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Learning for a living?

The powerful, the dispossessed and the learning revolution

Karen Evans

100 years of excellence in education

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Learning for a Living?
The powerful, the dispossessed and the learning revolution

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Professor Karen Evans

Learning for a living? The powerful, the dispossessed and the learning revolution

> The real priority must be to re-establish the relationship between education and real life, throughout the whole of life. To raise the school leaving age to 75 is the only sensible objective of education policy.
>
> (Tony Benn)

> A learning society is not necessarily either a pleasant, efficient nor an egalitarian place; on the contrary, it may well generate even more deeply rooted inequalities than we have yet seen, it may place its citizens under renewed stress and pressure and it may involve the creation of forms of instruction that have little or no impact upon human productivity and creativity.
>
> (John Field)

Finding the right relationship between education and 'real life' has preoccupied

educationalists and politicians for most of the last century. I start this Centenary Lecture on the revolution in learning with the words of an old revolutionary, known for his lifelong commitment to the pursuit of social justice and equality through education. For Tony Benn the link between education and real life was best exemplified by part-time study in the extra-mural tradition, through which people could develop real skills that served social purposes. He was emphatically not advocating an extension of linear front-loaded academic education. In a characteristic piece of Bennite debunking, his statement about the 'real priority' was prefaced by his view of academic education: 'It is all very well doing your BA and MA and your postgraduate work and your doctorate and your post-doctoral and post post doctoral research,' he said. 'One day I shall open a funeral parlour, named post-doctoral services incorporated, because by the time people have got two doctorates they are ready for the mortuary' (1987: 503). One of the social purposes which most preoccupied Benn and his contemporaries in the white heat of that earlier so-called revolution, the 'technological revolution', was the need to control what he termed 'this new block of power'. We needed to control it in exactly the same way we had controlled other blocks of power in other periods of history, and that was by educating ourselves.

In 2003, countless consultants' reports and official documents foretell a future of permanent learning which cannot be resisted, and which is therefore beyond our control:

> The world is changing faster than ever. The implications of new technology and the effects of globalisation are so radical, that those who resist a life of continuing learning risk finding themselves socially marginalised, if not excluded. Organisations which employ reluctant learners and fail to get them into further learning will share their fate.[1]

This is learning for a living, the life sentence version. It is based on a political ideology as surely as Tony Benn's position is. The ideology in question is that of globalism,[2] supported by a revolution in learning. We do not accept these ideologically based accounts at face value. The predictions of globalists were

reviewed by Andy Green in his centenary professorial lecture in December 2002, with the conclusion that they are profoundly ahistorical and undialectical. This provides a context, but is not my main concern today. Instead, I aim to link the international with the local. I start with the social landscapes in which people live and work; I ask about the control people have over their lives and what a learning revolution means for them. My argument is threefold: first that a learning revolution that reinforces inequalities and increases the gap between the powerful and the powerless is not a revolution; second that popular beliefs in meritocracy and the openness of opportunities to all could evaporate very quickly in the new generation of adults as it becomes apparent that the qualifications chase eventually becomes a zero-sum game for all but the most advantaged, those who can stay in the race longest. Finally, re-establishing the relationship between education and real life will mean linking 'learning for a living' to wider social purposes, in ways which recognise that people are social actors moving in changing social landscapes trying to take control of their lives in new ways. Matching advocacy that people should 'take more control of their lives' with expanded channels for 'voice' and influence is a minimum condition for creating a learning revolution worthy of the name.

Actors in changing social landscapes

Too much froth about learning revolutions lies on the surface of both the popular and academic literature on education. Accounts swing from claims that a revolution is needed because hardly anybody learns, and half the working population is semi-literate, to pronouncements that a massive revolution in learning and skills has already taken place. The problem with such statements is that they have become detached from the realities of people's lives. I focus on social landscapes because it is in these that people live, work and learn, and I begin with two landscapes of personal significance.

The first has personal research significance. It is the City of Derby, an urban area with a social history rooted in the industrial revolution. Post-industrial Derby is now designated a 'city of learning', and is home to one of Britain's most

innovative universities for widening participation. One of my highpoints as a researcher was the ESRC grant awarded in 1998, which enabled me to build on my earlier Anglo-German studies[3] by researching how people exercise and experience control in their lives, in landscapes which represent the different socio-economic options in the fast expanding Europe. Derby was my chosen English city, representing the realities of the market-led English version of what is loosely termed 'a learning revolution'.

My second chosen social landscape is the Douglas Valley in Scotland, with its history in the rise and the fall of the coal, iron and textiles industries of the region. It is the area which produced Kier Hardie, the Lanark coalminer who became founder of the Labour Party. It also produced my grandfather, who spent all of his working life in the collieries, firstly as a coalface worker, and later as pit safety officer in one of the Douglas Valley mines. It also produced my father, and then me, both with lives transformed by versions of the educational scholarship and free place/direct grant systems which gave narrow gateways for a few to the types of knowledge which really did, at that time, give power and potential of new kinds, but left the prospects of the majority unchanged. Once an area known for its social activism (which almost matched the People's Republic of South Yorkshire at one time) the Douglas Valley is now an area marginalised, if not devastated, by social change.

Both of my chosen landscapes have a significance which goes beyond their immediate localities. Both are closely linked with UNESCO 'World Heritage Sites' for their contribution to the history of ideas and social advancement (not to mention their tourism potential). These two social landscapes are linked in ways which I did not realise until I started preparing for this lecture.

The Derbyshire mills are at the centre of the area's social history. An old silk mill in Derby city centre pronounces to the twenty-first century's city of learning the nineteenth-century message that 'Knowledge is Power'. Close to Derby is one of the crucibles of the industrial revolution. Cromford, site of Arkwright's mill, is a monument to invention rather than social advancement, although the factory village provided many people with better access to a regular living and reasonable living conditions (as long as they did not fall ill or become an impediment to efficient production in other ways). A local historian told me about the

factory worker in the Cromford mill who lost his fingers in an early version of the machines. A court case ensued. Did the factory worker get compensation, I asked? A momentary pause told me my question was out of historical context. The worker was not suing the company. The company was suing the worker for clogging up the machinery with his body parts, leading to the loss of a day's production. Unsurprisingly, trades unions soon mobilised in the mill towns, becoming part of the wider social revolution which strove for a new balance of power between owners and workers.

In 1784 Sir Richard Arkwright was entertained to a public dinner in Glasgow, and was invited to travel the next day to my second social landscape, to the site now known as New Lanark, at the end of the Douglas Valley, the Falls of the Clyde. New Lanark was destined to become the focus for a social experiment and one of the first ever Institutes for Lifelong Learning. Arkwright pronounced the physical environment to be one of the best he had seen for the development of an automated mill, offering the potential to make the area into the 'Manchester of Scotland'. A business partnership led to construction of four huge mills and housing for about 1,500 people. But New Lanark took on completely new and progressive dimensions from 1800 when ownership passed to Robert Owen, one of the earliest utopian socialists.[4] Owen had managed a cotton-spinning factory in Manchester in the earliest days of the industrial revolution, and had seen conditions for workers and children which appalled him. He knew what 'creating a Manchester in Scotland' could mean. New Lanark became the focus of his great social and educational experiment. As early as 1816, Owen was thinking and writing about society in the next millennium. When he opened his lifelong learning institute, which he called the Institute for the Formation of Character, he said:

> What ideas individuals may attach to the 'millennium' I know not, but I know that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little if any misery and with knowledge and happiness increased a hundred-fold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society becoming universal.

He believed that environment shaped character and behaviour, and that the role of education was to provide an environment in which all could flourish and extend themselves. Building on an educational structure originally put in place for the 'pauper apprentices' who made up the original workforce, he extended this to nursery education for all children as soon as they could walk and provided one of the first infants' classes in the world. Families were discouraged from sending their children to work in the factory too early, before they could benefit from the broad curriculum provided in the school. Classes and activities were provided in the evening for those young people and adults who had already started work. The scope of these was cultural, social and vocational, with some fun too – singing and dancing were favourite pursuits.

Owen's vision of a co-operative community built around an educated workforce did not go uncontested. His Board disapproved of profits being distributed in benefits to the workers, a challenge he survived. He was, after all, a very canny businessman running a profitable business. In 1819 Sir Robert Southey, who came up from London to evaluate Owen's experiment, said it was based on application of almost totalitarian power, and that the Institute for the Formation of Character, threatened to 'suppress all individuality and domesticity':

> His system, instead of aiming for freedom, can only be kept in play by absolute power. He jumps to the monstrous conclusion that, because he can do this with 2,210 people who are totally dependent on him, the whole of mankind might be governed in this way.

Deconstruction of that lies outside the scope of this lecture, but I would comment that, despite these nineteenth-century criticisms, Robert Owen had designed a workplace environment which in 2003 we might describe as 'expansive' as well as profitable. Scottish school children are today challenged with the question: 'Robert Owen – utopian socialist or enlightened capitalist? Discuss.' His company certainly had a high reputation for education and training as well as a good business reputation. It also had an interesting and unusual approach to performance management, the Silent Monitor. For every person in the mills,

there was a long piece of wood, painted four different colours. This was hung up 'to denote their conduct and was always conspicuous to the eye. The name of each person is entered in a book: the number 1, 2 3 or 4 is placed opposite each name every evening by the overlooker of the room.' No threats, punishments or penalties were allowed. Instead, Mr Owen, on his walks around the factory, would always look at the silent monitor, and anyone showing the colour denoting poor performance would receive a stare so dark and penetrating that productivity would improve instantly without a word being said. (Should members of the Institute's performance management planning group be interested in further details of this, they can be found in *The New Views of Mr Owen of Lanark, impartially examined by Dr Henry McNab*, published in 1819.)

In 2002 I visited a millennium educational experience in New Lanark, sponsored by the Scottish Education Department. We entered a time capsule in which Harmony, a 12-year-old time traveller from the year 2200, took us back from Millennium Year to the nineteenth century and forward to 2200 in the quest for universal harmony. The time travel revealed continuities and discontinuities with the present. In 2200 Harmony took the same delight in her friends and the latest fashions, but hated getting too much homework. She enjoyed birthdays which brought together five generations of her family, including her great great grandmother who was 125 years old, but didn't look a day over 100 (with an appearance that most 60-year-olds would be happy with today). Her learning workstation had 3-D images rotating above it. This was a learning zone where students could pull up images from anywhere in the world. They could expand and share their knowledge by teleporting around the world at will. (This process was said to 'tickle a bit'.)

This is fantasy with an underpinning of Owen's utopian educational and social philosophy. In the twenty-first century Owen's vision of universal harmony could not be further away. 'Knowledge is power' has disappeared from sight. 'Knowledge is light' has replaced it as illustrated by that well known philanthropic organisation, the World Bank:

> Knowledge is like light. Weightless and intangible, it can easily travel the world, enlightening the lives of people everywhere. Yet

> billions of people still live in the darkness of poverty – unnecessarily.
>
> (World Bank 1999: 1)

I suggest that this statement is no less fantastic than Harmony's teleporting experiences. Owen's nineteenth-century philosophy held that education was the glue which could hold society together. A twenty-first-century cartoon published in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* above an account of the Institute's DfES-funded Centre for the Wider Benefits of Learning showed a globe splitting apart under the weight of global capitalism. An educator was standing by, trying ineffectually to glue the cracks together while consulting a manual titled 'Sticking with Education'.

I return from my brief excursion through time and space, to the simple, but powerful, point which started this lecture: the real priority must be to re-establish the relationship between education and real life, throughout the whole of life.

Re-establishing the relationship between education and real life

> for we are all divorced from life…
>
> (the little clerk from Dostoyevsky's *Notes from Underground*)

> It is an uneasy lot at best to be what we call highly taught yet not to enjoy. To be present at this great spectacle of life, yet never to be liberated from a small, hungry shivering self
>
> (George Eliot)

What is this relationship, and what should it be? What base of assumptions and beliefs about the social world do we choose for our analysis? Our starting point

could be that the exercise and preservation of democracy is of predominant importance in real life (we go to war in its name), that real life is about active and engaged citizenry, and the proper relationship between education and real life is engagement with the ideas and practices of democracy. It is, for example, about educating ourselves collectively to exercise control over the social impact and advances of technology. This version was important in Britain in the early part of the twentieth century, at the time of the foundation of this Institute and the international sweep of emancipatory discourses which are equal and opposite to the globalisation discourses sweeping the world we inhabit a century on. It was reflected in the 1919 Ministry of Reconstruction report which advocated education in adult life as 'inextricably woven with the whole organised life of the community' and 'rooted in the social aspirations of the democratic movements of the country' (Ministry of Reconstruction 1919: Section 330).

If we take a different starting point, in which the flowering of human potential is of predominant importance, then the logic of the learning individual begins to define the proper relationship between education and real life. *Learning to Be* (Faure 1972) defined the humanistic aim of 'Lifelong Education' as 'the fulfilment of man, through the flexible organisation of different stages of education', a 'process which should last the whole life for individuals and not just be tacked onto school or university for a privileged or specialised few'. Husen (1974), in his well known articulation of the concept of a learning society, emphasised not only 'second chance' conceptions of lifelong learning but also that untapped potential has to be seen as the norm, not the exception, in the population. International bodies such as UNESCO used the humanistic version of lifelong learning to provide its master concepts for educational planning, but their use often represented worthy ideals with relatively little to show in the way of tangible advances in access to lifelong learning opportunities.

The political consensus on lifelong learning which marked the end of the twentieth century, represented in EC, OECD, G8 papers and reports, fundamentally reshaped discourses on the role of lifelong learning. The proper relationship between education and real life came to be defined by the knowledge-driven economy, in which 'work is the new consumption' and the relationship between education and 'real life' is that 'the more we learn, we more

we earn'. We are engaged in a lifelong competition for livelihoods, learning for a living. The role of government is recast as providing the means for improvement of 'employability', as it is claimed that national governments can no longer guarantee employment in a global competitive environment.

The political consensus did not hold for long. In 1997 projections of OECD contrasted the sense of control 'over their own lives and their society' of those successful in education, with the isolation of the excluded:

> For those who are excluded from this process, however, or who choose not to participate, the generalisation of lifelong learning may only have the effect of increasing their isolation from the world of the 'knowledge-rich'. The consequences are economic, in under-used human capacity and increased welfare expenditure, and social in terms of alienation and decaying infrastructure.
>
> (OECD 1997: 1)

Governmental organisations and international agencies have concerned themselves principally with the social organisation of institutions of learning, and the ways in which these need to be reorganised around new priorities. In this process the discontinuities of change are exaggerated, while the continuities of disadvantage are under-estimated. New forms of learning are superimposed on old forms that retain much of their original power. Social institutions continue to interlock to shape life courses, which may still be typified according to social position. As Peter Alheit has shown, in his social ecology of learning, approaches which aim to balance economic and social capital have to take the 'learning individual' much more seriously if they are avoid becoming trapped in the contradictions which lie at their heart. As well as continually reorganising the institutions of learning we need to understand better the reflexive ways in which people's lives are shaped, bounded or change direction as they engage with these education, labour market and workplace organisations.

Researchers have mapped aspects of learning and real life 'throughout the whole of life' in biographical studies (Alheit 2002; Antikainen 1996; Preece and

Edirisingha 2001; Williamson 2001; Heinz 1999) or through longitudinal tracking studies such as those of John Bynner in the Institute's Centre for Longitudinal Studies, and Bloomer and Hodkinson (2000). These are paralleled by literary portrayals which often enlarge or accentuate these aspects of their characters' lives in telling ways. There is no shortage of romantic portrayals of the struggles of learners overcoming barriers in pursuit of elite forms of education. In my first inaugural lecture as a Professor of Post-Compulsory Education (1996), I used an example which is now rather threadbare from widespread popular use, that of Jude Fawley, from Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*. *Educating Rita* is another popular source, marking the expansion of higher education opportunities for adults and illustrating how Rita had to struggle for her identity among those from other worlds and generations.

In Derby, my research team conducted interviews with students up to the age of 25 in higher education to explore the importance of social characteristics for life chances, as perceived by successful recent entrants. Many of the participants had their origins in families unfamiliar with higher education, reflecting the strong 'widening participation' policies of the University of Derby. Even in this environment, where traditional middle-class entrants thought that 'social class doesn't matter anymore' others, like Mel, from working-class backgrounds were very clear that it did:

> It doesn't matter what you try to do here, they just won't let you cross that barrier. It's fair enough I might be doing a degree and I might be doing better than someone who lives in a really nice area but they never let me past the fact that I'm a single parent from a council estate. They just won't let me do it.

Others were among the first from their families to go to university. Darren felt he was 'forging new links' and following a completely different path from his parents:

> So their advice is not really … valid.… I feel that I'm going through life [according to] what I think more than what my parents think.

Other students, while asserting the independence of their plans, talk of the considerable role their parents played in their development, in such a way that alternatives to higher education were not seriously considered. Darren had to make his own way, without the advantages of family accumulated know-how. We know that families and social networks provide resources which people translate into outcomes in education and the labour market. Not everyone operates in networks or families that see life as a ladder of opportunity. The process of making plans for a future ladder of opportunity has been shown over most of the last century to have its foundations in social class. I recently published findings showing that the same patterns extend to 18–25-year-olds now (Evans 2002). When the results were further analysed for those who had successfully entered higher education, a less familiar pattern emerged. Dispositions towards long-term planning were higher among the children of skilled working-class families. For those from managerial and professional families the process of going into higher education is often one of simply staying on the escalator (getting off it would require the planning). Those non-traditional applicants who do enter higher education appear to do so via a process of planning which is untypical for the broader population of young people from working-class backgrounds. This adds to the evidence that there are features of both middle-class and working-class experiences which keep the majority of people in the socially reproductive 'line of least resistance'. As well as sorting out the muddle and disincentives in the financing of higher education, the current policy debate needs to recognise more generously that it takes considerable self-belief and courage for 'non-traditional learners' to make their way even in the most open of UK higher education institutions.

I have drawn here on a small fraction of the evidence that, as far as our universities are concerned, we are very far from free and equal access to lifelong learning. Our angst about using the term Learning Society for what is so far removed from the utopian ideal is eased, however, when we realise that, as John Field has argued, utopian and dystopian aspects co-exist in the here and now.

While the experiences in our universities (and public schools) have long provided the substance for literary portrayals of class consciousness, it is harder to find literary portrayals of the flexible consumers of learning and work, the life-

time learners identified in Gorard and Rees's (2002) Learning Society research. But there is no shortage of literary portrayals of conscripted learning, the dystopian face of lifelong learning. The experiences of the conscripted used to be depicted in the merciless lampooning of liberal studies lecturers' attempts to cope with what Wilt (Sharpe 1985) called the 'collective barbarism' of the apprentices in Meat 2 or Plumbing 3. The days of liberal studies are over, and if the *Daily Telegraph* is to be believed, plumbers are now all being dragooned into degree courses where they are being bored out of their skulls doing sociology and town planning. The indignities suffered by Adrian Mole's father come closer to modern forms of conscripted learning. When he was made redundant, his family joined what his mother termed the 'nouveau poor'. On March 5th, his training assignment came through from the Manpower Services Commission – Canal Bank Renovation Supervisor, in charge of a gang of school leavers. After school, Adrian walked home along the canal bank:

> I found my father bossing a gang of skinheads and punks about. They were looking surly and uncooperative. None of them wanted to get their clothes dirty. My father seemed to be the only one doing any work. He was covered with mud. I tried to exchange a few civilities with the lads but they spurned my overtures.

Newly radicalised by his history teacher at school, Adrian points out to his father that the lads are alienated by a cruel and uncaring society, but his father dismisses these unsolicited observations as 'a load of lefty crap', while intensifying his efforts to engage his charges in what the handbook terms 'meaningful on the job learning experiences'. These are cartoon versions of the realities of the schemes which force people to learn for a living when there is little living to be had. But as well as the contradictions, the literary and popular portrayal does capture the social capital consequences of engagement in learning. These are the experiences incidental to the forced learning, the networked and socially interactive learning which comes into focus when we look through a new lens, that of the learning individual moving in wider social landscapes. Wilt, in a rare

serious aside to his account of the nightmare of trying to 'teach, or at least awaken some intellectual curiosity' in his charges, reveals if they hadn't learnt much from him, he had at least been able to go home in the evening 'with the knowledge that he had gained something from them'. And on March 12th, in the Mole household, father had had a good day on the canal bank. To celebrate he brought the lads round back to the house for a glass of home-made beer. Mother looked shocked when the lads trooped in, father introduced Buz, Daz, Maz, Kev, Melv and Bov, everyone relaxed, and Adrian made a new friend: Buz – expert bike fixer – 'he's been stealing them since he was six' – was going to help him to fix his brakes.

This is not quite what Edmund King had in mind when he talked about the communications society as the new 'educational idiom' in which all learn and all teach in the everyday business of life (King 1976), but the examples portray how coercive elements are plaited with incidental learning in our flawed 'learning society'. The social capital can be dense, highly localised and socially reproductive. The Institute's basic skills research, together with Schuller's and Field's research, shows how poor work, low qualifications and weak basic skills are often combined in mutually reinforcing ways with family and neighbourhood networks and resources which are a long way removed from the more romanticised accounts of the relationships between social capital and engagement in lifelong learning. Despite this, remarkable transformations are possible, as shown by our ESRC Teaching and Learning Research Programme study of adults with interrupted occupational and learning biographies. Some of our research participants were from one of the adult residential colleges which continue to achieve marked successes with adults whose life histories are stories of deep-rooted, multiple disadvantages. One such student reported that no one told her that the course she successfully completed was of first year university standard – 'if they had told me that I would have been frightened'. For another, the supportive college, combined with her own sense of autonomy gained through overcoming setbacks and a practical learning disposition, had changed her life. Destined to be one of the losers of the learning society (with no qualifications and damaged career history) she was now on track to join the winners, successful in conventional as well as personal terms. She was accepted for a degree course in a col-

lege of the University of London not far from here, but decided instead to take an administrative post in a professional organisation. Adult learning can be astonishingly transformative, but financial constraints kick in sooner or later in the competition for credentials.

In changing social landscapes, learning as a process of reflexive self-redefinition becomes an all-pervasive aspect of people' s lives, a perspective elaborated by Peter Alheit in 'The double face of lifelong learning' (2002). As we move in our social landscapes with our 'biographically acquired knowledge', we do not consciously reflect on every step, every signpost until we find ourselves stumbling or losing our way. At this point the pre-reflexive knowledge we have gathered on the way is retrieved and comes into play in the present. It can even be used to influence or change some of the features of our landscape. These processes, it is argued, do not take place inside the individual. They are embedded in learning environments and learning worlds that are historically rooted and biographically produced. To illustrate the concept further I turn to the literature of the nineteenth century and a third social landscape, the fictional provincial town of Middlemarch. Eliot is said to have called the town Middlemarch because it combines ordinariness with a 'march', which has the connotations of advance and disputed territory. Middlemarch had become a highly competitive environment. The inhabitants had been displaced by successful settlers who 'came from distant counties, some with an alarming novelty of skill, other with an offensive advantage in cunning' and success belonged to those with the highest powers of adaptation. Its main characters were engaged in learning of various kinds. There was Mr Brooke, a dabbler who had 'gone into everything at one time or another', and the scholarship for deferred gratification of Mr Casaubon, who 'had imagined that his long studious bachelorhood had stored up for him a compound interest of enjoyment', and Dorothea, who despite the limitations of her young ladies' education, was clever in ways which went beyond mere aptitude for knowing and doing. She had designs to marry Casaubon, and looked forward to higher initiation into the world of ideas:

> she did not want to deck herself with knowledge – to wear it loose from the nerves and blood which fed her action. But

> something she yearned for by which her life might be filled with action at once rational and ardent, and since the time had gone by for guiding visions and spiritual directors, … what lamp was there but knowledge? Surely learned men kept the only oil? And who more learned than Mr Casaubon?

These people in nineteenth-century Middlemarch were 'by the surrounding changes themselves transformed, … altering with the double change of self and beholder'. They became reflexive learners. For Young (1998) and Guile (2001) reflexivity and connectivity symbolise the learning of our time. Field calls it the 'silent revolution'. Brown and Lauder (2001) also claim that we are in the midst of silent revolution, but their version of the silent revolution appears in 'overheated competition for credentials and jobs'. In their book *Capitalism and Social Progress* they show how social trends are revealing how much the capacities of the few have in the past been exaggerated, while the capacities of the majority have been greatly underestimated. The inability of the systems to deal with this unleashing of talent has produced an 'opportunity trap'. It is to further consideration of these features of the so-called silent revolution that I now turn.

Defining the learning revolution – and its limits

So far I have argued that the coercive and expansive potentials of lifelong learning can be found in individual learners' lives as they move in changing social landscapes. I have also hinted that these phenomena are not altogether new. I now ask whether the 'silent revolutions' are really revolutionary? For this we need to think a little more clearly about the defining features of a revolution. A true revolution involves fundamental alteration in the institutions or normative codes of a society and of its power distribution. According to Moore (1963), changes in relative power may be gradual, continuous and orderly – even the simple process of providing incrementally 'more and more' power has revolutionary overtones if the character of the ensuing system eventually lacks continuity with former conditions. So in that sense, more and more learning

opportunities combined with devolved powers for organising and providing them could, potentially, be genuinely revolutionary. But revolutions turn on the tensions of inequality. Rules governing assignment of people to positions with unequal rewards and the values which justify these 'rules' will never be accepted as totally valid by those who are thereby excluded, nor by those who do not achieve as much as they would like. As Moore showed, stratification systems may endure for considerable periods without causing rebellion or revolt because of the differential distribution of power (including knowledge). The critical question is 'how will the poor, the powerless, the denigrated members of the system react to possible alternatives?'

Conditions at the start of the twenty-first century reflect new sources of conflict in the competition for positional advantage. Weber (1945) showed how groups of competitors try to mobilise power in order to expand their share of resources and rewards. Brown and Lauder have shown how this positional conflict has intensified. Credential inflation reinforces inequalities in opportunity because it favours those with the personal and family resources that are able to meet the costs associated with an extended competition. For the changes in access to organised learning to amount to a silent revolution this underestimation of the talent of the majority and the scope for emancipation through reflexivity in learning has to become reflected in:

- mass participation covering all social groups;
- redistribution of power, including changing of inequality patterns;
- feelings of greater control over their lives by the majority.

In England, evidence from 1997 and 1999 surveys sponsored by NIACE (Sargant *et al.* 1997; Tuckett and Sargant 1999) and the Skills Survey (2002) show a steady rise in the proportion of the population participating in adult learning, although this masks decreases in some social groups. International statistics suggest substantial increases in participation in organised adult learning in all countries for which data can reliably be compared, and demand for qualifications has increased worldwide, with economic liberalisation (Little 2002). Is this expansion beginning to overcome the inequalities embedded in the former

systems? Or is lifelong learning legitimating individual lack of skill as a more socially acceptable basis for inequality? Do reluctant learners 'create their own exclusion'? Scratch the surface of the new inequalities and the NIACE surveys show many of the older inequalities coming through: social class, gender and, increasingly, age. A comparison of people born in 1958 with those born in 1970 in the cohort studies carried out by Bynner *et al.* (2002) also shows a widening divide between the haves and have-nots. At international level, Robert Wade (2001) argues that new evidence shows global inequality is 'worsening rapidly', while Andy Green's work with Phil Brown and Hugh Lauder (Brown *et al.* 2001) has shown income inequalities to be most marked in countries pursuing neo-liberal policies. The learning revolution, when tied to market policies, may be generating even more deeply rooted inequalities as John Field, Frank Coffield, Walter Heinz, Paul Belanger and many others assert.

Since the late 1990s new parties of the centre left have attempted to address growing inequalities with policies which aim for redistribution through new opportunities to work and to learn, rather than the traditional means. This involves urging people to take control of their own lives, and is closely linked to ideas of reflexive modernisation.

A new generation of adults: taking control of their lives?

German sociologists developed the idea that a process of 'individualisation' is taking place in society and in people's lives. Beck (1992, 1998) outlined a new type of society which emphasised the influence of people's thinking about and reflecting upon their own life courses, in what Beck called a 'risk society'. This emphasised the increased uncertainty and unpredictability of the individual's life course as each one of us takes control and learns to 'conceive of him or herself as the centre of action, as the planning office with respect of his/her own biography' (1992: 135). He believed that individualisation heralded the dissolution of factors traditionally seen as determining many aspects of life in industrialised societies – class culture and consciousness, gender and family roles. In England this work was paralleled by

Anthony Giddens' more critical accounts of reflexive modernisation (1991, 1998).

More recently, Furlong and Cartmel (1997) argued that these accounts of individualisation are misleading. They claim that the social world has only come to be regarded as unpredictable and filled with risks that can only be negotiated on an individual level, while, in fact, structural forces operate as powerfully as ever and the chains of human interdependence remain intact.

England and Germany are the societies which provided the starting points for Beck and Giddens, although the influence of their ideas has spread internationally. My latest Anglo-German research, carried out with my colleagues Peter Rudd, Martina Behrens, Claire Woolley and Jens Kaluza,[5] aimed to explore these theoretical accounts through a series of empirical encounters with 900 people in the early stages of adult life. It compared people in higher education, employment or unemployment in my chosen city of Derby with their peers in Hanover and Leipzig. These comparisons make more visible the effects of socio-economic, labour market and cultural contexts on people's lives, and their beliefs in the scope they have to improve their life chances by their own efforts (which I call personal agency). The significance of the comparisons extends beyond England and Germany, since the environments studied show the effects, in action, of socio-economic options of interest to other countries: the regulated labour market and highly institutionalised vocational education and training (VET) systems of western Germany, the market-led approaches of England and the move from a command to a capitalist economy in eastern Germany.

Most of the young adults recognised educational qualifications as being of 'considerable' importance in influencing opportunities in life, relative to other ascribed social characteristics. Figure 1 (overleaf) gives a simplified representation.

'Qualifications are not only important for the job market. They are generally important to survive', as one person put it.

There were strong indications that these young adults generally believed in the idea of a 'meritocracy' and that if you 'failed' (in terms of obtaining qualifications), this was probably your own fault and down to a lack of effort and determination. The effects of social characteristics were less visible to the groups

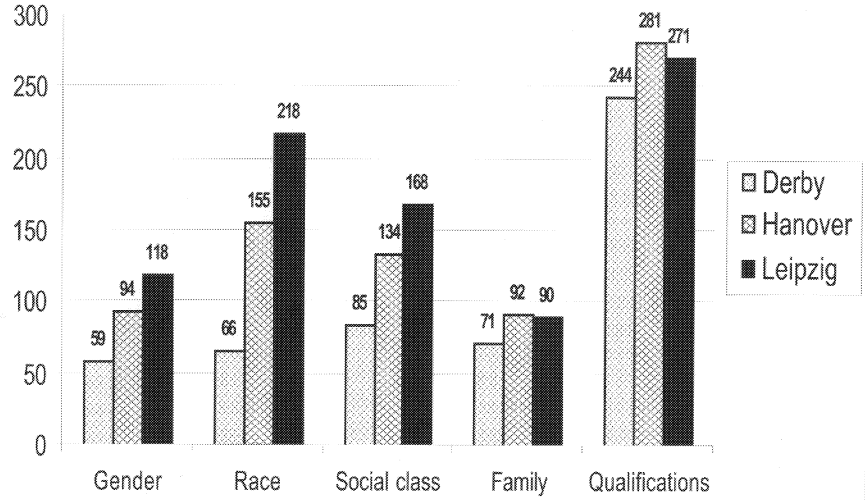

Figure 1 Views of 18–25-year-olds on the importance of a viariety of social characteristics in affecting a person's opportunities in life: numbers rating each factor as having a 'considerable' effect on a person's opportunities

surveyed in the English city, much more visible to their East German peers, whose early socialisation had taken place in a different political and economic system. This cannot be explained by greater social equality in England as the reverse is actually the case.

Indicators of personal agency, such as active job seeking and 'trial and error' in the search for work, were more evident in the English labour market, which has been deregulated for longer and where individualised behaviours have been most strongly encouraged or enforced. However, while the people surveyed in Hanover and Leipzig were less proactive in relation to the labour market, they showed higher levels of politically active group behaviours involving activities such as participation in political events and engagement in political discussions, all of which indicate a continuing trust in collective, rather than individualised, solutions (Figure 2).

Taken together, our findings support the thesis that highly structured environments are associated in people's minds with the idea of reduced scope for individual, proactive effort. In highly structured environments opportunities

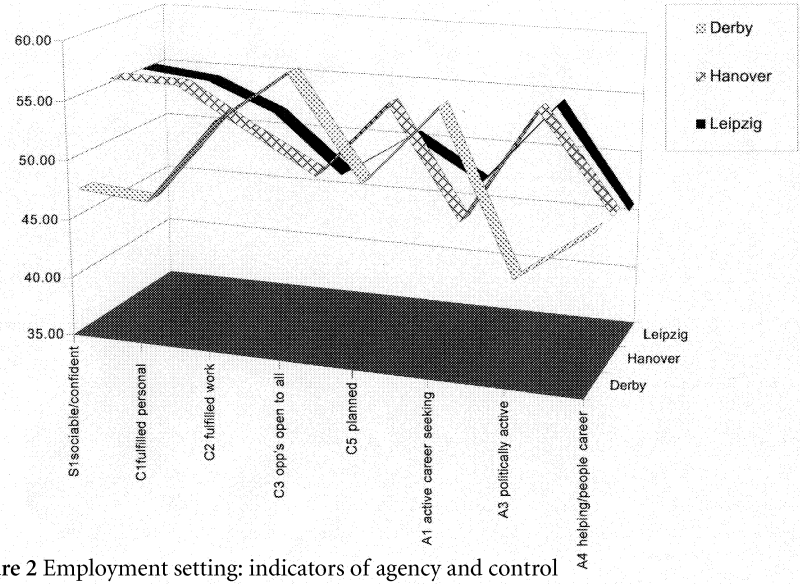

Figure 2 Employment setting: indicators of agency and control

are open only for those following clearly defined routes and, consequently, it is those same structural opportunities or barriers that are held responsible by individuals for any failure. The findings showed this to be the case for the two German cities.

The Derby data suggest that one consequence of an environment that fosters a belief that 'opportunities are open to all' is that people blame themselves for their failures in education and the labour market. In the highly structured German system, external factors can more easily be held responsible for failure, giving people greater scope to develop a positive sense of self in the early stages of adult life.

There were strong similarities among those experiencing unemployment. They felt that:

- their own weaknesses matter;
- chance played the major part in their present situation.

They also scored higher than their peers on factors which indicated poor self-image and feelings of powerlessness. In Derby their more proactive approach to seeking work, compared to German counterparts, could be because they have to be more individually active to deal with their situation, given the diverse and often confusing array of options before them. The uncertain status of people who were unemployed in the early stages of their adult life and unable to keep abreast of their peers who are in work or establishing homes and families of their own, is reflected in a sense of frustrated agency rather than fatalism, and in a readiness to buy the message that qualifications can provide a way out of such predicaments.

Among those in employment the experience of having gained a foothold in the labour market was associated with greater feelings of control than was manifest among peers in higher education and unemployment settings. If you are learning for a living, there is considerable uncertainty about your destination while you are outside the job market, no matter how good your qualifications. A significant proportion of those experiencing unemployment was from middle-class backgrounds, more than would have previously have been expected. To be in work gives a sense of control that goes beyond the independence of the wage packet, irrespective of the job level. The control is tempered with experiences of pressure at work. Our employed respondents repeatedly talked of their need to perform, their awareness that there were others who could take their job if they did not stay on top of it. Their work values emphasised money, advancement opportunities and security.

More of the Derby respondents in all groups indicated that success in finding a job was mainly down to the individual irrespective of the state of the local labour market (37 per cent compared to 25 per cent in Hanover and only 17 per cent in Leipzig). This is one very basic indicator of higher individual attributions of success in the individualised English job and training markets.

Experiences of the relative importance of talent and luck, or chance, were also explored. The question about whether 'talent always rises to the top' produced, in all three cities and settings, responses which emphasised:

- the interplay of talent with 'diligence' and what you do with it;
- the environment in which you operate;
- factors which influence whether talent is recognised or not.

Talent on its own was not seen as decisive. Most groups also mentioned the importance of social connections, and some specifically emphasised luck, referring to employment chances as being like 'throwing dice'. As I indicated earlier, reliance on chance rather than planning is one of the relatively few variables associated with being from a manual occupational background. Those in the most precarious positions often emphasised chance rather than planning in their biographies, possibly reflecting their experience of unpredictability and difficulty in controlling events. However, it is at the margins, where people are most vulnerable to the fluctuations of the labour market, that proactive behaviour can make a difference. The present findings confirm that young adults believe in the importance of chance factors, contacts and significant relationships in charting a path into work. The right intervention at the right moment can produce turning points, often in unplanned situations. Work, training and educational activities and social life often overlapped. Some people's levels of social confidence may have overlapped with and boosted, or undermined, their expectations. As we saw earlier, social life may be dense, local and reproductive of patterns of inequality, or may allow for forms of participation which can expand horizons.

Discussing the future

It was not always possible to disentangle people's understanding of external influences from the motivation to 'take control' of their lives, and their responses sometimes appear contradictory, as both perspectives are embraced. In this higher education group discussion, the participants try to explain their hopes and aspirations for the future:

Q: How do you see your future prospects?
A: 'I see a lot of possibilities to do anything in the future, rather than shrink from the risks. There's no other way of handling it, is there? If you don't jump in, you'll come a cropper. It would be really terrible. As I see it, the future will be a better, more enjoyable time and I'm looking forward to it already.'

A: 'Looking at previous decades, it can only get better.'
Q: Will it get better for everyone or only for people like you?
A: 'For everyone, of course. It's not just my future. I regard it as a general issue. I think there's every indication that it will be a positive future.'
A: 'Well, I would describe the future with a single word: demanding. I have the feeling that it's demanding and a strain, this responsibility to organise your own life being in your own hands. Also, the temptations and possibilities are all part of it. So, it's very exciting and thrilling. It's like conquering something, I suppose.'

The concept of 'bounded agency' captures such combinations of agency and structural influences which were often apparent in young people's responses. It emphasises the fact that the new generation of adults in our study was undoubtedly manifesting a sense of agency, but were aware of a number of boundaries or barriers which were beyond their control and which circumscribed and sometimes prevented the expression of agency. Contrast the views of the beneficiaries of higher education above with their unemployed peers who were discussing their view of the future:

R1: 'I'm not sure. I don't know what the future will bring.'
R2: 'The future is what comes your way.'
R1: 'But you alone are responsible for your future, nobody else.'
R2: 'You're right in a way, but it also depends on other people's actions.'
R1:'OK. But to a very high degree your life is in your own hands.'
R3: 'It depends how you look at it. It's your attitude. You have your goals. He has none. He lets everything come his way, like destiny.'
R2: 'I do have goals and will try to achieve them. But I don't know whether I'll really reach them or not.'
R3: 'That's up to you.'
R2: 'Not always. How about if you have health problems?'

One of the most important findings was that young adults were rarely fatalistic. Even among unemployed people, responses suggested frustrated agency

rather than lack of control or a fatalistic acceptance of things as they are. The overriding perspective is that the future is in one's own hands, and while setbacks will be encountered, it is down to the individual to find ways to cope and to overcome them.

Why does this new generation of adults in the English city continue to see the problems and the solutions as lying primarily with the individual? One possible explanation is that they have been 'socialised into' a belief in choice and individual responsibility. If this explanation is correct, the ideological aspects of an 'enterprise culture' have successfully been transmitted to this new generation of adults in England. The fact that these people put their own success or failure down to themselves as individuals does not necessarily mean that they believe in a culture or a system based on individual effort alone, nor does it mean that they are unaware of the structures operating upon their economic opportunities. Their comments about 'luck' and 'chance' should not be taken in isolation, but need to be complemented by their perspectives on race, sex and area influences. Their common experiences of these influences were strongly articulated in group discussions.

Marginalised by the sweep of social and economic change

> The integrated working class community is a persistent image, but now largely belongs to the past. Civic involvement is least developed in areas and neighbourhoods marginalised by the sweep of economic and social change … with appropriate external support, local initiative can reverse even strongly embedded processes of decline.
>
> (Anthony Giddens)

Geographical areas that have been marginalised by the 'sweep of change' are often overlooked in research studies. My own research evidence, from urban areas, does not test Giddens' bold claim. My personal experience, combined with evidence from local sources, allows me to evaluate it. I return to

my social landscape of the Douglas valley. I spoke at the Alumni Annual Guest Lecture earlier this year about the experiences of my family of origin in this mining valley. The official history gives an account of the prospering communities in the pit villages in the first half of the twentieth century. It talks of the integrated working-class community which Giddens says is a thing of the past. Was it an integrated community? As I grew up, I didn't need Goldthorpe's study to tell me that working-class communities are not homogenous – there were the traditional, the aspiring, the 'respectable' and the 'not respectable' to say nothing of the patriarchy and gender politics, nor the religious sectarianism which criss-crossed these small communities. The colliery closed in 1967, the year I went to University, now in the south and a new member of the middle class by virtue of narrow ladders to social mobility which were available at that time. But in our village of origin, the decline was catastrophic. The bands, clubs, football teams, shops and railway disappeared as people scattered to Ayr, Fife, Lothian, even the enemy territory of England in the search for work.

So can external support now reverse deeply embedded decline, as Giddens claims? Strathclyde community education providers have become involved in the plight of the area, a fact I discovered when external examining at Strathclyde University earlier this year. The area was researched in the 1990s, showing the extent of the frustration of poverty, poor housing and ill health. 'Boredom was reflected in high levels of crime, drinking and drugs'. The younger generation did not have a real role in the community and could not look forward to the steadying influence of a job alongside older more mature adults. Twelve people were chasing every available job in the area. Underachievement in education was reflected by the fact that young people from these villages were three times more likely to need guidance and support than their peers from other villages and few stayed on beyond the minimum school leaving age. There was also intergenerational conflict. Younger people were being labelled by the older generation as apathetic, when the reality was that they had narrower life experiences than others from different social backgrounds and localities (Cox 2002). Application of some of Owen's thinking about the impact of environment would not go amiss in this, its area of origin, in the twenty-first century. The lifelong learning offer for adults in the area also speaks volumes: 'Get your mits

on IT' and 'Computing for the Terrified' offered through the old Miners' Welfare Centre, try to bridge the 'digital divide'. Grants from a major charitable body which only funds community development projects that genuinely put the community in the driving seat have now given the Douglas valley villages a funded community worker they appointed themselves, together with transport and facilities. Local activists are campaigning for improvements to amenities and housing, and are trying to attract investment into the area. Ironically, the coal reserves have been found to be plentiful, and open cast mining has been restarted in five locations.

These are all positive moves, but as Crouch (2001) warns, falling back on do-it-yourself politics remains a relatively powerless position in comparison with the might wielded by governments and multinational corporations unless alignments with key cause organisations can also be found.

Bounded agents

In my first inaugural professorial lecture in 1996, I considered different metaphors for the relationships between education and real life. The first metaphor was that of sculpting by education to fit into 'niches' in the labour market. The second was the metaphor of pathways, as though paths branch out before us as we reach the end of the trunk road of initial schooling. The third was the metaphor of 'trajectory' in social space in which our speed on launch and the angle of projection determine where we will land. Finally, navigation was the metaphor of the risk society, shooting the rapids, seeking individual solutions to permanent states of risk and insecurity. The limitation of all of these representations is that they do not look beyond to the wider landscape in which they are embedded.

Agency, the belief people have in their ability to change their life chances by their own efforts, is a social process that is shaped by past experiences, the chances present in the current moment, and the perception of futures. Looked at through this lens, research findings suggest a new concept of bounded agency (Figure 3 overleaf).

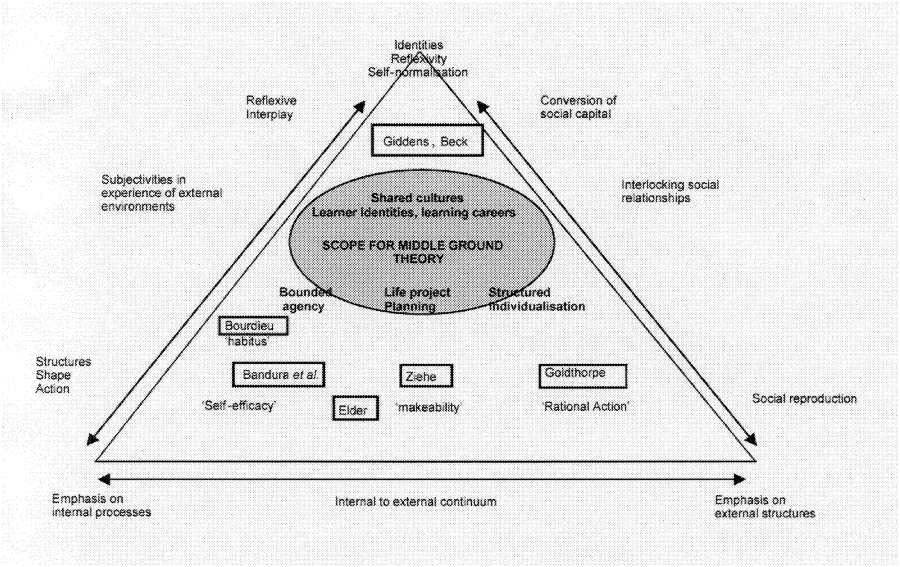

Figure 3 Conceptual schema for structure and agency

Bounded agency operates in different and complex ways depending on people's subjectively perceived frames for action and decision. A person's frame has boundaries and limits which change over time, but which have foundations in gender and social/educational inheritance, and in education and qualifications. Through these processes social crises appear to be individual ones, despite the fact that they affect the majority of people.

The notion of bounded agency is further elaborated in Figure 3 and through the metaphor of social actors moving in a social landscape:

> When people move in their social landscape, how they perceive the horizons depends on where they stand in the landscape. The horizons change slowly as they move, sometimes opening up, sometimes closing down. Where they go depends on the pathways they see, choose, stumble across or clear for themselves, the terrain and elements they encounter. Their progress depends on what they feel it is important to spend time on, how well they are equipped, the help they can call on when they need it, whether they go alone or together and how they engage with others on the way.

Richard Hoggart, in *The Uses of Literacy* (1958), saw the changes of the post-war years as part of a 'bloodless revolution' which had flattened the social landscape to a plain, but argued that attitudes take longer to change. In my chosen landscapes people still move across peaks and through valleys. As they move, spaces for action open up which are not wholly reducible to the effects of social reproduction or underlying structural features

Back to the future: challenging inequality, choosing inclusion

Like Robert Owen, Husen also had predictions about the millennium. He predicted that society will confer status decreasingly on the basis of social background or inherited wealth. Educated ability will be society's replacement for passed-on social prerogatives. This idea was based on the extension of meritocracy, but Brown and Lauder have shown that the narrow forms of meritocracy of the past 50 years have been overtaken by the market in education to create an opportunity trap. People expect better earnings as a result of learning, and the demand for qualifications from the middle classes has fuelled the market. The demand for qualifications is becoming increasingly difficult to meet from public funds. As qualifications become a private good, those without resources fall further and further behind. The opportunity trap also makes it more difficult for those who have invested in qualifications to convert these into the outcomes they want in the labour market. This is captured most graphically by the Hirsch analogy: if everyone stands on tiptoe, no one can see any better, but those who do not join in have no chance at all (Hirsch 1977).

I have shown that the new generation of adults has bought the messages of individual responsibility: that individuals have to strive to take control of their own lives. 'You are the author of your own life story' is the message in my 13-year-old daughter's school homework diary. They also have a belief in meritocracy, that opportunities open to all and that qualifications shape your chances in life, but they are certainly not blind to the social forces and factors outside the control of individuals that create and sustain inequalities of treatment and out-

come. What dangers are there here for social stability now that the underestimation of talent has become so apparent? Hopes are high but eyes are open. Furthermore, how can the principle of individual solutions to permanent risk and uncertainty be reconciled with any lasting ideas of social cohesion? The critical question remains – how will the poor, the powerless, the denigrated members of the system begin to react to possible alternatives? More worrying for those in power, how will those who are more powerfully placed, who have engaged in the qualifications chase but have not achieved as much as they had hoped, begin to respond to disappointments? There are dangers of widespread malaise, but opportunities too. In a risk society people act to minimise personal risk as well as maximise opportunities. Is there the prospect of the middle classes, running out of ways to maximise their opportunities and faced with the heightened risks of losing social position, becoming more open to the advantages for them of supporting more secure safety nets? And what of the insecurities in the wider social world? Inequalities across the globe are also disturbing what Tawney (1982) called the 'culture of contentment' and it is not obvious how the middle classes can insulate themselves from these risks. UN commissioner Mary Robinson (2002) has called for self-regulation in response to increasing public scepticism about the benefits of neo-liberal versions of globalisation. In the end, inequality, when it gets out of hand, is bad for everyone, including the rich. Is a window of opportunity opening for those who advocate reduction of inequalities by intelligent regulation that gives better social entitlements to all?

I have suggested four ways of re-establishing the relationship between education and real life, which offer possibilities for a learning revolution worthy of the name:

Key → Educated attributes
Targeted support → Social entitlements
Broadened 'access' → Expansive learning environments
Active individualisation → Reconnection

I argued in 1996 that reflexive learning in adult life requires more than bun-

dles of key skills. Reflexive learning requires educated attributes, the abilities to read the world and reflect critically upon it. Narrow forms of meritocracy which over-rewarded the minority while underestimating the talent of the majority have been overtaken by market forces, and reward the affluent disproportionately. If the beliefs of our new generation of adults that meritocracy is alive and well and that opportunities are open to all are to be sustained, state intervention in the market for education has to pursue inclusive and redistributive strategies. Some steps taken already are moving beyond targeted activities (which only try to pull people out of difficulties after the damage is done) towards preventive and affirmative action. Broadening access to the 'royal highways' of learning is important, but securing vocational education and training of high and consistent quality continues to be a pressing need, as Lorna Unwin argued in her 2002 inaugural lecture. The findings of Bynner *et al.* (2002) have also reinforced the longstanding message of our 'Working to Learn' group, that much more attention needs to be given to those people for whom the expansion of Higher Education is not a solution. Ways of creating, regulating and supporting expansive work-related learning environments will be central recommendations from our collaborative ESRC Teaching and Learning Research Programme Workplace Learning Network.[6]

Most of all, a real learning revolution requires reconnection, through strengthened channels and structures for voice and participation. It is no good at all talking about having an engaged citizenry at the heart of everything (as some government ministers have done),[7] putting it into our curricula, as policies have done, unless there is also real connection for people into structures where the ideas and practices of democracy can be exercised day to day. Reconnection is the missing link of our time. Where are these structures for those moving through and out of various forms of post-school education and training and trying to gain a foothold in the institutions of work and adult life? Where are they for those adults in insecure positions and caught in the revolving doors of the labour market? The author Neal Ascherson, asking how European can we/will we be (2001) finds that, for Britain, 'autocracy in the workplace is the tallest barrier across the way to a more participative citizenship', and that we seem ignorant of the measures put in place in other parts of

Europe in support of greater 'employee voice'.

As part of the same project with Bernard Crick on the relationships between work and life (2001a) I have argued that social rights should be re-examined in the light of increased demands for people to be 'flexible' and 'adaptable' in their approach to work, with the high insecurity that entails. When people become more flexible to employers' needs, this can often mean reduced scope for flexibility in other aspects of their lives. Expanded social rights, to balance these new responsibilities, can include the right to choose more family-friendly patterns of living and working, the right to paid educational leave, the right to be properly represented in the workplace, in matters of access to education and training as well as pay and conditions. A recent British Social Attitudes survey (2002) has shown a frustrated demand for better representation in workplaces, despite the decline in membership of unions and professional associations. Expanding the conception of social rights in these ways is a practical way of stabilising the high insecurity society and countering some of its most damaging features, while providing a more credible way of achieving an engaged citizenry.

Finally, re-establishing the relationship between education and real life needs a radical vision of lifelong learning which encompasses learning for a living, but is not driven by it. Learning is a lifelong process, which links rather than separates generations. It incorporates working lives, it is not a by-product or subordinated to the business of working for a living. It recognises that people learn to participate first in the collective 'free spaces' of life, and argues that the non-commercialised free spaces of collective life have to be protected and expanded. Minimally, they have to be protected from further erosion. Most importantly, we are bounded agents moving in changing social landscapes – we have scope for action, individually and collectively. In the *Teachers' Notes* for the New Lanark Millennium Experience, teachers are encouraged to use Harmony's review of the passage of 400 years to develop in children the sense of connection in space and time. Speaking from the year 2200, Harmony asks whether her twenty-first-century peers know that in many parts of the world, in their time, children labour in conditions as poor as those of nineteenth-century Britain, if not worse. She tells them that in 2200 that is all at an end, and that these social advances have been made through the long-term influence of ideas and actions

of people who were prepared to stand up for human rights, education and freedom from oppression.

> 'Every day you have a chance to shape the future, … yes, you … you really can.'

To the sceptics in our 'flawed learning society' I end as I began, with the words of an activist. This time, Noam Chomsky:

> [I]f you act like there is no possibility of change for the better, you guarantee that there will be no change for the better. The choice is ours. The choice is yours.

Or, as Professor Dumbledore says to his charges at Hogwart's Academy for Wizardry,

> 'It is not our abilities that make us what we are, it is our choices'.

Notes

1 Consultants' report to the Talent Foundation, www.talentfoundation.org/research.htm
2 which advocates transformation of the world along neo-liberal market lines
3 carried out with John Bynner, Walter Heinz and Ken Roberts
4 The term socialism was not used in print until a few years later. Owen talked of a new social system, with reference to Plato, Bacon and More's utopia.
5 Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Economic and Social Research Council for their funding of the Major Award Number L 134 251 011, Youth Citizenship and Social Change Programme. The full end of award report is available through REGARD, the ESRC database.

6 ESRC Teaching and Learning Research programme – Improving Incentives to Learning in the Workplace. Award Number L139 225 1005.
7 Estelle Morris, Secretary of State for Education and Skills in final days of office, for example (4 October 2002).

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