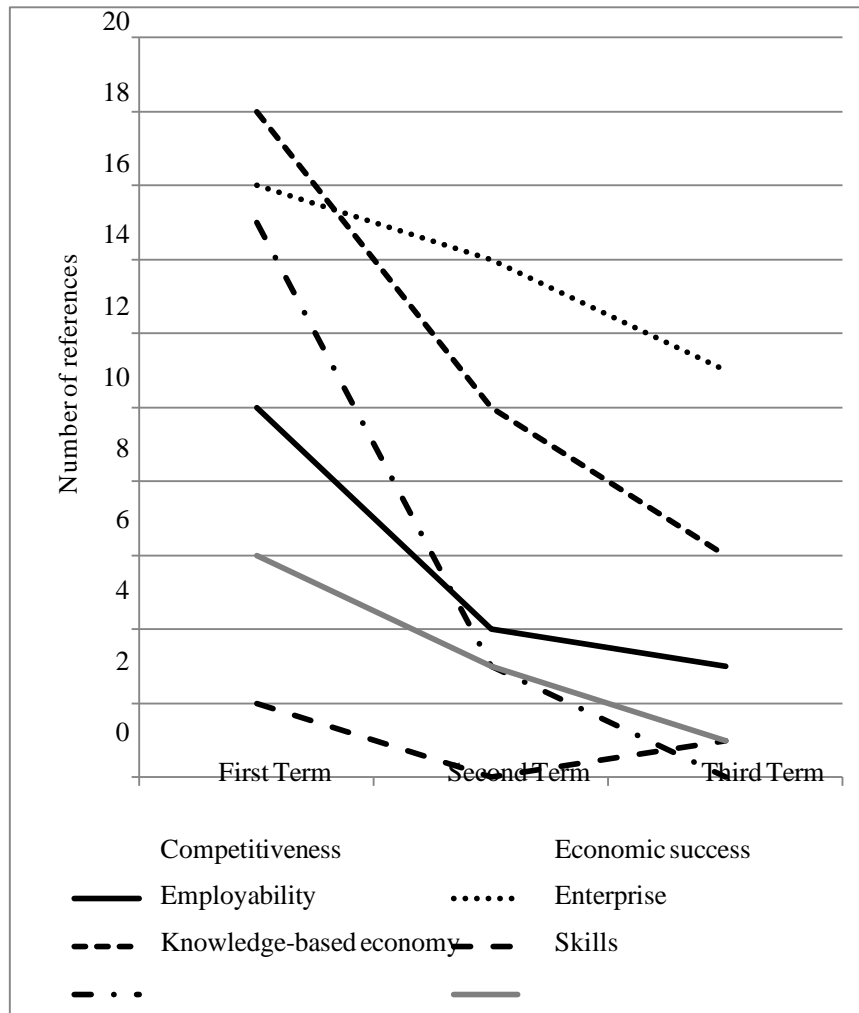


Figure 4.6: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Blair’s Language (% of total incidence)

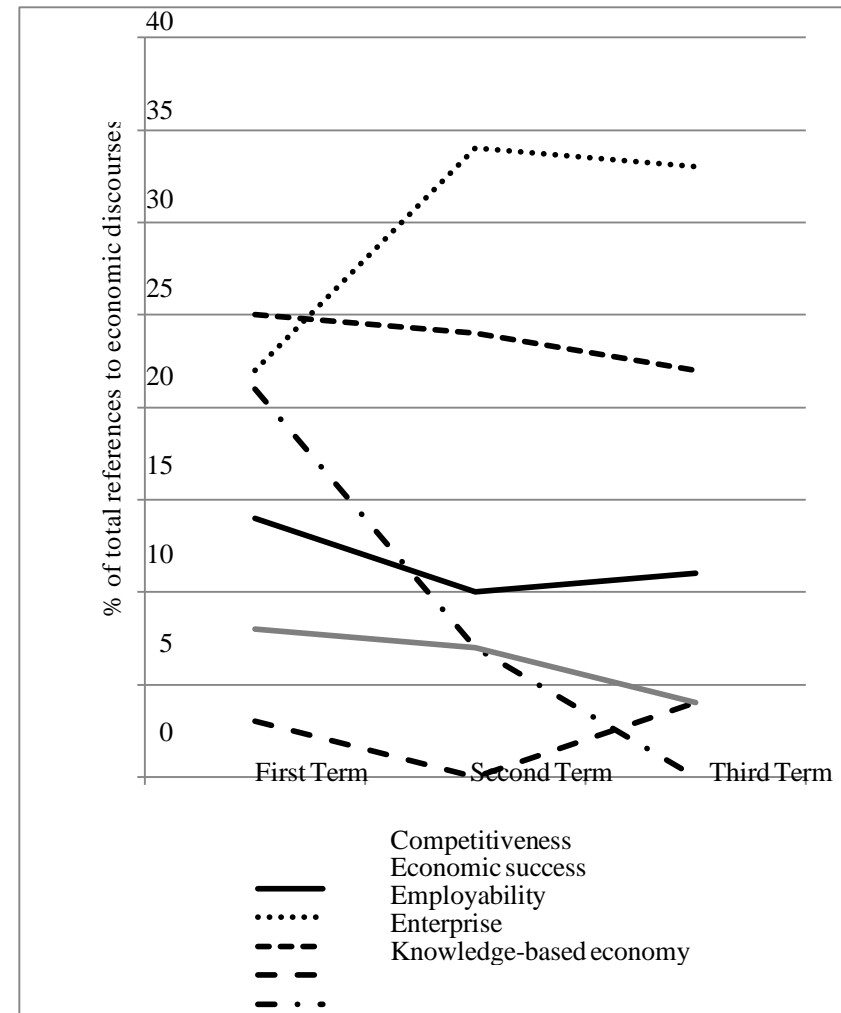


Figure 4.7: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Brown’s Language (raw data)

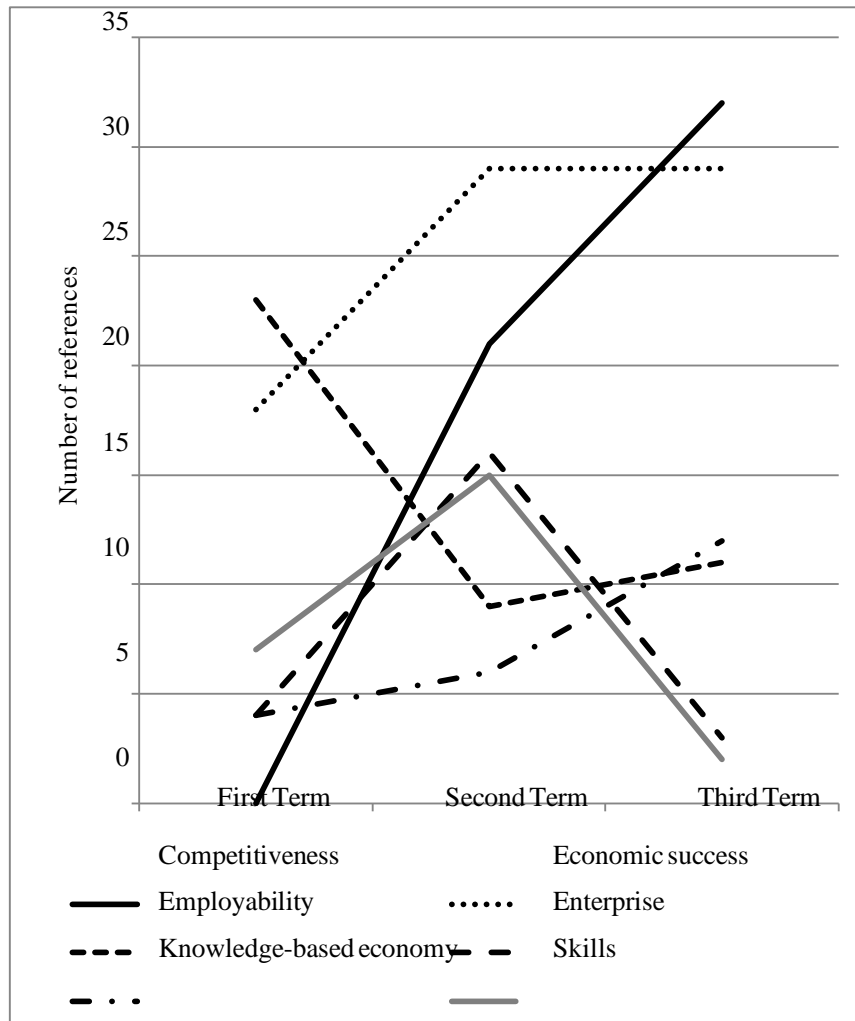


Figure 4.8: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in Brown’s Language (% of total incidence)

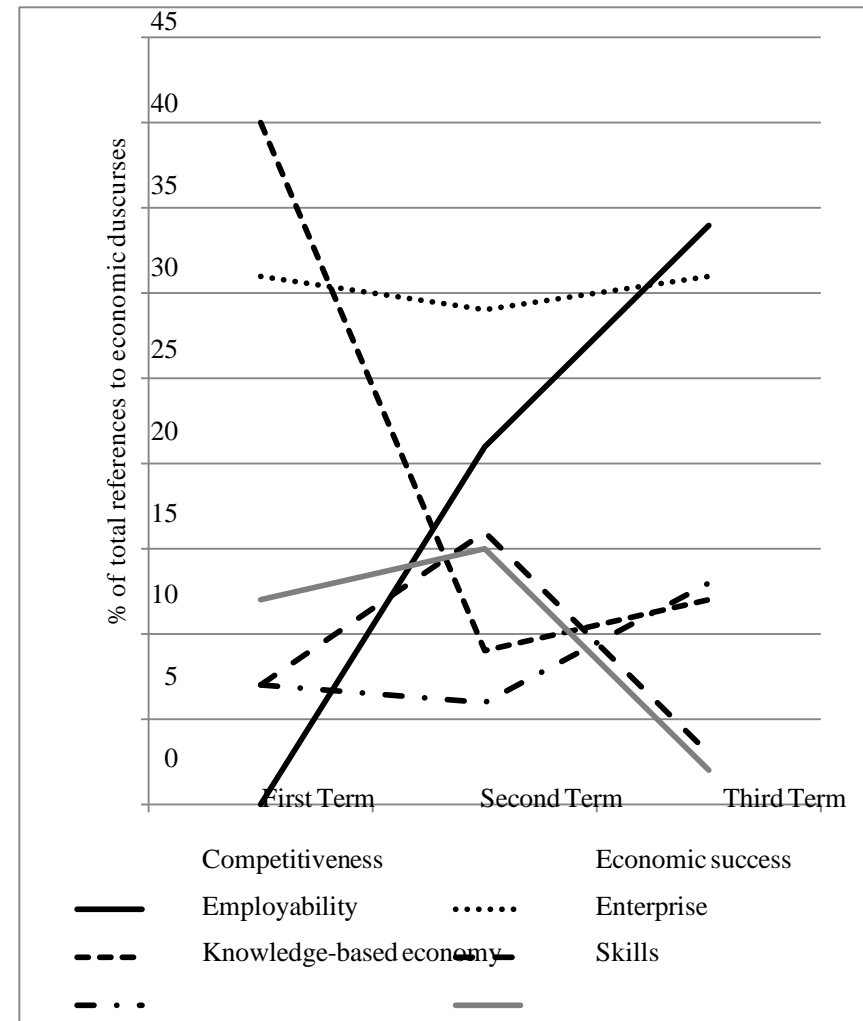


Figure 4.9: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (raw data)

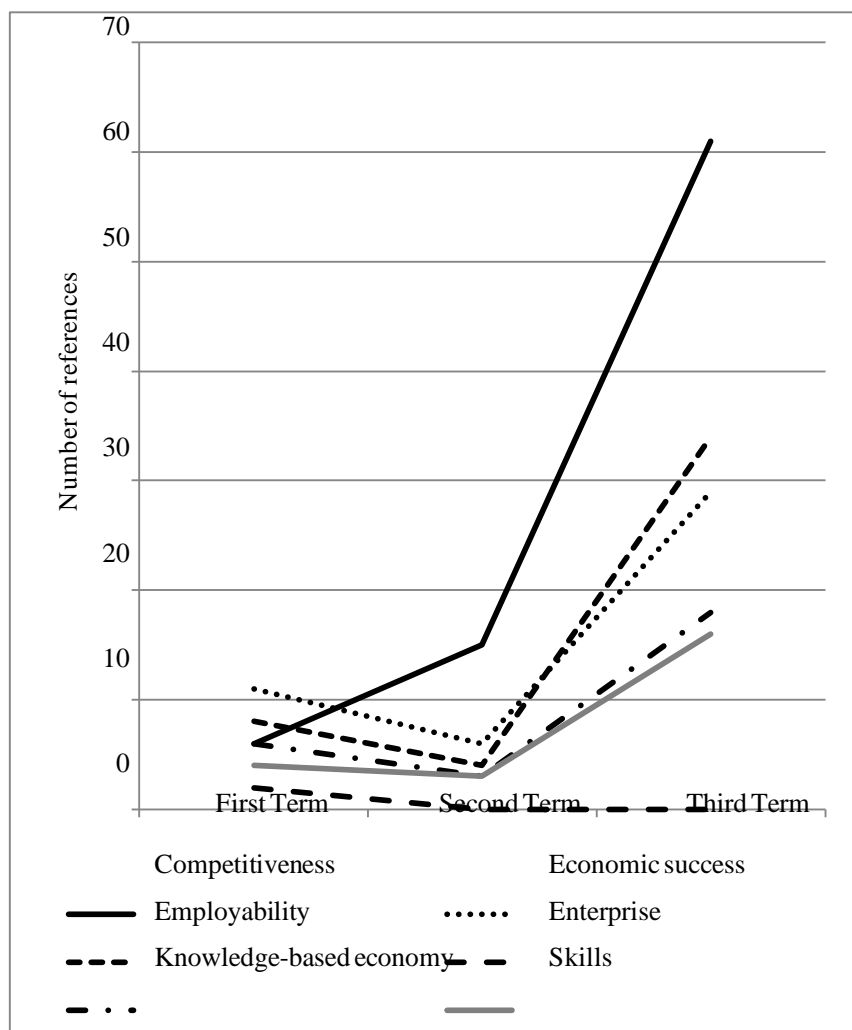
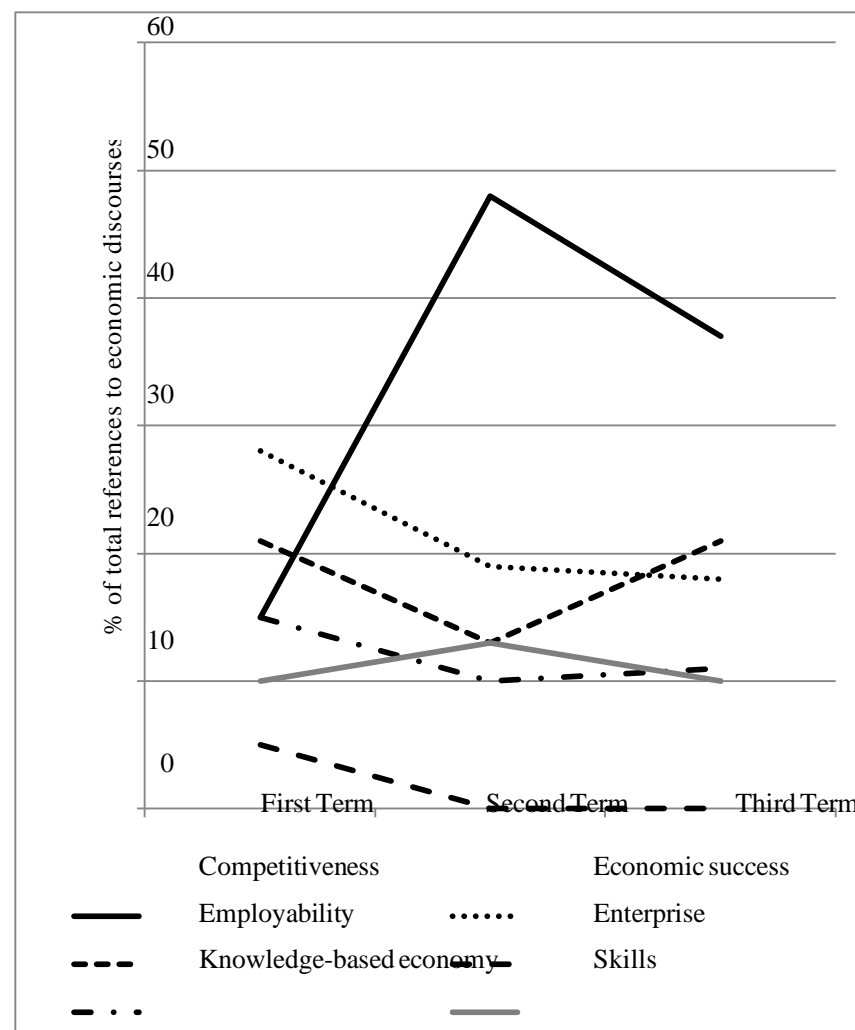


Figure 4.10: Incidence of ‘Economic’ Arguments in the Education Ministers’ Language (% of total incidence)



Section Three: The Status of ‘Social’ and ‘Economic’ Objectives in the Language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers

This final section addresses the second sub-research question raised earlier about the links between ‘economic’ and ‘social’ objectives in New Labour’s language. With the exception of one argument, all ‘economic’ arguments are most frequently conjoined with other ‘economic’ arguments, with particular importance being attached to economic success and also employability and competitiveness. Unlike the three actors’ use of ‘social’ arguments, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employ ‘economic’ arguments most often with other ‘economic’ arguments in their speeches; consequently, analysing the priority afforded to them is not an indication of the relationship between ‘social’ and ‘economic’ objectives. Rather, it reveals the differential importance afforded to each argument by each actor. This suggests that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are much more confident about presenting economic justifications for education than they are about social arguments. This finding may point to the actors’ ideas about the context that they inhabit in which economic arguments are believed to raise fewer normative controversies or are regarded as more authoritative. My data shows that Blair gives greatest priority to ‘economic’ arguments overall with arguments about skills being emphasised most frequently. By contrast, my data reveals the comparatively low level of priority afforded to ‘economic’ arguments by Brown with the biggest priority given to arguments about employability in his language. These results are surprising given that Brown was Chancellor during this period and would, seemingly, be more likely to prioritise ‘economic’ arguments in his discussions about education.

Table 4.4 outlines the three arguments that are connected most frequently with each of the six arguments of the ‘economic’ by the three actors. With the exception of arguments about competitiveness in the Education Ministers’ language³⁴, all ‘economic’ arguments are combined most frequently with other ‘economic’ arguments by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Furthermore, the Table shows that arguments about economic success are most frequently invoked alongside both ‘economic’ and ‘social’ arguments. Other arguments frequently invoked, albeit to a lesser extent, are those of employability, competitiveness and arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’. Table 4.4 also shows that in comparison to Blair who draws upon a selection of five ‘social’ arguments to use in conjunction with ‘economic’ arguments about education in his speeches, Brown only employs two arguments: fairness and social justice and the Education Ministers only use three arguments: social justice, arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’ and social control. This contrasts markedly with the findings in Table 3.4 which showed Brown drawing upon all six and the Education Ministers using five ‘economic’ arguments to use in conjunction with ‘social’ arguments while Blair only utilised three arguments: employability, economic success and the knowledge-based economy. This suggests that Brown and the Education Ministers may have a more concise conception of the ‘social’ than they do of the ‘economic’ in comparison to Blair who has a more succinct understanding of the ‘economic’ than the ‘social’.

³⁴ While this is the only example of an argument that is combined most frequently with another ‘social’ argument, there are several other examples where the argument is jointly combined most frequently with both a ‘social’ and an ‘economic’ type of argument. In the language of Blair, the exceptions are economic success, which is jointly emphasised most frequently with equal worth and knowledge-based economy. In the language of the Education Ministers, the exceptions are knowledge-based economy, which is jointly combined most frequently with competitiveness, reconciling and social justice.

Table 4.4: The Three Arguments That Are Employed Most Frequently in Conjunction With ‘Economic’ Arguments³⁵

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	Economic success & Employability	Economic success	Social justice
	Reconciling	Employability & Knowledge-based economy	Reconciling
	Social control	Fairness	Economic success
<i>Economic success</i>	Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy	Competitiveness & Employability	Competitiveness
	Employability & Reconciling	Knowledge-based economy	Reconciling
	Social justice	Skills	Employability
<i>Employability</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Equal worth	Competitiveness	Reconciling
	Knowledge-based economy	Fairness & Knowledge-based economy	& Social justice
	Reconciling	economy & Skills	
<i>Enterprise</i>	Competitiveness	Economic success	Economic success

³⁵ Table 4.4 shows the three arguments that are used in conjunction with each of the six arguments of the ‘economic’ most frequently. The table only shows those arguments that attract two or more references. See Appendix Two for a fuller breakdown.

	Economic Success	Skills	Competitiveness & Employability
		Competitiveness & Reconciling Social justice	
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness & Reconciling & Social justice
	Equal worth	Competitiveness	Economic success & Employability
	Fairness & Social control	Employability	Social control
<i>Skills</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Competitiveness	Employability & Reconciling
	Reconciling	Employability & Enterprise	Economic success & Social justice

Table 4.4 illustrates how each argument within the ‘economic’ is employed in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers by outlining the three arguments that each notion is used in conjunction with most frequently. This has shown that, with only one exception, ‘economic’ arguments are combined most often with other ‘economic’ arguments within the three actors’ language, particularly those of economic success; competitiveness; and employability. However, to investigate fully the relationship between ‘social’ and ‘economic’ objectives in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, we need to look at

where references to each ‘economic’ argument occur in those speeches in which they are used together with ‘social’ arguments.

Table 4.5 shows the percentage of references to each argument that are referred to before the other arguments they are used in conjunction with.

Table 4.5: The Percentage of References to Each ‘Economic’ Argument Given Priority

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	59	34	46
<i>Economic success</i>	36	35	50
<i>Employability</i>	43	44	38
<i>Enterprise</i>	33	35	0
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	22	23	48
<i>Skills</i>	80	33	48
<i>Total</i>	273	204	230

Table 4.5 shows three things. Firstly, ‘economic’ arguments about education are prioritised more, overall, in Blair’s language than in either Brown’s or the Education Ministers’. Only one argument is prioritised less than one third of occasions (knowledge-based economy at 22%). Indeed, half of the ‘economic’ arguments are prioritised more than half of the time that they are employed in Blair’s speeches. The highest priority is given to arguments emphasising the skills aspects of education. If we compare this to my results in Chapter

Three, we find that overall Blair gives greater emphasis to ‘social’ rather than ‘economic’ arguments when discussing education. This is because when employing both ‘economic’ and ‘social’ arguments together, Blair is more likely to emphasise ‘social’ rather than ‘economic’ and even when employing ‘economic’ arguments, he employs a greater variety of ‘social’ arguments in conjunction with them.

Secondly, as with ‘social’ arguments, Brown prioritises the lowest proportion of ‘economic’ arguments in his speeches. No argument is prioritised more than fifty percent of the time and most are prioritised around one third of the time. This raises the issue about what arguments Brown does prioritise in his speeches if it is not either ‘social’ or ‘economic’ arguments about education. The answer to such a question lies beyond this thesis, though it does link into the areas for future research which I discuss in the Conclusion.

Finally, the Education Ministers are positioned between Blair and Brown because, as Table 4.5 indicates, enterprise arguments are not prioritised at all in their speeches. Similar to Blair, comparing the results from Tables 3.5 and 4.5 we can see that overall the Education Ministers give greater emphasis to ‘social’ arguments because they are prioritised more when used in conjunction with ‘economic’ arguments. Two ‘economic’ arguments are given greatest priority in their speeches: competitiveness and the knowledge-based economy and these are used most frequently with ‘social’ arguments.

If we compare these results to those in Chapter Three, we can see that both Blair and the Education Ministers give more emphasis to ‘social’ arguments than they do to ‘economic’ arguments when using them together in their speeches. In contrast, Brown places more

emphasis onto ‘economic’ arguments in his speeches because he chooses to refer to them before recourse to ‘social’ arguments.

Conclusion

This Chapter has examined how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers conceptualise the ‘economic’ in relation to the policy area of education. It has identified six arguments that comprise the three actors’ understanding of the ‘economic’ and has examined each in order to determine the meanings attached by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, as well the significance afforded to each argument, both in comparison to one another and overall. The Chapter has shown the coherence of the three actors’ conception of the ‘economic’ whilst also illustrating the particular shifts in meaning and emphasis between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and over time. This conclusion is structured into three sections which reveal the complexity within Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language on education and helps us to address the key research questions originating from the discussion of the literature in Chapter One and identify the implications for this literature. The first section assesses the coherence of the three actors’ language in talking about the ‘economic’ in education in order to determine if a New Labour discourse on the ‘economic’ exists, while the second section outlines the periods of relative stasis and heightened activity in the three actors’ use of the six arguments. Finally, the third section evaluates this in relation to the arguments put forward in the existing literature, drawing out the implications of my findings on these contentions.

4.1 A ‘New Labour’ Discourse of the ‘Economic’ in Education?

When employing the ‘economic’ in their discussions about education, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to all six ‘economic’ arguments at some point over the period. Three of these arguments are employed by all three actors in all three terms. At the foundation of these three arguments are three discourses that draw upon arguments about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses construct a coherent understanding of education which is thoroughly inculcated with economic considerations. I have identified some tensions within the three actors’ understanding of the ‘economic’ yet, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers do not talk about these issues in enough detail to permit an assessment of their significance on the coherence of New Labour’s conception of education.

All three actors (with one exception) combine their use of ‘economic’ arguments most frequently with other ‘economic’ arguments, utilising in particular arguments about economic success, employability and competitiveness. However, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers vary in the emphasis they give to each ‘economic’ argument. For example, only the Education Ministers emphasise arguments about competitiveness consistently in all three terms, while Brown is the only actor to emphasise arguments about skills most frequently in the first term, enterprise in the second term and knowledge-based economy in the third. The Education Ministers, by contrast, are distinctive in their emphasis upon competitiveness in the first term and arguments about the knowledge-based economy and skills in the second term. Thus, the coherence of the three actors’ conceptualisation of the ‘economic’ does not stop

Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on the 'economic' changing over time and between one another.

4.2 Periods of Relative Stasis and Heightened Activity

In the first term, Blair makes more references to arguments about competitiveness and the knowledge-based economy than he does at any other point over the period, whilst Brown emphasises employability and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about enterprise. In the second term, Brown emphasises arguments about enterprise and skills, while neither Blair nor the Education Ministers refer to an 'economic' argument more emphatically than at any other time. Again, in the third term, only Brown prioritises 'economic' arguments, in this case those of competitiveness, knowledge-based economy and economic success. Overall, Blair consistently reduces the amount of references he makes to arguments about the knowledge-based economy over the period, which neither Brown nor the Education Ministers do. Conversely, Brown consistently increases the proportion of references he makes to arguments about competitiveness over the period, which neither Blair nor the Education Ministers do.

Three arguments are referred to consistently frequently by the three actors over the three terms: economic success, employability and skills. Overall, arguments about economic success appear to be crucial to Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of the 'economic' as it is one of the three arguments that they emphasise most frequently in all three terms. With the exception of economic success however, the three actors vary in which arguments of the 'economic' they emphasise in each term. In the first term, arguments about

employability are frequently referred to by all three actors, while Blair and the Education Ministers also refer frequently to arguments about the knowledge-based economy. Arguments about competitiveness are emphasised frequently in both the second and third terms by all three actors with arguments about employability referred to frequently by all three actors in the two terms by Blair and the Education Ministers. The three actors are distinctive however, in the emphasis they give at particular times to certain arguments. For example, only Brown refers frequently to arguments about skills in the first term while the Education Minister (David Blunkett) is the only actor to emphasise competitiveness at this point. Furthermore, Brown is the only actor to emphasise arguments about enterprise frequently in the second term.

Although I am unable to answer definitively why these periods of relative stasis and heightened activity occur in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, a possible explanation may be the desire for New Labour to be considered economically competent in the first term therefore explaining why all three actors emphasised ‘economic’ arguments about education more frequently than those of ‘social’ (Burnham 2000). Equally, both Brown’s role as Chancellor and perhaps, Blair’s concern to switch focus onto the domestic agenda in the second term may be put forward as explanations for why Brown is the only actor to emphasise ‘economic’ arguments about education more frequently in the second term (Needham 2007). I will return to these points in the Conclusion.

4.3 Implications for the Literature(s)

This Chapter has shown the overall coherence of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of the 'economic' in relation to education, supporting the view within the existing literature that there is a coherent 'New Labour' conception of education. I have identified a number of potential tensions within this conception of education however; I am unable to assess their significance. As with Chapter Three, my findings in this Chapter support the first assumption prevalent in the existing literature, namely that while there may be differences between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, these variations are not so significant to prohibit the existence of a New Labour discourse on education. Similarly, they also show that this conception consists of three discourses rather than one. These discourses emphasise education's contribution to the economy and in doing so, confirm the literature's argument that education in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, is subordinated to the economy.

Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on the 'economic' in education consists of six arguments based upon three discourses. Three of these arguments are referred to by all three actors in all three terms. This group of arguments represent the coherent foundation of the three actors' understanding of the 'economic'. However, while coherent, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers change their use of particular arguments when talking about the 'economic' aspects about education over time and the use of certain arguments varies between the different actors. This raises interesting questions about why such shifts occur. While I am unable to address these issues here, I will return to this point in the Conclusion and try to sketch out possible ways forward to address these questions.

Thus far, I have analysed the concepts of the 'social' and the 'economic' in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education. However, we need to assess the consequence of the level of coherence within the three actors' speech on education and determine how the concepts of the 'economic' and the 'social' are employed in conjunction with one another in New Labour's discussions of education. In doing this, we can address directly some of the claims made in the literature on New Labour (see Chapter One) and establish the existence and content of a putative 'New Labour' discourse on education. It is to this task that the next Chapter now turns.

CHAPTER V

A COHERENT NEW LABOUR DISCOURSE OF EDUCATION? THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ‘SOCIAL’ AND THE ‘ECONOMIC’ IN THE LANGUAGE OF BLAIR, BROWN AND THE EDUCATION MINISTERS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EXISTING LITERATURES

My intention in this thesis is to investigate how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers conceptualise the relationship between education, social justice and economic competitiveness and determine whether they prioritise economic rather than social considerations. The actors' claim to reconcile social and economic goals is widely discussed within the literature. The current literature focuses on the extent to which New Labour has been coherent in the way it conceives the relationship between social and economic objectives and in doing so, adopts a reductive view about New Labour, which generally employs issues of discourse for illustrative purposes. For example, Hay uses three quotes from Blair's speech to the 1996 Labour Party Conference to demonstrate the level of bipartisan convergence between Labour and the Conservatives (Hay 1999: 114, 115). However, had he studied the speech further he would have found Blair making arguments asserting the importance of state-provided education in tackling social class and ensuring equal opportunity (Blair 1996a) while both Brown and Blunkett put forward arguments against social class and inequality in their speeches to the same conference (Blunkett 1996; Brown 1996). These quotes appear to suggest difference, rather than convergence, between Labour and the Conservatives and, thus could be used to distinguish Labour Party policy on education from that of the Conservatives. In this Chapter, I use my findings from my analysis into the language of Blair, Brown and the

Education Ministers on education (Chapters Three and Four) to interrogate the claims made in the current literature. The chapter begins by addressing the issue of the coherence of New Labour's language on education. Here, I examine the current literature's understanding of coherence and the two presuppositions treating New Labour as a single actor and arguing that education is subordinated to the demands of the economy (see Ball 2001, 2008; Beech 2008; Bevir 2000, 2005; Cole 1998; Driver & Martell 1998, 2001, 2002; Fairclough 2000; Fielding 2002; Finlayson 2003; Freeden 1999; Hall 2003, 2007; Hatcher 2008; Hay 1994, 1997, 1999; Hay and Watson 1999; Heffernan 2000; Hickson 2007; Hulme and Hulme 2005; Jessop 2008; Lee 2007, 2008; Lingard & Ozga 2007; Kerr et al 2003; Levitas 1998; Lunt 2008; McAnulla & Marsh 2000; Meredith 2003, 2007; Mulderrig 2003, 2008; Needham 2007; Prideaux 2005; Rubenstein 2000; Selwyn 2008; Shaw 2003; Smith 2000, 2001; Taylor 1997; Tomlinson 2001; Whitty 2009; Wolf 2002). I examine coherence on an ideational level, looking at the coherence of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language both between one another and over time, in order to determine whether this constitutes a 'New Labour' discourse. My findings both support and challenge the two presuppositions about New Labour within the literature. I show that the conception of education in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is coherent and thus can be said to represent a coherent overall New Labour discourse of education. Furthermore, this discursive conception of education is inherently economic. However, my findings also challenge this presupposition by revealing a number of possible tensions between the three actors' understanding, which may question this coherence. Furthermore, my findings demonstrate that, while not affecting the overall coherence of their understanding of education, Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' use of social and economic arguments about education varies between one another and over time. The arguments about education do not occupy equal status within the

language of the three actors. This shows the different emphasis given to particular arguments by each actor and in each term thus revealing New Labour's discourse to be more dynamic and complex than is implied by the reductive view. In showing this, I demonstrate how these two presuppositions lead the literature to reach inaccurate conclusions about the nature of New Labour. Broaching this issue in Section Two, I then move to indicate how my findings address the three research questions set out in Chapter One; further to this, I set out how my findings contribute to the debate within the existing literature about the coherence of New Labour. I do this by comparing my findings into the coherence of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language with the literature's assessment of New Labour's policies on education thus establishing the utility of applying an alternative understanding of coherence. I conclude the Chapter by setting out my aims for the final chapter, the Conclusion.

Section One: The Coherence of New Labour

In this section, I evaluate my empirical findings into New Labour's language on education to examine its coherence. In so doing, I address the two presuppositions underpinning the current literature's claims about the coherence of New Labour and its understanding of the relationship between education, social justice and economic competitiveness. These presuppositions attribute coherence to New Labour's conception of education in its treatment of the Party as a single actor thus overlooking the extent of change between different actors and over time and, in its claim that education under New Labour is completely subordinated to the demands of the economy. In Sections 1.1 and 1.2, I show how my findings from my two empirical chapters (Chapters Three and Four) support and challenge these two

presuppositions before outlining in Section 1.3 the implications of this for the arguments made in the existing literature.

1.1 Investigating the Presupposition of New Labour as a Single Actor

Much of the literature treats New Labour as a single actor and, by doing so, ignores the possibility that there may be differences between individual actors and over time. For instance, when debating its coherence, New Labour is frequently compared to its own past, its predecessors in government as well as other traditions and ideologies. This presents a reductive view of New Labour (see Beech 2008; Fielding 2002; Hickson 2007; Meredith 2003, 2007; Prideaux 2005; Rubenstein 2000; Taylor 1997). The literature analyses six aspects of coherence that discuss this: over time (Bevir 2000; Bevir 2005; Finlayson 2003; Freedman 1999; Levitas 1998); across different policies both in general and in relation specifically to education (Ball 2008; Hay 1999b; Hill 1999, 2001; Kerr et al. 2003; McCaig 2001; Paterson 2003; Smith 2001; Trowler 2003; Whitty 2002); different levels of government (Needham 2007); between different agents (Fairclough 2000) and, with respect to the relationship between social and economic objectives (Cole 1998; Hay and Watson 1999; Ball 2001; Tomlinson 2001; Wolf 2002; Mulderrig 2003; Stedward 2003; Hulme and Hulme 2005; Lingard and Ozga 2007; Ball 2008; Hatcher 2008; Jessop 2008; Lunt 2008; Mulderrig 2008; Selwyn 2008). However, no author explores the changes in New Labour's discourse on education both over time and between different actors, the consequence being that commentators have overlooked the possibility that this discourse may be more dynamic and complex than is often supposed.

My analysis shows that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to six ‘economic’ and eight ‘social’ arguments at some point between 1997 and 2007. Eight of these arguments are referred to by all three actors in all three terms; these being, economic success, employability, equal worth, fairness, poverty, arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’, skills and social justice. Underpinning these eight arguments is a shared understanding of three discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These discourses put forward the view that social justice can, and indeed should, be reconciled with economic competitiveness. The actors contend that, in the new knowledge-based economy, this reconciliation can only take place through the provision of educational opportunities for all that are made available to individuals regardless of background, colour or race. However, it is education that is directed towards the skill needs of the economy that best offers the hope of ensuring opportunity for individuals by raising their skill levels and thus improving their employability according to Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers;

We want to show that investing in education and training makes a significant contribution to people’s lives not only through individual fulfilment, but also by making a sustainable contribution to the economy (Smith 2005).

It is the primary responsibility of Government to provide such opportunities. These opportunities should be directed towards the demands of the economy so that they can improve employability and thus, empower, fulfil and liberate individuals in addition to addressing the supply-side weaknesses of the British economy, increasing enterprise and entrepreneurship and improving Britain’s competitiveness against other countries;

The challenge today is to make the employee powerful, not in conflict with the employer but in terms of their marketability in the modern workforce. It is to reclaim flexibility for them, to make it about their empowerment, their ability to fulfil their aspirations (Blair 2007).

Britain will only attain a new and competitive place for ourselves if we strive for, and win, world leadership in science and skills and enterprise (Brown 2005).

Where barriers to opportunity exist, it is the role of Government to dismantle these however, it remains the ultimate responsibility of individuals themselves to take up and make the most of such opportunities. These eight arguments represent the coherent foundation to New Labour's understanding of education and thus support the existing literature's treatment of New Labour as a single actor by revealing that all three actors (Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers) share this conception.

However, outside of this foundation there are a number of possible tensions within the three actors' conception of education. These tensions refer to Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of opportunity particularly in relation to outcomes and equality, responsibility and employability. These issues are not discussed at length by the three actors, making it impossible to establish their significance on the coherence of a New Labour understanding of education. For example, in the second term Brown acknowledges the importance of outcomes in his use of arguments about equal worth which neither Blair nor the Education Ministers do. Furthermore, while Brown is willing to talk about 'equal opportunities' in his use of arguments about social justice, the other two actors refer to only 'opportunities for all'. These differences suggest that there may be a distinction between Brown's understanding of education and those of Blair and the Education Ministers thus,

presenting a challenge to the view that there is a coherent New Labour discourse on education.

Two further points are worth highlighting. First, although all three actors refer to a 'core' group of eight arguments in all three terms of office, the actors choose to supplement these arguments with others which they refer to at particular points over the period. Second, these arguments are not given equal emphasis by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and thus, certain arguments are referred to more frequently than others suggesting that they hold greater weight with the actors. This means that Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers differ in the emphasis they give to particular arguments over the three periods; a finding which is obscured by adopting a reductive view of New Labour. These findings are illustrated in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 below which outline the three most frequently referenced arguments for each actor over the three terms. Table 5.1 shows the three arguments that are referred to most frequently according to the actual number of references made whilst Table 5.2 shows this according to percentage of total references made to the notion of education. The actual number of references to each argument was calculated simply counting the times each argument is referred. The percentages were calculated using the formula $N/T \times 100$ where N represents the number of references made to a particular argument and T represents the sum of the total number of references made to education by the actor in question. Using an example from my findings, the Education Ministers make sixty-five references to arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' between 1997 and 2007; a figure which is comparatively high if we compare this to the twenty references made by Blair and the twenty-five made by Brown. This might lead us to conclude that such arguments are more important to the Ministers' conception of education than they are to either to Blair's or

Brown's. Yet, if we analyse this as a percentage of overall references to education, arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' comprise only twenty percent of the Ministers' total references to education, which compares to sixteen percent of Blair's language and nineteen percent of Brown's language. Consequently, analysed in terms of a percentage of overall references, my results show that arguments which seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' occupy a similarly significant position within the language of both Brown and the Education Ministers and furthermore, this is not vastly greater than that evidenced in Blair's language. This demonstrates the importance of illustrating my results both in terms of raw data, i.e. actual number of references to each argument, and as a percentage of the total references to education. I have highlighted in bold on Table 5.2 those arguments that do not appear in Table 5.1.

To take an example from the Tables, in the first term, in addition to referring to the 'core' group of eight arguments, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about enterprise, morality and the knowledge-based economy when talking about education. In addition, Blair and the Education Minister (David Blunkett) also employ arguments about competitiveness and three further 'social' arguments: empowerment, liberation and social control, with Blair also choosing to refer to arguments about personal fulfilment. My findings also show that in referring to these arguments, Blair makes more references to arguments about competitiveness, equal worth, knowledge-based economy, morality and social control in the first term than he does at any other point over the period, whilst Brown emphasises employability and the Education Ministers refer to arguments about enterprise. Of these arguments however, the three actors emphasise arguments about employability and economic success more frequently than any other argument. In addition, Brown and the Education

Ministers emphasise arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ more frequently than the other arguments they refer to in this term while Blair emphasises arguments about equal worth and the knowledge-based economy. This shows us that although there are a ‘core’ group of eight arguments that are referred to in every term and which can be said to constitute the foundation of New Labour’s understanding of education, these arguments are not always the ones that the actors emphasise the most emphatically. As these results illustrate, in the first term, Blair emphasises arguments about the knowledge-based economy before many of the ‘core’ group of arguments and all three actors give little emphasis to arguments about skills, fairness, poverty and social justice, which comprise the ‘core’ group of eight arguments. This reveals the dynamism of New Labour’s language about education by showing how the arguments used to talk about it change over time. It also raises questions about why particular arguments are referred to more emphatically at certain periods and not others suggesting not only differences between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in how they understand education over the period, but also the effect that external events or occurrences, or perhaps more precisely the perception of these events, may play on the language used by the actors to talk about education. Such findings are obscured by the treatment of New Labour as a single actor in the current literature.

Although not altering the coherence of Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language on education, these findings reveal a difference in the emphasis given to particular arguments over the period by the three actors. This shows that although the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is coherent and eight arguments used by the three actors in all three terms constitute a collective New Labour discourse on education, these arguments do not occupy equal status within the language of each of the three actors. This hierarchy

alters between different actors so that only one argument, that of employability, is referred to more frequently than any other argument by all three actors suggesting that this is the only argument which is central to New Labour's conception of education while the others are emphasised intermittently by particular actors. This would seem to support the view that education is understood by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers as primarily a strategic tool for achieving economic goals. Furthermore, the importance of each argument to each actor changes over time so that some arguments are emphasised significantly in one term, after which they are dispensed with. Adopting a reductive view of New Labour prohibits us from identifying such findings, overlooking the complexity and dynamism of its language on education. This prevents us from identifying where shifts occur in the language of the three actors and thus pinpointing the significance of particular moments in time.

Table 5.1: The Three Arguments That Are Referred to Most Frequently By Each Actor
(raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Employability	Employability	Economic success
	Economic success, Equal worth	Economic success	Reconciling
	Knowledge-based economy	Reconciling	Employability
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Social justice
	Employability	Competitiveness	Reconciling

	Liberation	Enterprise	Equal worth, Competitiveness
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success	Competitiveness	Competitiveness
	Social justice	Economic success	Social justice
	Employability	Knowledge-based economy	Reconciling
<i>Overall</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Competitiveness	Social justice
	Equal worth	Employability	Reconciling

Table 5.2: The Three Arguments That Are Referred to Most Frequently By Each Actor
(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Employability	Employability	Economic success
	Economic success, Equal worth	Economic success	Reconciling
	Knowledge-based economy	Reconciling	Employability
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Social justice
	Employability	Competitiveness	Reconciling
	Liberation	Enterprise	Employability, Equal worth

<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success	Competitiveness	Competitiveness
	Social justice	Economic success	Social justice
	Employability	Knowledge-based economy, Employability	Reconciling, Employability
<i>Overall</i>	Economic success	Economic success	Competitiveness
	Employability	Employability	Economic success, Reconciling
	Social justice	Reconciling	Social justice

1.2 Investigating the Presupposition That Education is Subordinated to the Economy

The relationship between education and social and economic objectives is one aspect of coherence that is analysed in the existing literature on New Labour. The literature is critical towards the claim made by key actors within New Labour to be able to reconcile ‘social’ and ‘economic’ objectives. Fairclough, Fielding and Franklin reject New Labour’s claims and contend that it is not possible to reconcile social and economic goals in either theory or practice. They argue that although New Labour presents the two goals as equivalent, this ignores the tension between them thus, although the goals are reconciled discursively by New Labour, they cannot be so in reality (see Fairclough 2000; Fielding 2001; Franklin 2000). Other authors acknowledge the theoretical possibility of reconciling social and economic goals, but contend that New Labour is only reconciling them in some policy areas and crucially, not in education. Authors such as Stedward and Jessop as well as several authors writing within the education literature argue that education under New Labour has been

completely directed towards the demands of the economy and is now: “increasingly construed as a directly economic factor” (Jessop 2008a: 29. See also Ball 2001, 2008; Cole 1998; Hatcher 2008; Hulme and Hulme 2005; Lingard and Ozga 2007; Lunt 2008; McKnight et al. 2005; Mulderrig 2003, 2008; Selwyn 2008; Stedward 2003; Watson and Bowden 2001; Wolf 2002). Ball contends that education is being increasingly subordinated to: ‘the economic’ while Hulme and Hulme propound that New Labour’s approach to education is governed by the overarching theme of the economic (see Ball 2001: 47; Hulme and Hulme 2005: 34. See also Tomlinson 2001, 2005). Similarly, Hay and Watson argue that New Labour is not reconciling social justice with economic competitiveness in any policy area. They assert that rather than education being construed as a directly economic factor, it is the goal of social justice itself that is heavily circumscribed by perceived economic necessity (Hay and Watson 1999: 173). However, this is countered by New Labour who posit statements, regardless of their authorship, that argue that no reconciliation of the two goals is necessary because the two are non-antagonistic (see Blair 1999a, 2006a; Blair 1999c, 2005b; Blunkett 2000a; Brown 2000b, 2000g, 2003g, 2003h, 2004d, 2005s; Commission on Social Justice 1994; Johnson 2003a, 2007c; Kelly 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2005a; Rammell 2007d).

My analysis supports the presupposition in the existing literature that education is completely directed towards the perceived demands of the economy and it does this in three ways. First, we can refer to the interaction between ‘social’ and ‘economic’ objectives in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. As Chapters Three and Four illustrate, with the exception of the equal worth and competitiveness in the Education Ministers’ language, while ‘social’ arguments are most frequently combined with ‘economic’ arguments, ‘economic’ arguments are employed independently most often. Second, we can refer to the composition

of New Labour’s language. As Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show overall New Labour’s language on education is dominated by arguments that emphasise its economic contribution. However, Figures 5.1 and 5.2 also illustrate the approximation of the number of references made to ‘social’ and ‘economic’ arguments, which in percentage terms equates to fifty-one percent compared to forty-seven percent. This shows that while overall the presupposition that education is subordinated to the demands of the economy is correct, it risks exaggerating the extent that ‘economic’ arguments are emphasised ahead of those of ‘social’.

Figure 5.1: New Labour’s Discourse on Education (raw data)

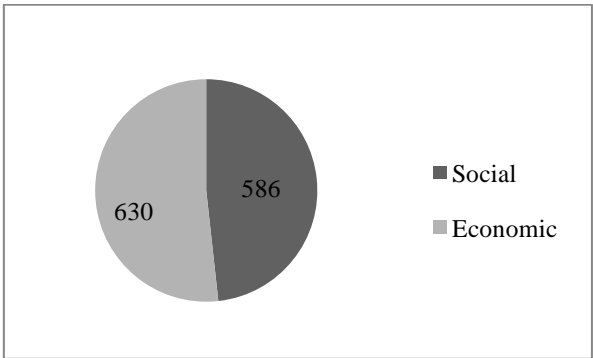
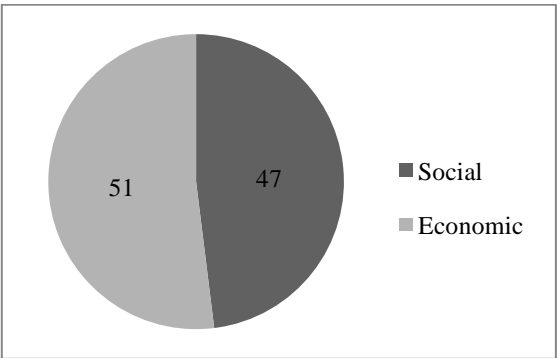


Figure 5.2: New Labour’s Discourse on Education (% of total incidence)



Furthermore, if we look at how these arguments are made in each term of government we can see how ‘economic’ arguments about education are emphasised more frequently in both the first and third terms. As Table 5.3 and Figures 5.3 and 5.4 shows in the first term, New Labour’s language on education appears consistent in that all three actors emphasise economic arguments more than social ones. In the second term however, Blair and the Education Ministers prioritise social arguments whereas Brown (again) emphasises economic arguments more. This impacts upon the collective language of New Labour in that its language shifts in the second term so that ‘social’ arguments are emphasised more frequently. In the third term, Blair changes to prioritising economic arguments in conjunction with Brown while the Education Ministers again choose to give primacy to social arguments and again this causes the collective language of New Labour to shift again so that ‘economic’ arguments are referred to more often.

Table 5.3: Number of References to Social and Economic Arguments for All Actors

		<i>References to ‘Social’ Arguments from Overall References</i>	<i>References to ‘Economic’ Arguments from Overall References</i>
<i>1st Term</i>	<i>Blair</i>	47% (65:138)	53% (73:138)
	<i>Brown</i>	35% (31:89)	65% (58:89)
	<i>Education Ministers</i>	46% (33:72)	54% (39:72)
<i>2nd</i>	<i>Blair</i>	51% (43:85)	48% (41:85)

<i>Term</i>	<i>Brown</i>	33% (51:153)	66% (101:153)
	<i>Education</i>	72% (85:118)	26% (31:118)
	<i>Ministers</i>		
<i>3rd</i>	<i>Blair</i>	44% (21:48)	56% (27:48)
<i>Term</i>	<i>Brown</i>	35% (51:146)	65% (95:146)
	<i>Education</i>	53% (206:389)	42% (165:389)
	<i>Ministers</i>		

Figure 5.3: New Labour Discourse on Education 1997-2007 (raw data)

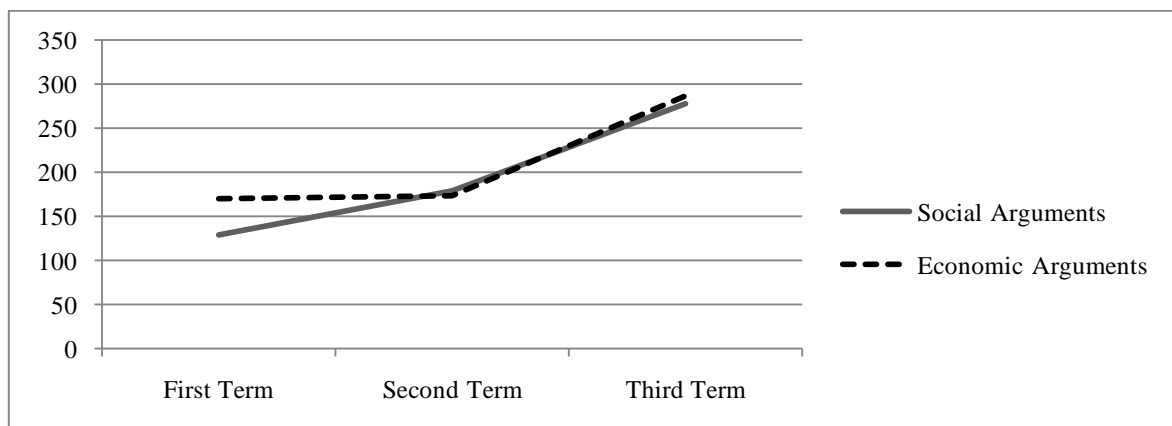
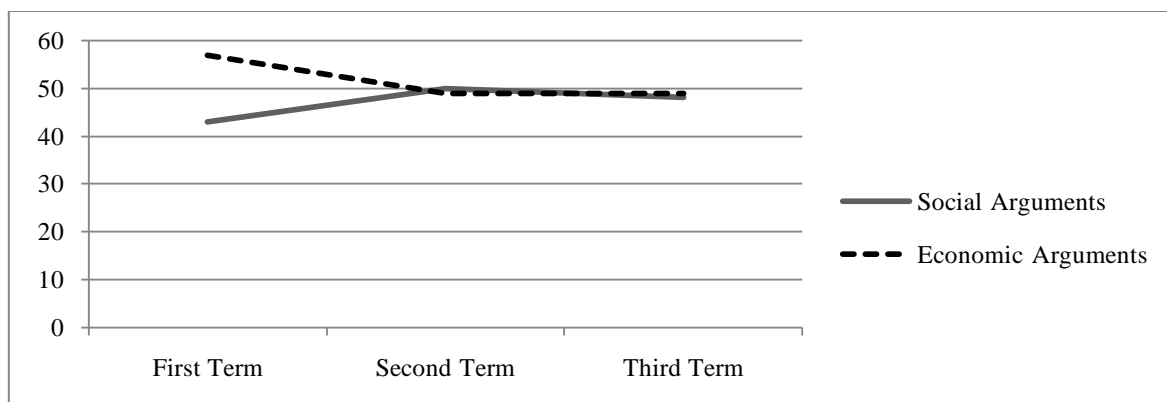


Figure 5.4: New Labour Discourse on Education 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)



Yet even the prevalence of ‘social’ arguments in New Labour’s language in the second term does not deflect from the dominance of economic considerations in New Labour’s language on education. This is because, as Chapter Three shows, the ‘social’ in Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ language is essentially ‘economic’. Analysing the meanings of each argument in the three actors’ language reveals the importance of economic concerns such as prosperity, economic success and employability. In total, elements of nine ‘social’ arguments emphasise economic factors. These are the arguments about empowerment, equal worth, fairness, liberation, morality, personal fulfilment, arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’, social justice and social mobility. This is facilitated by the use of three discourses by the actors. These are the discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility, which emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives and thus, ensure that many of the ‘social’ arguments used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are directly construed in economic terms. The results in Table 5.3 suggest that the relationship between education and, social and economic goals is understood differently

by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and, that although Brown's conception of education could be described as 'completely directed towards the demands of the economy' this is less accurate for Blair and even less applicable to the Education Ministers. However, my detailed qualitative analysis shows that the two objectives are not separate for the three actors. This corroborates the contention made by key actors within New Labour that no reconciliation of the two goals is necessary because the two are non-antagonistic because the understanding of the 'social' aspects of education is inherently 'economic' in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. This also suggests that the arguments put forward by Hay and Watson (1999) and Stedward (2003), which state that New Labour has narrowed the conception of the 'social' from that advanced by previous Labour Parties is correct. This reconceptualisation has ensured that social objectives are subordinated to economic imperatives and are thus, in harmony with the economy (see for example Barry 2005; Hay & Watson 1999; Stedward 2003).

These findings illustrate how my findings into the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to talk about education support the presupposition that education is completely directed towards the needs of the economy that underpins the literature. In supporting this contention, my analysis shows that overall, the individual language of Blair and Brown and the collective language of New Labour on education is dominated by 'economic' arguments. In both the first and the third terms, New Labour's language on education consists of a greater number of references to 'economic' rather than 'social' arguments. In addition, with two exceptions in the Education Ministers' speech, all 'social' arguments are most frequently combined with 'economic' arguments yet, when employing arguments about the 'economic' aspects of education, the three actors combine these most frequently with other 'economic'

arguments. Furthermore, my findings illustrate the centrality of ‘economic’ concerns such as prosperity and employability to New Labour’s understanding of nine arguments about the ‘social’ in its language on education. These findings verify the claims in the current literature that New Labour’s conception of education is heavily circumscribed by perceived economic necessity. However, these findings also challenge the distinction made in the literature between the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’ by revealing the dichotomy to be false because the understanding of the ‘social’ put forward by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is fundamentally ‘economic’. I will return to this point in Section 1.3 below. These findings suggest that New Labour’s discourse and policy is consistent if we accept the contention propounded in the existing literature that education policy is completely subordinated to the perceived demands of the economy. Although we should be careful not to dismiss the possibility that language may be used strategically by key actors within New Labour and thus, the emphasis upon ‘economic’ arguments about education may simply be legitimating rhetoric rather than an accurate guide to policy.

1.3 The Implications for the Literature(s)

Treating New Labour as a single actor, arguing that education is completely subordinated to the demands of the economy and overlooking issues of discourse leads the literature to draw two inaccurate conclusions about the nature of the Party’s approach to education and its programme more widely. First, some authors in the literature argue that New Labour’s approach both to education and more generally, is dominated by an emphasis on managerialisation, authoritarianism and choice. This can be seen most clearly in the accounts focusing specifically

on education that are put forward by Hill, McCaig, Mulderrig, Trowler and Whitty as well as the accounts that examine New Labour more widely such as that of Needham and even Levitas (Levitas 1998; Hill 1999; Hill 2001; McCaig 2001; Whitty 2002; Trowler 2003; Mulderrig 2006; Needham 2007). My analysis shows that while these aspects are present in New Labour's language about education, they form only part of certain arguments and are emphasised intermittently over the period by particular actors. However, we should be aware that the question of standards and targets is such that it does not really relate to the primary research question as regards social justice or economic competitiveness. Rather, they refer to governance and accountability, or the internal management of the state and therefore, my inability to identify the prevalence of such themes in my analysis may be down to the focus of the analysis rather than their complete absence from the discourse of New Labour.

Second, the literature on New Labour is characterised by a false dichotomy between social and economic objectives. Authors such as Finlayson, Smith, Kerr et al, and those authors writing specifically on education, focus their analysis upon the extent that New Labour prioritises economic rather than social concerns arguing that it is concerns about the former that prevail in its approach (Cole 1998; Hay and Watson 1999; Ball 2001; Smith 2001; Tomlinson 2001; Wolf 2002; Finlayson 2003; Kerr, McAnulla et al. 2003; Mulderrig 2003; Stedward 2003; Hulme and Hulme 2005; Lingard and Ozga 2007; Ball 2008; Hatcher 2008; Jessop 2008; Lunt 2008; Mulderrig 2008; Selwyn 2008; Whitty 2009). This distinction is false because it is not upheld by my analysis of New Labour's language; while the three actors (Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers) use two sets of arguments to talk about education which can be roughly categorised as referring to 'social' or 'economic' justifications, the 'social' arguments are underpinned by a

shared conception about the discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These three discourses emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives and thus, ensure that the ‘social’ arguments used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are inherently bound up with concerns about the economy. Thus, the distinction made between social and economic objectives within the literature is arbitrary because the two goals are not separate for New Labour. This shows that the dichotomy between ‘social’ and ‘economic’ is useful only as an initial ordering device in highlighting the two sets of arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers when talking about education. However, as a way of understanding these arguments it is inadequate because the ‘social’ is essentially ‘economic’ within the three actors’ language based as it is upon the three discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. My findings have shown that not only is the distinction between the ‘social’ and ‘economic’ arbitrary, it likewise distracts us from identifying the particular moment/s when the three actors’ language changes to emphasise certain arguments about education. This prevents us from addressing the question why Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ use of particular arguments changes over time and between one another. Furthermore, the distinction between social and economic prohibits us from gaining a proper sense of whether New Labour has been coherent because the understanding of coherence put forward in the current literature is reductive because it does not consider discourse and does not look at differences over time and between actors.

These findings have direct implications for the literature discussed in Chapter One. Much of the literature analysing the coherence of New Labour across policy emphasises the often contradictory and conflicting hybridity of its policy choices. This contradiction occurs because

of the attempted balance between economic and social objectives by New Labour. My findings show that when talking about education, although Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers use ostensibly both 'social' and 'economic' sets of arguments, it is 'economic' considerations of education that are prioritised. Furthermore, these arguments are largely coherent because of the discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility that underpin them, which act to integrate the 'social' arguments with concerns about the economy. Moreover, although my analysis highlights some potential tensions within New Labour's understanding, it is unclear whether these do affect the coherence of its conception or not. Thus, in essence, New Labour's language shows no real signs of any conflict or contradictions. However, although the two goals are reconciled discursively by New Labour this does not mean that they are done so without difficulty in practice. Thus, contradictory outcomes may still result from New Labour's attempt to apply their coherent understanding of education in practice. An incongruity between discourse and policy may indicate the actual irreconcilability of the two objectives social justice and economic competitiveness which, while coherent discursively contradict one another in practice. Furthermore, it may indicate the inherent difficulty of translating objectives into outcomes by illustrating that although discourse and policy are largely directed towards the demands of the economy this is not always achieved wholesale in outcomes. This in turn highlights the significance of other factors such as implementation, which are largely beyond the control of actors such as Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, but which may be responsible for a mismatch between discourse and outcomes. Another explanation may be strategy; that is, that the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is a deliberate and conscious strategy to conceal the actual programme being pursued by the Party. For example, why has New

Labour introduced some redistributionist and egalitarian policies when its language emphasises economic concerns predominantly.

Section Two: Addressing the Research Questions

In examining the two presuppositions that underpin the literature's claims about the coherence of New Labour, Sections 1.1-1.3 have shown the limitations of employing a reductive approach in assessing coherence. In contrast, my understanding of coherence, which situates discourse alongside policy as important to assessing coherence and emphasises change over time and between actors, reveals a more dynamic and complex understanding of New Labour's conception of education. This alternative understanding of coherence enables us to address the three research questions that direct this study and determine whether New Labour has been coherent in its conception of education and whether it has prioritised economic, rather than social, considerations of education. In this section, I outline how my analysis into New Labour's language illustrates the utility of a broader understanding of coherence in order to answer each of the three research questions.

2.1 Is There a New Labour Discourse on Education and if so, what is it?

The first two research questions ask whether there is a New Labour discourse on education and if so, what it is. My analysis has shown that there while there is not one New Labour discourse about education there is a coherent understanding that is founded upon three discourses: the

knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These three discourses are composed of eight different arguments: economic success, employability, equal worth, fairness, poverty, arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic', skills and social justice. Analysed together, these arguments represent the coherent understanding of New Labour's discourse on education.

However, the coherence of this understanding of education should not blind us to the contradictions and tensions within the actors' conception of education (see Coates and Hay 2001 for similar discussion of New Labour's economic policy). Such tensions refer to Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of opportunity particularly in relation to outcomes and equality, responsibility and employability. Furthermore, in identifying this coherent understanding of education, my analysis has revealed the importance of agency and time to how education is talked about by New Labour. For instance, I have shown how the use of particular arguments varies between Blair, Brown and the Education and over time resulting in periods of heightened activity or relative stasis around particular arguments about education. As Figures 5.5-5.7 show, arguments about competitiveness, employability, enterprise, equal worth, knowledge-based economy, liberation, moral, reconciling, skills, social control and social justice experience periods of heightened activity and relative stasis. For instance, in the first term, New Labour emphasises arguments about economic success, employability, the knowledge-based economy, skills (conjointly with the second term), fairness and morality more frequently than at any other point over the period. Conversely, arguments about enterprise, skills, equal worth, liberation, personal fulfilment, poverty and reconciling are emphasised more frequently in the second term while in the third term, New Labour refer to competitiveness, empowerment,

fairness (conjointly with the first term), social control and social justice more often than in the previous two terms.

These periods of heightened activity and then stasis suggest that although there is a ‘core’ group of eight arguments that constitute the foundation of New Labour’s understanding of education; these arguments are not always the ones that the actors choose to emphasise most frequently. This reveals the dynamism of New Labour’s language about education by showing how the arguments used to talk about the area change over time. It also raises questions about why particular arguments are referred to more regularly at certain periods, suggesting not only differences between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in how they understand education over the period, but also the effect that external events or occurrences, or perhaps more precisely the perception of these events, may play on the language used by the actors to talk about education. Such findings are obscured in the reductive approach employed in the current literature and in the tendency to analyse New Labour in terms of a dichotomy between the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’.

Figure 5.5: Periods of Heightened Activity or Relative Stasis in New Labour's Language on Education – 'Economic' Arguments (% of total incidence)

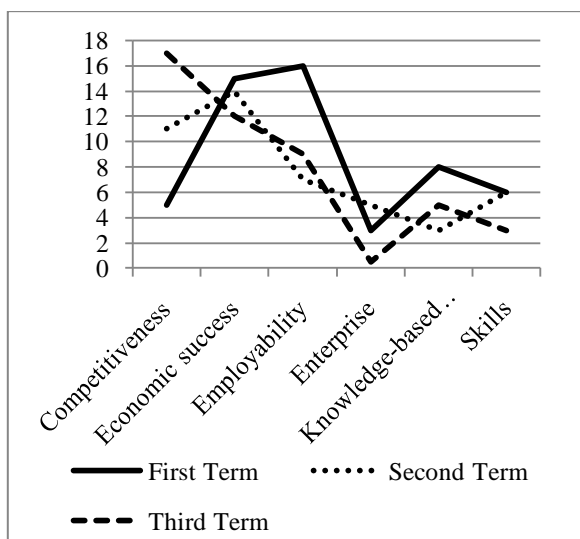
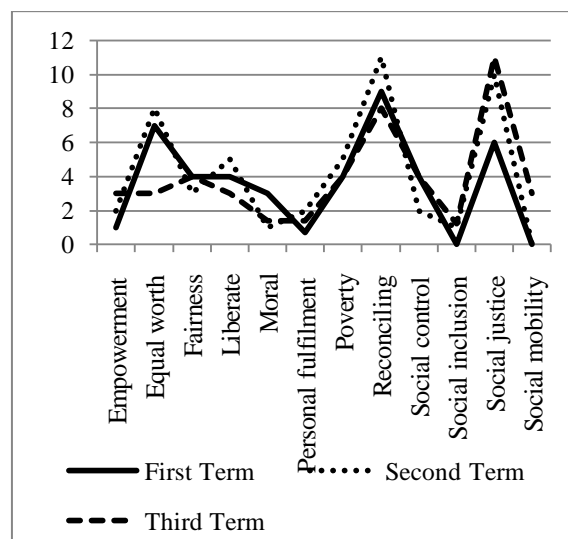
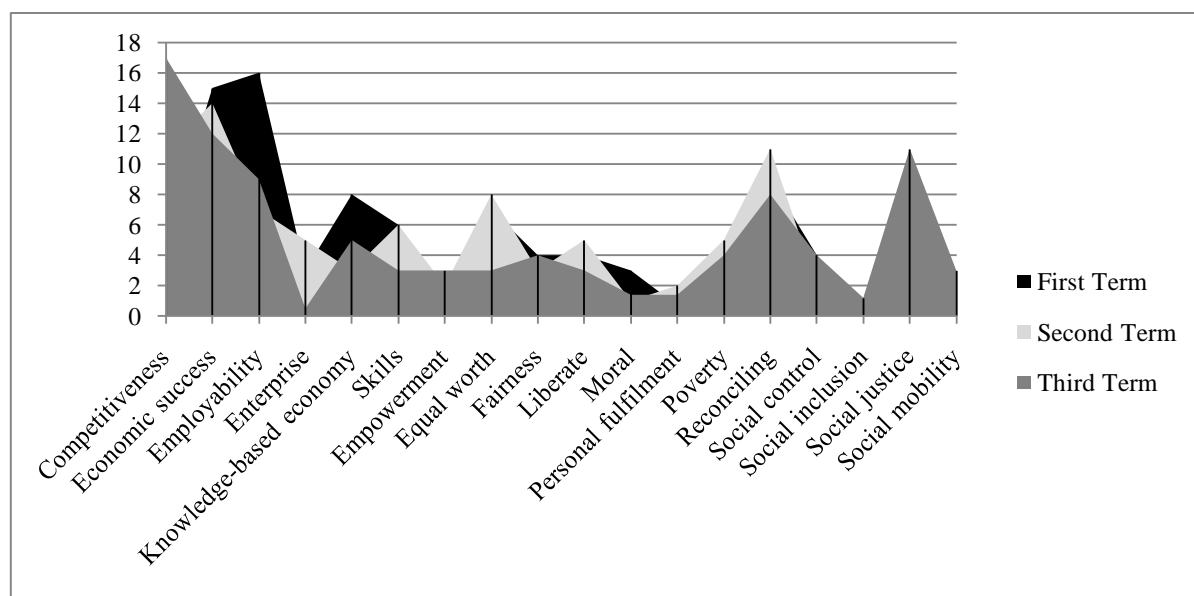


Figure 5.6: Periods of Heightened Activity or Relative Stasis in New Labour's Language on Education – 'Social' Arguments (% of total incidence)



**Figure 5.7: Periods of Heightened Activity and Relative Stasis in New Labour's Language
on Education (% of total incidence)**



2.2 What is the Relationship Between Social and Economic Objectives in New Labour's Discourse?

In examining the relationship between 'social' and 'economic' objectives in New Labour's language on education, my analysis presents a mixed picture. First, I have demonstrated that overall, 'economic' arguments about education are referred to more frequently in the collective language of New Labour. However, my analysis has also shown that this is contingent upon time and that in the second term the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers shifts so that 'social' arguments are referred to more frequently. In addressing questions of agency, my findings show that the relationship between 'social' and 'economic' objectives varies between the different actors Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. 'Economic' arguments dominate Blair's and Brown's language but not the Education Ministers'. However, across individual

terms, whilst all three actors emphasise ‘economic’ arguments more frequently than those of ‘social’ in the first term, only Brown does so in the second term and then Blair and Brown do so in the third term. Thus, whilst my analysis shows conclusively that education is subordinated to the demands of the economy in Brown’s language, this is less so for Blair and even less the case for the Education Ministers who actually emphasise ‘social’ arguments more frequently in the second and third terms as well as overall.

However, my analysis has revealed the arbitrariness of the distinction between the two goals which in many respects represents a false dichotomy. This distinction is useful as an initial ordering device in categorising the different arguments employed by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers however, it is inadequate as a way to understand New Labour's thinking on education. For example, while my analysis identifies two sets of arguments used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers that can be roughly categorised in terms of ‘social’ and ‘economic’, it also shows the level of integration between the two objectives. This is achieved primarily through the discourses of knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility, thus revealing the extent that the ‘social’ is inherently ‘economic’ for New Labour. Moreover, my findings also demonstrate that the distinction between ‘social’ and ‘economic’ risks exaggerating the difference in emphasis given to each notion by New Labour and as Figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate, the frequency that ‘economic’ arguments are referred to in comparison to that given to ‘social’ arguments is relatively minor. Nevertheless, the discursive reconciliation of social justice with economic competitiveness does not ensure that this can be achieved in practice.

2.3 Is New Labour’s Approach to Education Coherent?

The existing literature on New Labour concentrates on the issue of coherence. In doing so, it analyses six aspects of coherence and focuses principally on policy. Although reaching different conclusions as to the coherence of New Labour's approach, the literature is generally united in its assessment that the Government's education policy is completely directed towards the demands of the economy. I have argued throughout this thesis that it is essential to analyse both language and policy in attempting to determine coherence. Furthermore, this should be sensitive to differences over time and between agents. Thus, in addressing the question whether New Labour's approach to education is coherent, I need to consider both my findings into its language and, the literature's arguments about its policy choices between 1997 and 2007. This requires determining the extent that New Labour's language and policies towards education is logically connected and consistent over time and between agents.

As the previous Sections indicate, my analysis shows that the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to talk about education, although varying between actors and over time, is coherent. While I have identified a series of potential tensions in New Labour's understanding of education, these are not explored in sufficient detail in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers for me to assess the significance of such tensions on the coherence of their conception of education. Moreover, this language is fundamentally 'economic' because it is underpinned by three discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. Thus, discourse and policy correspond in the primacy they afford to economic considerations. This finding verifies the existing literature's categorisation of New Labour's approach to education as subordinated to the economy. However, while discourse is coherent it

is not static. I have demonstrated the periods of heightened activity and relative stasis within the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers when using particular arguments. This establishes the utility of conceiving coherence as more inclusive because it has shown the level of change within the three actors' language and over time. It has done this by considering discourse as equivalent in importance to policy whilst remaining sensitive to differences between agents and over time.

Conclusion

To conclude, I have done three things in this Chapter. First, I have examined the two presuppositions that underpin the understanding of coherence that are articulated in the existing literature on New Labour. In so doing, I have shown the limitations of employing a reductive approach to analysing the coherence of political parties and Governments. In contrast, my understanding of coherence is more expansive, situating discourse alongside policy as important to assessing coherence and emphasising change over time and between actors. This has revealed a more dynamic and complex understanding of New Labour's conception of education which demonstrates the periods where particular arguments are referred to more or less frequently by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Second, I have answered the three research questions that guided this study. Addressing the first two research questions, I argue that there is a coherent New Labour conception of education, which is founded upon three discourses rather than one. Furthermore, this conception is completely directed towards the needs of the economy. Finally, I have exposed the arbitrariness of the distinction between 'social' and 'economic' objectives by

showing how this not only exaggerates the difference in emphasis given to each justification but also, underestimates the level of integration between the two objectives in New Labour's language. This demonstrates the efficacy of applying a complex and multifaceted conception of coherence that analyses discourse alongside policy and is sensitive to differences between agents and over time.

We now turn to the final Chapter in the thesis; the Conclusion where I will state my findings into New Labour's language on education and outline what contribution this makes to the existing literature on New Labour and education and New Labour more widely. I will also reflect upon my analysis, drawing in part on the arguments put forward in the final section of this Chapter, and set out my ideas for how to carry this research further in a section that discusses future ways forward.

CONCLUSION

At the heart of New Labour's programme is the claim that it can reconcile the goal of social justice with that of competitiveness. The central mechanism with which to achieve this reconciliation, according to New Labour, is education. In this thesis, I have investigated how education has been presented by New Labour from the start of its period in Government in 1997 until 2007 when Blair stood down and Brown became Prime Minister. In doing this, I developed three research questions, the answers to which would help determine how New Labour have talked about education over the period and, specifically, how education has been presented in relation to the goals of social justice and competitiveness. These research questions focused upon the existence and content of a putative New Labour discourse on education. Reviewing the existing literature, I found that, in general, most academic authors argued that New Labour's programme was, overall, coherent. This coherence was underpinned by two presuppositions that treated New Labour as a single actor and asserted that education was subordinated to the demands of the economy. These presuppositions ignored the potential for differences between different actors within the Party and the prospect of change over time. In asserting these claims about New Labour, the literature relied largely on policy analysis that ignored issues of discourse. Even where examples of discourse were invoked in the literature, these were predominantly employed as subsidiary to policy analysis and were not subjected to a systematic or comprehensive analysis. In contrast, I argued that by employing a reductive approach, the current literature fails to capture the dynamism and complexity of the Government's discourse on education. This failure led the literature to reach two inaccurate conclusions about New Labour that exaggerated the role of managerialisation, authoritarianism and choice in its approach and,

characterised its approach to education in terms of a false dichotomy between social and economic objectives. Furthermore, it prohibited us from gaining a proper sense of whether New Labour has been coherent in its discussions of education because the understanding of coherence is too narrow. Thus, I argued that it is only by undertaking a detailed and systematic analysis of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language that we can determine how education has been understood by New Labour and, therefore, answer my three research questions and determine the coherence of its conception particularly in relation to social and economic goals. The first section of this conclusion sets out the contributions of my thesis to the existing literature on New Labour and shows how it enhances this literature both empirically and methodologically. Inevitably, in making this contribution, my analysis is unable to address all of the questions that are raised by the findings and, thus, in the final section, I reflect upon the limitations of my thesis and sketch out my ideas on how to build on this analysis in my plans for future research.

Section One: My Contribution to the Literature

1.1 Empirical Contribution

The major contribution that my thesis makes to the existing literature is empirical. My study represents the most comprehensive and systematic analysis of New Labour's language on education that is currently available. I analyse over one thousand speeches made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers between 1997 and 2007 using a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis utilising the software programme QSR NVivo. Undertaking this

extensive analysis enabled me to address the weaknesses of the current literature and, to advance original findings about New Labour's language on education. In addressing the limitations of the existing literature, I provided evidence to both support and challenge the two presuppositions underpinning its understanding of coherence. First, I have shown that there is a coherent understanding of education within New Labour's language, which is based around eight arguments that are constructed upon three discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. This conception propounds that social justice can, and indeed should, be reconciled with economic competitiveness. Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers contend that, in the new knowledge-based economy, this reconciliation can only take place through the provision of educational opportunities for all that are made available to individuals regardless of background, colour or race. However, education directed towards the skill needs of the economy ensures opportunity for individuals because it raises individuals' skill levels and improves their employability according to the three actors. It is the primary responsibility of Government to provide such opportunities. These opportunities should be directed towards the demands of the economy so that they can improve employability and thus, empower, fulfil and liberate individuals in addition to addressing the supply-side weaknesses of the British economy, increasing enterprise and entrepreneurship and improving Britain's competitiveness against other countries. This conception represents the coherent foundation to New Labour's understanding of education and supports the existing literature's treatment of New Labour as a single actor. Nonetheless, I have also shown that outside of this foundation are several possible tensions that may, if explored further by the three actors, challenge this coherence. Furthermore, I have also demonstrated that particular arguments undergo periods of relative stasis or heightened activity in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. This means that the arguments that

the actors choose to use in conjunction with the ‘core’ group of eight and, the emphasis which is given to each argument, changes over the three terms; a finding which is obscured by the treatment of New Labour as a single actor.

Second, my analysis both supports and challenges the second presupposition that underpins the existing literature’s conception of coherence. In supporting this contention, my analysis shows that overall, the individual language of Blair and Brown and the collective language of New Labour on education is dominated by ‘economic’ arguments. In both the first and the third terms, New Labour’s language on education consists of a greater number of references to ‘economic’ rather than ‘social’ arguments. In addition, with two exceptions in the Education Ministers’ speeches, all ‘social’ arguments are combined most frequently with ‘economic’ arguments, yet when employing arguments about the ‘economic’ aspects of education, the three actors combine these most frequently with other ‘economic’ arguments. Moreover, my findings illustrate the centrality of ‘economic’ concerns such as prosperity and employability to New Labour’s understanding of nine arguments about the ‘social’ in its language on education. These findings suggest that the claims in the current literature that New Labour’s conception of education is heavily circumscribed by perceived economic necessity are accurate.

However, my findings also challenge the distinction made between social and economic objectives in the current literature. Although Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers use two sets of arguments to talk about education; arguments which can be roughly categorised as referring to ‘social’ or ‘economic’ justifications, the distinction between social and economic objectives is false because the ‘social’ arguments are underpinned by a shared conception about

the discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These three discourses emphasise the importance of education to the achievement of economic objectives and thus, ensure that the 'social' arguments used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers are inherently bound up with concerns about the economy. Thus, the separation of social and economic objectives within the literature is arbitrary because the two goals are not detached from one another for New Labour. This shows that the dichotomy between 'social' and 'economic' is useful only as an initial ordering device but is inadequate as a way of understanding the arguments made by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers about education. This acts to distract from identifying the particular moment/s when the three actors' language changes to emphasise certain arguments about education over others and prevents us from addressing the question why Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' use of particular arguments is different to one another and changes over time. In my view, New Labour's discourse on education should be conceptualised less as a dichotomy between social and economic and more as a fluid web of coherent multiple arguments, whose use is subject to periods of heightened activity and relative stasis by a number of different actors.

The current literature's failure to capture the complexity of New Labour leads it to exaggerate the extent that New Labour's approach to education is dominated by an emphasis on managerialisation, authoritarianism and choice. I show that while these three themes are present in New Labour's language about education, they form only part of certain arguments and are emphasised intermittently over the period by particular actors.

In addressing the assertions of the existing literature, my analysis has advanced original findings about how education is talked about by New Labour between 1997 and 2007. It has shown that there is not one 'New Labour' discourse on education but, rather, a coherent understanding that is founded upon three discourses: the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. These three discourses are composed of eight different arguments. However, my analysis shows that there are some tensions and unresolved contradictions within New Labour's understanding. Such tensions refer to Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' understanding of opportunity particularly in relation to outcomes and equality, responsibility and employability. Furthermore, my analysis has revealed the importance of agency and time to New Labour's language on education by showing how the use of particular arguments varies between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and, over time resulting in periods of heightened activity or relative stasis around particular arguments about education. These periods of heightened activity and relative stasis show that although there is a 'core' group of eight arguments constitute the foundation of New Labour's understanding of education, these arguments are not always the ones that the actors emphasise the most emphatically. This reveals the dynamism of New Labour's language about education by showing how the arguments used to talk about it change over time. It also raises questions about why particular arguments are referred to more emphatically at certain periods and not others. This suggests differences in how Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers understand education as well as the effect that external events or occurrences, or perhaps more precisely the perception of these events, may play on the language used by the actors to talk about education. Such findings are obscured in the current literature.

My analysis enables me to address the key research question that guides the existing literature on New Labour and determine whether New Labour has been coherent in its approach to education. I argue throughout this thesis that it is essential to employ an inclusive conception of coherence which analyses both language and policy. My analysis shows that the language used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers to talk about education, although varying between actors and over time, is coherent. While I have identified a series of potential tensions in New Labour's understanding of education, these are not explored in sufficient detail in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers for me to assess the significance of such tensions on the coherence of their conception of education. Moreover, this language is fundamentally directed to the 'economic' contribution of education founded as it is upon discourses about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. Thus, discourse and policy correspond in the primacy they afford to economic considerations.

1.2 Methodological Contribution

My analysis also offers a methodological contribution to the existing literature both on New Labour and, more widely. I have advanced an alternative understanding of coherence that situates discourse alongside policy as important to assessing coherence and emphasises change over time and between actors. This understanding of coherence has benefitted the literature on New Labour by revealing a more dynamic and complex understanding of the Party's conception of education, which has addressed questions about whether there is a New Labour discourse on education, what this is and the status of social and economic objectives within it. The utility of conceiving coherence in this way is shown also by its ability to address the central issue that

underpins the literature namely, whether New Labour has been coherent in its approach to education. This question was only partially addressed in the existing literature because it focused primarily on policy and was too reductive.

Conceptualising coherence more inclusively also has implications for the future of ideational studies and thus, benefits the wider literature on political analysis. Returning to the dialectical understanding of the relationship between the material and the ideational that I put forward in the Introduction, here I argued that discourse was fundamentally intertwined with the realm of the ideational in that ideas are the substantive content of discourse and discourse is the interactive process of conveying ideas (see Schmidt 2008). Applying an alternative conception of coherence, I have been able to identify not only the particular discourses that substantiate New Labour's language on education but also, how the particular arguments composed within this discourse have shifted between 1997 and 2007. If we accept that discourse is fundamentally intertwined with the ideational then these discourses may represent the particular ideas that inform New Labour's approach to education but also more generally about the policymaking context. Thus, discourse may be a direct expression of the ideas and beliefs held earnestly by an actor. Ideas provide the point of mediation between actors and their environment, since actors must interpret the context in which they find themselves. Consequently, "behaviour is not given by structural or strategic configuration of context we negotiate but the ideas (however accurate) we come to hold about it" (Smith and Hay 2008: 361). Therefore, ideas, however accurate, are likely to have an effect insofar as they provide a lens through which actors orient themselves and their strategies towards their environment. Thus, by identifying the discourses underpinning New Labour's language on education I have begun to determine the particular ideas it holds

about the policymaking context and to point to the particular types of policies and solutions that may be favoured by the Party (Schon and Rein 1994: 23). Furthermore, by identifying the specific moments when these discourses change, I can determine the effect that external events or occurrences, or perhaps more precisely particular actors' perception of these events, have on the actors' understanding of their environment. This integrates discourse within the context by using my findings as an entry point into the context in order to investigate why shifts occur in the language of New Labour and, the effect that these shifts have on policy (see below).

However, my understanding of the material and ideational emphasises the role of agency and context; thus, we must remember that discourse can also be employed strategically by agents to achieve particular objectives. My expansive conception of coherence contributes to this topic because it has enabled me to identify the specific moments when New Labour's language on education changes as well as pinpointing the particular actors responsible for such a shift. These findings can be employed in conjunction with current analyses of policy in order to determine those moments where discourse and policy are incongruous. The advantages of highlighting tensions between discourse and policy may be to reveal the inherent problems of what the discourse is arguing, or the difficulties of translating objectives into outcomes, which in turn shifts attention onto other aspects of the policymaking process by highlighting the significance of other factors such as implementation.

Section Two: Forward Thinking

2.1 Reflecting on the Limitations of My Analysis

My thesis has undertaken a systematic and comprehensive analysis into New Labour's language on education and, in doing so, has addressed the limitations of the understanding of coherence that is articulated in the current literature. I have also advanced original findings about how education has been talked about by the Party between 1997 and 2007. In analysing New Labour's discourse, I have identified a number of shifts and inconsistencies within how it talks about education between 1997 and 2007. These shifts refer to periods of heightened activity and relative stasis in New Labour's employment of particular arguments. Reflecting upon such shifts raises two important questions:

1. Why are there examples of these periods of heightened activity and relative stasis in New Labour's language on education?
2. What effect do such periods of heightened activity and relative stasis have on the policies introduced by New Labour and vice versa?

Both questions are important and draw upon factors that are beyond discourse however, I am unable to address them fully in this thesis. This is partly an issue of space, but, more importantly, it is an issue of priority. The central justification for this thesis was the absence of a comprehensive and systematic analysis of New Labour's discourse on education in the current literature. Although many authors invoke examples of discourse to support their arguments, most of these rely on isolated quotes from Blair to represent the collective New Labour view. This does not take into consideration the possibility that such views may change both over time and

between different actors within the Party. Thus, before I could begin to address the two questions above, I needed to address the limitations of the existing literature and examine, comprehensively and systematically, how New Labour has talked about education between 1997 and 2007.

Nevertheless, whilst I am unable to address these questions fully in the present study, having completed my analysis I am able to outline my plans for my future research. As I have shown previously, a comprehensive and systematic analysis of New Labour's discourse was essential to address the limitations of the existing literature. Whilst fulfilling the need for a detailed study of New Labour's discourse, my analysis was unable to investigate fully the influence of other themes such as standards and targets on the coherence of New Labour's conception of education and the relationship between social and economic objectives. The issue of standards is emphasised intermittently within particular arguments about the 'social' and 'economic'; however it is not subjected to the same level of comprehensive and systematic analysis that is undertaken on the other arguments. This means that there is a risk that the findings that I identify in my analysis, particularly those pertaining to the issue of coherence, may be the result of aspects that I have not examined for example, the issues of standards and targets.

I have been unable to engage thoroughly with the literature analysing factors such as policy, institutions and context because of the work involved in examining New Labour's discourse. Nevertheless, in taking my work forward, I can analyse such factors in addressing the two questions that emerge from my findings and examine why New Labour alternates in its employment of particular arguments and what effect this has upon the education policies introduced by New Labour. In putting forward this programme of research, I am advancing a

particular view of the relationship between my study into the language on New Labour and the wider literature that discusses other factors outside of discourse. This draws upon my theoretical conception of the nature and role of discourse in relation to ideas, agency and the material that I outlined in the Introduction (and briefly above).

If we accept that there is a dialectical relationship between the material and the ideational addressing the questions above, necessitates an examination of several different factors that draw upon discursive, agential, ideational and material reasons. I have developed one approach to address these questions. This approach contextualises my analysis by using my findings as an entry point into the policymaking context.

2.1.1 Why are there Periods of Heightened Activity and Relative Stasis in New Labour's Language on Education?

Addressing the question as to why periods of heightened activity and relative stasis occur in New Labour's language requires an examination of several different factors. My approach would first select a case study from my findings which illustrates such a shift. One example is the shift in the second term in the collective language of New Labour to emphasise 'social' arguments about education more frequently. I have shown the distinction between 'social' and 'economic' to be largely meaningless, which in some respects renders this shift irrelevant. However, even though

the ‘social’ is fundamentally ‘economic’ according to Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ understanding of education, it is still important to ask why the actors felt it necessary to change their language at this moment. Using my detailed analysis, I would narrow this down to the particular years in which the language changed; 2001, 2003 and 2004 (see Appendix One) and the particular arguments behind this shift; equal worth, social justice, liberation and poverty, and those that were dropped as a consequence; economic success, employability and knowledge-based economy. From here, I would then evaluate the ideational, agential and material factors that may explain such a shift. I conceive these factors as follows in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Explaining Why New Labour’s Language Shifts to Emphasise ‘Social’ Rather than ‘Economic’ Arguments in the Second Term

<i>Type</i>	<i>of Hypothesis</i>	<i>Expectation</i>	<i>Points to Consider</i>
<i>Explanation</i>			
<i>Ideational</i>	The shift in New Labour’s language to emphasising ‘social’ arguments occurred because of a change in the ideas that dominated (education)	A shift in the ideas underpinning policymaking.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What ideas underpin the arguments that are emphasised more frequently in the second term and how do they differ to those of the first term? • What do these

	<p>polycymaking.</p> <p>understandings say about education and polycymaking environment more generally?</p>
<i>Agential</i>	<p>The shift in New Labour's language to emphasising 'social' arguments more frequently occurred as a consequence of a change in the (dominance) of the actors involved in the speechwriting and/or polycymaking process.</p> <p>A change in the actors involved or the power relations between them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are all three actors Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers making the shift to emphasise 'social' arguments more frequently? • Can the ideas identified above be traced to particular agents e.g. IPPR, EU, OECD? • What actors are involved in the polycymaking process in the years 2001, 2003 and 2004 and have these changed from previous years? • Who are Blair, Brown

		<p>and the Education Ministers' advisors and speechwriters in the years 2001, 2003 and 2004 and have these changed since 1997?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can I identify these actors' ideas about education and policymaking environment?
<i>Material</i>	<p>The shift in New Labour's language to emphasising 'social' arguments more frequently occurred because of the economic/political/institutional/electoral/social factors that occurred in the years 2001, 2003 and 2004.</p>	<p>A series of major and/or significant events in the first/second term.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General election in 2001 • Questions of Tory resurgence • US-UK Invasion of Iraq and public outcry • NATO Invasion of Afghanistan • Internal Party Politics between Blair and Brown • What

	international/European
	treaties being signed, if
	any and what do they say
	about education and/or
	policymaking?
	•How are these events
	interpreted by media and
	other politicians?

Table 6.1 sets out the particular ideational, agential and material factors that I would need to consider in answering the question ‘why does New Labour’s language shift in the second term to emphasise ‘social’ arguments more frequently than ‘economic’ ones’. To illustrate how I would proceed to address this question, I will examine one type of explanation outlined in Table 6.1 in more detail. My example will focus on the question about whether we can account for New Labour’s shift to emphasising ‘social’ arguments more frequently in terms of a change in the overarching ideas dominating education (and more widely) policymaking. As my analysis shows, three discourses underpin all of the arguments used by the three actors to talk about education. These are those about the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility. New Labour’s understanding of these discourses is set out in Chapters Three, Four and Five. As these Chapters show, although New Labour’s understanding of the discourse of the knowledge-based economy and opportunity stays largely the same across the period, its conception of responsibility changes between the first and second term. In the first term, responsibility is

conceptualised primarily in terms of the individual yet this shifts in the second term to emphasise a more collective, shared notion of responsibility.

New Labour's conception of the discourses of the knowledge-based economy, opportunity and responsibility in the first term is explained variously within the existing literature. In terms of ideational explanations, New Labour's understanding in the first term can be seen as evidence of: the dominance of discourses about the knowledge-based economy; endogenous growth theory or, as a paradigm shift: from a concern with equality to a focus on social inclusion; to a LEGO model; or, a Schumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime (see Dobrowolsky and Saint-Martin 2002; Jenson 2004, 2006; Jenson and Saint-Martin 2002, 2003; Jessop 2002, 2008a, 2008b; Lister 1998)³⁶. While not incompatible with one another, the purpose of outlining these different arguments is to illustrate the multiplicity of ideational explanations in the current literature which may account for the shift in New Labour's language on education. Taking the discourse of the knowledge-based economy first, New Labour's understanding of the discourse of the knowledge-based economy accords with the "hegemonic" paradigm pervading the "institutional design and strategic reorientation of education" within Europe, as outlined by Bob Jessop (Jessop 2008). Jessop argues that, regardless of its accuracy, the discourse of the knowledge-based economy has become a powerful economic imaginary, which has been influential in shaping policy paradigms, strategies and policies in and across many different fields of social practice (Jessop 2008b: 2. See also Andersson 2007). This links into the notion of opportunity because within this discourse

³⁶ This is intended as an illustrative example of the number of different ways that New Labour's understanding of education in the first term can be explained ideationally, that is in terms of a reference to the overarching ideas governing policymaking at this time rather than a comprehensive list of all of the ideational explanations put forward in the literature.

education is construed as a directly economic factor that “bears ever more critically on economic competitiveness” (Jessop 2008a: 29), therefore accounting for Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ understanding of opportunity as education that is directed towards improving employability and filling skill gaps.

New Labour’s link between education and economic goals is frequently explained by recourse to ideas about post neo-classical endogenous growth theory (Dolowitz 2004; Stedward 2003; see also Coates and Hay 2001; Krieger 2007). Endogenous growth theory emphasises the impact of particular ‘endogenous’ factors on national economic growth and performance. The theory assumes that there are factors underlying economic growth, which are internal to the market and are significant upon economic growth (see Crafts 1996). Such factors are associated with innovation, especially human capital accumulation and technological advancement. Human capital accumulation is achieved through the acquisition of knowledge and skills, which while seen as important in its own right, is emphasised within endogenous growth theory because knowledge is essential to research and development, which has itself been demonstrated to be critical for the dynamism of an economy (Dolowitz 2004: 217, 220, 221).

By contrast, New Labour’s language about education has been explained as evidence of a paradigm shift within the existing literature. Lister argues that New Labour’s language in the first term can be explained as a paradigm shift from equality to social inclusion, representing a change in New Labour’s thinking about the welfare state. Such a shift reflects the influence of the United States and is characterised by three changes: a rejection of the discourse promoting equality in favour of equality of opportunity; the growing use of language of social

exclusion/inclusion rather than poverty; and, an emphasis on social obligations and responsibilities rather than rights (Lister 1998: 215-216). Lister's contention that New Labour emphasises obligations rather than rights corresponds with my findings in the first term where responsibility is situated with the individual. The LEGO model is employed both as a metaphor to describe convergence around basic building blocks of a future oriented social contract and model and, an ideal-type that captures the central features of the new child-centred, future-oriented strategy (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2002: 6). Thus, it is a metaphor of constant learning, knowledge acquisition, involvement and engagement as well as the notion of open-ended results and variety, which is particularly appealing in the 'knowledge-based' world we now supposedly inhabit (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2003: 7). There are three elements to the LEGO model: first, its focus on lifelong learning as the route to security in the knowledge-based economy that we now find ourselves in (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2002: 8); second, its orientation towards the future more than the present (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2002:11; OECD 1997); third, that paid work is the route to maximising individuals' well-being and social cohesion. According to this model, the well-being of the collective depends on such activity: thus, activities in the present are beneficial for the whole community, not only those who are directly targeted (Jenson & Saint-Martin 2003: 16).

Finally, the shift to a Schumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime (SWPR) is characterised by an emphasis on permanent innovation and flexibility, which is achieved in relatively open economies through intervention on the supply-side to strengthen structural competitiveness (Jessop 2002: 250). Its main feature is the qualitative change undergone by social policy in relation to economic policy, with the former being subordinated to the latter (Jessop 2005: 152). This is illustrated through the increased downward pressure on the social wage considered as a

cost of production and the redesign of social transfers to make them more productive. So for example, labour market flexibility is promoted alongside employability and more emphasis is given to lifelong learning and vocational education. Thus, social policy is much more concerned with both the present and future working population (Jessop 2005: 251). Accompanying such changes is a new “workfarist” rhetoric (Peck 2001). This rhetoric aims to encourage and or where necessary enforce work through active forms of social and employment policy, both of which are intended to smooth the path from welfare to work (Peck 2001). Evidence of such tactics can be seen both at national and international levels through organisations such as the OECD and the EU (Jessop 2005: 154).

The shift in the collective language of New Labour to emphasising ‘social’ rather than ‘economic’ arguments can be both explained by, and used to challenge, the ideational explanations outlined above. As I have demonstrated, Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ understanding of the ‘social’ is inherently ‘economic and therefore the depiction of opportunity as principally economic in nature and responsibility primarily as an individual obligation is supported by my findings. However, if the two are fundamentally interconnected why bother to change the arguments employed in this way? The shift could be explained in three ways. First, as a temporary aberration; as the short-term triumph of other ideational considerations such as a perceived need to emphasise more ‘social’ considerations due to the unpopularity of Britain’s foreign policy pursuits in Afghanistan (2001) or Iraq (2003); second as a consequence of the growing disillusionment with the Government’s performance; or, third, due to electoral considerations after a fall in the proportion of votes received and turnout levels in the 2001 election. Alternatively, we might explain the shift as a substitution of ideas about economic

competence for those more commonly associated with ‘Old’ Labour and described by Levitas as a Redistributionist Egalitarian Discourse (RED) (Levitas 1998, 2005). Kenny and Smith contend that the desire to be perceived as economically competent posed a dilemma for New Labour over how it could generate the image of competence, whilst still making progress in delivering on the goals of social justice. In this way, we can explain New Labour’s consistent references to the need for economic stability in the knowledge-based economy as a precursor to social justice as an attempt to fulfil both aims (Kenny and Smith 2003: 70; Rhodes 2000: 183). Thus, New Labour’s language in the first term can be seen as an attempt to present itself as economically competent however, this desire declines over time so that in the second term, New Labour feel more established in this regard and thus more able to emphasise alternative ideas about education.

Although not a complete outline of my approach to the question about why New Labour shifts its language in the second term to emphasise more ‘social’ arguments about education, what I have tried to do in the above section is to sketch out how I would go about addressing this question in my future research. I have done this by focusing on one aspect of my approach and setting out how I would go about determining how far this shift can be explained as in terms of a change in the ideas governing policymaking. In doing this, I have outlined the different ideational explanations that have been put forward in the existing literature, which attempt to make sense my findings into New Labour’s language.

2.1.2 What Effect Does Policy Have on Discourse?

Similarly, addressing the question that looks at the effect of policy on discourse in explaining the periods of heightened activity and relative stasis requires an examination of those factors that draw upon discursive, ideational, agential and material explanations. This would consider all of the factors outlined in Table 6.1. In examining this research question, I would compare how far shifts in discourse affect policy and vice-versa in comparison to other types of explanations. Using the same case study as that outlined in Section 2.1.1, my approach would consider the effect that the shift in New Labour's language from emphasising predominantly 'economic' arguments about education in the first term, to ones seemingly drawing upon 'social' arguments in the second term, has on the policies introduced by the Government? There is evidence to suggest that the language used by New Labour is connected to the types of policies introduced. For example, as Section 2.3 in Chapter Five shows, my findings into New Labour's language support the contention within the existing literature that education policy is directed towards the demands of the economy. However, it is not clear from the existing literature's analysis of policy whether New Labour's policies towards education change markedly in the second term to reflect the shift in language that I identify. Therefore, I would need to examine all of the education policies introduced by New Labour in both the first and second terms in order to determine the aims, objectives and justifications that underpinned them. In answering this question, I would also need to define what stage of the policy cycle I would focus on for example defining the problem, policy formulation, adoption of policy, implementation and evaluation (see Kingdon 1995). One approach would be to determine how far the arguments emphasised by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers is reflected, or taken up, in the language of actors in different levels

of governments for instance politicians and bureaucrats in both central and local government. This could be ascertained by an analysis of policy documents as well as extensive interviews with selected actors. My findings from this could then be compared with the views of those actors at the front-line of New Labour's education policies for example teachers and lecturers to determine how far their views on education correspond with those put forward by the other actors in different levels of government.

What I have tried to do in this section, is to outline the possible approaches that I might take in my future research in order to address the two questions that arises from my findings into New Labour's language between 1997 and 2007. These are the questions that ask why the periods of heightened activity and relative stasis occur in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and the effect that policy has upon this language.

Final Conclusion

To summarise, in this Conclusion I have outlined the empirical and methodological contributions that my thesis makes to both the literature on New Labour and, more widely, the future of ideational analysis within the field of political analysis. I have shown how my thesis addresses the limitations of the existing literature on New Labour by providing a comprehensive and systematic analysis of New Labour's language on education between 1997 and 2007 that utilises an alternative understanding of coherence, which is sensitive to differences between agents and over time. I have argued that New Labour's approach to education is coherent overall, and

furthermore, this accords with the arguments put forward in the existing literature that education is completely subordinated to economic considerations. In this Conclusion, I have also reflected upon the limitations of my analysis and shown how such limitations can be overcome in my future research, which would address the two key research questions that emanate from my findings. These questions aim to explain the shifts in New Labour's language and the effect that policy has upon these shifts and vice-versa. Essentially, I have revealed the problems of employing a reductive approach when analysing New Labour as a single actor by showing how agency and time affects the language used by the Government to talk about education and, by illustrating how this leads the existing literature to draw inaccurate conclusions about New Labour. Such findings are critical to the literature on New Labour and education, but may also have implications for the literature that discusses other policy areas.

APPENDIX I

This appendix reveals the findings from the three stages of analysis I undertook into Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers' speeches on education in relation to the concept of the 'social'. My findings about New Labour's understanding of the 'social' arises from my detailed qualitative analysis into over 1000 Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers' speeches. Using QSR NVivo to inductively code and analyse the data, I identified eighteen arguments used by the three actors when talking about education since 1997. I categorised these arguments according to the type of arguments that they appealed to and found that they appealed to either 'economic' or 'social' arguments (see Chapter Two). The 'economic' refers to speech statements that refer directly to the health of the economy and the labour market, while the 'social' covers all other non-economic statements including a particular focus on issues relating to redistribution, equality and fairness. In this Appendix, I analyse the prevalence of those arguments that connect education with the 'social' in the rhetoric of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (see Smith and Hay 2008 for similar method applied to globalisation and European integration). The twelve arguments of the 'social' are listed (alphabetically) below.

- Arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'
- Empowerment
- Equal worth
- Fairness
- Liberation
- Moral

- Personal fulfilment
- Poverty
- Social control
- Social inclusion
- Social justice
- Social mobility

This appendix outlines the three-fold level of analysis into the twelve arguments above. This process involved: first, analysing the particular meanings attached to each argument by each actor over time. Second, determining how frequently each argument has been employed by each actor over time. Third, revealing how each argument is employed over time by each actor within their speeches that is, where each argument features within the actors' speeches, what other ideas it is used in conjunction with and how extensively it is talked about. In order to investigate more closely how these arguments have been employed by New Labour since 1997 this Appendix is organised into three sections, which are structured by a set of three questions:

1. How do Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers understand the concept of the 'social'?
2. When does the concept of the 'social' first appear and who uses it?
3. How is the concept of the 'social' employed within Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers' speeches?

These questions are designed to help me to identify any elements of change within each argument of the ‘social’, in either how it is understood, or how it is employed. The three questions are set out to reveal the three levels of how the twelve arguments within the ‘social’ have been employed by New Labour in its discussions of education. Thus, question one allows the Appendix to explore the particular meanings attached to each argument by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers since 1997. It shows the ideas comprised this notion, how such ideas are conceived by each actor and whether such understanding changes over time. Questions two and three moreover, allow the Appendix to show how frequently each argument has been used by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and how they have been employed within the actors’ speeches.

Section One: How do Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers Understand the ‘Social’?

First, it is necessary to outline how each actor within New Labour understands the concept of the ‘social’. When applied to education, the ‘social’ is found to be premised on twelve arguments in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. New Labour’s understanding of each argument within the ‘social’ was uncovered through my inductive qualitative content analysis into its speeches between 1997 and 2007. Although explained in further detail in Chapter Two, briefly, my method involved reading each speech by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and highlighting individual lines or sections of text and coding these according to the ideas and arguments that they referred too. In some cases, this involved coding those sections of text where particular ‘social’ ideas were specifically mentioned. For example, the following section was

coded under the category of social justice because of its explicit reference to the term ‘social justice’:

We believe in social justice; in opportunity not for a privileged few but for all, whatever their start in life (Blair 2005a).

In other cases, while the whole word was not referred to directly, the actor in question did refer to a derivative of the term thus, Brown’s quote below refers to the term ‘fair’ rather than ‘fairness’ but was still coded under the category of fairness:

And so I say honestly: I am a conviction politician. My conviction that everyone deserves a fair chance in life (Brown 2007a).

In the two examples above, the coding formula is relatively transparent however, at other points during my analysis I coded sections of text that did not mention explicitly the term or a derivative word of it. In these cases, I analysed the passage of text to determine the key ideas and arguments it was referring to and coded it accordingly. At times, this process was made easier by the three actors’ use of associated terms such as Blair’s use of the term social exclusion rather than poverty and, his and the Education Ministers’ use of the terms ‘individual advancement’ or ‘love of learning’ for personal fulfilment for example. However, at other times the only way that I could find out what arguments the actor was referring to in particular passages, was to read the text in its entirety and to determine it from there. Once I had analysed all of New Labour’s speeches and coded them appropriately I then went through all of the categories that I had created and re-analysed them to uncover the particular elements within the category that they referred to. Looking at Blair’s quote below, we see that he chooses to connect the notion of

empowerment with employment and Blair contends that it is only through “good” jobs and careers – gained through high levels of education - that individuals can be, and crucially want to be, empowered. In contrast, the quote from Brown beneath connects education’s role as empowering with arguments pertaining to developing countries and cites specifically the role of education in empowering the poor in such contexts. Finally, the Education Minister Clarke describes the empowering role of education as necessary to help people “conquer the challenges of change”:

It is about personal empowerment: a fulfilling job done and organised in such a way as to allow us the chance of fulfilling the non-work parts of our life. None of this means that there is not work that is indeed dull, dead-end, even wretched; or that people don't work primarily to earn money. Of course they do. But it is to say that today's generation want more than a job, more than to earn simply to enjoy. They want a good job. They want a career. They want to develop as individuals through work as well as through the hopes and fears of family life. Our purpose should be to help them achieve that ambition. From the education system that should be about opening up aspiration to all our children, not simply those of the comfortably off: to our policies for work, skills, training, re-training, and family: the purpose should be to give people greater power over what they decide for their own lives (Blair 2007b).

Education is the key to our real development goal through offering dignity in development, the empowerment of the poor (Brown 2006b).

Education is the means, the profound means, by which we empower the individual people of this country to conquer the challenges of change (Clarke 2003b).

These three quotes illustrate the nuances that can exist within an argument about education. Whilst ostensibly referring to the same argument about empowerment, each actor Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers highlight certain aspects rather than others. Thus, Blair highlights

the importance of employment, Brown highlights developing countries and the Education Minister Clarke emphasises globalisation. In order to show the extent that agency and time affect New Labour's discourse on education, I show each particularity within each argument by listing and explaining each element of the twelve 'social' arguments.

This section analyses each of the twelve arguments individually, in alphabetical order, to determine any areas of shared understandings or disagreements between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, as well as detecting any changes in these actors' understanding over time.

1.1 Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the 'Social' With the 'Economic'

New Labour's claim to be able to reconcile the goals of social justice and competitiveness provides the platform upon which its approach to education is built upon. This claim rests on the understanding that in the past a false choice or antithesis was set up between the 'economic' and the 'social' and what history has shown to be true and, the new knowledge economy demonstrated to be necessary, is that the two in fact are "two sides of the same coin" and "go hand in hand" with one another (Blair 1999a, 2006a; Blair 1999c, 2005b; Blunkett 2000a; Brown 2000b, 2000g, 2003g, 2003h, 2004d, 2005s; Johnson 2003a, 2007c; Kelly 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2005a; Rammell 2007d). Five elements can be identified within arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic', which are:

- What is being reconciled?

- Whose responsibility?
- Opportunity
- Moral
- Knowledge-based economy

1.1.1 What is Being Reconciled?

Although it is undeniable that all actors within New Labour agree that not only can the two goals be reconciled but that education is primary route to do this, it is less clear what goals they see as being able to be reconciled. At times, particular characteristics are emphasised such as prosperity, enterprise or social mobility, and at other times, these are presented as end goals. Twenty-one different combinations of terms can be identified within New Labour's rhetoric. For example, "economic dynamism and social justice" (Blair 1998c, 2001f); "economic success and social justice" (Blair 1998f; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2004h, 2005a); "economic success as well as social stability" (Blair 2000a); "enterprise allied to social justice" (Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001); "social and flexible" (Blair 2003e); "economic efficiency and social justice" (Blair 2004f, 2007b; Johnson 2007c, 2007i); "economic dynamism and social cohesion" (Brown 1998f); "enterprise and fairness" (Brown 1998d, 2003g); "fair society and strong economy" (Brown 1999c); "enterprise and social cohesive" (Brown 1999g); "efficiency and fairness" (Brown 2000a, Blunkett 2001b); "social justice and economic progress" (Brown 2003i, Rammell 2006a); "equity and efficiency" (Brown 2003b); "socially just and economically vibrant society" (Adonis 2007); "economic prosperity and social cohesion" (Blunkett 2000a,

2000b, 2000c); “excellence and fairness” (Clarke 2003c); “social justice and economic prosperity” (Hodge 2003; Johnson 2003a; Kelly 2005f; Miliband 2003b); “economic progress and social mobility” (Kelly 2005l); “social mobility and prosperity” (Kelly 2005l, 2005o, 2005q; Rammell 2007f); “social mobility and competitiveness” (Kelly 2005b; Rammell 2007d); “equity and excellence” (Kelly 2006b).

The use of so many different combinations of terms makes it unclear whether the different terms for social and economic goals refer essentially to the same things (different words used interchangeably to mean the same thing), or whether each term represents particular aspect/s; notwithstanding the subsequent questions about whether such understandings change over time and across actors. Highlighting such issues does serve to illustrate some interesting points about the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Firstly, despite there being so many different combinations in use within the government’s language, not one combination is emphasised by all three actors. Furthermore, not one is emphasised by both Blair and Brown together, the only semi-universal couplets are those that are emphasised by either Blair and two of the Education Ministers either “economic success and social justice” (Blair 1998f; Lewis 2004a, 2004d, 2004f, 2004g, 2004h, 2005a), or “economic efficiency and social justice” (Blair 2004f, 2007b; Johnson 2007c, 2007i). Alternatively, there are the couplets of “efficiency and fairness” (Brown 2000a, Blunkett 2001b) and “social justice and economic progress” (Brown 2003i, Rammell 2006a) that are emphasised by Brown and two of the Education Ministers. Second, several combinations are unique to specific actors. For instance, it is only Blair who emphasises the combinations of ‘economic dynamism and social justice’, ‘economic success as well as social stability’, ‘enterprise allied to social justice’, and ‘social and flexible’. Similarly,

only Brown talks about ‘economic dynamism and social cohesion’, ‘enterprise and fairness’, ‘fair society and strong economy’, ‘enterprise and social cohesion’, and ‘equity and efficiency’. The Education Ministers in contrast emphasise exclusively ‘social justice and economic vibrancy’, ‘economic prosperity and social cohesion’, ‘excellence and fairness’, ‘social justice and economic prosperity’, ‘economic progress and social mobility’, ‘social mobility and prosperity’, ‘social mobility and competitiveness’, and ‘equity and excellence’.

1.1.2 Whose Responsibility?

Responsibility within the arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ is more complex than within the notion of social justice. As the following outlines, responsibility is seen exclusively in terms of individual obligation within arguments about social justice and is emphasised only by Brown within arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’. At times, Blair and two of the Education Ministers (Blunkett and Clarke) continue this trend for emphasising individual responsibility by stressing that it is: “their duty to make the most of the chance they get” (Blair 2001h; Blunkett 2000b; Clarke 2004d). However, both Blair and Blunkett also choose to emphasise a wider community sense of responsibility:

The unique importance of the DfEE’s role stems from its responsibility for ensuring that the UK has a well-functioning labour market. It is here that we are clarifying the economic relationship between the citizen and the government, a relationship of rights and responsibility, with the goal of ensuring both economic efficiency and fairness for all (Blunkett 2001b. See also Blair 2000l).

This latter understanding of responsibility is the one that Brown chooses to highlight. He talks about the centrality of opportunities for all to both economic dynamism and social cohesion, and its role in eliminating those barriers resulting from old privileges or discrimination. In doing so, Brown stresses the need for equal opportunities for all to be accompanied by obligations shared by all; businesses, and individuals, and in relation to government, he emphasises its duty in ensuring the equal opportunities exist for all:

But whether it is by tapping the potential of all through equality of educational opportunity, or through recognising, our responsibilities to the environment or the next generation, or through companies engaging in the community in which they operate, people now see that enterprise and fairness can advance together (Brown 2003g. See also Brown 1998f, 2003g, 2005s).

1.1.3 Morality

At times, Blair and Brown choose to describe the pursuit of opportunities for all as a moral crusade. The notion that opportunity should be seen as a moral duty connects closely to the understanding that providing opportunity to all represents recognition of the equal worth of all:

What began as a moral crusade is now also the path to prosperity. What started as a belief in the equal worth of all is also a programme for wealth creation (Blair 2000e, 2000g, 2000l; Brown 2005s).

1.1.4 Knowledge-Based Economy

The advent of the knowledge-based economy has ended the ‘sterile’ battle between the economic and social agendas and meant that the demands of the two goals (opportunities for all) are now symbiotic and thus, the two require each other:

I believe that in our country we have achieved a watershed in the entire public policy debate. We no longer believe at the beginning of the 21st Century that the way ahead for our country, our global economy, or indeed our path to success is by offering a false choice between social justice and economic success. It’s not a question of on the one hand a fairer world, a fairer society, and on the other a more competitive, more productive economy. We believe that at the beginning of the 21st Century the two must be inextricably linked, and that’s whether it’s about making sure everybody has the opportunity to fulfil their potential, to know the dignity of self-improvement, to ensure that we replace intergenerational underperformance with intergenerational advance, or whether it’s hard edged productivity and competitiveness which enables our world to be economically successfully (Lewis 2005. See also Blair 2002c; Blair 2005b; Blunkett 2001b).

The assertion of the dependency of each goal upon each other implies that the relationship between the two objectives is equal. However, Blair and Brown frequently justify the provision of opportunities for all because economic success in the new economy relies on such an approach (Blair 1999c, 2001h, 2002d, 2003e, 2004f, 2004g, 2007b; Brown 1998d, 1998f, 2004d, 2007b; Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001). Emphasising one goal more fervently may suggest that either social justice is simply not as important as economic success, or that on its own, social justice is an insufficient justification for its approach. Although we are unable to determine definitely, which of the two options is correct, we can highlight further evidence from the language of Blair and Brown that demonstrates the particular techniques it employs to support this conclusion. For instance: “the fact that it also produces greater social justice and cohesion is a strong political motivator, of course, but the practical justification is economic” (Blair 2004g.

See also Blair 2000a); “not just because education is crucial for social justice but because it is key to improving the productivity of the British economy” (Brown 2002b. See also Brown 2003a, 2003b).

1.2 Empowerment

The notion of empowerment is one that is employed by Blair and the Education Ministers from as early as the first term (1999) but is not picked up by Brown until the start of the third term (2005). Here, the role of government is seen as “enabling”, “helping” and “empowering”, the purpose of which is to liberate human potential so that individuals can make the most of their own potential and help themselves:

But it is because my underlying philosophy is that every child is special, every child is precious and therefore no child should be left behind in other words to ensure we empower every child and not just some with opportunity, that we need to recognise the enabling role of government (Brown 2005e. See also Blair 1999a, 2002c; Blair 2000e, 2007b; Brown 2005f; Clarke 2003b; Lewis 2004e; Smith 2005b, 2005f).

Such arguments are applied to three areas: employment, developing countries and globalisation. Firstly, employment; here Blair contends that it is only through “good” jobs and careers – gained through high levels of education - that individuals can be, and crucially want to be, empowered (Blair 2007b). In contrast, Brown chooses to apply such arguments to developing countries and cites specifically the role of education in empowering the poor in such contexts (Brown 2005c, 2006b). Finally, the empowering role of education is presented as necessary to help people to

“benefit from the next stage of globalisation” (Brown 2007b) and “conquer the challenges of change” (Clarke 2003b).

1.3 Equal Worth

The value of equal worth is recognition of the ability and inherent worth of every individual regardless of background, capability, creed or race (Blair 1998d: 3). Although the equal provision of basic rights is a necessary part of this, the principle calls for the economic and social freedom for people to develop their potential to the full and exercise such rights. This freedom is achieved through the Government’s provision of opportunities for all (Blair 1999a, 2001b, 2004b; Blair 1999c, 2000e, 2000g, 2000l, 2001l, 2002d, 2004e; Brown 2001e, 2002b, 2003h, 2004d, 2004e, 2004j, 2005c, 2005e, 2006b, 2006d, 2006f, 2007c; Clarke 2003b; Morris 2002a; Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001). Providing opportunity on an equal basis is contrasted to the practice of previous governments, where it is argued that such opportunities were granted only to elites or on the basis of wealth or privilege (Blair 1999a; Blair 1999c, 2001l, 2001m; Johnson 2006s). I identified five elements of New Labour’s understanding of equal worth through my inductive analysis. These are:

- Redefinition of equality
- Barriers to opportunity
- Terms of citizenship
- Global scope

- Standards

1.3.1 Redefinition of Equality

New Labour's definition of equality as equal worth is contrasted to the old left idea of equal incomes or outcomes and uniform lifestyles or taste or culture. In doing this, any element of concern for outcomes is removed from the definition of equality and this is justified as true equality:

What are the values? For me, they are best expressed in a modern idea of community. At the heart of it is the belief in the equal worth of all the central belief that drives my politics – and in our mutual responsibility in creating a society that advances such equal worth. Note: it is equal worth, not equality of income or outcome; or, simply, equality of opportunity (Blair 2000l. See also Blair 1999a, 2001b, 2004b; Blair 2000e, 2002e, 2004d; Blunkett 2000e, 2001b; Brown 2000c, 2005e, 2005o; Johnson 2006e; Miliband 2002a, 2003e, 2004a).

This is essentially the line that Brown takes up to 2000 when he explicitly rejects: “crude equal outcome” (Brown 2000c), however, in 2004 his position changes temporarily and he chooses to acknowledge the importance of focusing upon outcomes in addition to opportunity and asserting the couplet: “equality of opportunity and fairness of outcome” (Brown 2004d).

1.3.2 Barriers to Opportunity

The philosophy underlying the provision of opportunities for all is the belief in the equal worth of all. In order to realise this objective, a belief in equal worth necessitates action against those barriers to opportunity that exist (Blair 1999a, 2001a; Blair 2000j; Brown 1998f, 2003h, 2004j, 2005p, 2006f, 2007a; Miliband 2002a, 2004a, 2004b; Morris 2002a; Prime Minister's Official Spokesman 2001; Smith 2005a, 2005c, 2005g). Such barriers are cited variously as snobbery, prejudice, ignorance and waste of ambition and talent, as well as factors such as social exclusion, privilege, social class, poverty and discrimination:

That no one be locked out of opportunity... Opportunity for all - not just for the privileged (Brown 2003h. See also Blair 2005a; Blair 2000j, 2000l, 2001m, 2002d; Blunkett 2001a; Brown 1997c, 2000h).

1.3.3 Citizenship

So far, equal worth has been presented as a top-down initiative, a government-held belief that shapes its approach to economic and social policy. However, an alternative understanding of equal worth also exists in New Labour's rhetoric. This understanding exhibits a more bottom-up approach and shifts the value of equal worth so that it is understood more as a 'right' than a option. For example, the notion of rights is used to demonstrate that equal worth is not simply a belief held by New Labour, but one that is expected, if not demanded from the public: "today's people will accept citizenship on nothing less than equal terms-opportunity to all, responsibility from all" (Blair 1999c. See also Blair 2000l; Brown 2007a; Miliband 2003a). Alongside this notion of rights, Blair also employs the concept of desert to show that equal worth is actively

sought by, and deserved of, the people it governs: “we owe it to every child ... they deserve an equal chance” (Blair 1999a. See also Blair 1999c, 2000g, 2003f; Brown 2007a).

The issue of responsibility is also highlighted as a crucial component of citizenship by Blair and the Education Ministers. Here, it is a broader notion of mutual responsibility, akin to how responsibility is understood within arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’, where government provides opportunities for all on the basis of equal worth, and on the condition that individuals fulfil accompanying responsibilities (Blair 1999a; Blair 1999c, 2000l). Similar sentiments are echoed by the Education Ministers Johnson and Smith in their emphasis upon the requirement of individuals to contribute and participate to society and the economy:

And as we set out in the 5-year strategy, we can create an education system where irrespective of class, gender or family background, everyone gets every chance, encouragement and support they need to fulfil their potential, contribute to society and take their place in a thriving economy (Smith 2005g. See also Johnson 2006b; Smith 2005j).

Mutual responsibility is framed in terms of duty by Brown, in which government is presented as enabling and empowering (Brown 2004d, 2005c, 2005e).

1.3.4 Global scope

From 2006, Brown applies the notion of education for all to the global stage. Here, education for all is asserted as a global cause in which to affirm: “our dignity as human beings” (Brown 2006b,

2006d), justified by equal worth arguments about the recognition of the worth of every individual regardless of background, capability, creed or race.

1.3.5 Standards

The importance of high standards in education is cited as a key factor to ensuring the equal worth of all children by Blair and the Education Ministers: Blunkett and Clarke (Blair 2001i; Blunkett 2001a; Clarke 2003b).

1.4 Fairness

The concept of fairness is employed synchronously with the notion of opportunity for all in the rhetoric of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers: “to be a fair society, we give opportunity for all” (Blair 2000g), “fairness is not simply a formal equality before the law, but is in fact a modern belief in an empowering equality of opportunity for all” (Brown 2006c):

At its heart is one overriding principal that speaks to the core values of any fair society: That any young person, regardless of their background, should have a fair chance of doing well in life (Hughes 2006b. See also Blair 2001h, 2005c, 2006b; Brown 1998e, 1999a, 2002a, 2005e, 2006a; Johnson 2006t; Kelly 2005e, 2005n, 2005p, 2006a; Rammell 2006f).

Fairness arises not only through the provision of opportunities for all but it calls for the: “the capabilities, the resources, the aspirations to make the most of them” (Brown 2007d), involving

action on those things understood to deny opportunity such as low income and poverty, social class and: “the underlying structures of injustice that deny opportunity to millions” (Kelly 2005p. See also Blair 2005b; Brown 1999h). While opportunity in this context is generally taken to mean education (Blair 2003b; Blair 2005b; Blunkett 1997c, 2001b; Brown 2007d; Johnson 2006n, 2006t; Kelly 2005e, 2005n, 2005p, 2006a), it is also used to justify a number of different aspects of the New Labour programme. This ranges from specific policies such as equal pay, maternity rights, childcare (Brown 2004j, Kelly 2005n) to assets such as mortgages and pensions that are seen as favourable to New Labour³⁷, both of which are understood to enable opportunity (see Johnson 2006n). Although all three actors (Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers) talk about the concept of fairness, there are three aspects of this argument that are specific to particular actors. First, only Blunkett and Brown correlate opportunity explicitly with employment (Blunkett 2001b; Brown 2000b). Second, Brown, in some speeches, equates fairness not only with opportunity but with the combination of opportunity and responsibility (Brown 2000c, 2006c, 2007a). Finally, only the Education Minister Kelly highlights the importance of higher standards in education to achieving fairness (Kelly 2006a) and equates fairness with greater levels of social mobility (Kelly 2006b).

1.5 Liberation

Presented by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers as: “the greatest liberator of human potential there is” (Blair 1999a. See also Blunkett 2000d, 2000e, Brown 2007a, 2007d; Miliband

³⁷ The Treasury’s attempt, under Brown, to reconstitute individual economic subjectivities of the British population as “active saver-investors” in order to foster a new model of asset-based welfare is discussed by Watson 2007

2002a; Rammell 2007e), education is seen both as “the best means” and “vital” for people to realise their potential (Blair 2001a; Blair 1999c, 1999f, 1999g, 2001d, 2001g, 2001j, 2002f, 2004e, 2005b; Brown 2005c, 2005e, 2005q; Clarke 2003b; Hughes 2005b; Smith 2006c, 2006d). However, it is not education per se but frequently, it is education directed towards employability and the economy which is seen to achieve potential:

Education that for so long had been a social cause became an economic imperative. Then, as the jobs have risen and the numbers of unemployed have fallen, the employee’s position has strengthened. They can change employers. The challenge for today is to make the employee powerful, not in conflict with the employer but in terms of their marketability in the modern workforce. It is to reclaim flexibility for them, to make it about their empowerment, their ability to fulfil their aspirations (Blair 2007b. See also Blair 1999g; Brown 2001d, 2005q; Johnson 2006u; Miliband 2002a).

The liberation of potential is understood to be achieved through both higher standards in education and through structural reform of the education system. For Blair and Blunkett this involves a ‘modernisation’ of the school system to create greater diversity and more choice of schools (Blair 1999c, 1999e, 2001d; Blunkett 2001a), while Clarke refers to reform of the learning and curriculum structures; assessment regime; and funding packages (Clarke 2004b), and Johnson to a correction of its historic failures (Johnson 2007d).

Although the term is frequently invoked without clarification, two examples exist in which Blunkett and Brown attempt to define what is meant by ‘liberating potential’:

Education gives people greater control over their own lives, greater opportunity, more options in their working lives; it gives them a wider

range of ways to use their leisure time and to play their part in society. It enables people to take an active part in our democracy, not just through voting but through making their voice heard at work and in the community (Blunkett 2000d).

To educate, as we know, is to form character, it is to shape values, it is to liberate the imagination, it is to pass human wisdom, knowledge and ingenuity from one generation to the next, it is a duty and a calling. As was said by one of the ancient philosophers, the mind is not a vessel to be filled, it is a fire to be kindled (Brown 2007d).

The first quote from Blunkett describes education as enabling and empowering and it is through such processes that liberation takes place. Brown in contrast, depicts liberation as taking place through the enlightening process that happens as a consequence of education and learning.

1.6 Morality

Moral arguments are generally employed to underpin Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers' discussions of education as contributing towards the ends of social justice, economic competitiveness, or most commonly the two combined. Within this argument, two elements can be identified:

- Opportunity
- Responsibility

1.6.1 Opportunity

Realising the potential of all through the provision of opportunities for all is described as a moral case by Blair (Blair 1998e, 2000l) and governments, teachers and schools are charged with a moral obligation to provide ‘good’ education by the Education Ministers Kelly and Morris:

Those of us charged with responsibility with the education of our young people and the up-skilling of our adult population have a moral obligation to make a real difference (Kelly 2005m. See also Kelly 2005g; Morris 2002c).

Here, moral reasons are employed on their own, suggesting that by themselves, they are significant enough to justify the approach taken by New Labour. However, notwithstanding such exceptions, most uses of moral arguments by New Labour are supplemented with arguments that emphasise the economic contributions of such actions:

It is the purpose that infuses our economic responsibilities with moral value, that everyone and not just a few should have opportunities in our country (Brown 1998e. See also Blair 1999a, 2002c; Blair 2000g; Blunkett 2000c; Brown 2004d).

1.6.2 Responsibility

Responsibility is employed in two principal ways within arguments about morality. On the one hand, responsibility is understood in terms of the government’s duty to provide opportunities for all (Blair 1999a; Blair 2000l; Brown 1998e, 2000c, 2004d, 2005c, 2005s, 2006f, 2007a). The

Education Ministers Kelly, Morris, and Miliband extend this duty further by emphasising the collective duty of government, teachers, and schools to raise standards and provide ‘good’ education (Kelly 2005g, 2005m; Miliband 2002b; Morris 2002c). On the other hand, responsibility is understood as individual obligation to take up such opportunities and make the most of their own potential (Blair 1999a; Brown 2000c, 2005s, 2006f).

1.7 Personal Fulfilment

Arguments about education “for its own intrinsic worth” form only a minor part of Blair and the Education Ministers’ rhetoric and do not feature at all in Brown’s. Here, education is connected with ‘broadening horizons’, ‘stretching imaginations’ and ‘individual advancement’ and ‘fulfilment’ (Blair 2001b; Blair 1998g, 2001j, 2005b, 2006d; Johnson 2007b; Smith 2005c, 2005f). Education in this context is directed towards developing a “love of learning” in people (Blair 2005b; Clarke 2004a; Johnson 2007g; Rammell 2006c), which arises from the introduction of a broader curriculum that encompasses the “joy of art and culture” and includes activities such as music, cookery, and dance (Blair 2001b. See also Clarke 2004a).

Despite extolling the virtues of education for its own sake, the personal fulfilment aspects of education are frequently coupled with its role in improving employability by Blair and the Education Ministers, suggesting that such arguments are viewed as insufficient on their own:

Young people of course want education in order to broaden their horizons, to open up new visions and opportunities for them, but they also

want to be in a position where what they learn ... has got a chance of getting them a decent job with a good standard of living, an opportunity to do well in the world of business and the world of trade and industry (Blair 2006d. See also Johnson 2007f; Rammell 2006c; Smith 2005f).

1.8 Poverty

Education has something of an uneasy relationship with arguments about poverty: at times it is presented as a cause of it: “we are tackling the cause of poverty – lack of educational opportunity” (Brown 2000e. See also Brown 2000f, 2000h, 2002d, 2003f; Johnson 2006f; Rammell 2007a), and other times it is presented as the solution to it:

This is the defining principle of a progressive, modern society. Enabling children to stand on the shoulders of their parents. Tackling disadvantage and poverty through educational opportunity (Hughes 2007b. See also Blair 2002c, 2004a; Blair 2000f, 2002f; Blunkett 2000b, 2001a; Brown 2001b, 2001e, 2004g, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e; Johnson 2006g, 2006i, 2006p, 2006s, 2006t; Miliband 2004d; Rammell 2006a, 2006d, 2007g, 2007h).

Analysing how these arguments are employed in New Labour’s rhetoric reveals a divide between those that favour the former argument (Brown when speaking to domestic audiences), and those that prefer the latter (Blair, the Education Ministers, and Brown when addressing international audiences). Two other elements of the discourse poverty can be identified:

- Definition of poverty
- Effect on opportunity

1.8.1 Definition of Poverty

The term poverty is understood to have a variety of meanings although most applications of the term refer exclusively to child, as opposed to adult or pensioner, poverty (Blair 2004a; Blair 2006b; Blunkett 2001a; Brown 2000h, 2003h, 2004d, 2004j, 2005h; Dhanda 2006a; Hughes 2007b; Kelly 2005e; Miliband 2004d). It is often used interchangeably with the term social exclusion by Blair and Blunkett, which can refer to anti-social behaviour, teenage pregnancy, unemployment, as well as personal attributes such as a lack of ambition and/or aspiration (Blair 2003a; Blair 1999d, 2000f, 2000j, 2006b; Blunkett 2000b). However, while the term social exclusion attracts a lot of criticism for seemingly obscuring the effects of material poverty and inequality (see Byrne 1999; Fairclough 1999, 2000; Levitas 1996, 1998), the term poverty is also used to refer explicitly to more “deep-rooted injustices” such as low income and wider inequality (Blunkett 2001a; Brown 2000h; Dhanda 2006a; Johnson 2006s; Miliband 2004d).

Education’s role in tackling global poverty is highlighted by both Blair and Brown (Blair 2006h; Brown 2001b, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e). While Blair emphasises the role that education and health plays in eliminating poverty (in accordance with the Millennium Development goals), Brown chooses to connect education’s dual role in both reducing poverty and benefitting economic development.

1.8.2 Effect on Opportunity

Poverty is frequently argued to be a barrier to opportunity, thus preventing the reconciliation of social justice and economic competitiveness. Poverty is seen to deny people the opportunities they should receive as a right, and it is only through eliminating poverty that individuals can not only receive such opportunities but also fulfil their corresponding responsibilities to society: “people in poverty are still denied the opportunities they have a right to expect” (Blair 2001e. See also Blair 2002c; Blair 2000j, 2006b; Brown 2000h, 2001e, 2003h, 2004d, 2004j, 2005f; Kelly 2005e; Miliband 2004d).

1.9 Social Control

The social control aspects of education, like those of personal fulfilment, feature only in the language of Blair and the Education Ministers. This argument is not emphasised at all by Brown. The high “personal and social cost” (Clarke 2004g; Hughes 2006c) of a poor education is emphasised through its connection with a multitude of social problems such as teenage pregnancy, poverty, crime, vandalism, drugs, anti-social behaviour, social exclusion, ignorance, and racism (Blair 1997b, 2002b, 2003a; Blair 1997d, 1998f, 2000f, 2001e, 2002e; Blunkett 2000b, 2001b; Dhanda 2006b, 2007; Hughes 2005d, 2006f, 2007c; Johnson 2006f, 2007d; Rammell 2006c, 2006e, 2007f). The negative connotations of these factors are illustrated in Blair’s use of the term “underclass” (Blair 1998f). Good education is seen both to tackle all of these problems and lay the foundations for a civilised society by spreading shared values such as respect, courtesy and consideration (Clarke 2002a). In doing this, schools are seen to play a crucial role by effectively “socialising” its pupils by Blunkett (Blunkett 1998, 2000b).

These connections are made from the beginning of New Labour's tenure in Government in 1997 and are largely focused on the British arena. From 2003 however, the Education Ministers emphasise education's contribution to community cohesion, on both a domestic and global level. Directed towards combating fear, distrust, disengagement, and ignorance, education is understood to achieve greater global stability and "safer" communities (Rammell 2007f; Smith 2005c, 2005d, 2005f, 2005h):

Moreover, this is a world where the violent effects of fear, distrust, and ignorance are all too clear. And ensuring people have access to good education throughout the world is an essential part of our work to tackle these challenges head on (Rammell 2006i. See also Kelly 2005a; Smith 2005h).

1.10 Social Inclusion

The social inclusion aspects of education, as with arguments about social mobility, are only referred to by the Education Ministers and do not feature in Blair or Brown's rhetoric at all. This argument rests upon a New Labour's 'new' covenant between state and citizen where citizenship is granted through the provision of opportunities for all on the basis of the individuals' fulfilment of responsibilities: "alongside that is the challenge of creating a socially inclusive society in which all individuals contribute" (Clarke 2004c. See also Adonis 2005, 2006b; Miliband

2004b)³⁸. Where individuals do not fulfil their responsibilities, the Education Minister Lewis talks about: “exercising zero tolerance” (Lewis 2004b).

The concept of social inclusion has many aspects within the language of the Education Ministers that ranges from the achievement of education aspects such as higher grades (Adonis 2005, 2006b; Miliband 2004b), and wider access (Hodge 2003; Johnson 2007b) to social cohesion aspects such as disengagement (Lewis 2004g), racism, sexism, and homophobia (Rammell 2006b. See also Kelly 2005b; Rammell 2007g, 2007l). Here, education is presented as a path “safe and inclusive communities” (Smith 2005c, 2005f, 2005h) as well as protection against, and solution to, social exclusion (Johnson 2006f, 2007b).

1.11 Social Justice

Social justice’ is conceptualised by New Labour in terms of three values: equal worth, opportunity for all, and responsibility (Blair 1998i: 3). New Labour’s conviction that all individuals have equal worth underpins the second value of social justice: opportunity for all. To ensure that the cycle of opportunity continues for future generations, individuals are required to fulfil corresponding duties to their fellow citizens and society or face exclusion. The successful balance between opportunity and responsibility ensures that all individuals are included in a strong and active community. This in turn, guarantees equal worth and opportunity for all for the

³⁸ Barry challenges New Labour’s suggestion that in the past opportunities and welfare was provided unconditionally as implied in its description of citizenship as a ‘new covenant’ (see Barry 2005: 151).

next generation. The pursuit of social justice is articulated through the government's focus on social inclusion, which embraces all of the four values identified above.

Education's role in achieving the goal of social justice is one of the key platforms that New Labour's programme is founded upon and consequently, it is a crucial feature of all actors within the government (Blair, Brown, and the Education Ministers). In addition to the four values identified above (equal worth, opportunity and responsibility), a further two elements can be identified within arguments about social justice in the language of the three actors. Thus, in total five elements comprise the concept of social justice:

- Equal worth and inclusion
- Opportunities for all
- Rights and responsibilities
- Standards
- Economic goals

1.11.1 Equal Worth and Inclusion

Within the overarching argument about social justice, the element of equal worth is used twofold.

Firstly, it is used to argue against the existence of snobbery, prejudice, ignorance:

For how do you develop the talent of all, unless in a society that treats us all equally, where the closed doors of snobbery and prejudice, ignorance

and poverty, fear and injustice no longer bar our way to fulfilment (Blair 1999a).

In the case of Brown, privilege is specifically cited (Brown 2002f, 2003h). The second use of this notion is to denote inclusion, in that opportunities for all should be granted regardless of factors such as income, background, and social class. These factors are emphasised particularly in terms of their contribution to social cohesion and are referred to only by Brown and the Education Ministers:

That opportunity and social justice in Britain in 2003 should not depend on class or connexions, on birth or background, on where you come from or who you know but opportunity and social justice should be the promise of Britain not just to some but to everyone (Brown 2003h. See also Adonis 2006a; Brown 2002f, 2003h; Clarke 2004a, 2004f; Hughes 2005a, 2005c, 2006e; Johnson 2007a; Kelly 2005c, 2005d, 2005k, 2005r; Lewis 2004d; Morris 2001, 2002a; Smith 2005a, 2005e, 2006b).

An important aspect of ensuring equal worth and inclusion is the issue of poverty and this is highlighted by all three actors particularly in the context of the Labour Party Conference for Blair and Brown (Blair 1999a, 2002c, 2004b; Hughes 2005c; Kelly 2005e).

1.11.2 Opportunities for All

The notion of opportunities for all exercises a critical role in the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers as it is the foundation upon which its claim to reconciling economic efficiency with social justice is built upon:

We came to power driven by our belief that economic efficiency can co-exist with the promotion of social justice and that the key to this lies in providing educational opportunity for all (Johnson 2007i. See also Blair 1998f, 1999c, 1999d, 2000a, 2000l, 2004f; Brown 1998f, 2002b, 2003a, 2003g, 2004d, 2005c, 2005s, 2007d; Blunkett 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001b; Clarke 2004d, 2004g; Hodge 2003; Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006c, 2006k, 2006l, 2006s, 2007c, 2007g, 2007i; Kelly 2005b, 2005d, 2005h, 2005j, 2005l, 2005o, 2005q, 2006a; Lewis 2004a, 2004b, 2004e, 2004f, 2004h, 2005a; Miliband 2003b, 2004c; Rammell 2005a, 2006a, 2007d, 2007f, 2007m; Smith 2006a).

Here, economic prosperity is seen as a prerequisite for social justice and vice versa (McAnulla and Marsh 2000: 12). Greater economic prosperity is required for the achievement of greater fairness through improved education and training for all. In turn such fairness will contribute to increased efficiency and therefore prosperity, thus the relationship between the two is symbiotic (McAnulla and Marsh 2000: 12):

But we all know a truth - a truth increasingly understood across the world - that our shared aims for long-term prosperity and social justice with strong public services depend upon rising productivity, growth and economic reform (Brown 2002e).

In the language of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, opportunity refers to both education and employment (Brown 1997c, Blunkett 2001b). While at times the actors talk about the injustice of receiving a poor education and how it is only through a “good” education that people can receive opportunity (Blair 2006e; Brown 2002f), at other times, it is employment that is prioritised as the main route to opportunity (Blunkett 1999, 2000c; Brown 2002b, 2002f). This can be illustrated through a comparison of the two quotes below where in the first Blair highlights the importance of education to achieving social justice, and in the second where

Blunkett emphasises education's importance to social cohesion insofar as it enables individuals to gain employment:

Good education makes a difference. Good teaching changes lives. Educate a child well and you give them a chance. Educate them badly and they may never get a chance in the whole of their lives. And there is talent out there untended and discouraged. You all know it and in your years of teaching will have seen it. There is no greater injustice. If people fail to take their opportunities that is their choice. But if they fail to get an opportunity, they have no choice (Blair 2006e).

We will provide action, a decent education, a job and training, a home and a family, and pride for all our people. We want it, we need it, for our economy, for our social cohesion, for ourselves (Blunkett 1999).

Indeed, the two are intimately connected within the language of the three actors in that it is only through the provision of 'good' education that people are able to gain the skills necessary to gain employment and succeed in the modern economy.

Three differences can be identified in how this element is employed by the different actors. Firstly, there is an issue of frequency. For example in his use of opportunity, Blair emphasises a single chance for individuals where if they fail to take this opportunity up, they leave themselves vulnerable to exclusion:

Good education shouldn't depend on your class, colour, background, or birth. It should be each child's start in life. Their chance to make the most of themselves. Once they have that chance it's up to them. But to deny them that chance is the greatest personal and social injustice imaginable (Blair 2004e. See also Blair 20011).

In contrast, Brown and the Education Ministers emphasise continuous opportunities where individuals are given: “every chance to achieve their potential” (Brown 2001e, 2004d; Johnson 2007a; Kelly 2005h; Lewis 2004c).

The second difference concerns the choice of language. For instance, Blair prefers the phrase ‘opportunities for all’ and distances this from its other ‘equal opportunities’ by saying that the former is: “about more than our passionate belief in equality of opportunity” (Blair 2002d). By and large the Education Ministers follow this direction and emphasise opportunities for all rather than referring to equal opportunities:

In other words, the kind of fair society I want to live in is one where there are ladders of opportunity across individuals’ lives (Kelly 2005h. See also Clarke 2004d; Dhanda 2006b; Hughes 2006c, 2006d; Johnson 2006d; Kelly 2005b, 2005e, 2005h, 2005l, 2005q; Lewis 2003, 2004c, 2004d; Smith 2005e), although there are a couple of exceptions (Johnson 2006d; Miliband 2003d).

Brown on the other hand, goes to great lengths to connect the two phrases together:

Opportunity for all there is a thread that runs through all of these policies. It is the idea of opportunity for all – equality of opportunity – that encapsulates our approach (Brown 1998f. See also Brown 2004d, 2004j, 2006f).

Such differences in language are also apparent in how each actor chooses to define equality within the notion of equal worth arguments (see Section 1.3).

The third difference is an issue of timing. In emphasising this element of social justice, there does appear to be a pattern to who introduces the notion and when it is picked up by other actors within New Labour. For instance, it seems that Brown is responsible for introducing this line of argument into New Labour rhetoric on education from the first term (1998) and continues to emphasise it until the end of the second term. From 2003, with a slight overlap with Brown, the Education Ministers then pick up on this argument and begin to employ it, until the third term when it is then picked up by Blair and again in 2005 when Blair picks this up, there is a slight overlap with the Education Ministers.

1.11.3 Responsibility

A prerequisite of the granting of opportunities is the fulfilment of responsibilities for New Labour (Blair 1998d: 4). Responsibility within the notion of social justice refers specifically to individual responsibility and although being defined as one of the three core values of social justice by Blair (1998d: 3), it is only used in connection with education by Brown during the first term. Brown talks about the need for opportunity for all to be provided in return for obligations from all as the core for the achievement of social cohesion and as the root of “responsible citizenship” (Brown 1998f, 2000c). Thus, responsibility is firmly placed at the door of the individual (see the discourses of equal worth and moral for an alternative understanding of responsibility).

1.11.4 Standards

The importance of high standards in education is understood as a crucial element of the achievement of social justice by Blair and the Education Ministers. Here they contrast “good”, “high quality” education with “poor” education, which in turn is directly connected with injustice (Blair 1998a, 2005a; Blair 1999g, 2000f, 2004e, 2006e, 2007a; Blunkett 1999, 2000d; Clarke 2003c, 2004g; Hughes 2005a, 2006c; Johnson 2007a; Kelly 2005e; Miliband 2003c, 2003d; Morris 2002b; Smith 2005e).

1.11.5 Economic Goals

As Section 1.11.2 makes clear, the foundation of New Labour’s programme is its claim to reconcile the goal of economic competitiveness with that of social justice, where the two are seen as impossible without one another. Taking this into consideration, we might not be surprised therefore that emphasising economic goals is a prominent element within arguments about social justice and is referred to by all actors within New Labour. Here, we see prosperity, enterprise, dynamism, economic success, and productivity referred to variously by Blair, and Brown, and the Education Ministers Blunkett, Kelly and Rammell across the three terms:

The demands of justice that provide opportunities for all, and the requirement of a prosperous modern economy are symbiotic. This has been the central insight that has governed this New Labour government’s economic policy, that far from social justice being a drag on economic good health, the two require each other (Blair 2005b).

Not just because education is crucial for social justice but because it is key to improving the productivity of the British economy (Brown 2002b).

But more than that. A prize of more and better skills that empower people. That enables people to find better jobs and earn more money. That improves the quality of their own lives and of their family. If we up-skills Britain we improve our economic performance, but we also improve social justice (Rammell 2007n. See also Blair 1999g, 2000f, 2005b, 2006g; Blunkett 2000a, 2000d; Brown 1998f, 2002b, 2003i, 2004f; Kelly 2005b, 2005i, 2005l; Rammell 2007c, 2007n).

1.12 Social Mobility

Education is understood as the main driver of social mobility, which in turn is seen both as a key objective of New Labour and an indicator of: “real social justice” (Adonis 2007. See also Kelly 2005a, 2005b, 2005d, 2005o, 2006b; Rammell 2007c). Indeed, social mobility is seen almost as a solution to all of New Labour’s ‘evils’; achieving fairness (Kelly 2005a), reconciling both social and economic goals such as competitiveness and prosperity (Adonis 2007; Kelly 2005b, 2005o; Rammell 2007f), as well as addressing social exclusion:

And a socially mobile Britain is not just about fairness. It is also vital to our economic success in the modern world ... It is also vital if we are to create a cohesive society, rather than the exclusion that is the breeding ground for disengagement, social unrest and a breakdown in community cohesion (Kelly 2005a. See also Hughes 2006f).

Despite its seemingly ‘catch-all’ appeal, arguments about social mobility are exclusive to the language of the Education Ministers, and is not referred to by either Blair or Brown.

Social mobility is defined by the Education Minister Kelly as:

A system with improved opportunities and outcomes for everyone. One which allows everyone to aspire and achieve their life's goals. A society where there is hope across peoples lives, ladders of opportunity giving first, second and third chances to everyone (Kelly 2005a).

There are a number of points to highlight from this quote. Firstly, we can highlight Kelly's emphasis on the importance of both "opportunities and outcomes" to social mobility. This can be contrasted to the definition of equality propounded by Blair and the Education Ministers within the notion of equal worth. Secondly, Kelly also chooses to emphasise the "first, second and third chances" that everyone should be given. This can be contrasted to Blair's emphasis upon the single chances and opportunities within the notion of social justice.

While it is education that is frequently portrayed as the route to social mobility, and in some instances it is 'higher' and 'further' education specifically (Rammell 2006c, 2006d, 2006m, 2007f), social mobility is also characterised as being affected by a number of other factors. For example, poverty (Hughes 2006f), more choice (Kelly 2005d), and less discrimination (Smith 2005a).

Section Two: When Does the Concept of the 'Social' First Appear and Who Uses It?

Table A1.1 shows the date that each argument within the 'social' is first referred to by each of the three actors: Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, and the speech it was introduced in.

Highlighted in bold is the speech when each argument was first introduced. Where a section is shaded, it means that such arguments are not referred to by the actor at any point over the period.

Table A1.1: When is Each Argument Introduced?

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Empowerment</i>	28/09/99 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blair 1999a)	04/07/03 Speech to the Local Government Association (Brown 2003i)	21/11/00 Speech to Association of Colleges Conference (Blunkett 2000a)
<i>Equal worth</i>	28/09/99 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blair 1999a)	02/10/97 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Brown 1997c)	29/09/98 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 1998)
<i>Fairness</i>	26/09/00 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blair 2000g)	30/09/98 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Brown 1998e)	02/10/97 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 1997c)
<i>Liberation</i>	05/05/99 Speech to Muslim Council of Britain (Blair 1999f)	15/11/01 Institute of Directors' Annual Dinner	27/09/00 Speech to Labour Party Conference

		(Brown 2001d)	(Blunkett 2000e)
<i>Moral</i>	11/02/98 Speech to launch New Deal (Blair 1998e)	30/09/98 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Brown 1998e)	27/06/00 ‘Opportunity for All: Skills for the new economy’ speech (Blunkett 2000c)
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	24/03/98 Speech to French National Assembly (Blair 1998g)		14/04/04 Speech to NASUWT Annual Conference (Clarke 2004a)
<i>Poverty</i>	15/01/99 Speech on Education Action Zones (Blair 1999d)	05/12/00 Speech to the National Council for One Parent Families (Brown 2000h)	11/10/00 ‘Enabling Government: The welfare state in the 21st century’ speech (Blunkett 2000b)
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’</i>	09/01/98 New Britain in a Modern World Speech (Blair 1998c)	11/06/98 Speech to Mansion House (Brown 1998d)	29/09/99 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 1999)
<i>Social control</i>	13/06/97 Law and Order Speech (Blair		29/09/98 Speech to Labour Party

1997d)		Conference	
		(Blunkett 1998)	
<i>Social inclusion</i>		21/05/03	Speech to Smith Institute Seminar (Hodge 2003)
<i>Social justice</i>	29/09/98	Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blair 1998a)	17/07/98
			Speech to News International Conference (Brown 1998f)
			27/09/00
			Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 2000e)
<i>Social mobility</i>			12/07/05
			Speech at the Informal Meeting of Education Ministers from the EU (Kelly 2005b)

Table A1.1 illustrates that Blair is responsible for introducing the majority of arguments within the concept of the ‘social’ (seven from the possible twelve); following Blair is the Education Secretaries who introduce three of the twelve arguments, and then Brown who introduces two of the twelve. The argument that education can and should be used as a social control measure is the first notion to be employed and this is introduced by Blair in his speech on Law and Order in

1997 (Blair 1997d). After this, the sequence of arguments introduced into New Labour's language is: fairness (by Blunkett), equal worth (by Brown), arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic' (by Blair), moral (by Blair), personal fulfilment (by Blair), social justice (by Brown), poverty (by Blair), liberation (by Blair), empowerment (by Blair), social inclusion (by Hodge), and finally, social mobility (by Kelly). The first argument that Blair chooses to draw upon is the argument that education can be used as a social control measure, Brown chooses to emphasise the notion that education achieves equal worth first, while Blunkett chooses to introduce the notion of education achieving fairness first.

Section Three: What Significance is Given to Each Argument of the 'Social' by Each Actor?

Tables A1.2 and A1.3 below outline how significant each 'social' argument is to each actor overall. Table A1.2 shows the overall significance awarded to each argument between 1997 and 2007 according to raw data: the actual number of references to each notion, whilst Table A1.3 shows the significance according to the percentage of total references to 'the social' each argument equals.

Table A1.2: Overall Significance of 'Social' Arguments for Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'</i>	20	25	65
<i>Empowerment</i>	6	12	9
<i>Equal worth</i>	22	19	25
<i>Fairness</i>	9	19	15
<i>Liberation</i>	19	10	19
<i>Moral</i>	6	9	5
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	7	0	9
<i>Poverty</i>	12	19	20
<i>Social control</i>	12	0	30
<i>Social inclusion</i>	0	0	12
<i>Social justice</i>	16	20	76
<i>Social mobility</i>	0	0	15

Table A1.3: Overall Significance of 'Social' Arguments for Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
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<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the 'social' with the 'economic'</i>	16	19	20
<i>Empowerment</i>	5	9	3
<i>Equal worth</i>	17	14	8
<i>Fairness</i>	7	14	5
<i>Liberation</i>	15	8	6
<i>Moral</i>	5	7	2
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	5	0	3
<i>Poverty</i>	9	14	6
<i>Social control</i>	9	0	9
<i>Social inclusion</i>	0	0	4
<i>Social justice</i>	12	15	24
<i>Social mobility</i>	0	0	5

These Tables illustrate how significant each argument within the 'social' is to each actor over the period 1997-2007. However, how does such significance translate across individual terms? In order to investigate such a proposition further we need to ascertain how frequently such arguments are drawn upon by each actor in each of the three terms. This will enable us to determine the extent of change within each actor's language over time, whilst also enabling a comparison across actors.

Tables A1.4 and A1.5 outline the three arguments that are referred to most frequently in each of the three terms. Table A1.4 illustrates this according to raw data and the actual number of references to each notion is included in brackets. Table A1.5 does so according to the percentage of total incidence where the percentages for each argument are also listed in brackets. This will be shown in more detail in Section Four where the Appendix will outline each argument individually for each actor and over each of the three terms.

Tables A1.4: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007

(raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Equal worth (16)	Reconciling (9)	Reconciling (9)
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling (10)	Fairness & Social justice (6)	Social justice (6)
	Liberation & Social control (8)	Poverty (5)	Social control (5)
<i>Second</i>	Liberation (9)	Poverty & Reconciling (11)	Social justice (22)
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling (7)	Social justice (9)	Reconciling (21)
	Equal worth & Fairness & Poverty (5)	Equal worth (8)	Equal worth (14)
<i>Third</i>	Social justice (7)	Fairness (10)	Social justice (48)
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling (3)	Empowerment (9)	Reconciling (35)

Empowerment & Fairness	Equal worth (8)	Social control (21)
& Liberation & Personal		
fulfilment & Poverty (2)		

Table A1.5: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007

(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Equal worth (25%)	Reconciling (29%)	Reconciling (27%)
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling (15%)	Fairness & Social justice (19%)	Social justice (18%)
	Liberation & Social control (12%)	Poverty (16%)	Social control (15%)
<i>Second</i>	Liberation (21%)	Poverty & Reconciling (22%)	Social justice (26%)
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling (16%)	Social justice (18%)	Reconciling (25%)
	Equal worth & Fairness & Poverty (12%)	Equal worth (16%)	Equal worth (17%)
<i>Third</i>	Social justice (33%)	Fairness (20%)	Social justice (23%)
<i>Term</i>	Reconciling (14%)	Empowerment (18%)	Reconciling (17%)
	Empowerment & Fairness & Liberation & Personal	Equal worth (16%)	Social control (10%)

fulfilment & Poverty

(10%)

Section Four: How is the ‘Social’ Used Within Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ Speeches?

This section analyses how the ‘social’ arguments are employed in Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ speeches. It looks at the number of references made to each argument from the number of speeches, both as actual numbers and percentage of total incidence, and compares this to the total number of number of references and speeches made by each speaker³⁹, again as raw data and percentage of total incidence. Additionally, the section analyses the following two aspects of the way in which the arguments are used within speeches, taking care to show any elements of change over time:

1. Where does the argument appear in each actor’s speeches?
2. Is it connected with any other arguments?

4.1 Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’

³⁹ The Tables show the number of references made to each discourse within the concept of the ‘social’ by each actor, in each term. In the brackets, I have included the number of speeches that these references originated from.

Table A1.41: The Number of References to Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’

With the ‘Economic’ by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	10 (9)	9 (7)	9 (5)
<i>2nd term</i>	7 (6)	11 (9)	21 (18)
<i>3rd term</i>	3 (3)	5 (5)	35 (28)
<i>Total</i>	20 (18)	25 (21)	65 (51)

Table A1.42: The Number of References to Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’

With the ‘Economic’ by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	15%	29%	27%
<i>2nd term</i>	16%	22%	25%
<i>3rd term</i>	14%	10%	17%
<i>Total</i>	45%	61%	69%

Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ are most prevalent in the Education Ministers’ language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the ‘social’.

Tables A1.43 and A1.44 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.43: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>			<i>Brown</i>		<i>Education Ministers</i>	
<i>Arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’</i>	Economic	success		Economic	success	Competitiveness (23)	
	(20)			(17)			
	Employability (12)			Social justice (9)		Social justice (21)	
	Equal	worth	&	Competitiveness (8)		Employability (18)	
	Knowledge-based economy (9)						
	Competitiveness (6)			Employability (7)		Economic	success
						(16)	
	Liberation (5)			Empowerment,		Skills	& Social
				Knowledge-based		control (9)	

economy & Skills (6)		
Empowerment (4)	Equal worth, Moral & Poverty (5)	Knowledge-based economy (8)
Fairness, Poverty & control (3)	Moral, Liberation (4) & Social	Fairness, Poverty & Social mobility (5)
Personal fulfilment & Skills (2)	Enterprise (3)	Social inclusion (4)
Social justice (1)	Fairness (1)	Empowerment (3)
		Enterprise & Personal fulfilment (2)
		Equal worth & Moral (1)

Table A1.44: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Knowledge-based economy (9)	Economic success (6)	Economic success (10)
	Equal worth (8)	Social justice (4)	Employability (7)
	Economic success (7)	Employability (3)	Competitiveness &

			Knowledge-based economy (6)
	Employability (5)	Enterprise (2)	Skills (4)
	Competitiveness (4)	Equal worth,	Social justice (3)
	Liberation & Social control (3)	Knowledge-based economy, Poverty &	Fairness & Enterprise (2)
	Fairness & Moral (2)	Skills (1)	Empowerment, Moral
	Empowerment, Personal fulfilment & Skills (1)		& Poverty (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success (8)	Competitiveness (5)	Social justice (7)
	Employability (3)	Skills & Social justice (4)	Competitiveness (5)
	Competitiveness (2)	Poverty (3)	Employability & Social inclusion (3)
	Empowerment, Equal worth, Moral, Poverty & Skills (1)	Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy & Liberation (2)	Economic success, Empowerment & Social control (2)
		Employability, Empowerment, Enterprise & Moral	Knowledge-based economy, Personal fulfilment & Skills (1)

	(1)		
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success (5)	Economic success (6)	Competitiveness (12)
	Employability (4)	Empowerment (5)	Social justice (11)
	Empowerment & Liberation (2)	Moral (4)	Employability (8)
	Fairness, Personal fulfilment & Social justice (1)	Competitiveness, Employability & Knowledge-based economy (3)	Economic success, Poverty, Skills & Social mobility (4)
		Equal worth & Liberation (2)	Fairness & Social control (3)
		Fairness, Poverty, Skills & Social justice (1)	Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy, Personal fulfilment, Social inclusion & Social mobility (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the ‘economic’ we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.45 outlines the percentage of references to arguments that seek to reconcile the ‘social’ with the

‘economic’ that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.45: Percentage of References Asserting Arguments that Seek to Reconcile the ‘Social’ With the ‘Economic’ Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	40% (4:10)	11% (1:9)	11% (1:9)
<i>2nd term</i>	57% (4:7)	27% (3:11)	57% (12:21)
<i>3rd term</i>	33% (1:3)	0% (0:5)	54% (19:35)
<i>Total</i>	45% (9:20)	16% (4:25)	49% (32:65)

4.2 Empowerment

Table A1.6: The Number of References to Arguments About Empowerment by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	3 (3)	0 (0)	1 (1)

<i>2nd term</i>	1 (1)	3 (3)	4 (4)
<i>3rd term</i>	2 (1)	9 (6)	4 (4)
<i>Total</i>	6 (5)	12 (9)	9 (9)

Table A1.7: The Number of References to Arguments About Empowerment by Each Actor
(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	5%	0%	3%
<i>2nd term</i>	2%	6%	5%
<i>3rd term</i>	10%	18%	2%
<i>Total</i>	17%	24%	10%

Arguments about empowerment is the most prevalent in Brown's language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the concept of the 'social'.

Tables A1.8 and A1.9 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of empowerment in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.8: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Empowerment Arguments (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Empowerment</i>	Employability & Economic success Equal worth (6)	(12)	Economic success (5)
	Economic success, Liberation & Reconciling (4)	Employability (5)	Competitiveness, Employability, Equal worth, Reconciling, Social control & Social justice (4)
	Moral (3)	Competitiveness, Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy, Poverty & Reconciling (4)	Knowledge-based economy & Personal fulfilment (3)
	Knowledge-based economy & Social justice (2)	Social justice (3)	Skills (2)
	Personal fulfilment, Poverty, Social control (1)	Fairness & Liberation (2)	Fairness & Liberation (1)
		Moral & Skills (1)	

Table A1.9: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Empowerment Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Equal worth (6)		Economic success, Knowledge-based economy, Reconciling & Skills (2)
	Economic success & Liberation (3)		Competitiveness, Employability,
	Employability, Knowledge-based economy, Moral, Reconciling & Social justice (2)		Fairness & Social justice (1)
	Personal fulfilment, Skills & Social control (1)		
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success, Moral, Poverty & Reconciling (1)	Economic success (3) Poverty (2)	Equal worth & Social justice (3) Competitiveness,

		Economic success & Reconciling (2)	
		Competitiveness, Reconciling & Social justice (1)	Employability, Knowledge-based economy, Liberation & Social control (1)
<i>Third Term</i>	Employability (4)	Economic success (9)	Personal fulfilment & Social control (3)
	Liberation & Reconciling (1)	Employability (5)	Employability (2)
		Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy (4)	Competitiveness, Economic success & Equal worth (1)
		Competitiveness & reconciling (3)	
		Fairness, Knowledge-based economy, Liberation, Poverty & Social justice (2)	
		Moral & Skills (1)	

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with empowerment we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of the others employed alongside

them by each of the three actors. Table A1.10 outlines the percentage of references to the arguments about empowerment that are emphasised before any recourse to other arguments, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. The numbers listed in the table refer to the percentage of references that are asserted ahead, whilst the numbers in the brackets outline the actual number of references prioritised before other arguments as a ratio of overall references to this argument).

Table A1.10: Percentage of References Asserting Empowerment Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	0% (0:3)	0% (0:0)	0% (0:1)
<i>2nd term</i>	100% (1:1)	100% (3:3)	25% (1:4)
<i>3rd term</i>	50% (1:2)	44% (4:9)	100% (4:4)
<i>Total</i>	33% (2:6)	58% (7:12)	56% (5:9)

4.3 Equal worth

Table A1.11: The Number of References to Arguments About Equal Worth by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	16 (10)	3 (3)	3 (3)
<i>2nd term</i>	5 (5)	8 (7)	14 (9)
<i>3rd term</i>	1 (1)	8 (7)	8 (8)
<i>Total</i>	22 (16)	19 (17)	25 (20)

Table A1.12: The Number of References Arguments About Equal Worth by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	25%	10%	9%
<i>2nd term</i>	12%	16%	17%
<i>3rd term</i>	5%	16%	4%
<i>Total</i>	42%	42%	30%

In terms of actual number of references, arguments about equal worth are most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language. However, as a percentage of total references to the 'social', arguments about equal worth are most prevalent jointly in Blair and Brown's language.

Tables A1.13 and A1.14 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with arguments about equal worth by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.13: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Equal Worth Arguments (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>		<i>Brown</i>		<i>Education Ministers</i>		
<i>Equal worth</i>	Economic	success	Economic	success	Liberation	&	Social
	(13)		(14)		justice	(4)	
	Knowledge-based economy (12)		Social justice (11)		Poverty (3)		
	Liberation (8)		Employability		& Competitiveness,		
			Poverty (10)		Economic success,		
					Employability,		
					Empowerment &		
					Social control (2)		
	Social justice (7)		Competitiveness (9)		Knowledge-based		
	Reconciling (6)		Reconciling (8)		economy, Personal		
	Employability		& Empowerment (7)		fulfilment,		
	Moral (4)				Reconciling, Social		
	Empowerment (3)		Skills (6)		inclusion & Social		
	Fairness & Personal		Knowledge-based		mobility (1)		

fulfilment (2)	economy (5)
Competitiveness,	Fairness, Liberation &
Poverty & Skills (1)	Moral (4)
	Enterprise (3)

Table A1.14: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Equal Worth Arguments By Term
(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Knowledge-based economy (12)	Employability (5)	Liberation & Social justice (2)
	Economic success (9)	Social justice (4)	Poverty & Social
	Liberation (5)	Reconciling (3)	control (1)
	Moral (4)	Enterprise & Poverty (2)	
	Employability, Reconciling, Social control & Social justice (3)	Economic success & Knowledge-based economy (1)	
	Empowerment (2)		
	Competitiveness, Fairness & Poverty		

	(1)		
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success (3)	Economic success & Liberation (2)	
	Poverty (6)		
	Liberation & Social justice (2)	Skills (5)	Competitiveness, Economic success,
	Fairness, Personal fulfilment & Reconciling (1)	Social justice (4)	Empowerment, Knowledge-based economy, Liberation, Social inclusion & Social justice (1)
		Competitiveness, Employability & Reconciling (3)	
		Knowledge-based economy (2)	
		Fairness, Liberation & Moral (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>	Social justice (2)	Economic success & Empowerment (7)	Employability & Poverty (2)
	Economic success (1)	Competitiveness (6)	Competitiveness, Economic success, Empowerment, Personal fulfilment, Poverty, Reconciling, Social control &
		Fairness, Liberation, Moral & Social justice (3)	
		Employability	
		Knowledge-based	

economy, Poverty & Social justice, Social
Reconciling (2) mobility (1)
Enterprise & Skills (2)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with equal worth we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.15 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about equal worth that are emphasised before any recourse to other arguments, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.15: Percentage of References Asserting Equal Worth Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	31% (5:16)	0% (0:3)	33% (1:3)
<i>2nd term</i>	100% (5:5)	13% (1:8)	50% (7:14)
<i>3rd term</i>	100% (1:1)	13% (1:8)	75% (6:8)
<i>Total</i>	50% (11:22)	11% (2:19)	56% (14:25)

4.4 Fairness

Table A1.16: The Number of References to Arguments About Fairness by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	2 (2)	6 (5)	3 (3)
<i>2nd term</i>	5 (3)	3 (3)	2 (2)
<i>3rd term</i>	2 (2)	10 (7)	10 (8)
<i>Total</i>	9 (7)	19 (15)	15 (13)

Table A1.17: The Number of References to Arguments About Fairness by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	3%	19%	9%
<i>2nd term</i>	12%	6%	2%
<i>3rd term</i>	10%	20%	5%
<i>Total</i>	25%	45%	16%

In terms of actual number of references and percentage of total references to the ‘social’, arguments about fairness are most prevalent in Brown’s language.

Tables A1.18 and A1.19 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with arguments about fairness by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.18: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Fairness Arguments (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Fairness</i>	Economic success (10)	Economic success & Employability (12)	Economic success (13)
	Equal worth, Liberation, Poverty & Reconciling (3)	Competitiveness (10)	Competitiveness (9)
	Knowledge-based economy & Social control (2)	Social justice (6)	Employability & Reconciling (7)
	Moral, fulfilment & justice (1)	Personal & Social Knowledge-based economy & Liberation (4)	Social justice (5)
		Equal worth (3)	Skills (4)
		Empowerment Skills (2)	& Knowledge-based economy & Poverty (2)

Poverty	& Empowerment,
Reconciling (1)	Enterprise, Social
	control & Social
	mobility (1)

Table A1.19: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Fairness Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Economic success (4)	Economic success & Employability (6)	Employability (7)
	Equal worth, Liberation, Reconciling & Social control (2)	Moral & Social justice (2)	Economic success (6)
	Moral, Knowledge-based economy & Poverty (1)	Knowledge-based economy & Skills (1)	Competitiveness, Reconciling & Skills (4)
			Knowledge-based economy (2)
			Empowerment, Enterprise, Social

			control & Social justice (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success (2)	Economic success (4)	Social justice (4)
	Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy & Poverty (1)	Employability & Social justice (2) Competitiveness, Enterprise, Equal worth & Poverty (1)	Competitiveness & Poverty (1)
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success (5)	Competitiveness (9)	Economic success (6)
	Liberation, Personal fulfilment, Poverty, Reconciling & Social justice (1)	Employability & Liberation (4) Knowledge-based economy (3) Economic success, Empowerment, Equal worth & Social justice (2) Enterprise, Moral, Reconciling & Skills (1)	Competitiveness (4) Reconciling (3) Poverty (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments that are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.20 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about fairness that are emphasised before any recourse to others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.20: Percentage of References Asserting Fairness Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	50% (1:2)	33% (2:6)	33% (1:3)
<i>2nd term</i>	40% (2:5)	33% (1:3)	0% (0:2)
<i>3rd term</i>	50% (1:2)	30% (3:10)	40% (4:10)
<i>Total</i>	44% (4:9)	32% (6:19)	33% (5:15)

4.5 Liberation

Table A1.21: The Number of References to Arguments About Liberation by Each Actor (raw data)

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
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<i>1st term</i>	8 (6)	0 (0)	3 (3)
<i>2nd term</i>	9 (8)	5 (4)	4 (4)
<i>3rd term</i>	2 (2)	5 (5)	12 (12)
<i>Total</i>	19 (16)	10 (9)	19 (19)

Table A1.22: The Number of References to Arguments About Liberation by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	12%	0%	9%
<i>2nd term</i>	21%	10%	5%
<i>3rd term</i>	10%	10%	6%
<i>Total</i>	43%	20%	20%

In terms of the actual number of references, prevalence for arguments about liberation is shared equally between Blair and the Education Ministers however, when analysing these references as a percentage of total references to the ‘social’, it is Blair that dominates for these arguments.

Tables A1.23 and A1.24 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with arguments about liberation by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.23: Arguments Employed in Conjunction with Liberation Arguments (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Liberation</i>	Economic success (11)	Skills (8)	Competitiveness & Equal worth (6)
	Equal worth (10)	Competitiveness & Economic success (6)	Knowledge-based economy (5)
	Employability (7)	Empowerment, Enterprise & Fairness (5)	Social justice (4)
	Reconciling & Social justice (5)	Employability, Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy & Poverty (4)	Economic success (3)
	Empowerment (4)	Moral (3)	Employability,
	Moral & Personal fulfilment (3)	Social justice (2)	Poverty, Skills & Social control (2)
	Fairness, Skills & Social control (2)		Empowerment (1)
	Poverty (1)		

Table A1.24: Arguments Employed in Conjunction with Liberation Arguments By Term

(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Equal worth (8)		Economic success,
	Economic success (5)		equal worth, Poverty
	Moral & Reconciling (3)		& Social justice (1)
	Employability, Empowerment, Social control & Social justice (2)		
	Fairness, Personal fulfilment & Skills (1)		
<i>Second Term</i>	Equal worth & Social justice (2)	Skills (8)	Equal worth (4)
	Economic success,	Enterprise (5)	Competitiveness (2)
	Employability,	Economic success & Poverty (4)	Economic success,
	Personal Fulfilment, Poverty & Skills (1)	Reconciling (3)	Empowerment,
		Knowledge-based economy (2)	Knowledge-based economy & Poverty (1)

		Competitiveness, Equal worth & Moral (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success (5)	Competitiveness, Empowerment & Fairness (5)	Competitiveness & Knowledge-based economy (4)
	Employability (4)	Employability (4)	Employability, Skills & Social control (2)
	Empowerment & Reconciling (2)	Equal worth (3)	Economic success & Social justice (1)
	Fairness, Personal fulfilment & justice (1)	Economic success, Knowledge-based economy, Moral, Reconciling & Social justice (2)	

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with liberation we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.25 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about liberation that are emphasised before any others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.25: Percentage of References Asserting Liberation Ahead of Other Arguments

About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	38% (3:8)	0% (0:0)	67% (2:3)
<i>2nd term</i>	67% (6:9)	20% (1:5)	75% (3:4)
<i>3rd term</i>	0% (0:2)	20% (1:5)	100% (12:12)
<i>Total</i>	47% (9:19)	20% (2:10)	90% (17:19)

4.6 Morality

Table A1.26: The Number of References to Arguments About Moral by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	5 (4)	2 (2)	1 (1)
<i>2nd term</i>	1 (1)	1 (1)	2 (2)
<i>3rd term</i>	0 (0)	6 (4)	2 (2)
<i>Total</i>	6 (5)	9 (7)	5 (5)

Table A1.27: The Number of References to Arguments About Moral by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	8%	7%	3%
<i>2nd term</i>	2%	2%	1%
<i>3rd term</i>	0%	12%	0.9%
<i>Total</i>	10%	21%	4.9%

In terms of both actual number of references and percentage of total incidence, arguments about moral are most prevalent in Brown's rhetoric.

Tables A1.28 and A1.29 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with arguments about moral by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.28: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Moral Arguments (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Moral</i>	Economic success (9)	Economic success & Equal worth (5)	Economic success (6)
	Equal worth	& Competitiveness,	Competitiveness (4)

Knowledge-based economy (8)	Fairness, Knowledge-based economy, Reconciling & Social justice (4)	
Liberation (4)	Empowerment & Social justice (3)	Liberation (3)
Reconciling (3)	Poverty & Skills (2)	Enterprise,
Employability, Empowerment, Social control & Social justice (2)	Employability (1)	Knowledge-based economy, Reconciling & Skills (1)
Fairness & Poverty (1)		

Table A1.29: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Moral Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Economic success, Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy (8)	Fairness (3)	Economic success (3)

	Liberation (4)	Social justice (2)	Competitiveness (2)
	Employability, Reconciling, control & justice (2)	Economic success, Employability, Knowledge-based economy & Skills (1)	Enterprise, Knowledge-based economy, Reconciling & Social justice (1)
	Empowerment & Fairness (1)		
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success, Empowerment, Poverty & Reconciling (1)	Knowledge-based economy, Poverty & Reconciling (2)	Economic success (1)
		Economic success, Equal worth, Liberation & Skills (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>		Competitiveness & Equal worth (4)	Competitiveness, Economic success & Social justice (2)
		Economic success & Empowerment (3)	Skills (1)
		Liberation, Reconciling & Social justice (2)	

		Fairness & Knowledge-based economy (1)
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Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with moral we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.30 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about moral that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.30: Percentage of References Asserting Moral Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	20% (1:5)	0% (0:2)	100% (1:1)
<i>2nd term</i>	0% (0:1)	0% (0:1)	100% (2:2)
<i>3rd term</i>	0% (0:0)	0% (0:6)	50% (1:2)
<i>Total</i>	17% (1:6)	0% (0:9)	80% (4:5)

4.7 Personal Fulfilment

Table A1.31: The Number of References to Arguments About Personal Fulfilment by Each

Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	2 (2)		0 (0)
<i>2nd term</i>	3 (3)		3 (3)
<i>3rd term</i>	2 (2)		6 (6)
<i>Total</i>	7 (7)		9 (9)

Table A1.32: The Number of References to Arguments About Personal Fulfilment by Each

Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	3%		0%
<i>2nd term</i>	7%		4%
<i>3rd term</i>	10%		3%
<i>Total</i>	20%		7%

In terms of actual number of references, arguments about personal fulfilment are most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language however, as a percentage of total references to the 'social', it is most prevalent in Blair's language.

Tables A1.33 and A1.34 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with personal fulfilment by Blair and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.33: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Personal Fulfilment (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Personal fulfilment</i>	Economic success (8)		Employability & Social control (4)
	Liberation (4)		Empowerment (3)
	Employability, Equal worth & Reconciling (3)		Competitiveness & Reconciling (2)
	Social control (2)		Economic success,
	Competitiveness, Empowerment, Fairness, Knowledge- based economy, Skills & Social justice (1)		Equal worth, Skills, Social inclusion, Social justice & Social mobility (1)

Table A1.34: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Personal Fulfilment By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Employability, Equal worth & Reconciling (2)		
	Empowerment, Liberation & Skills (1)		
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success, Liberation & Social control (2)		Reconciling, Social inclusion & Social justice (1)
	Competitiveness, Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy (1)		
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success (6)		Employability & Social control (4)
	Employability, Fairness, Liberation,		Empowerment (3)
			Competitiveness (2)

Reconciling & Social justice (1)		Economic success, Equal worth, Reconciling, Skills & Social mobility (1)
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Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with personal fulfilment we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the two actors. Table A1.35 outlines the percentage of references to the arguments about personal fulfilment that are emphasised before any recourse to others, across the terms for Blair and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.35: Percentage of References Asserting Personal Fulfilment Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	50% (1:2)		0% (0:0)
<i>2nd term</i>	67% (2:3)		67% (2:3)
<i>3rd term</i>	0% (0:2)		33% (2:6)
<i>Total</i>	43% (3:7)		44% (4:9)

4.8 Poverty

Table A1.36: The Number of References to Arguments About Poverty by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	5 (5)	5 (4)	2 (2)
<i>2nd term</i>	5 (5)	11 (9)	2 (2)
<i>3rd term</i>	2 (2)	3 (3)	16 (14)
<i>Total</i>	12 (12)	19 (16)	20 (18)

Table A1.37: The Number of References to Arguments About Poverty by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	8%	16%	6%
<i>2nd term</i>	12%	22%	2%
<i>3rd term</i>	10%	6%	8%
<i>Total</i>	30%	44%	16%

Arguments about poverty are the most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language in terms of actual number of references while in relation to the percentage of total incidence, Brown leads the way.

Tables A1.38 and A1.39 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of poverty in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.38: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Poverty (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Poverty</i>	Economic success & Fairness (5)	Economic success (16)	Employability (8)
	Reconciling & Social control (3)	Equal worth & Skills (8)	Reconciling (6)
	Employability & Knowledge-based economy (2)	Reconciling & Social justice (5)	Social justice (5)
	Competitiveness, Empowerment, Equal worth, Liberation & Moral (1)	Empowerment, Enterprise & Liberation (4)	Competitiveness & Social control (4)
		Employability & Knowledge-based	Economic success & Knowledge-based

	economy (3)	economy (3)
	Competitiveness (2)	Equal worth, Fairness & Liberation (2)
	Fairness & Moral (1)	Skills, Social inclusion & Social mobility (1)

Table A1.39: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Poverty By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Economic success, Employability, Reconciling & Social control (2)	Economic success, Employability, Equal worth, Knowledge- based economy &	Reconciling & Social control (3)
	Competitiveness, Equal worth, Fairness, Knowledge-based economy & Social justice (1)	Reconciling (1)	Knowledge-based economy (2)
			Economic success, Employability, Equal worth & Liberation (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Fairness (3)	Economic success	Social justice (3)

(10)			
	Economic success (2)	Skills (7)	Fairness & Liberation
	Empowerment,	Equal worth (5)	(1)
	Liberation, Moral,	Enterprise &	
	Knowledge-based	Liberation (4)	
	economy, Reconciling	Reconciling & Social	
	& Social control (1)	justice (3)	
		Competitiveness &	
		Empowerment &	
		Knowledge-based	
		economy (2)	
		Employability,	
		Fairness & Moral (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success &	Economic success (5)	Employability (7)
	Fairness (1)	Empowerment, Equal	Competitiveness (4)
		worth & Social justice	
		(2)	
		Employability,	Reconciling (3)
		Reconciling & Skills	Economic success &
		(1)	Social justice (2)
			Fairness, Knowledge-
			based economy,

	Skills, Social control, Social inclusion & Social mobility (1)
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Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with poverty we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.40 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about poverty that are emphasised before any recourse to others across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.40: Percentage of References Asserting Poverty Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	40% (2:5)	20% (1:5)	0% (0:2)
<i>2nd term</i>	60% (3:5)	46% (5:11)	0% (0:2)
<i>3rd term</i>	50% (1:2)	33% (1:3)	63% (10:16)
<i>Total</i>	50% (6:12)	37% (7:19)	50% (10:20)

4.9 Social Control

Table A1.46: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Control by Each Actor

(raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	8 (7)		5 (3)
<i>2nd term</i>	4 (3)		4 (4)
<i>3rd term</i>	0 (0)		21 (21)
<i>Total</i>	12 (10)		30 (28)

Table A1.47: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Control by Each Actor

(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	12%		15%
<i>2nd term</i>	9%		5%
<i>3rd term</i>	0%		10%
<i>Total</i>	21%		30%

Arguments about social control are the most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the 'social'.

Tables A1.48 and A1.49 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of social control in the speeches of Blair and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.48: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Control (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Social control</i>	Economic success (5)		Competitiveness (13)
	Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy & Poverty (3)		Economic success, Employability & Reconciling (11)
	Employability, Liberation & Reconciling (2)		Skills & Social mobility (6)
	Competitiveness, Empowerment, Fairness, Moral, Personal fulfilment &		Social justice (5)
			Empowerment, Knowledge-based economy & Personal

Social justice (1)		fulfilment (4)
		Equal worth, Liberation & Poverty (2)
		Enterprise, Fairness & Social inclusion (1)

Table A1.49: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Control By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Economic success (4)		Employability (6)
	Equal worth (3)		Economic success & Reconciling (5)
	Employability, Knowledge-based economy, Liberation, Reconciling & Poverty (2)		Competitiveness (3)
	Empowerment, Fairness, Moral & Social justice (1)		Knowledge-based economy & Skills (2)
			Enterprise, Equal

		worth, fairness & Poverty (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Competitiveness, Economic success, Personal fulfilment & Poverty (1)	Reconciling & Social justice (2)
		Competitiveness, Economic success, Empowerment, Knowledge-based economy & Social justice (1)
<i>Third Term</i>		Competitiveness (9)
		Social mobility (6)
		Economic success & Employability (5)
		Personal fulfilment, Reconciling & Skills (4)
		Empowerment & Social justice (3)
		Liberation (2)
		Equal worth, Knowledge-based

		economy, Poverty & Social inclusion (1)
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Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with social control we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.50 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about social control that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for Blair and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.50: Percentage of References Asserting Social Control Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

<i>Blair</i>		<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	38% (3:8)		20% (1:5)
<i>2nd term</i>	50% (2:4)		50% (2:4)
<i>3rd term</i>	0% (0:0)		52% (11:21)
<i>Total</i>	42% (5:12)		47% (14:30)

4.10 Social Inclusion

Table A1.51: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Inclusion by Each

Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>			0 (0)
<i>2nd term</i>			5 (5)
<i>3rd term</i>			7 (7)
<i>Total</i>			12 (12)

Table A1.52: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Inclusion by Each

Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>			0%
<i>2nd term</i>			6%
<i>3rd term</i>			3%
<i>Total</i>			9%

As the only actor that refers to arguments about social inclusion, this argument is the most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the 'social'.

Tables A1.53 and A1.54 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of social inclusion in the speeches of the Education Ministers.

Table A1.53: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Inclusion (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Social inclusion</i>			Competitiveness & Reconciling (6)
			Social justice (4)
			Economic success & Employability (3)
			Equal worth, Personal fulfilment, Poverty, Skills, Social control & Social mobility (1)

Table A1.54: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Inclusion Arguments By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>			
<i>Second Term</i>			Reconciling (4)
			Competitiveness (2)
			Economic success, Equal worth & Personal fulfilment (1)
<i>Third Term</i>			Competitiveness & Social justice (4)
			Employability (3)
			Economic success & Reconciling (2)
			Poverty, Skills, Social control & Social mobility

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with social inclusion we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by the Education Ministers. Table A1.55 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about social inclusion that are emphasised before any recourse to others, across the terms for the Education Ministers.

Table A1.55: Percentage of References Asserting Social Inclusion Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>			
<i>2nd term</i>			40% (2:5)
<i>3rd term</i>			29% (2:7)
<i>Total</i>			33% (4:12)

4.11 Social Justice

Table A1.56: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Justice by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	6 (5)	6 (2)	6 (5)
<i>2nd term</i>	3 (2)	9 (7)	22 (20)
<i>3rd term</i>	7 (5)	5 (4)	48 (42)
<i>Total</i>	16 (12)	20 (13)	76 (67)

Table A1.57: The Number of References to Arguments About Social Justice by Each Actor
(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	9%	19%	18%
<i>2nd term</i>	7%	18%	26%
<i>3rd term</i>	33%	10%	23%
<i>Total</i>	49%	47%	67%

Arguments about social justice are most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the 'social'.

Tables A1.58 and A1.59 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of social justice in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.58: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Justice (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Social justice</i>	Economic success (9)	Economic success (10)	Competitiveness (31)
	Equal worth (6)	Competitiveness, Equal worth & Reconciling (7)	Reconciling (22)
	Liberation (4)	Fairness & Moral (5)	Economic success (12)
	Employability (3)	Employability & Poverty (4)	Employability & Knowledge-based economy (11)
	Moral (2)	Enterprise (3)	Skills (7)
	Competitiveness, Empowerment, Fairness, Personal fulfilment, Reconciling & Social	Empowerment, Knowledge-based economy & Liberation (2)	Equal worth (6)
		Skills (1)	Social control (5)

control (1)	Empowerment & Social mobility (4)
	Fairness, Liberation, Moral & Poverty (3)
	Social inclusion (2)
	Enterprise & Personal fulfilment (1)

Table A1.59: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Justice By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Equal worth (4)	Reconciling (3)	Economic success (6)
	Employability (3)	Enterprise & Fairness (2)	Knowledge-based economy & Reconciling (4)
	Economic success, Liberation & Moral (2)	Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy & Moral (1)	Competitiveness (3)
	Competitiveness, Empowerment, Poverty & Social		Liberation & Skills (2) Employability,

	control (1)		Empowerment, Enterprise, Equal worth, Fairness & Moral (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Equal worth & Liberation (1)	Economic success (6)	Reconciling (9)
		Equal worth (4)	Competitiveness (7)
		Competitiveness, Poverty & Reconciling (3)	Employability & Equal worth (4)
		Employability (2)	Empowerment (3)
		Empowerment, Enterprise, Fairness & Skills (1)	Fairness & Social control (2)
			Economic success, Knowledge-based economy, Personal fulfilment & Poverty (1)
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success (7)	Competitiveness, Economic success & Moral (4)	Competitiveness (20)
	Equal worth, Fairness, Liberation, Personal	Employability, Equal worth, Fairness &	Reconciling (9)

fulfilment	& Liberation (2)
Reconciling (1)	Empowerment, Employability & Knowledge-based Knowledge-based economy, Poverty & economy (6) Reconciling (1) Economic success & Skills (5) Social mobility (4) Social control (3) Moral, Poverty & Social inclusion (2) Equal worth & Liberation (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with social justice we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A1.60 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about social justice that are emphasised before any recourse to others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A1.60: Percentage of References Asserting Social Justice Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

<i>Blair</i>		<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>			
<i>2nd term</i>			
<i>3rd term</i>			7%
<i>Total</i>			7%

As the only actor that mentions arguments about social mobility, this argument is the most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the 'social'.

Tables A1.63 and A1.64 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of social mobility in the Education Ministers' speeches.

Table A1.63: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Mobility (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Social mobility</i>			Competitiveness (11)
			Reconciling (10)
			Social justice (7)
			Skills & Social control (3)

		Economic success & Employability (3)
		Equal worth, Fairness, Personal fulfilment, Poverty & Social inclusion (1)

Table A1.64: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Social Mobility By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>			
<i>Second Term</i>			
<i>Third Term</i>			Competitiveness (11)
			Reconciling (10)
			Social justice (7)

		Skills & Social control (3)
		Economic success & Employability (3)
		Equal worth, Fairness, Personal fulfilment, Poverty & Social inclusion (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with social mobility we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the Education Ministers. Table A1.65 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about social mobility that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for the Education Ministers.

Table A1.65: Percentage of References Asserting Social Mobility Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>			
<i>2nd term</i>			

<i>3rd term</i>		47% (7:15)
<i>Total</i>		47% (7:15)

APPENDIX II

This appendix reveals the findings from the three stages of analysis I undertook into Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speeches on education in relation to the concept of the 'economic'. New Labour's understanding of the 'economic' arises from the detailed qualitative analysis into over one thousand of Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speeches. Using QSR NVivo to inductively code and analyse the data, I identified eighteen arguments used by the three actors when talking about education since 1997. I categorised these arguments according to the underlying concepts that they appealed to and found that they appealed to either 'economic' or 'social' arguments (see Chapter Two). The 'economic' refers to speech statements that refer directly to the health of the economy and the labour market, while the 'social' covers all other non-economic statements including a particular focus on issues relating to redistribution, equality and fairness. In this Appendix, I analyse the prevalence of those arguments that connect education with the 'economic' in the rhetoric of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (see Smith and Hay 2008 for similar method applied to globalisation and European integration). The six arguments of the 'economic' are listed (alphabetically) below.

- Competitiveness
- Economic success
- Employability
- Enterprise
- Knowledge-based economy

- Skills

This Appendix outlines the three-fold level of analysis into the six arguments above. This process involved: first, analysing the particular meanings attached to each argument by each actor over time. Second, determining how frequently each argument has been employed by each actor over time. Third, revealing how each argument is employed over time by each actor within their speeches that is, where each features within the actors' speeches, what other ideas it is used in conjunction with and how extensively it is talked about. In order to investigate more closely how these arguments have been employed by New Labour since 1997 this Appendix is organised into three sections, which are structured by a set of three questions:

1. How do Blair, Brown, and the Education Ministers understand the concept of the 'economic'?
2. When does the concept of the 'economic' first appear and who uses it?
3. How is the concept of the 'economic' employed within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' speeches?

These questions are designed to help me to identify any elements of change within each argument of the 'economic', in either how it is understood, or how it is employed. The three questions are set out to reveal the three levels of how the six arguments within the concept of the 'economic' have been employed by New Labour in its discussions of education. Thus, question one allows the Appendix to explore the particular meanings attached to each argument by Blair, Brown, and the Education Ministers since 1997. It shows the ideas comprised this notion; how such ideas are

conceived by each actor; and whether such understanding changes over time. Questions two and three moreover, allow the Appendix to show how frequently each argument has been used by Blair, Brown, and the Education Ministers and how they have been employed within the actors' speeches.

Section One: How do Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers Understand the Concept of the 'Economic'?

First, it is necessary to outline how each actor within New Labour understands the concept of the 'economic'. When applied to education, the concept of the 'economic' is found to be premised on the six arguments above by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers in their speeches. New Labour's understanding of each argument within the 'economic' was uncovered through my inductive content analysis into its speeches between 1997 and 2007. Although explained in further detail in Chapter Two, briefly, my method involved reading each speech by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and highlighting individual lines or sections of text and coding these according to the ideas and arguments that they referred too. In some cases, this involved coding those sections of text where particular 'economic' ideas were specifically mentioned. For example, the following section was coded under the category of employability because of its explicit reference to the term 'employability':

Breaking down the barriers between academic and vocational education will also be helped by an emphasis on employability and high quality work experience for pupils of all ability. Academic success may enhance

your future prospects but it does not shield you from the world of work or the need to make a meaningful economic contribution (Blunkett 2001b).

In other cases, while the whole word was not referred to directly, the actor in question did refer to a derivative of the term thus, Blair's quote below refers to the term 'compete' rather than 'competitiveness' but was still coded under the category of competitiveness:

It rests on one key belief: to succeed, today, Britain must be the world's No 1 creative economy. We will win by brains or not at all. We will compete on enterprise and talent or fail (Blair 1997e).

In the two examples above, the coding formula is relatively transparent and simple however, at other points during my analysis I coded sections of text that did not mention explicitly the term or a derivative word of it. In these cases, I analysed the passage of text to determine the key ideas and arguments it was referring to and coded it accordingly. At times, this process was made easier by the three actors' use of associated terms such as productivity for competitiveness, work for employability and globalisation for knowledge-based economy for example. However, at other times the only way that I could find out what arguments the actor was referring to in particular passages, was to read the text in its entirety and to determine it from there. Once I had analysed all of New Labour's speeches and coded them appropriately I then went through all of the categories that I had created and re-analysed them to uncover the particular elements within the category that they referred to. If we return to Blair's quote above we can see that here he connects Britain's ability to compete, its competitiveness, with 'creativity', 'brains', 'enterprise' and 'talent'. Thus, I would classify this argument as Blair emphasising the importance of creativity and enterprise to competitiveness. In contrast, Brown, in his quote below, still refers to

the notion of competitiveness but chooses to connect this, not with higher wages, but with raising the skills level of Britain's workforce:

China and India's wages are just five per cent of ours, but I say to you: we will not compete by lowering our wages or lowering standards but by raising our skills (Brown 2004j).

This section analyses each of the six arguments individually, in alphabetical order, to determine any areas of shared understandings or disagreements between Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, as well as detecting any changes in these actors' understanding over time.

1.1 Competitiveness

Arguments about competitiveness are linked closely to that of economic success in that both are used as justifications for the Government's opportunities for all agenda and its economic framework, as well as comprising the principal means for Britain to achieve economic success. Because of this, there is a great deal of overlap between the two strands and many of the elements cited as components of competitiveness (opportunities for all, enterprise and entrepreneurship, standards, economic characteristics, and responsibility) also feature significantly in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' rhetoric on economic success. Bearing this in mind, the next section will outline how the strand of competitiveness is conceptualised by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers and, although it refers to those elements that overlap with economic success, it only elucidates on these elements if the understanding differs to those outlined for

economic success. Using the inductive method outlined above (see Chapter Two), I identified six elements within New Labour's conception of arguments about competitiveness:

- Productivity
- Skills
- Enterprise and Entrepreneurship
- Opportunities for all
- Economic characteristics
- Responsibility

1.1.1 Productivity

All speakers from 2000 onwards (Blair from 2001 onwards, Brown only in 2003 and 2004, and Education Ministers from 2000 onwards) refer to education's contribution to productivity, as a basis for competitiveness:

For as long as anyone can recall, the complaint from industry has been that the public education system was not providing the skills it needed. My plea is simple: get involved. Rapid technological adaptation is the hallmark of a successful developed economy. The economy we are creating is one based on a comparative advantage in highly-skilled industries. The raw material is sophisticated knowledge. This means we need to be attentive to science - and we are doubling spending on it - and encourage research innovation. Half the annual growth in productivity comes from new ways of doing things. The fastest growing cities in America and Europe are those with the largest numbers of knowledge workers (Blair 2005e. See also Blair 2001c, 2001k, Brown 2003d, 2004e,

Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Clarke 2004c, Hodge 2003, Johnson 2007e, Kelly 2005l, 2005p, Lewis 2004d, 2004e, 2004h, 2005b, 2005c, Rammell 2006h, 2007b, 2007j).

Surprisingly however, not only does Brown make the least references to it but it is the Education Ministers who make the majority of references to this notion and these are made consistently over the period rather than in particular years as with Blair and Brown (see Table A2.1 below).

Table A2.1: Number of References to Productivity as Element of Arguments About Competitiveness 1997-2007

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness through productivity</i>	3	2	16

Productivity is a concern due to the performance of Britain's competitors: the US and Europe and more recently China and India:

In terms of economic success, globalisation is a reality - we need to support people and communities through the consequences of that globalisation, in a world where people are anxious and insecure, to make sure people feel they have the skills, and the capacity to cope with this dynamic and changing environment. Because it's about hard-edged competitiveness and productivity - whilst we do have an economy which is fundamentally strong we continue to lag behind in terms of

competitiveness and productivity. We've compared ourselves traditionally with France and Germany but of course those comparisons are almost irrelevant now the emerging competition is coming from China, from India and from the countries that have recently joined the European Union (Lewis 2005c).

The Education Ministers' arguments frequently draw upon the objectives set out in the Lisbon Strategy, where skills and talents are associated with creating 'value-added' rather than focusing on low wages:

Following the Mid-Term Review of the Lisbon goals last year, there was a general recognition that we all still had a long way to go before we achieved our aspiration that Europe should become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy. We want our Presidency to make a contribution to the thinking and practice behind the creation of such a Europe, a Europe that is capable of sustained economic growth, with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. That is why, on the Education side, we are focusing on showing how education and skills can act as levers for raising achievement and attaining the Lisbon goals. I welcome the support that UUK, with your help, are giving in making the arguments here (Kelly 2005q. See also Johnson 2007e, Kelly 2005b, 2005m, Rammell 2005a, 2006l, Smith 2005h).

Addressing Britain's low productivity requires investment principally in education and skills although the importance of enterprise and technology is also cited (Blair 2001c, 2001k, 2005e, Brown 2003d, 2004e, Blunkett 2000a, 2001b, Clarke 2004c, Lewis 2004d, 2005c, Hodge 2003, Hughes 2006a, 2007d, Johnson 2006f, 2006o, 2007e, Lewis 2004g, Kelly 2005l, 2005m, Rammell 2006h, 2007b, 2007f, Smith 2005h).

1.1.2 Skills

Strengthening the skills of the British workforce is seen to be a crucial element of improving productivity and thus competitiveness. Blair refers to skills variously as ‘knowledge’, ‘ideas’, ‘brains’ and ‘talent’. However, the meaning of these terms switches between enterprise and innovation, basic, intermediate and graduate skills; and technological or scientific skills (Blair 2002b; Blair 1997e, 1998c, 2000d, 2001c, 2005e, 2005f). Brown also places a high premium on skills as the core of Britain’s competitive advantage and he chooses to emphasise the argument that competitiveness should be sought on this basis (high skills), rather than low pay (Brown 2003a, 2003d, 2003i, 2004j, 2005q, 2005s, 2006i). He refers to the pressure on Britain to compete with countries that are bigger, with significantly lower rates of pay, and, in doing so, emphasises the pressure on Britain to ‘win’, to be ‘number one’ or ‘world leaders’ against such competition. In this view, Britain’s competition arises from China and India, as well as America and Europe:

Fourth, and most of all, investing in skills and education - because we cannot be number one in the world as an economy if we are number two in education (Brown 2002b).

In dealing with such challenges, Brown emphasises both the need for sustained and “necessary” investment in workforce skills, technology and the creativity of the British people, as well as a “shared determination” or “shared national purpose” in creating a high skill workforce (Brown 2002b, Brown 2003a, 2003d, 2003f, 2003i, Brown 2005b, Brown 2004e, 2004i, 2004j, Brown 2005a, 2005d, 2005e, 2005g, 2005i, 2005l, 2005m, 2005n, 2005q, 2005r, Brown 2006a, 2006g, 2006h, 2006i, Brown 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f, 2007g).

From 2000 onwards, all Education Ministers stress the importance of skills to both increasing opportunities for all and widening participation, as well as its central role in improving productivity. In doing this, the Education Ministers give prominence to increasing participation and ensuring an education system that is inclusive, in order to engage the talents and potential of all:

But I want to be clear as I can, it's not just something that would be quite nice, it's not just a social aspiration (although it is both those things) - it's far more important than that. You know that way back in 1997 our Government made the decision that as a nation we wanted to compete on the world stage as a high-value-added and high skills economy. We can't do that without investment in skills, investment in education and increasing participation in higher education (Morris 2001. See also Blunkett 2000a; Clarke 2004c; Hughes 2007d; Johnson 2006f; Kelly 2005m; Lewis 2004d; Morris 2001; Rammell 2007f; Smith 2005h).

Here, a great deal of emphasis is placed on bridging the productivity gap between Britain and its competitors, identified (from around 2005 onwards) as China and India principally, although the new countries within the EU, as well as America and other European countries, are also frequently mentioned. Arguments over competitiveness also continually emphasise the importance of graduate skills:

And we will need 50 per cent more people of graduate skills. Yet, while China and India are turning out four million graduates a year, we produce just 400,000. Quite simply in Britain today there is too much potential untapped, too much talent wasted, too much ability unrealised (Brown 2007c. See also Blair 2006c; Brown 2005d, 2005i, 2005m, 2006h, 2007e, 2007g; Johnson 2006n, 2006r, 2007d, 2007e, 2007h; Morris 2001; Rammell 2006c, 2006h, 2006j, 2007a, 2007f, 2007i, 2007n).

1.1.3 Enterprise and Entrepreneurship

The understanding of enterprise and entrepreneurship within arguments about competitiveness is broadly analogous to that within the economic success strand, with the exception that it is not until 2004 that Brown chooses to incorporate this notion into his conception of competitiveness.

New Labour's understanding of enterprise and entrepreneurship functions on both a micro and a macro level for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. On a micro level, Blair (from 2000), Brown and the Education Ministers: Blunkett and Rammell⁴⁰ emphasise the need for Britain⁴¹ to: “develop”, “unlock”, “unleash”, “release”, “nurture”, “engage” and “exploit” the “knowledge”, “skills”, “creativity”, “innovation” and “entrepreneurship” of all people in order to be successful (Blair 1997b; Blair 1997e, 1998c, 2000c, 2004g, 2006d, 2006h, Blunkett 2001b, Kelly 2005m, Rammell 2007a):

And as we get closer to getting all children into primary school, the demand will increase for secondary and higher education. This again is crucial to give people the skills they need in developing countries to work in a growing economy and to be the teachers, the doctors, the nurses and the entrepreneurs needed to provide health and education for the next generation. In our forthcoming White Paper the government will set out how we will increase our support for post-primary education to underpin economic growth, good governance and public services (Blair 2006h).

We know how much stronger our economy and our society will be if we see released all the dynamism, creativity and potential of all our people. So we now want to see a dynamic business culture which makes people

⁴⁰ No other Education Ministers refer to this particular element of economic success.

⁴¹ Britain is variously understood as government, individuals themselves and business.

feel that enterprise is not for an elite but potentially for them too (Brown 2004f).

My experience in five different ministerial positions at DTI and DFES leaves me in no doubt about how important it is that we better link up our education with our economy; academia with business; and skills with industry if Britain's brains, ingenuity and creativity are to be nurtured, expanded and converted into more jobs and greater wealth (Johnson 2006h).

In addition to focusing upon the micro tools for ensuring competitiveness, enterprise and entrepreneurship is posited on a macro level as overarching end goals. Only when Britain becomes truly "pro-enterprise", can it be considered competitive, and thus successful, and, indeed, Brown frequently refers to the need to build a "dynamic" economy and business culture in order to "excel", "win the race" and become "world leaders". In cases, greater focus and investment on science education is seen as the chief instrument with which to achieve both aims (Brown 1997b, 1997c, 1998e, 1999f, Brown 2002d, 2003d, 2004c, 2004f, 2004h, 2004j, 2005a, 2005d, 2005l, 2005m, 2005r, 2005s, 2006f).

1.1.4 Responsibility

In contrast to how responsibility is presented under the strand of economic success, neither Blair nor the Education Ministers address the issues of responsibility within arguments about competitiveness. Brown does raise this issue and he places it generally at the door of individuals, as he does for economic success. However, whereas in the former, individual responsibility is restricted to the first term, under competitiveness it covers the second and third terms:

If people themselves do not take on the challenge for themselves of upgrading their own skills, then we will not be successful in meeting global competition (Brown 2006i. See also Brown 2003d, 2004j, 2005n).

Brown's change of stance towards responsibility as he approaches the third term is similar to that identified in relation to the economic success strand; again, he calls for a shared determination between individuals and employers (Brown 2004e) and later between business and government:

70 per cent of the 2020 workforce is already in work so it is only by business and government working together that we will ensure every adult employee has the opportunity to retrain and upskill during their working lives - and achieve the shift in skills we need to ensure a competitive workforce over the next decade (Brown 2007e. See also Brown 2007g).

1.2 Economic Success

The argument that education can, and should, be used as a tool to generate economic success is one that is employed by Blair, Brown and all but one of the Education Ministers under analysis (Lewis being the exception) and thus it is a central concept within their language on education. New Labour's conception of economic success was found to be premised on six elements:

- Prosperity
- Standards
- Opportunities for all
- Enterprise and Entrepreneurship

- Economic characteristics
- Responsibility

1.2.1 Prosperity

One of the principal ways to achieve prosperity, according to Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language, is through the realisation of opportunities for all, where opportunity is available equally irrespective of background, capability, creed or race:

And I want to thank all teachers, governors, parents and pupils in all our schools, who helping us to deliver on what was, is and always will be our Number One priority or Britain's future prosperity: education, giving every child in the country the chance to make the most of their potential (Blair 2002b. See also Blair 2000g, 2000c, 2000j, 2002c, 2002d, 2003b, 2003d, 2004b, 2004g, 2005a, 2005b, 2006d, 2006e, 2006h, 2007c, Brown 1997c, 2002d, 2003d, 2004e, 2004j, 2004b, 2005a, 2005h, 2005s, Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Clarke 2004g, Johnson 2006o, 2007b, Kelly 2005m, 2006b, Rammell 2006k, 2007f, 2007n, Smith 2005i).

Here, opportunity is understood in two principal ways. The first understanding of opportunity is that employed by Blair from 2000 and by the Education Ministers: Blunkett, Clarke, Johnson, Kelly, Rammell and Smith across the whole period (Blair 2000g, 2000c, 2002b, 2003d, 2004g, 2005b, Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Clarke 2004g, Johnson 2006o, Kelly 2005m, Rammell 2006k, 2007f, Smith 2005i). This is where opportunity is seen as being realised through education. However, it is not education per se that leads to prosperity, rather only education directed towards the skills needs of the economy, and ultimately productivity, fulfils this

objective. Opportunities here are seen as investment in human capital and they are referred to variously as developing “potential”, “talent” and, of course, “skills”:

Learning is the key to prosperity, for each of us as individuals as well as for the nation as a whole. Investment in human capital will be the foundation of success in the knowledge-based global economy (Blunkett 2000a).

Although at the start of New Labour’s Administration in 1997 Brown accepts this understanding of opportunity’s role in achieving prosperity, he chooses not to emphasise this argument again until 2002 (Brown 1997c, 2002d, 2003d, 2004e, 2004j, 2004b, 2005a, 2005h, 2005s).

The second understanding of opportunity is employed by Brown consistently across the three terms and by Blair until 2000. Here, opportunity is seen as completely interwoven with entrepreneurial and enterprising talent. Thus, educational opportunities on their own do not achieve prosperity (not even those specifically directed towards skills needs); for Brown such opportunities have to support, encourage and release individual’s “enterprise”, “creativity” and “inventiveness” in order to contribute to prosperity (Blair 1997e, 1998c, 2000c, 2004g, 2006d, 2006h; Brown 1997c, 2002d, 2003d, 2004b, 2004e, 2004j, 2005a, 2005s):

To sum up: with too few scientists, too few skilled employees, too few men and women starting and growing businesses - the greatest constraint on the growth of Britain's productivity and prosperity today is now our failure to realise the educational and entrepreneurial potential of our own people (Brown 2002d).

However, whilst opportunity constitutes the principal method for achieving prosperity for the majority of the period, Brown adds another dimension of prosperity to his language during the third term, where prosperity, as a goal of competitiveness, is applied to the context of developing countries and, in particular, Africa. Here, educational opportunities for all still play a major role, yet, rather than linking it with entrepreneurship, Brown connects education (and importantly this involves primary, secondary and tertiary education), with rising wage levels as a symbol and marker of prosperity. Such a shift is illustrated if we compare the two quotes below, the first of which was made by Brown in 1998 and the second in 2005:

When people ask us why Labour supports at one and the same time a pro-enterprise, pro-competition policy, and a pro-equality policy as well, as if they were contradictory, let us explain to them that in a modern economy economic success depends upon the enterprise of people, economic justice depends upon fairness to people, and both depend upon opportunity for all (Brown 1998e).

And education is also the best way of ensuring economic prosperity and business competitiveness for their country. Countries cannot develop properly if only elites are educated. Instead of developing some of the potential of some of the people, future economic growth depends upon developing all of the potential of all. And increasing access to secondary and tertiary education is just as important as primary, educating the future doctors, nurses, teachers, policy officers, lawyers and government workers of tomorrow (Brown 2005h. See also Brown 2005i, 2006b).

1.2.2 Standards

Although not a dominant argument within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language on education, the contention that raising and maintaining high standards in education

leads to economic success is one that is emphasised by Blair in the first term (Blair 1998c, 2000e) and Brown from the third term onwards:

Unleashing the full potential of people - our most valuable resource - is the third element of the new, modern economy ... In another, it means an endless emphasis on education, and on skills - a ceaseless focus on driving up standards in order to ensure that opportunity for all is real (Blair 2000c).

Because we the Labour party understand that in this new world a nation cannot be first in prosperity if you are second in education. So, our economic goal now and for the future must be to become the world's number one power in education. And that means matching the best in the world for standards in our schools, leading in science, excelling for the creativity and inventiveness of all our people (Brown 2005s).

Indeed, both Blair and Brown stress the importance of raising standards in education in order to fulfil opportunities for all (Blair 1998c, Blair 2000b; Brown 2002d, 2003c, Brown 2005f).

1.2.3 Opportunities for All

Opportunity exercises a central role within Blair and Brown's understanding of economic success in general because it is understood to reconcile the goals of economic success and social justice, the central platform upon which their programme is founded:

So in tackling these market failures - especially failures in the availability of information and the mobility of capital - a new agenda opens up that helps markets work better and delivers opportunity for all. It is our answer to those who allege that we can only pursue equity at the cost of efficiency, a demonstration that equity and efficiency need not be

enemies but can be allies in the attainment of opportunity and security for all. Here social justice - equality of opportunity and fairness of outcomes - not bought at the cost of a successful economy but as part of achieving such a success (Brown 2003b. See also Blair 2002c; Blair 1999c, 2000a, 2000g, 2002d, 2004g, 2006e, Brown 1998e, 1999a, 1999d, 1999f, 2002f, 2004a, 2004f, 2004j, 2006f, 2007d).

Although opportunity is a crucial notion for many of the Education Ministers, only Blunkett, Kelly and Johnson choose to talk about opportunities as a basis for economic success (Blunkett 2000a, 2000c, 2001b, Kelly 2005m, Johnson 2006o). Opportunity is seen to work on two levels. Firstly, on a micro level, opportunity is affected through education and employment:

This process starts with getting the basics right in education. Failure to do that in the past explains our need to invest in basic skills training for adults. It also means giving children and young people appropriate ladders of opportunity that link education and their experience of it directly to the labour market (Blunkett 2001b. See also Brown 1997c).

In talking about opportunity, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers generally refer to the acquisition of higher levels of skills, which are seen to be addressed in two principal ways. Firstly, such skills are gained through higher levels of education that are directed towards the skills needs of the economy:

What are the big issues facing higher education today? I think there are four. First, we need more highly skilled workers ... We need more people going to university; more adults opting for foundation degrees (Blair 2007c).

Secondly, skills shortages are filled through people moving from low skilled to high-skilled employment, enabled through education and work-based training:

Let me begin by stating as clearly as possible the reasons why we have prioritised education ever since the election in May 1997 and why we will continue to do so. The first argument is an economic one and it is unanswerable. Thirty or forty years ago, developed countries could tolerate substantial under-performance in their education systems mostly because there was a plentiful supply of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in the economy. This is no longer the case (Blunkett 2000d. See also Blunkett 2001b, Kelly 2005m, Johnson 2006m).

Through applying education and employment policies, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers can tackle injustices such as low pay, low aspiration, unemployment and that pose a barrier to individuals receiving opportunities (Blair 2000c). Other barriers to opportunities for all identified by Brown are social class (Brown 2002f, 2007c) and poverty, although from the start of the third term this argument is applied exclusively to developing countries (Brown 1999a, 2001b, 2005c, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e).

Ensuring opportunities for all offers significant rewards to all (government, society and the individual), which is where the second level of opportunity comes in. Opportunity for all performs a crucial mediating role within Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language in binding together the objectives of competitiveness and social justice. Thus, opportunity is described variously as the key to "economic success and social stability" (Blair 2000a) and "a strong economy and strong society" (Brown 2004c, Brown 2004f). Such sentiments are echoed by the two Education Ministers: Blunkett and Clarke who describe opportunities as the: "combined strategy for social inclusion and economic growth" (Blunkett 2000b), and vital: "for the economic future of Britain and its social strength" (Clarke 2002b). It is within this reconciling role that opportunity, in "unleashing the potential of all", is portrayed by Blair as a

“national resource” and people as Britain’s “human capital” (Blair 2000a, 2000c, 2000e, 2003d, 2004g).

Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers frequently cite the significance of opportunity. However, three subtle differences can be identified in how opportunity is conceptualised by each actor when it is used in conjunction with arguments about economic success. First, rather than employing terms such as ‘social stability’ and ‘social inclusion’, Brown links opportunity explicitly with the goals of eradicating poverty and equality: “opportunity for all is the best pro-enterprise, pro-competition and pro-equality policy” (Brown 1998e) and “[educational opportunity] is the best anti-poverty, and the best economic development program” (Brown 2001b, 2005c, 2005h, 2006b, 2006d, 2006e).

Secondly, an implicit antithesis is set up between employing opportunity for ‘social’ and ‘moral’ causes and utilising it for economic purposes and imperatives in the language of Blair and the Education Ministers. This is achieved by the particular rhetorical devices/techniques employed when talking about opportunity. For example, Blair argues: “opportunity is a good thing in itself but it is vital to success” (Blair 2002d. See also Blair 2004g, 2004h, 2006e). Similarly, Blunkett emphasised: “[e]quality of opportunity is not simply a moral objective - it is an economic imperative” (Blunkett 2000c. See also Clarke 2002b, 2004e, Kelly 2005a)⁴². Such techniques

⁴² This technique is categorised by Fairclough as the ‘not only, but also’ technique and he lists two effects of this. The first is to portray a false choice between the two objectives, which contradicts the fundamental claim that the New Labour project could said to be based upon: that it is possible to reconcile the two objectives (see Fairclough 2000: 52-53 for similar arguments). The second effect is to obscure the relationship between the two parts, making it unclear how much significance and importance is attached to social causes and how much to economic purposes (Fairclough 2000: 65). Furthermore, by presenting the two as consistently conjoined, it implicitly diminishes the value of pursuing social causes in comparison to that of economic purposes, because it appears to present them as

are not apparent in Brown's language on opportunity in relation to economic success. Indeed, he consistently presents the two as comparable:

When people ask us why Labour supports at one and the same time a pro-enterprise, pro-competition policy, and a pro-equality policy as well, as if they were contradictory let us explain to them that in a modern economy economic success depends upon the enterprise of people, economic justice depends upon fairness to people, and both depend upon opportunity for all (Brown 1998e. See also Brown 1997b, 2003b).

The third difference relates to how this argument is employed over time. Blair's use of this argument is limited to a five-year period (2000-2005) and, outside of these years, he rarely utilises the argument. For example, Blair makes twelve references to the connection between opportunity and economic success between 2000 and 2005 (Blair 2002c, Blair 2000g, Blair 2003b, Blair 2005b, Blair 2004g, Blair 2000c, Blair 2002b, Blair 2003d, Blair 2004h, Blair 2002d, Blair 2000e), and only four outside of these years: twice in 1998, and twice in 2006 (Blair 1998e, Blair 1998c, Blair 2006e, Blair 2006d). In comparison, Brown employs the argument connecting opportunity with economic success consistently throughout the three terms under analysis, with the exception of the years 2000 and 2001. Blunkett, in contrast, introduces the strand in 2000, around the same time that it first appears in Blair's language. However, any correspondence between the two figures' ends here, as, rather than continuing with it until 2005, like Blair, the strand disappears from the Education Ministers' rhetoric once Blunkett leaves office and it is not picked up again until 2005 – the same point at which Blair drops it from his rhetoric.

insufficient justifications on their own (see Driver and Martell 1998: 106, Hay and Watson 1999: 173 and O'Brien 2000: 408).

1.2.4 Enterprise and Entrepreneurship

The understanding of enterprise and entrepreneurship within arguments about economic success is broadly analogous to that within the competitiveness strand.

1.2.5 Economic Characteristics

The final element within arguments about economic success is the set of economic characteristics seen as necessary to ensure economic success: ensuring stability as a platform to providing opportunities for all (Blair 2004g; Brown 1997b, 2002d, 2005m, 2005r, 2007e); minimising regulation (Brown 2005r, 2005s, 2006g, 2007e); keeping taxes competitive (Brown 2006g, 2007e); flexibility⁴³ (Blair 1999g, 2000c, 2004g, Brown 2004e, 2004j, 2005d, 2005h, 2005r, 2006g, 2006i, 2007e); and growth (Brown 1999a, 2005h, 2006b, Blunkett 2000c, Kelly 2005m, Rammell 2005b). Perhaps unsurprisingly given his time as Chancellor, more space is given to these factors in Brown's language. However, Blunkett, Kelly, Johnson, and Rammell cite these factors at least once over the period:

⁴³ Flexibility is seen as critical to improving productivity, competitiveness and ultimately ensuring economic success. Flexibility here is seen as labour market flexibility where it the individual who is deemed responsible for the undertaking of education, training and employment opportunities throughout the course of their career. More than this though flexibility is required by the individual so that they assume responsibility for the upgrading and changing of their skills where it is required by their employment or the wider economy. If the individual does not assume such responsibility than they will be subject to any consequences for example unemployment and social exclusion (see Blunkett 2000a, Brown 2003d, 2004e).

We have addressed these challenges throughout our UK Presidency of the EU. It is our aim to focus on the Lisbon goals of economic growth and greater employment and show how education and training can contribute (Rammell 2005b. See also Blunkett 2000c, Kelly 2005m).

Yet, even here, we can detect a trend in that, in 1997, Brown focuses on stability as the principal economic concern, yet, as time goes on Brown switches his attentions to the concerns of regulation, taxes and flexibility.

1.2.6 Responsibility

Responsibility for ensuring economic success falls on a number of actors in Blair's, Brown's and the Education Ministers' language. In the first term, Blair talks about the need for a shared responsibility (Blair 1999a, 2002b; Blair 2000c). However, it is unclear who the actors are within this partnership. At times, Blair refers explicitly to parents, teachers and pupils:

If we are to succeed in the knowledge economy, we need - as parents, as teachers, as a country - to get a whole new attitude to learning (Blair 1999a. See also Blair 2000c).

At other times however, it is left more unclear and, instead, broad actors such as 'the country' are invoked, which may or may not include Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers itself or employers (Blair 2000c, 2005b). In contrast, Brown in the first term switches responsibility between individuals themselves (Blair 1997a; Brown 1997c) and employers (Blair 1998e; Brown 1998c, 1999d). From the middle of the second term however, this has changed to a partnership

between business and government (Brown 2003d), while he finally adopts the vaguer, Blair notion of: “a shared national economic purpose” (Brown 2005r).

1.3 Employability

Using education to raise the skills levels of all individuals and improve their employability has two benefits. Firstly, it has direct benefits for the individual concerned in that it prevents social exclusion, ensures economic opportunity for all and emphasises that all people benefit from the three values of: “self-improvement, value of education, [and] the dignity of work” (Brown 1997c, 2000d):

For the first time in over three decades we have slowed the economy down without recession. We know what works. Economic discipline. The embrace of the new information technology. Vigorous competition. Investment in education and skills. Incentives to work and making work pay. Specific measures to tackle social exclusion, which economic demand management alone cannot cure (Blair 2000i. See also Blair 1999b, 2000f).

These benefits have subsequent advantages for the wider society in terms of reducing crime and reducing dependency on benefits (Blair 2000i). This aspect of employability is generally emphasised by all three actors (Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers) during the first term. In talking about the gains to the individual from pursuing such a strategy, both Blair and the Education Ministers distinguish between a job and a career by using positive adjectives such as “good”, “fulfilling” or “decent” in relation to the latter, and “dull”, “dead-end” and even “wretched” when talking of the former (Blair 2000d, 2004d, 2007b; Blunkett 2001b; Hughes

2007a; Johnson 2006q; Kelly 2005b; Rammell 2006c; Smith 2006c). At the end of his Premiership (from 2007), Blair also connects education's role in improving employability to the objective of empowerment:

The challenge today is to make the employee powerful, not in conflict with the employer but in terms of their marketability in the modern workforce. It is to reclaim flexibility for them, to make it about their empowerment, their ability to fulfil their aspirations (Blair 2007b).

Furthermore, he attaches education, within arguments about employability, to the ability to reconcile the goals of competitiveness and social justice, or enterprise and fairness as it is sometimes referred to: a key platform upon which the New Labour project is built:

The central economic idea of New Labour - that economic efficiency and social justice ran together - was based on this fact. In the new knowledge economy, human capital, the skills that people possess, is critical. Work, the fact of work and the changed nature of work, was thus central to the Government's economic and social policy from the beginning (Blair 2007b. See also Blair 2004g).

Thirdly, applying education in this way gives everybody the skills to meet and master the challenges of the new global economy, enabling them to become beneficiaries, rather than victims, of globalisation (Blair 2000i, 2004g, 2007b; Brown 2000d, 2005i).

Fundamentally, investment in education is understood to be vital to the development of: "tomorrow's workforce" (Blair 1998c). It is under the employability strand that education is explicitly tied to the achievement of economic opportunity and greater human capital, which, in

turn, delivers the traditional Labour objective of full employment (Blair 1999b, 2000f, 2000i, 2000l, 2001i, 2003c, 2004g, 2007b; Brown 1997c, 2000d).

1.4 Enterprise

Arguments about enterprise are connected to the creativity, talent, and ultimately brains, of the British people and, here, education plays a crucial part:

To run a well-managed economy with low inflation and tough rules on public finances; where having got stability for the long-term in place we focus policy on using the creative talent of all our people to build a true enterprise economy for the 21st century. We compete on brains not brawn (Blair 1997a. See also Brown 1998f, 2002d, 2003e, 2007c).

Brown focuses on the role of schools and colleges in raising enterprise levels and creating an enterprise culture (Brown 2001d, 2002c, 2002d, 2004c, 2005j, 2005k). In the first term, Brown also connects enterprise to a ‘modern’ role of government in which the state’s role is: “not to interfere but to enable” (Brown 2001c. See also Brown 1998a).

1.5 Knowledge-Based Economy

The knowledge-based economy represents a significantly new era of global change for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. Although only appearing in their rhetoric after 2000, the term ‘knowledge economy’ is employed to refer to the type of economic approach that has

resulted from, and is required by, the processes and transformations associated with the notion of globalisation:

Globalisation is not merely an economic phenomenon, and that is why our response cannot simply be an economic one ... On top has to be built a modern economy whose raw material is knowledge, skills, the aptitude and intelligence of people. Here there is certainly a political divide. For me, the challenge is to use the power of the community, acting together, to break down the barriers holding back opportunity for all. Education based on excellence for all and learning through life, not just at school becomes the economic, as well as social priority for a modern nation in the knowledge economy ... Today, it is the knowledge race (Blair 2000l).

The knowledge economy is understood both positively and negatively. In positive terms, the knowledge economy is presented as progress and thus something that should be striven towards. It is defended as a good thing in itself because it represents advancement for both the nation and individuals because competitiveness and economic success are now sought on the basis of high skills rather than low pay. Here, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employ several euphemisms for the term knowledge economy, which emphasise its appeal for example, terms such as: “new”, “information-age”, “global”, “modern” and “21st century” are associated with either ‘economy’ or ‘world’ (Blair 2002b, 2003b; Blair 1998d, 2000c, 2000e, 2000l, 2001h, 2001m, Brown 1998f, 2000f, 2001a, 2001f, 2004d, 2004h, 2005a, 2005q, 2005r, 2006a, 2006f, 2006g, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f, Blunkett 1999, 2000b, Johnson 2006j, 2006p, Kelly 2005k, 2006c, Rammell 2006d, 2007b). Alongside these positive justifications however, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers refer to the “perils”, “challenges” and “demands” of change brought about by the “new” knowledge economy.

Governments can, through investment in education, “help”, “enable” and “empower” people to equip themselves with the necessary skills to cope and master change and it is by deconstructing this idea that we can uncover where Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers place responsibility for such actions. Here, pronouns play a significant part in Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers’ rhetoric. Pronouns such as “we”, “our”, “you” and “us” are used extensively by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. However, it is unclear whether such terms are being used exclusively (referring only to the Government) or inclusively (broader understanding such as the nation) and, thus, who, or what, is being addressed (see Fairclough 2000: 164). In terms of the knowledge-based economy strand, this technique is used much more extensively by Brown than by any of the other actors within Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers (see Blair 2000c, Brown 1998f, 2006a, 2007c, 2007e, Blunkett 2000b, Clarke 2003a, Lewis 2004d, Johnson 2006a, Rammell 2006g, 2006l).

1.6 Skills

In contrast to the employability strand where the emphasis is placed principally on the individual, Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers employ arguments about skills to emphasise the wider gains achieved by addressing Britain’s supply side weaknesses and “Achilles’ heel” of historically low levels of workforce skills. Such gains are cited as increased productivity; growth; prosperity; wealth; employment; and labour flexibility levels (Blair 2002a; Blair 1998h, 1999c, 2000b, 2000h, 2000k, 2001g, 2004g, 2006f; Brown 1998b, 1998e, 1998g, 1999b, 1999e, 2001d, 2002b, 2002d, 2003d, 2004d, 2004e, 2005i, 2005p, 2006d). The link between education

and productivity is associated explicitly with the European Union's Lisbon agenda by Kelly (Kelly 2005b). Here, education is linked explicitly to the development of skills in order to improve Britain's human capital and create value-added products. Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers understand the term 'skills' variously and the term is used in the context of a host of topics, such as technology, science, innovation, enterprise, business creation, transport, infrastructure, knowledge and education, where it is connected to the globalisation and knowledge economy agenda as set out above.

Section Two: When Does the Concept of the 'Economic' First Appear and Who Uses It?

Table A2.2 shows the date that each argument within the 'economic' was first referred to by each of the three actors: Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers, and the speech it was introduced in. Highlighted in bold is the speech when each argument was first introduced into New Labour's language. All six arguments are introduced during the first half of the first term (all in 1997 with the exception of knowledge-based economy, which appeared in 1998). Of these six, Blair introduces three and Brown also introduces three (however one of these [employability] is introduced at the same time, and indeed in the same context, as Blunkett). Excepting this joint introduction for the argument, the Education Ministers do not introduce any of the economic notions and their language does not mirror that of Blair or Brown until later in the first term (from 1999 onwards). Indeed, of the six arguments of the 'economic'; four are not mentioned by the Education Minister Blunkett until 2000.

Table A2.2: When is Each Argument Introduced?

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	11/11/97 Speech to CBI Conference (Blair 1997e)	10/06/02 Speech to Amicus Conference (Brown 2002b)	27/06/00 Opportunities for all Speech (Blunkett 2000c)
<i>Economic success</i>	09/01/98 New Britain in a Modern World Speech (Blair 1998c)	02/10/97 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Brown 1997c)	06/01/00 Raising Aspirations Speech (Blunkett 2000d)
<i>Employability</i>	09/01/98 New Britain in a Modern World Speech (Blair 1998c)	02/10/97 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Brown 1997c)	02/10/97 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 1997c)
<i>Enterprise</i>	10/11/97 Speech to Mansion House (Blair 1997a)	17/03/98 Speech (Brown 1998a)	Budget 27/06/00 Opportunities for all Speech (Blunkett 2000c)
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	10/01/98 Speech to CBI Forum Tokyo (Blair 1998d)	30/09/98 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Brown 1998a)	29/09/99 Speech to Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 1998a)

	1998e)	1999)33
<i>Skills</i>	20/01/98 Change in a Modern Europe Speech (Blair 1998b)	12/06/97 Speech to Mansion House (Brown 1997b) 21/11/00 Speech to Association of Colleges Conference (Blunkett 2000a)

The first ‘economic’ argument to be referred to is that connecting education to building skills and this is done by Brown in his speech to the Mansion House (Brown 1997b). The sequence of arguments introduced subsequently are employability and economic success, which are not only introduced by Brown (in the case of employability conjointly with Blunkett), but are also introduced in the same context: the 1997 Labour Party Conference (Blunkett 1997c; Brown 1997c). Next, is arguments about enterprise, which are introduced by Blair (Blair 1997a), the next day he introduces arguments about competitiveness in his speech to the CBI (Blair 1997e). Finally, then arguments about the knowledge-based economy are introduced, again by Blair, in 1998 (Blair 1998d). Looking at the arguments that each actor chooses to draw upon first, we find that Brown connects education to arguments about skills first, Blair selects enterprise and the Education Ministers choose employability.

Section Three: What Significance is Given to Each ‘Economic’ Argument by Each Actor?

Tables A2.3 and A2.4 below outline how significant each ‘economic’ argument is to each actor overall. Table A2.3 shows the overall significance awarded to each argument between 1997 and

2007 according to raw data: the actual number of references to each notion, whilst Table A2.4 shows the significance according to the percentage of total references to the ‘economic’ each argument equals.

Table A2.3: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	17	53	82
<i>Economic success</i>	41	76	46
<i>Employability</i>	34	43	46
<i>Enterprise</i>	3	23	2
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	18	22	27
<i>Skills</i>	10	24	23

Figure A2.4: Overall Significance of Arguments of the ‘Economic’ for Each Actor 1997-2007 (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	12	21	35
<i>Economic success</i>	29	30	20

<i>Employability</i>	24	17	20
<i>Enterprise</i>	2	9	0.9
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	13	9	12
<i>Skills</i>	7	10	10

These Tables illustrate how significant each argument within the ‘economic’ is to each actor over the period 1997-2007. However, how does such significance translate across individual terms? In order to investigate such a proposition further we need to ascertain how frequently such arguments are drawn upon by each actor in each of the three terms. This will enable us to determine the extent of change within each actor’s language over time, whilst also enabling a comparison across actors.

Tables A2.5 and A2.6 outline the three most frequently referenced ‘economic’ arguments for each of the three terms. Table A2.5 illustrate this according to raw data and the actual number of references to each notion is included in brackets. Table A2.6 does so according to the percentage of total incidence where the percentages for each argument are also listed in brackets. This will shown in more detail in Section Four where the Appendix will outline each argument individually for each actor and over each of the three terms.

Tables A2.5: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007
(raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Employability (18)	Employability (23)	Economic success (11)
<i>Term</i>	Economic success (16)	Economic success (18)	Employability (8)
	Knowledge-based economy (15)	Skills (7)	Competitiveness & Knowledge-based economy (6)
<i>Second</i>	Economic success (14)	Economic success (29)	Competitiveness (15)
<i>Term</i>	Employability (10)	Competitiveness (21)	Economic success (6)
	Competitiveness (4)	Enterprise (16)	Knowledge-based economy & Skills (3)
<i>Third</i>	Economic success (11)	Competitiveness (32)	Competitiveness (61)
<i>Term</i>	Employability (6)	Economic success (29)	Employability (34)
	Competitiveness (3)	Knowledge-based economy (12)	Economic success (29)

Table A2.6: The Three Most Frequently Referenced Arguments by Each Actor 1997-2007
(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First</i>	Employability (25%)	Employability (40%)	Economic success (28%)

<i>Term</i>	Economic success (22%)	Economic success (31%)	Employability (21%)
	Knowledge-based economy (21%)	Skills (12%)	Competitiveness & Knowledge-based economy (15%)
<i>Second</i>	Economic success (34%)	Economic success (29%)	Competitiveness (48%)
<i>Term</i>	Employability (24%)	Competitiveness (21%)	Economic success (19%)
	Competitiveness (10%)	Enterprise (16%)	Knowledge-based economy & Skills (10%)
<i>Third</i>	Economic success (33%)	Competitiveness (34%)	Competitiveness (37%)
<i>Term</i>	Employability (22%)	Economic success (31%)	Employability (21%)
	Competitiveness (11%)	Knowledge-based economy (13%)	Economic success (18%)

Section Four: How is the Concept of the ‘Economic’ Used Within Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ Speeches?

This section analyses how the ‘economic’ arguments are employed in Blair’s, Brown’s and the Education Ministers’ speeches. It looks at the number of references made to each argument from the number of speeches, both as actual numbers and percentage of total incidence, and compares this to the total number of number of references and speeches made by each speaker⁴⁴, again as raw data and percentage of total incidence. Additionally, the section analyses the following two

⁴⁴ The Tables show the number of references made to each argument within the concept of the ‘economic’ by each actor, in each term. In the brackets, I have included the number of speeches that these references originated from.

aspects of the way in which the arguments are used within speeches, taking care to show any elements of change over time:

1. Where does the argument appear in each actor's speeches?
2. Is it connected with any other arguments?

4.1 Competitiveness

Table A2.7: The Number of References to Arguments About Competitiveness by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i> ⁴⁵	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	10 (9)		6 (3)
<i>2nd term</i>	4 (3)	21 (16)	15 (15)
<i>3rd term</i>	3 (3)	32 (21)	61 (53)
<i>Total</i>	17 (15)	53 (37)	82 (71)

Table A2.8: The Number of References to Arguments About Competitiveness by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
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⁴⁵ Brown does not mention arguments about competitiveness until the second term.

<i>1st term</i>	14		15
<i>2nd term</i>	10	21	48
<i>3rd term</i>	11	34	37
<i>Total</i>	35	55	100

Arguments about competitiveness are the most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language, both in terms of actual number of references and the percentage that this equates to of the total references to the concept of the 'economic'.

Tables A2.9 and A2.10 below illustrates what other arguments of education are used alongside that of competitiveness in the speeches of Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.9: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Competitiveness (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Competitiveness</i>	Economic success & Employability (8)	Economic success (38)	Social justice (32)
	Reconciling (6)	Employability & Knowledge-based economy (14)	Reconciling (27)
	Social control (2)	Fairness (10)	Economic success

(22)			
Enterprise, worth, based Personal Poverty, Social justice (1)	Equal Knowledge-economy, fulfilment, Skills &	Skills (9) Reconciling (8) Equal worth (7) Social justice (6) Enterprise, Liberation & Moral (4) Poverty (2)	Employability (20) Knowledge-based economy & Social control (11) Skills (10) Fairness, Liberation & Moral (6) Poverty (5) Empowerment, Equal worth and Social inclusion (4) Moral (3) Enterprise & Personal fulfilment (2)

Table A2.10: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Competitiveness By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Employability &		Economic success (9)

	Reconciling (4)		
	Economic success,		Employability (6)
	Enterprise, Equal		Reconciling (5)
	worth, Poverty &		Skills (4)
	Social justice (1)		Knowledge-based economy (3)
			Enterprise, Fairness & Social justice (2)
			Empowerment, Moral & Social control (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success (7)	Economic success (15)	Social justice & Reconciling (7)
	Employability (3)	Skills (8)	Equal worth (3)
	Social control (2)	Reconciling (6)	Economic success, Empowerment, Knowledge-based economy, Liberation & Social inclusion (2)
	Knowledge-based economy, Personal fulfilment & Skills (1)	Employability (5) Social justice (4) Knowledge-based economy (3)	Employability, Fairness & Social control (1)

		Equal worth (3)		
		Poverty (2)		
		Empowerment,		
		Enterprise, Fairness &		
		Liberation (1)		
<i>Third Term</i>	Employability (1)	Economic success	Social justice (23)	
		(22)		
		Knowledge-based economy (11)	Reconciling (15)	
		Employability & Fairness (9)	Employability (13)	
		Equal worth & Moral (4)	Economic success (11)	
		Empowerment, Enterprise & Liberation (3)	Social control (9)	
		Reconciling & Social justice (2)	Knowledge-based economy, Skills & Social mobility (6)	
		Skills (1)	Poverty (5)	
			Liberation (4)	
			Fairness (3)	

	Moral, Personal fulfilment & Social inclusion (2)
	Equal worth (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with competitiveness we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A2.11 outlines the percentage of references to the arguments about competitiveness that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers. The numbers listed in the table refer to the percentage of references that are asserted ahead, whilst the numbers in the brackets outline the actual number of references prioritised before other arguments as a ratio of overall references to this argument).

Table A2.11: Percentage of References Asserting Competitiveness Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	60% (6:10)		17% (1:6)
<i>2nd term</i>	25% (1:4)	48% (10:21)	53% (8:15)
<i>3rd term</i>	100% (3:3)	31% (10:32)	48% (29:61)

<i>Total</i>	59% (10:17)	38% (20:53)	46% (38:82)
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4.2 Economic Success

Table A2.12: The Number of References to Arguments About Economic Success by Each

Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	16 (10)	18 (12)	11 (5)
<i>2nd term</i>	14 (9)	29 (18)	6 (6)
<i>3rd term</i>	11 (7)	29 (16)	29 (26)
<i>Total</i>	41 (26)	76 (46)	46 (37)

Table A2.13: The Number of References to Arguments About Economic Success by Each

Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	22	31	28
<i>2nd term</i>	34	29	19
<i>3rd term</i>	33	31	18
<i>Total</i>	89	91	65

In terms of actual number of references and as a percentage of total references, arguments about economic success are most prevalent in Brown's language.

Tables A2.14 and A2.15 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with arguments about economic success by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.14: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Economic Success (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Economic success</i>	Equal worth & Competitiveness (30)	Competitiveness (17)	
	Knowledge-based economy (14)		
	Employability & Employability (25)	Reconciling (12)	
	Reconciling (9)		
	Fairness & Social Knowledge-based economy (14)	Employability & Fairness (8)	
	Liberation & Moral Skills (13)	Social control & Social justice (7)	
	Social control (5)	Reconciling (11)	
	Competitiveness, Personal fulfilment & Poverty (4)	Empowerment, Equal worth & Knowledge-based economy (4)	

Empowerment (3)	Equal worth (9)	Liberation, Moral & Social mobility (3)
Skills (1)	Enterprise & Social justice (8)	Enterprise & Social inclusion (2)
	Fairness & Moral (6)	Personal fulfilment & Poverty (1)
	Empowerment (5)	
	Liberation (11)	

Table A2.15: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Economic Success By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Knowledge-based economy (12)	Employability (14)	Reconciling (8)
	Equal worth (10)	Reconciling (4)	Employability (7)
	Moral (5)	Fairness (3)	Competitiveness (6)
	Employability, Liberation & Reconciling (4)	Skills (2)	Knowledge-based economy (5)
	Social control (3)	Equal worth, Knowledge-based economy, Moral & Social justice (3)	Skills & Social control (4)
	Empowerment,		

	Fairness, Poverty & Poverty (1)		
	Social justice (2)		
	Competitiveness (1)	Enterprise & Fairness (2)	
		Empowerment, Liberation, Moral & Poverty (1)	
<i>Second Term</i>	Employability, Fairness & Reconciling (4)	Competitiveness (12)	Equal worth (3)
	Competitiveness & Skills (10)	Competitiveness, Empowerment & Reconciling (2)	
	Equal worth (3)		
	Knowledge-based economy, Personal fulfilment, Poverty & Social control (2)	Enterprise & Poverty (6)	Knowledge-based economy, Liberation, Moral, Social control, Social inclusion & Social justice (1)
	Empowerment, Liberation, Moral & Skills (1)	Knowledge-based economy & Social justice (5)	
		Employability & Reconciling (4)	

		Equal worth & Liberation (3) <hr/> Empowerment (2) <hr/> Fairness & Moral (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>	Social justice (5)	Competitiveness (19)	Competitiveness (9)
	Personal fulfilment (2)	Knowledge-based economy (8)	Fairness (6)
	Employability,	Employability (6)	Social control (5)
	Enterprise, Equal	Equal worth (5)	Reconciling (4)
	worth, Fairness, Liberation, Poverty & Reconciling (1)	Moral (4)	Social justice & Social mobility (3)
		Empowerment, Poverty, Reconciling & Social justice (3)	Employability & Skills (2)
		Enterprise (2)	Empowerment, Equal
		Fairness, Liberation & Skills (1)	worth, Liberation, Moral, Personal fulfilment, Poverty & Social inclusion (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with economic success we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside

them by each of the three actors. Table A2.16 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about economic success that are emphasised before any recourse to other, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.16: Percentage of References Asserting Economic Success Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	38 (6:16)	39 (7:18)	18 (2:11)
<i>2nd term</i>	29 (4:14)	31 (9:29)	50 (3:6)
<i>3rd term</i>	46 (5:11)	31 (9:29)	55 (16:29)
<i>Total</i>	37 (15:41)	33 (25:76)	46 (21:46)

4.3 Employability

Table A2.17: The Number of References to Arguments About Employability by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	18 (14)	23 (15)	8 (4)
<i>2nd term</i>	10 (6)	9 (9)	4 (3)

<i>3rd term</i>	6 (3)	11 (9)	34 (30)
<i>Total</i>	34 (23)	43 (33)	46 (37)

Table A2.18: The Number of References to Arguments About Employability by Each Actor
(% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	25	40	21
<i>2nd term</i>	24	9	13
<i>3rd term</i>	22	12	21
<i>Total</i>	71	61	55

In terms of actual number of references, arguments about employability are most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language. However, as a percentage of total references to the 'economic', arguments about employability are most prevalent in Blair's language.

Tables A2.19 and A2.20 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with employability by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.19: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Employability (raw data)

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
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<i>Employability</i>	Economic success (12)	Economic success (28)	Competitiveness (20)	
	Equal worth (9)	Competitiveness (16)	Reconciling (16)	
	Knowledge-based economy & Reconciling (8)	Fairness, Knowledge-based economy & Skills (9)	Social justice (14)	
	Competitiveness (6)	Equal worth, Reconcile & justice (6)	Economic success & Knowledge-based economy (10)	
	Liberation (5)	Empowerment (5)	Social control (9)	
	Empowerment (4)	Enterprise, Liberation & Poverty (3)	Poverty & Skills (8)	
	Moral, Personal fulfilment, Skills & Social justice (3)	Moral (1)	Empowerment & Personal fulfilment (4)	
	Poverty & Social control (1)		Fairness & Social mobility (3)	
			Equal worth, Liberation & Social inclusion (2)	
			Enterprise (1)	

Table A2.20: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Employability By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Equal worth (9)	Economic success (9)	Economic success & Reconciling (7)
	Knowledge-based economy (8)	Skills (5)	Competitiveness, Knowledge-based economy, Skills & Social control (4)
	Reconciling (5)	Fairness & Reconciling (3)	Fairness (3)
	Economic success (4)	Knowledge-based economy (2)	Empowerment, Enterprise & Poverty
	Competitiveness, Liberation, Moral & Social justice (3)	Enterprise, Equal worth, Moral & Poverty (1)	(1)
	Empowerment, Personal fulfilment & Skills (2)		
	Poverty & Social control (1)		

<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success (7)	Economic success (9)	Reconciling & Social justice (3)
	Competitiveness & Reconciling (2)	Competitiveness (6)	Competitiveness & Empowerment (1)
	Liberation & Skills (1)	Skills (4)	
		Equal worth & Social justice (3)	
		Enterprise & Fairness (2)	
		Knowledge-based economy, Poverty & Reconciling (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>	Empowerment (2)	Competitiveness & Economic success (10)	Competitiveness (15)
	Competitiveness, Economic success, Liberation, Personal fulfilment & Reconciling (1)	Knowledge-based economy (6)	Social justice (10)
		Empowerment (5)	Reconciling (8)
		Fairness (4)	Poverty (7)
		Liberation & Social justice (3)	Knowledge-based economy (6)

	Equal worth & Social control (5)
	Reconciling (2)
	Poverty (1)
	Personal fulfilment & Skills (4)
	Economic success & Social mobility (3)
	Empowerment, Equal worth, Liberation & Social inclusion (2)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with employability we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A2.21 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about employability that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.21: Percentage of References Asserting Employability Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	33 (6:18)	44 (10:23)	0 (0:8)
<i>2nd term</i>	50 (5:10)	22 (2:9)	50 (2:4)

<i>3rd term</i>	17 (1:6)	18 (2:11)	47 (16:34)
<i>Total</i>	35 (12:34)	33 (14:43)	39 (18:46)

4.4 Enterprise

Table A2.22: The Number of References to Arguments About Enterprise by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	2 (2)	4 (3)	2 (2)
<i>2nd term</i>	0 (0)	16 (12)	0 (0)
<i>3rd term</i>	1 (1)	3 (3)	0 (0)
<i>Total</i>	3 (3)	23 (18)	2 (2)

Table A2.23: The Number of References to Arguments About Enterprise by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	3	7	5
<i>2nd term</i>	0	16	0
<i>3rd term</i>	4	3	0

<i>Total</i>	7	26	5
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In terms of both actual number of references and percentage of total incidence, arguments about enterprise are most prevalent in Brown's language.

Tables A2.24 and A2.25 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with enterprise by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.24: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Enterprise (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Enterprise</i>	Competitiveness (2)	Economic success (9)	Economic success (7)
	Economic success (1)	Skills (8)	Competitiveness & Employability (5)
		Competitiveness & Social justice (6)	Reconciling (3)
		Employability & Reconciling (4)	Skills (2)
		Fairness & Knowledge-based economy (3)	Fairness, Moral, Knowledge-based economy, Social
		Equal worth (2)	control & Social

Poverty (1)	justice (1)
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Table A2.25: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Enterprise By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Competitiveness (2)	Social justice (4)	Economic success (7)
		Reconciling (3)	Competitiveness & Employability (5)
		Employability (2)	Reconciling (3)
		Equal worth &	Skills (2)
		Knowledge-based economy (1)	Fairness, Knowledge-based economy, Moral, Social control & Social justice (1)
<i>Second Term</i>		Skills (7)	
		Economic success (6)	
		Liberation (3)	
		Employability & Social justice (2)	

		Competitiveness, Fairness, Poverty & Reconciling (1)	
<i>Third Term</i>	Economic success (1)	Competitiveness (5) Economic success (3) Fairness & Knowledge-based economy (2) Equal worth & Skills (1)	

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with enterprise we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A2.26 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about enterprise that are emphasised before any recourse to others.

Table A2.26: Percentage of References Asserting Enterprise Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	50 (1:2)	50 (2:4)	0 (0:2)
<i>2nd term</i>	0 (0:0)	44 (7:16)	0 (0:0)

<i>3rd term</i>	0 (0:1)	33 (1:3)	0 (0:0)
<i>Total</i>	33 (1:3)	44 (10:23)	0 (0:2)

4.5 Knowledge-Based Economy

Table A2.27: The Number of References to Arguments About The Knowledge-Based Economy by Each Actor (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	15 (6)	4 (4)	6 (4)
<i>2nd term</i>	3 (3)	6 (5)	3 (3)
<i>3rd term</i>	0 (0)	12 (11)	18 (16)
<i>Total</i>	18 (9)	22 (20)	27 (23)

Table A2.28: The Number of References to Arguments About The Knowledge-Based Economy by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	21	7	15
<i>2nd term</i>	7	6	10
<i>3rd term</i>	0	13	11

<i>Total</i>	28	26	36
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In terms of actual number of references and percentage of total incidence, arguments about the knowledge-based economy are most prevalent in the Education Ministers' language.

Tables A2.29 and A2.30 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with the knowledge-based economy by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.29: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With The Knowledge-Based Economy

(raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Knowledge-based economy</i>	Economic success (9)	Economic success (25)	Competitiveness, Reconciling & Social justice (10)
	Equal worth (5)	Competitiveness (21)	Economic success & Employability (7)
	Fairness & Social control (3)	Employability (9)	Social control (5)
	Poverty & Reconciling (2)	Reconciling (7)	Liberation & Skills (4)
	Competitiveness,	Equal worth, Fairness	Equal worth (3)

Employability,	& Social justice (5)		
Empowerment, Moral	Enterprise (4)	Empowerment	&
& Personal fulfilment		Poverty (2)	
(1)	Liberation,	Moral, Enterprise, Fairness &	
	Poverty, Reconciling	Moral (1)	
	& Skills (3)		
	Empowerment (2)		

Table A2.30: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With The Knowledge-Based Economy
By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Economic success (7)	Social justice (4)	Reconciling (7)
	Equal worth (5)	Reconciling (3)	Economic success (6)
	Reconciling (2)	Employability & Enterprise (2)	Competitiveness, Social control & Social justice (3)
	Employability, Empowerment,	Economic success, Equal worth, Fairness,	Employability & Skills (2)
	Fairness, Moral, Poverty, control (1)	Moral, Poverty & Skills (1)	Empowerment, Enterprise, Fairness, Moral & Poverty (1)

<i>Second Term</i>	Fairness (3)	Economic success (7)	Equal worth (3)
	Economic success & Social control (2)	Competitiveness (6)	Competitiveness & Reconciling (2)
	Competitiveness, Personal fulfilment & Poverty (1)	Poverty & Reconciling (2)	Economic success, Empowerment, Liberation, Social
		Employability, Equal worth, Liberation, Moral & Skills (1)	control & Social justice (1)
<i>Third Term</i>		Economic success (17)	Social justice (6)
		Competitiveness (15)	Competitiveness & Employability (5)
		Employability (6)	Liberation (3)
		Fairness (4)	Skills (2)
		Equal worth (2)	Poverty, Reconciling
		Empowerment, Enterprise, Liberation & Reconciling (2)	& Social control (1)
		Moral, Skills & Social justice (1)	

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with the knowledge-based economy we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A2.31 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about the knowledge-based economy that are emphasised before recourse to any others, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.31: Percentage of References Asserting Knowledge-Based Economy Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	20 (3:15)	75 (3:4)	33 (2:6)
<i>2nd term</i>	33 (1:3)	17 (1:6)	33 (1:3)
<i>3rd term</i>	0 (0:0)	8 (1:12)	56 (10:18)
<i>Total</i>	22 (4:18)	23 (5:22)	48 (13:27)

4.6 Skills

Table A2.32: The Number of References to Arguments About Skills by Each Actor (raw data)

<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
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<i>1st term</i>	6 (6)	7 (6)	4 (2)
<i>2nd term</i>	3 (3)	15 (9)	3 (3)
<i>3rd term</i>	1 (1)	2 (2)	16 (15)
<i>Total</i>	10 (10)	24 (17)	23 (20)

Table A2.33: The Number of References to Arguments About Skills by Each Actor (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	8	12	10
<i>2nd term</i>	7	15	13
<i>3rd term</i>	4	2	10
<i>Total</i>	19	29	33

In terms of actual number of references, arguments about skills are most prevalent in Brown's language. However, as a percentage of total references to the 'economic', arguments about skills are most prevalent in both Brown and the Education Ministers' language.

Tables A2.34 and A2.35 below illustrates the arguments that are employed in conjunction with skills by Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.34: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Skills (raw data)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>Skills</i>	Economic success (6)	Economic success (13)	Competitiveness (13)
	Employability (5)	Competitiveness (8)	Employability & Reconciling (10)
	Reconciling (4)	Employability & Enterprise (7)	Economic success & Social justice (9)
	Competitiveness, Equal worth & Liberation (2)	Reconciling (6)	Knowledge-based economy & Social control (4)
	Empowerment & Personal fulfilment (1)	Equal worth, Liberation & Poverty (5)	Social mobility (3)
		Knowledge-based economy (4)	Fairness & Liberation (2)
		Fairness (3)	Empowerment,
		Moral (2)	Enterprise, Moral,
		Empowerment & Social justice (1)	Poverty, Personal fulfilment & Social inclusion (1)

Table A2.35: Arguments Employed in Conjunction With Skills By Term (% of total incidence)

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>First Term</i>	Employability, Equal worth & Reconciling (2)	Employability (4)	Economic success & Employability (6)
	Empowerment, Liberation & Personal fulfilment (1)	Economic success (3)	Competitiveness & Reconciling (4)
		Fairness, Knowledge- based economy, Moral & Reconciling (1)	Fairness & Knowledge-based economy (2)
			Empowerment, Enterprise, Social control & Social justice (1)
<i>Second Term</i>	Economic success (6)	Economic success (8)	Reconciling (1)
	Employability (3)	Competitiveness & Enterprise (6)	
	Competitiveness & Reconciling (2)	Equal worth, Liberation & Poverty (4)	

		Liberation (1) Employability (3) <hr/> Knowledge-based economy & Reconciling (2) <hr/> Moral & Social justice (1)
<i>Third Term</i>		Competitiveness, Economic success & Fairness (2)
		Empowerment, Social justice (6)
		Enterprise, Equal Reconciling (5)
		worth, Knowledge- Employability (4)
		based economy, Economic success &
		Poverty & Social control (3)
		Reconciling (1) <hr/> Knowledge-based economy, Liberation & Social mobility (2) <hr/> Moral, Personal fulfilment, Poverty & Social inclusion (1)

Now that we have identified the other arguments used in conjunction with skills we can determine how frequently such arguments are asserted ahead of those employed alongside them by each of the three actors. Table A2.36 outlines the percentage of references to arguments about skills that are emphasised before any recourse to other arguments, across the terms for Blair, Brown and the Education Ministers.

Table A2.36: Percentage of References Asserting Skills Ahead of Other Arguments About Education

	<i>Blair</i>	<i>Brown</i>	<i>Education Ministers</i>
<i>1st term</i>	83 (5:6)	57 (4:7)	0 (0:4)
<i>2nd term</i>	67 (2:3)	27 (4:15)	67 (2:3)
<i>3rd term</i>	100 (1:1)	0 (0:2)	56 (9:16)
<i>Total</i>	80 (8:10)	33 (8:24)	48 (11:23)

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- Johnson, A. (2004) *Further Education Governance* DfES Standards Unit/Association of Colleges National Governors' Conference, York, 6 February
- Johnson, A. (2006a) *Changing world, challenges for universities* Universities UK Annual Conference, 14 September
- Johnson, A. (2006b) *Democracy and education; democracy in education* UK Youth Parliament, 24 July
- Johnson, A. (2006c) *East Riding 14/19 Strategy - 14 to 19 Regional Conference* East Riding, 20 October
- Johnson, A. (2006d) *Enterprise Opportunities for All* Octagon Centre, Hull, 23 June
- Johnson, A. (2006e) *Fair access to universities* Action on Access Conference, 12 December
- Johnson, A. (2006f) *Improving education for all: Schools for the future* Fabian Society, 25 May
- Johnson, A. (2006g) *In defence of the state: the role of education in tackling poverty* Social Market Foundation, London, 13 September
- Johnson, A. (2006h) *Matching the scale of our vision to the magnitude of the challenge* Institute of Directors, London, 14 June
- Johnson, A. (2006i) *The NCSL New Heads Annual Conference* QEII Centre, London, 16 November
- Johnson, A. (2006j) *Opening of Mulberry Centre* Liverpool Community College, 13 October
- Johnson, A. (2006k) *Quality Improvement Conference - Learn to Earn* ICC, Birmingham, 7 June
- Johnson, A. (2006l) *Sixth Form Colleges Speech* Sixth Form Colleges Forum, 30 November
- Johnson, A. (2006m) *Speech at the Apprenticeship Awards* London, 15 June

Johnson, A. (2006n) *Speech at the launch of the National centre for excellence in the teaching of mathematics* 27 June

Johnson, A. (2006o) *Speech at the National Business Awards Dinner* 7 January

Johnson, A. (2006p) *Speech at the North East Economic Forum* 17 November

Johnson, A. (2006q) *Speech at the Yorkshire Post Dinner* Leeds, 19 October

Johnson, A. (2006r) *Speech to the Association of Colleges* Birmingham, 21 November

Johnson, A. (2006s) *Speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference* Manchester, 27th September

Johnson, A. (2006t) *Speech to the Southwark Schools Learning Partnership* St Saviours and St Olaves School, Southwark, 2 October

Johnson, A. (2006u) *Union Learning Fund* Congress House, 11 October

Johnson, A. (2007a) *Improving social mobility: The Next Ten Years* Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), 17 May

Johnson, A. (2007b) *Opening statement at the second reading of the Further Education and Training Bill* House of Commons, London, 21 May

Johnson, A. (2007c) *Partnership in Education* Association of Teachers and Lecturers Conference, Bournemouth, 4 April

Johnson, A. (2007d) *Skills for Prosperity: The Power for Sectors* Sector Skills Development Agency, 6 March

Johnson, A. (2007e) *Speech at the opening address of the Bologna Summit* QEII Centre, London, 17 May

Johnson, A. (2007f) *Speech at the Parliamentary Skills Group* House of Commons, London, 23 January

Johnson, A. (2007g) *Speech to the ASCL Annual Conference* 9 March

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Kelly, R. (2005a) *Education and Social Progress* Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), 26 July

Kelly, R. (2005b) *Keynote opening speech at the Informal Meeting of Education Ministers from the EU, Accession, Candidate and EEA Countries* London, 12 July

Kelly, R. (2005c) *New roles in a new relationship* LGA Conference, 6 September

Kelly, R. (2005d) *Opportunities for high-performing specialist schools* 12 September

Kelly, R. (2005e) *Professionalism and Social Justice* Association of Teachers and Lecturers, Torquay, 23 March

Kelly, R. (2005f) *Putting the world into world-class education* British Council Education and Training Group Annual National Conference, 2 December

Kelly, R. (2005g) *Reasons for raising the bar* Specialist Schools Trust Annual Lecture, 4 July

Kelly, R. (2005h) *Speech at the launch of Adult Learners' Week* QEII Centre, London, 23 May

Kelly, R. (2005i) *Speech at the launch of the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA)* 17 October

Kelly, R. (2005j) *Speech at the Skills Summit* 13 July

Kelly, R. (2005k) *Speech to the All Party Parliamentary University Group* 5 July

- Kelly, R. (2005l) *Speech to the AoC Conference* 16 November
- Kelly, R. (2005m) *Speech to the European Parliament* Brussels, 11 July
- Kelly, R. (2005n) *Speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference* Brighton, 28 September
- Kelly, R. (2005o) *Speech to the New Heads Conference* 17 November
- Kelly, R. (2005p) *Speech to the Trades Union Congress' Union Academy Conference* 21 March
- Kelly, R. (2005q) *Speech to the Universities UK Conference* 15 September
- Kelly, R. (2005r) *Target 2010 Conference* 30 November
- Kelly, R. (2006a) *Speech at BETT* 11 January
- Kelly, R. (2006b) *Speech at the North of England Conference* Gateshead, 6 January
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- Lewis, I. (2004a) *14-19 Stakeholder Speech* 9 July
- Lewis, I. (2004b) *Attendance and Behaviour Debate* House of Commons, 4 January
- Lewis, I. (2004c) *Entry to Employment* E2E Conference, London, 13 May
- Lewis, I. (2004d) *Learning the Lessons* Edcoms Conference, Cabot Hall, Canary Wharf, London, 25 November

- Lewis, I. (2004e) *Libraries and Learning Communities* London, 9 September
- Lewis, I. (2004f) *Speech at the Young People Now 'Young Pathways Conference'* London, 28 October
- Lewis, I. (2004g) *Speech to the ALP Autumn Conference* 22 November
- Lewis, I. (2004h) *Speech to the Protocol Training Annual College Conference* 24 November
- Lewis, I. (2005a) *Creating an Entrepreneurial Higher Educational Institution* National Council for Graduate Entrepreneurship, 26 January
- Lewis, I. (2005b) *Equal Opportunities Commission and Apprenticeships Taskforce Conference 'Daring to be Different - diversity in training and work'* Manchester United Conference Centre, 18 March
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- Miliband, D. (2003b) *Challenges for School Leadership* SHA Conference on Leadership, London, 1 July
- Miliband, D. (2003c) *The Future of Comprehensive Secondary Education* Seminar Series, Oxford University, 5 March
- Miliband, D. (2003d) *Teachers and Trade Unions: Making a Difference* ATL Conference, Blackpool, 15 April
- Miliband, D. (2003e) *Workforce Reform: No Turning Back* DfES Conference on Training Schools, Birmingham, 17 June
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- Miliband, D. (2004b) *Delivering for all students: Diversity and Leadership in the 21st Century* Next Steps Conference, London, 22 June
- Miliband, D. (2004c) *Excellence and Equity* 3rd Donald Chesworth Memorial Lecture, Toynbee Hall, 8 November
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- Rammell, B. (2006d) *Future Challenges of Higher Education* ARC Annual Conference, 11 September
- Rammell, B. (2006e) *The Global Market in Education* British Council 'Going Global' Conference, Edinburgh 8 December
- Rammell, B. (2006f) *Global Skills: World Class Learning* Westminster Education Forum, Westminster Kingsway College, London, 14 June

- Rammell, B. (2006g) *The importance of collaborative working between Higher Education and Further Education* Launch of the Association for Collaborative Provision of Higher Education in Further Education, 17 October
- Rammell, B. (2006h) *The Importance of Research Informed Teaching* University of Warwick, 25 October
- Rammell, B. (2006i) *The need for an international dimension in education* Commonwealth Consortium for Education Symposium, 12 December
- Rammell, B. (2006j) *Part-time Study in HE - Ensuring Excellence* Part-time Study in Higher Education: Frameworks for the Future Conference, London, 26 October
- Rammell, B. (2006k) *Speech to the Post Compulsory Education and Training (PCET) Consortium Celebratory Event* Huddersfield, 12 June
- Rammell, B. (2006l) *Universities in the 21st Century Conference* University of Warwick, 5 July
- Rammell, B. (2006m) *Widening Participation in HE Symposium* London, 29 November
- Rammell, B. (2007a) *Further and Higher Education: Models of Co-operation* NIACE Conference, Abbey Community Centre, Westminster, 27 March
- Rammell, B. (2007b) *The Future of Higher Education* HEFCE & Leadership Foundation for HE: Sustaining Excellence in Higher Education, 9 January
- Rammell, B. (2007c) *Government influence in the strategic development of FE and HE* Thames Valley University Lecture, Ealing, 22 February
- Rammell, B. (2007d) *Government Policy for Further and Higher Education* University and College Union National Congress, Bournemouth International Centre, 1 June
- Rammell, B. (2007e) *Higher Education - The Government's view* Unison Conference, Britannia Hotel, Nottingham, 22 March
- Rammell, B. (2007f) *Maximising Choice and Competition in Further Education* CPPS & LSC Seminar, Royal Commonwealth Club, London, 5 March
- Rammell, B. (2007g) *Meeting the Challenge of Change: Creating an education system for a global competitive economy* South East Region PMI2 Symposium, Vietnam, 6 February
- Rammell, B. (2007h) *Ministerial Reception - Building Success in the FE Sector* House of Commons, 28 March
- Rammell, B. (2007i) *NUS Further Education Briefing* Houses of Parliament, 21 February
- Rammell, B. (2007j) *The Skills Challenge* Institute for Public Policy Research, 16 May
- Rammell, B. (2007k) *Speech at the RIBA/LSC Further Education Capital Event* 28 March
- Rammell, B. (2007l) *The UK and the International Education Market* International Student Conference, Barbican Centre, London, 22 March
- Rammell, B. (2007m) *Widening Participation Conference in Higher Education* Barbican Centre, London, 10 May
- Rammell, B. (2007n) *World Class Skills for 2020, Adjournment Debate* Westminster Hall, Houses of Parliament, 8 February
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- Smith, J. (2005b) *Excellence in Cities* London, 11 October
- Smith, J. (2005c) *Leadership and Partnership* Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference (HMC), 5 October
- Smith, J. (2005d) *Partnership for Progress* G8 & BMENA Education Ministers Conference, Dead Sea Jordan, 23 May
- Smith, J. (2005e) *Speech at the Annual Joint Conference on Governance: "Governors: leading from within"* Victoria Plaza Hotel, London, 15 June
- Smith, J. (2005f) *Speech at the PPP Forum Dinner* 19 October
- Smith, J. (2005g) *Speech at the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT) Conference* The Palace Hotel, Buxton, 26 July
- Smith, J. (2005h) *Speech on School Reform* Potsdam, 13 October
- Smith, J. (2005i) *Speech to the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust* 25 November
- Smith, J. (2005j) *The UK Government's vision for education in the cities in 2010* Urban Education Conference "Knowledge Capitals" Centre for Urban Education, Manchester, 29 November
- Smith, J. (2006a) *Speech at the Association of School and College Leaders Conference* Birmingham, 17 March
- Smith, J. (2006b) *Speech at the Church of England Conference* 14 March
- Smith, J. (2006c) *Speech to the GMB Public Services Conference* 2 March
- Smith, J. (2006d) *Speech to the PfS Bidders Conference* 18 January
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