

THE WHITE HOUSE

Bruce Reed -- Appts in England

Mon. 6/19

Between 11:00/noon

Sue Burden will greet you at the Winfield House (See Map)

12:00 Sarah Lander will meet you in the lobby of the Crowne Plaza Hotel for St. Mathews Church

Conference person if you need anything:
Sope Mumumi
020-7925-6938 or
077-6964-8143 Cell

Tues. 6/20

8:15 Breakfast (Winfield House--see guest list)

2:00 Conference Ends

3:30 You are expected at 10 Downing Street for Tea

Carol Bowdery
Ph: 44-171-930-4433

Thurs. 6/22

3:00 Interview with NOVA TV

5:00 Issues/Elections Speech & Discussion to 50-60 Govt Execs
Small Dinner (Ambassador's Res)



"Rounds, Stephen R" <SRRHAGU@EXCHANGE.USIA.GOV>
06/14/2000 09:55:47 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: The Hague Public Affairs Plan for Thursday, June 22

Dear Mr. Reed--

I writing to establish communication concerning and get your approval of the outlines of our public program for you, which we have planned for Thursday, June 22.

Our schedule has three parts, a 3pm TV interview, a 5pm talk, and a dinner at Ambassador Schneider's residence.

1. The first of these is an interview on the subject of President Clinton's eight years in office. The program is NOVA, one of the Netherlands's serious current affairs programs. The program is putting together a show on the Clinton years, for which you would contribute observations about domestic policy.
2. The second event is a talk on the Clinton administration's domestic policies for a group of 50-60 government types, academics, and journalists we are convening from time to time this year to discuss the issues and the elections. You would be expected to talk for about 20 minutes and then open the floor for discussion. There is no need to prepare a speech, I'm sure the headings you have in your head will provide an adequate outline.
3. The Ambassador has invited a small group to Dutch domestic policy types to her residence for dinner that evening.

I will try to get in touch by phone later to see how you feel about this program. If necessary, you or Cathy could call me later at home: 31 70 328 0661.

Thank you,

Steve Rounds

Stephen R. Rounds
Public Affairs Officer
U.S. Embassy, Den Haag
Telephone: 0031 (0)70 3109 440
Fax: 0031 (0)70 365 8837
Cell: 0031 (0)6 2297 2048



Cynthia Schneider <cpschneider@restructassoc.com>
06/15/2000 08:17:23 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP
cc:
Subject: Re: Reed visit

My butler, Olaff Peeters, will meet you at the plane. I will see you later that night.

Thanks so much for being so generous with your time. I am sure that people will really enjoy meeting and talking with you. The dinner Thursday night will be very small and informal, with fun, interesting people, including Paul Risely, and the Dutch Minister for Welfare and Social Issues.

See you soon.

-----Original Message-----

From: Bruce_N_Reed@opd.eop.gov <Bruce_N_Reed@opd.eop.gov>
To: Cynthia Schneider <cpschneider@restructassoc.com>
Date: Thursday, June 15, 2000 5:12 PM
Subject: Re: Reed visit

>Thanks, Cynthia -- that sounds quite interesting and should be fun as well.

>

>Here's our itinerary:

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>We arrive in Amsterdam from London on Wednesday at 7:40pm (KLM flight
>2014). I could use your advice on how best to get from the airport up to
>the Embassy.

>

>We're currently planning to fly back to London at 1pm on Saturday.

>

>We leave for Europe on the 17th. If you need to reach us early next week,
>we'll be staying with the Laders from Monday to Wednesday. Thanks to you,
>we're having a Renaissance Week!

>

>Thanks again for everything -- we can't wait to see you!

>



Cynthia Schneider <cpschneider@restructassoc.com>
06/14/2000 05:51:57 PM

Record Type: Record

To: "Schneider, Cynthia P" <SchneiderCP@state.gov>, Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP
cc:
Subject: Re: Reed visit

Bruce,

I am so delighted that everything has worked out for you to come, and that you are willing to speak before TV and some of our political contacts. We had the first of our 2000 election/political events with David Gergen, via video stream commenting on Super Tuesday. It was a huge success. I know people will look forward to and enjoy the session with you. Dave gave just a brief (10-15 minute) introduction/analysis and then took questions. The format was ideal. You absolutely do not need to prepare anything in advance. Just talk off the cuff about a few of the issues you have tackled, and highlight the President's approach to them.

Of particular interest to the Dutch: welfare reform, school to work, job training for chronically unemployed; Family Medical Leave (in the context of their extremely generous work benefit system); crime prevention; racial integration issues.

The Netherlands is ruled by a coalition government, consisting of the Labor Party PvdA (Prime Minister Wim Kok's party); the Liberal party (VVD, comparable to moderate Republicans) and the D66, a small fairly liberal party. It is a sign of how middle-of the -road the Dutch and the American Democrats are that both the Dutch Labor party and the Liberals (who really are the most conservative mainstream party) view themselves as the counterparts of the U.S. Democratic party.

The Netherlands enjoys a booming economy with 3% unemployment and steady economic growth. Companies set up here because of the location --heart of Europe; great for distribution -- and because of the intelligent, hard working, multilingual work force and consumers.

The economic success and relative social harmony results from the systematized consensus forged between industry, labor, and government social programs with the goal of keeping wages and government spending under control in order to fuel economic growth. In other words, the Dutch, like others, are striving to combine economic success and continued compassion from government.

A current issue of discussion is racial integration and harmony --or lack thereof. the country is heading for big demographic trouble. In the big cities immigrants count for over 50% of the under 12 population. At the

moment a kind of de facto segregation is the rule, not the exception, because of the classic Dutch tolerance. In other words, everyone is allowed to worship, shop as they please. There was a big discussion in the papers this year about multi-cultural integration. How much the "Dutch " identity should be emphasized to the new immigrants.

In any event the audience will be well informed and interested. Hopefully this will be fun for you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Schneider, Cynthia P <SchneiderCP@state.gov>
To: 'cpschneider@restructassoc.com' <cpschneider@restructassoc.com>
Date: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 6:30 PM
Subject: FW: The Hague Public Affairs Plan for Thursday, June 22

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>> -----Original Message-----

>> From: (U) Rounds, Stephen R
>> Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 4:01 PM
>> To: Schneider, Cynthia; Schneider, Cynthia P(The Hague) (DoS-FADS)
>> Subject: FW: The Hague Public Affairs Plan for Thursday, June 22

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>> -----Original Message-----

>> From: Bruce_N_Reed@opd.eop.gov [mailto:Bruce_N_Reed@opd.eop.gov]
>> Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 4:31 PM
>> To: Rounds, Stephen R
>> Subject: Re: The Hague Public Affairs Plan for Thursday, June 22

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>>

>> That sounds great -- I'm delighted to do all of it. Let me know if there
>> are particular issues of interest to the Dutch. (I don't know much about
>> the Dutch political scene.)

Raising Aspirations in the 21st Century

A speech by the Rt Hon David Blunkett MP
Secretary of State for Education and Employment
6th January 2000



D/EE

Department for
Education and Employment

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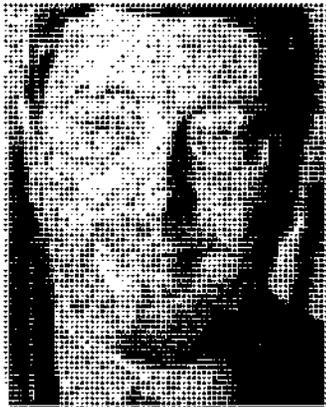


Department for
Education and Employment

"This booklet accompanies a speech delivered by the Rt Hon David Blunkett MP, Secretary of State for Education and Employment at the North of England Education Conference in Wigan on 6th January 2000."

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**Foreword by David Blunkett,
Secretary of State for Education and Employment**



Building on Success

We have entered a new century in which learning will define our lives as never before. Whether we succeed and prosper, as individuals or as a country or fail to progress and fall behind, will depend on our knowledge and skills, abilities and understanding.

In the 20th century we made education for all a basic right, yet we failed conspicuously to deliver high standards for all. Indeed for many years, society denied the need to educate more than an elite to the highest levels.

In the last years of the 1990s we have started to put this right, with a sustained drive to raise standards. This has now begun to bear fruit.

This booklet is about developing the next stages of the "standards" agenda. It reinforces the need to raise standards by building on the basics, but it is more than that. It is about tackling difficulties before they emerge and building bridges between primary and secondary education, schools and workplaces, schooling and post-16 education. Furthermore, it is about developing creativity and high level thinking skills, deepening knowledge, and stretching achievement. In short, developing new forms of excellence with diversity.

We are committed to working with schools and colleges, teachers, education authorities and the community as a whole to achieve the very best for our society. We must seize this chance to ensure that all our young people are equipped for the challenges of the new century.

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David Blunkett

1

North of England Speech

As one of the first major contributions to policy development and to set out a vision of the future in the new century, I am today publishing this pamphlet in conjunction with my speech at the North of England Conference. There could be no more fitting subject than education to begin the new era. I want to take advantage of this extraordinary moment in history to reaffirm our commitment, as a government, to making education our top priority and to set before you a vision of how education can advance in the years ahead, beyond the implementation of our current policy agenda. I want to describe how, in this millennium, we can turn into reality what was too often rhetoric in the last, and ensure for the first time genuinely high standards for all.

The case for change

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. The combined forces of globalisation and technological innovation mean, as a recent World Bank report put it so succinctly, that "education will determine who has the keys to the treasures the world can furnish... countries that respond astutely should experience extraordinary progress – with major social and economic benefits, including 'catch up' gains for the poor and marginalized. Countries that fail to respond to the challenge risk stagnating... widening social and economic gaps and sowing the seeds of unrest".

The second argument is a social one. Healthy, cohesive societies depend, especially in this rapidly changing world, on education, because only through education can people gain the knowledge, learn the skills and develop the confidence to participate in shaping their communities. The statistics starkly reveal the association between lack of education and social exclusion. For example, two thirds of school age offenders have either been excluded from school or played truant. Approximately three-quarters of all those excluded have reading ages between 8½ and 10 while reading materials in secondary school assume a reading age of 14½. In short, people without a good education feel powerless and unable to influence their lives or their communities.

This raises the third argument, one that for me has always been at least as important as the other two: education is the great liberator. It can unlock what William Blake called those "mind-forged manacles". 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. That is why nearly 250 years ago Thomas Jefferson argued that: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilisation, it expects what never was and never will be."

These three arguments are surely sufficient reason to prioritise education, but the start of a new millennium provides a unique opportunity to raise a fourth reason.

This is simply that within the next two or three decades the global society will have to face up to, and make, a set of decisions the like of which humanity has never before faced. For example there is the need to find solutions within the early decades of this new century to the environmental challenge, a result of a combination of environmental degradation and massive population growth. Bound up with this is the challenge of global inequality.

As another example, there is the challenge posed to us by the immense advances in the genetic sciences. They have huge potential benefits but also present a series of complicated ethical dilemmas. Edward Wilson, the Harvard biologist put it with devastating simplicity, within 10 to 20 years we will be able to "decommission natural selection". Potentially the biological nature of the human species will become a matter of collective and individual choice.

While I do not, for a minute, pretend to know my way through these awesome challenges, I do know that these choices cannot and will not be made by a handful of experts or by the powerful. Rather, they will be made globally, locally and even individually. Each individual will have to choose.

All of us, as we face up to these complex questions, can feel confident about only one thing and that is the necessity of ensuring that, in facing this future, this generation of primary and secondary students must be the best educated by far in history.

I want these decisions made by people educated in the fullest sense of the word i.e. highly knowledgeable, capable of understanding complex problems, highly skilled, talented in the art of communication, confident working in teams, creative, and not least, capable of exercising moral judgement and taking a global perspective. That is why I warm to Gandhi's concept of – "education with character" – a concept which goes far beyond the routine definitions of education which dominate our day-to-day debate.

Politicians are sometimes accused of being focused on the short-term and more interested in style than substance. I hope that after this argument, no-one will accuse me of that! Personally, raising standards and creating a world class education system is a passion and in fact, the most profound challenge for us all at the start of this new millennium.

The challenge

There is not a society on earth that has achieved the standards implied by the argument I have just made. In May 1997, we inherited an education system that simply was not good enough. The situation was that there:

- were many good schools but not enough
- was a gap, far larger than it should be, between the best schools and the worst
- were more than four in ten 11 year olds falling below the standards set for their age in literacy and numeracy
- was a building stock creaking from a generation of under-investment
- was a culture which expected too little of education
- was, worst of all, a sense of fatalism that improvement in education was, at worst, impossible and, at best, something that moved at glacial pace

Early in this new century, we have a unique opportunity to put this legacy behind us and create a world class education service.

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As a government for the first time ever we:

- are committed in word and deed to making education our top priority for a full Parliamentary term and, if re-elected, beyond that
- are at the beginning of a three year period of significant real growth in education spending. We will increase the proportion of national income spent on education over the course of this Parliament and we are providing at least a 16 per cent increase in real terms between 1999 and 2002. Capital expenditure on education will double during this Parliament. In December 1999, Tony Blair confirmed that into the next Parliament, education will continue to have the first call on public resources in return for a step change in standards
- have broad support from business, parents and the general public for the programme we have embarked upon

If we fail to seize this opportunity we will betray both our generation and those that follow. We can, if we work together, create a truly world class education service which matches, or exceeds, the standards of our international competitors

In order to do so, we must have high expectations of everyone, regardless of background, gender or circumstances. We must target support to those who need most help to reach those high standards and we must change the culture:

Standing alone, high ideals and bold aspirations do not bring the kind of step change we all want to see. Delivering results requires good policies, which are implemented well and require a great deal of hard work. I am pleased to set out our strategy for achieving results below:

Our approach

We set out our plans for achieving our ambitions in the White Paper, *Excellence in Schools*, published just 67 days after the election. Teachers and our other partners have responded to our agenda since then with growing commitment and enthusiasm, and increasing success.

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Our approach has four key elements:

- laying firm foundations
- improving all schools
- a drive for inclusion
- modernising comprehensive education

Foundations

If we want a world class education service in the next decade, we must do everything we can to get the best possible early years' and primary education. In this Parliament, we are delivering on this challenge by introducing:

- the Sure Start programme - to ensure pupils are well prepared for formal education
- 21 designated early excellence centres
- nursery education for all four-year olds, and we intend to double the number of places for three-year olds in this Parliament
- our class size pledge, which will be implemented in full and ahead of time, in September 2001
- literacy and numeracy strategies, which have brought change to every primary school

Altogether, these initiatives amount to no less than a revolution in primary education and will provide a modern, forward-looking primary sector for the new century. Already, the evidence of change for the better is evident. Early Years' practitioners, primary teachers and Education Authorities deserve great credit for responding so positively to this radical agenda. Although it may not always feel like it to primary teachers, the truth is that they are not only at the leading edge of reform in this country but they are also world leaders. As Brian Caldwell, the leading Australian school reformer, said recently, commenting on our reforms: "The world is watching".

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Improving all Schools

The second aspect of our strategy is the promotion of school improvement throughout the school system – primary, secondary and special. We are seeking to introduce a system that will enable schools to be excellent, improving or both.

We wish to start by giving schools responsibility for improving themselves and in order to do this, we need to delegate as much resource as possible to these schools. Our Fair Funding policy ensures that every possible penny is devolved to the frontline – to schools – where it has most impact on pupil performance, and next year we will see further delegation. Every year, through the Autumn package, we provide schools with good benchmarking data to enable them to compare themselves to others, especially those with similar intakes, and set targets for improvement. Also we will provide ever-increasing access to best practice advice, from the Standards Web Site on the Internet to the Beacon schools programme. Many good Education Authorities supplement this data and play their part in disseminating best practice.

Just as we provide support for improvement, so we provide pressure also through regular inspection, published targets and the performance tables. Education Authorities have important responsibilities to:

- challenge all schools to do better
- assist struggling schools
- intervene to tackle failure, particularly after critical OFSTED reports

While it is vital that Education Authorities perform these functions effectively, it is equally vital that they do not seek to go beyond them by intervening in successful schools or by unnecessarily holding back money. Currently, too many Education Authorities do both of these things and we are determined that this should not continue. In fact, over the next year, I will challenge Education Authorities to look at what tomorrow's education service should look like – bearing in mind that if there is not a local and accountable service, we will have to invent one.

This combination of both pressure and support is driving improvement just as it is doing in America's most rapidly improving states – Texas and North Carolina – and in European countries, such as the Netherlands and Sweden.

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In schools throughout the country there has been a dramatic shift in the last two years or so towards a sharp focus on achievement and success.

Where under-performance is identified, either at school or at Education Authority level, we have shown that we will not hesitate to intervene to ensure pupils get the education they deserve. If we want a world-class education service, it is incumbent on us all to act wherever, and whenever, a problem is identified. While I do not pretend that every problem is easy to solve, it would be unforgivable not even to try to solve them as they arise.

Our preference for problem-solving is for early intervention to prevent failure. However, tough action we have taken at school level and, more recently, at Education Authority level too, as demonstrated in Hackney, Islington, Liverpool and elsewhere, shows we will not flinch from sterner measures when they are needed. Our approach will always be to put the educational achievement of pupils first – it supports our application of the principle of intervention in inverse proportion to success.

Inclusion

The third element of our strategy is the drive for inclusion.

In the long run, the literacy and numeracy strategies will make a crucial contribution by reducing levels of disaffection, but other important policy developments are already making a difference.

As a result of our Green Paper on Special Educational Needs (SEN), £85 million has been made available to support pupils with SEN and improve access to buildings. This in turn has increased the percentage of pupils with statements, placed in mainstream schools, from 54% to 60% over the last year.

Meanwhile Education Authorities have targets to reduce truancy and exclusion by one third by 2002. The figures show we are already making significant progress. Furthermore, we are investing over £500 million over three years, in in-school centres for excluded pupils, electronic registration schemes and other initiatives. This will protect other children from disruption, secure the support of parents for inclusion and ensure that those who have problems are provided with support early on and receive ongoing education. These initiatives are in marked contrast to the past.

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The over-representation of certain ethnic minority groups among those excluded is also being tackled. Through the publication and the use of relevant data, OFSTED annually inspect those schools with high levels of exclusion. We will challenge the worst offending Education Authorities to tackle the problem. The literacy and numeracy programmes, combined with the reform of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant, will ensure that pupils of all ethnic backgrounds get a sound start to their education.

We are also providing ever-increasing opportunities for 'out-of-school' learning through 'study support'. We know that pupils benefit hugely from this and we are determined to ensure that all pupils reap these benefits, not just those with advantageous home backgrounds.

Our goal is that every pupil should leave secondary school equipped for the challenges of the 21st century, and as many as half should be in a position to take advantage of the academic challenge of higher education. Those with other aspirations need the knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes to equip them for a job market which will make ever higher demands. The education system needs to change to reflect that. Success for a few was an option in the past. Success for all is the challenge now.

But it is not just about the labour market. Young people must be prepared for life too. They need to:

- know the history and the culture of the country they live in
- learn how to contribute to their family, their community and our wider society
- understand how a democratic society functions, how their voice can be heard, how they can make a difference
- have the skills, interests and confidence to use their leisure time positively
- above all, learn to respect themselves and those around them and so become caring and active citizens - adults to be proud of

The revised National Curriculum published last September and due for implementation in September 2000, will help us achieve these objectives. Just as knowledge and skills must be for everyone, so too must citizenship. We will make education for citizenship an entitlement from 2002.

9

Modernising Comprehensive Education

To ensure high standards and an inclusive system, we have embarked on the modernisation of comprehensive education, the fourth element of our programme. The comprehensive system, developed in the 1970s and 1980s, has not delivered what its advocates hoped for, never mind what we require for the 21st century. It is true that some schools have prospered, but there are not enough. Where grammar schools exist it is, of course, a matter for parents to decide on admission arrangements. However, the vast majority of secondary schools take children on a non-selective basis. What the public wants to see is:

- schools where every child who steps through its doors are taught well
- diversity within a campus
- access to learning opportunities elsewhere
- the needs and aspirations of all children are met, whatever their diverse talents, abilities or learning needs

Parents look for an ethos and environment which is disciplined and purposeful, where learning is seen as a pleasure, not a punishment to be endured. We want community schools in the truest sense of the word, schools which are at the heart of their community and where their community has taken them to heart. We intend to provide that.

We need therefore secondary schools which:

- have high expectations
- focus on individuals and their preferred learning styles
- challenge each pupil always to do better
- develop their strengths and contribute to a network of diverse provision across an area
- are unashamed about excellence
- remove barriers to learning wherever necessary
- link young people to learning opportunities in other schools and outside the normal school day

We need schools which focus on what works and abandon any residual dogmatic attachment to mixed ability teaching. We want flexible thinking and a sense of ambition. In fact, this is already evident in many of our best secondary schools.

Our modernisation programme is advancing towards this goal. It aims to ensure that all schools match the best. We have already doubled the number of specialist schools, and will double it again to at least 800 schools – nearly one in four of all secondary schools by 2003. These schools, all with strong support from business, have improved their performance at twice the rate of the average comprehensive and are showing the way forward. They are providing not only higher standards but increasing diversity and innovation. Already, we require them to ensure that they provide benefit not just for their own pupils, but for pupils in other schools too. They have responded with enthusiasm to that challenge.

The new flexibility we have introduced into the secondary curriculum will enable more teenagers to benefit from work-place learning and the motivation that follows from it. In the revised National Curriculum we will extend flexibility to promote further work-place learning and to encourage young people to develop their special talents and interests.

Furthermore, for those pupils who need it we are supporting a range of mentoring programmes to provide extra support, and subsequent motivation, to achieve high standards. An example of this is that, since September last year, universities in Newcastle, Birmingham, and London have been providing trained mentors to work with 13–16 year olds in Education Action Zones. The mentors are already making a positive impact.

Transformation

The Excellence in Cities programme takes this modernisation process to a new stage. It represents the transition in our policy from mere improvement of the existing system to genuine transformation. It is a radical departure in a number of ways. Firstly it recognises explicitly the importance of changing both the reality and the perception of secondary education in our large conurbations. We want state secondary schools to appeal to every parent, including those who could opt out of that sector if they wished. We intend it simultaneously to meet the needs and aspirations of all young people,

whatever their gifts and talents, and to remove systematically the barriers to their success, whether these be inside or outside the school.

Secondly, we want to create opportunities for each individual child which do not depend solely on the school that they happen to attend and which are based on tailored support, mentoring and advice. We will enable families to support their children, providing backing and motivation through home-school agreements, better information for parents and family literacy. Excellence in Cities will provide diversity but in a dramatically different way from the past. It will ensure that many secondary schools take on specialist functions in addition to their core responsibility of providing a good, rounded education for all their pupils. Furthermore, the additional resources schools are receiving under the programme are intended to bring high performance across the city, not just to an individual school.

By ensuring that schools act as part of a network, we will enable pupils to benefit from learning opportunities in more than one school, wherever their needs and aspirations can be met. The use of technology, with the new City Learning Centres at the hub, will make this possible in a new way. We intend to exploit that opportunity.

This way will enable us to concentrate on the needs of the individual young person with an individual education plan, rather than fitting the individual into the system. This is a new approach which defines the education service as a resource to be drawn on wherever, and whenever, a young person needs to do so. The use of technology, the development of mentoring, the out-of-school programmes for both special needs and gifted children, and the concentration of mini-EAZs, allow us to do so much more than has ever been done in the past.

All this contributes to the development of the classroom and the school of the future. It is about transforming the nature of our education system which has changed so very little throughout this century. In fact, when it has, it has usually been on an ideological whim, or a professional experiment at the expense of the children in our most deprived areas and with the least chance of what Michael Heseltine once described as "escape from the inner city."

In the Excellence in Cities areas we are also seeing a new approach to decision-making, with the secondary heads in an area working collaboratively with the Education Authority and thinking strategically – collaborating, rather

than competing. The greatest compliment paid to the programme is that schools and Education Authorities outside it are clamouring to join. It is our intention to extend the programme progressively over the years ahead. Its constant themes will be diversity, excellence and the individual learner. Through its special programmes for gifted and talented young people we will practically demonstrate that there are no limits to what can be achieved in the state sector.

It is our intention to spread Excellence in Cities directly across the country, and to develop links with primary education. Furthermore we intend to ensure that the model can be adopted and spread without waiting for additional and earmarked Government funding. In this way, we can develop this initiative in tandem with the range of measures which are now being applied across all our schools. Excellence in Cities is not the only element of transformation. Our efforts to bring the benefits of ICT to the teaching and learning process across the country are being redoubled. We are investing £1 billion in connectivity and hardware. Nearly all secondary schools are connected to the Internet now and two in every three primary schools. The £230 million programme to train every teacher to be able to use ICT in the classroom is steadily being put in place. Meanwhile the government is working with public and private sector providers to ensure there is suitable content available.

I welcome:

- the commitment of Greg Dyke, the incoming Director-General of the BBC, to put education at the heart of public sector broadcasting and I look forward to seeing that commitment honoured in the months ahead; independent broadcasting companies are making similar commitments
- IBM's investment in networking our beacon schools to ensure more rapid and effective dissemination of best practice around the system

Modernising the teaching profession

Each of these developments contributes to making transformation possible. However, the key to ensuring that it happens, in every classroom, is the modernisation of the teaching profession. The Green Paper's proposals for linking pay and performance have been vigorously debated and I welcome the growing support for them within the education service, especially among

headteachers. Over the next year, our proposals will become widely accepted at every level because they will prove to be fair, practical and beneficial in raising standards. But what I want to emphasise today is that this is just one part of a much wider vision of a re-invented teaching profession where the school of the future is developed and links teachers with classroom assistants and technical support staff, thus unleashing the power of technology in wholly new ways and transforming teaching and learning. This transformation is already occurring.

I visited the Challenger Space Centre in Leicester (which will be placed on a permanent site with £23.5 million of investment from the Millennium Commission) and saw 11 to 13 year olds inspired, motivated and uplifted by the opportunity to see how science worked in practice. I was inspired to note how learning in a different context could transform the mundane into something that fired the imagination.

You only have to look around to see what is currently possible:

- Shakespeare being taught using interactive whiteboard technology – so that pupils can watch an extract of the play – simply and easily in the middle of a lesson
- the power of one-to-one tutor-student reviews like those every two weeks at the country's most improved secondary school – St. Clement's High School in King's Lynn
- the fantastic use of technology in literacy, numeracy and other subjects in the lessons by Diane Sperry at Moat Farm Junior School, who won an award in the National Teaching Awards last summer
- City Learning Centres which will transform education for pupils in cities. There will be over 30 City Learning Centres open by September this year. In the case of the DomEx project, announced a few weeks ago, we will link five City Learning Centres based in schools in East London with the education centre at the Millennium Dome. The facilities at the Dome will become accessible to pupils and teachers across the area, providing a valuable opportunity to develop and test out new ways of learning and teaching using the power of technology
- the virtual EAZ, linking schools across a wide geographical area through technology to provide professional development and teaching and learning opportunities

Teaching reform has never just been about teachers' pay. It is about making possible those developments described above and other innovative approaches to teaching and learning. Above all, the achievement of radical transformation depends on leadership. We need to work together to ensure that high quality leadership is available everywhere and most importantly, where it is needed most. The new Leadership College will unite our school leaders with the best leaders – in any field, in any country. We have already begun to establish international links with, among others, the USA, Canada, Australia and Sweden. The college faculty will include some world-renowned experts in educational leadership and, just as importantly, outstanding heads from this country who understand the challenges and how to overcome them. The enthusiasm for this initiative among school leaders here is invigorating.

We will radically reform professional development and enable teachers to improve their skills continuously. Shortly, we will consult on the vision and the strategy. By this September, 20,000 additional trained classroom assistants will be working in our schools, particularly to help to support the implementation of our literacy and numeracy programmes. Through the expanded capital programme we are also working to modernise school buildings. We know the task has only just begun but we want them to be places that will assist, and indeed represent, the transformation that is surely coming.

In sense, in the many school visits I make, a growing sense of enthusiasm about what is possible and an awareness of the urgency with which we are driving reform. This urgency is a result of wanting everyone – pupils, parents and staff in the system – to benefit as soon as possible. Throughout the service people are working extremely hard and this hard work is greatly appreciated. Increasingly, I think people are just beginning to reap the rewards of the transformation which is within our grasp.

Delivery

There is still a long way to go but the key outcome indicators are beginning to move in the right direction.

These are that:

- the number of pupils leaving school with no qualifications has fallen from around 50,000 to around 35,000, still too many, but progress nevertheless
- the number of pupils permanently excluded from school has fallen for the last two years
- the percentage of pupils achieving 5 higher grades at GCSE (age 16) has continued to rise
- the percentage of pupils achieving A level passes, especially at high grades, has also risen, as has the number achieving vocational qualifications
- the success of the government's policy on failing schools is demonstrated by the following figures

Year	Schools entering special measures	Schools coming out of special measures
1995/96	110	14
1996/97	215	45
1997/98	324	135
1998/99	192	260

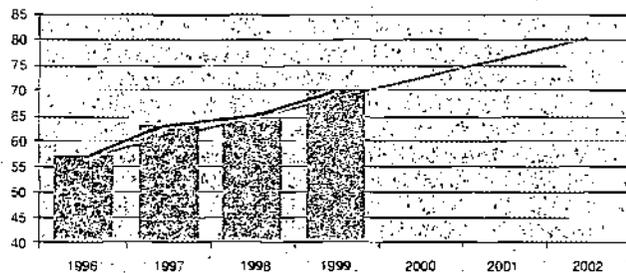
- The time it takes for a failing school to be brought back to health has been reduced from 25 months at the election to 17 months now

Most importantly of all, 11 year olds achieved higher standards than ever before in the 1999 tests in English and maths. At the time of the election, when the targets were set, 57 per cent of 11 year olds reached the target expected for their age in English and 54 per cent in mathematics. This year the corresponding figures are 70 per cent and 69 per cent. It is particularly encouraging that nine out of ten of the Education Authorities making the greatest gains in maths are in deprived areas. Tower Hamlets, with a 17 per

cent gain, led the way. In English, eight out of ten of the Education Authorities making the most gain were in deprived areas too, with Blackburn out in front.

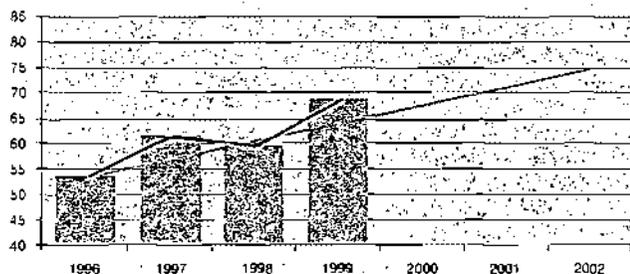
The first graph shows the impact of the government's literacy strategy. The solid line shows the trajectory necessary to achieve the 2002 targets. The fine line indicates what has happened so far.

Percentage of pupils at level 4 or above in Key Stage 2 English tests



The second graph shows the impact of the government's numeracy strategy. The fall in 1998 coincides with the new mental arithmetic element being introduced to the test, followed by the big rise in 1999 which resulted from raised expectation, improved teaching, the provision of booster classes and early implementation of the strategy in as many as 70 per cent of schools.

Percentage of pupils at level 4 or above in Key Stage 2 Maths tests



Other data shows that the strategies are having a positive impact throughout the primary years, not just among 11 year olds. We have seen a major rise in the percentage achieving Level 5 in both maths and English, showing that the strategies benefit the most able as well as everyone else. This progress is encouraging but it also reveals the challenge ahead, especially in writing, which has only just begun to improve.

There is no room for complacency. Achieving our targets for 2002 will take sustained focus and a continuing capacity for each of us, at every level, to learn and refine as implementation goes forward. We know that each unit of improvement will be harder to achieve than the last, as performance rises to levels never previously achieved in our country.

Nevertheless, this year's data shows that a combination of ambitious reform, strategic implementation and powerful commitment from teachers can change practice in every classroom and improve pupil outcomes. I acknowledge the contribution Education Authorities have made to that achievement. The new confidence and respect that primary teachers will gain as a result of their achievements over the last two years are by no means the least of the outcomes of the programme so far. Having been pilloried by politicians and the media alike for almost a generation, surely teachers can now see that they have a government who will support and invest in them, while simultaneously demanding high standards and excellent performance. This, in effect, is the new contract between government and teachers which, if we get it right, has tremendous potential.

The emerging agenda – transitional stages

As our reforms begin to work, new challenges are beginning to emerge. I want to deal with two.

The first is the whole question of transitional stages in a young person's development – the moment when they move from one phase of education to another. When we examine the shift from nursery to primary or primary to secondary education, we see evidence of disruption and a lack of progression. For the 11 year old, moving from the relatively small and familiar environment of the primary school to the much more challenging secondary school can be especially daunting. A similar pattern emerges during the transition from pre-16 to post-16 or pre-19 to post-19 education, not to mention those beyond. I'd like to comment too on the transition from full time work to retirement, but that is for another day.

We are beginning to put in place policies to address each of these transitions:

- the new Foundation Stage; the Early Learning Goals and baseline assessment aimed at three to six year olds will ensure all children start school ready to learn.
- our summer school programme for 11 year olds, allied to new regulations on the transfer of data, will improve transition from primary to secondary school. I shall return to this theme later.
- the new Youth Support Service for 13-19 year olds will provide targeted, objective, aspirational guidance to all young people as they move from school age to adulthood. Each young person will have clear access to information and advice about the growing range of options available. The service will have a key role in ensuring we tailor educational provision to meet the needs and aspirations of each individual.

We have more work to do on each of these transition phases but the new policy framework is beginning to emerge. I would urge everyone, whatever their role in the education service, to examine their relationships with others in other phases and see what they can do to improve performance at each transitional stage – our task is to serve individuals and provide a seamless array of learning opportunities, not to fight for institutional interests.

Key Stage 3

The second and related issue which is rising rapidly to the top of the emerging agenda is the education of pupils aged eleven to fourteen (Key Stage 3 in the jargon). I see it as central to achieving our wider objectives at secondary level. The success at primary level in the last two years has brought into sharp focus the unacceptable lack of progress from age 11 to 14.

This year, 14 year olds' test results were little different from the year before. In English they even slipped back a little. In science they are no better than they were in 1996. Research commissioned by the DfEE helps explain this poor performance: Achievement slips in the transition from primary to secondary schools. Too little is expected of pupils in the first year of secondary school, by the end of which around a third of pupils perform worse

in tests than they did a year earlier. Boys show less progress than girls and are more likely to become disaffected in years 7 and 8. We are in the process of commissioning further research on boys' underachievement.

One girl interviewed said: "Year 7 work is not too difficult because it's more or less the same as Year 6". Another, rather more precocious, said: "My friend Harriet doesn't feel intellectually stimulated this year". In the second year of secondary school the research shows that schools consolidate, but they are consolidating the lack of progress made in the first!

Take science as an example. Our data shows that over the nine terms between the ages of eleven and fourteen the average pupil makes only six terms' progress. A pupil's account of a science lesson, in an interview in a study by Suffolk helps to explain why. The girl reported that she had been asked to draw round leaves but in her last school she had done photosynthesis and was interested in the effect of light on the rate of photosynthesis. We are simply not taking advantage of our internationally recognised success in primary science, and in other subjects the story is little better. No wonder then, that by age thirteen, many pupils are bored and a significant minority are disaffected!

OFSTED data reinforces this gloomy picture. Eleven to fourteen year olds are on the receiving end of more poor lessons than any other pupils according to HMC's annual report. Of course, there are many schools doing a good job and many teachers teaching lessons well to this age group. Nevertheless, I believe there is growing recognition, not least among secondary heads and teachers themselves, that the present state of affairs is not acceptable and that we must, as a matter of urgency, begin to do much better. That is certainly my view.

I start from the position that we cannot fatalistically shake our heads and put failure at this age down to "adolescence". As a father of three boys I know as well as anyone that adolescent young people are not always easy-going! But I also know that adolescence is an age when young people display tremendous creativity, energy, idealism and passion. The key, as the Hadow Report said as long ago as 1926, is to tap that tide of adolescence at the flood.

Education for 11 to 14 olds needs to be challenging, demanding, vigorous and inspiring. Of course they need high standards in the basics but they also need to be motivated and to become engaged. They need opportunities.

either at their school or elsewhere, across the full range of possibilities – art, drama, music, competitive sport – outward-bound, as well as in academic subjects. These subjects need to be brought to life.

Pupils need the opportunity to follow their enthusiasms. They need to experience a range of different approaches to teaching and learning – small teams, whole classes, individual assignments, problem-based challenges, and the use of ICT – in and out of school. Above all they need high expectations and they need to see the new foundations in literacy, numeracy and science at primary level extended and built on from the moment they enter secondary education. Real transition using the best possible methods of transferring information and data on the achievement and position of each individual child.

The schemes of work in every National Curriculum subject, which we will publish in March, will help teachers achieve this. Over the next year or so we will also be developing an ambitious new programme of professional development for all secondary teachers to strengthen their teaching, improve their subject knowledge and enable them to make their teaching more inspiring. The programme will enable all teachers of 11 to 14 year to learn best practice in engaging pupils, setting targets and analysing and assessing work against the standards set in the National Curriculum. These are the practices which the head teachers in our focus group on boys' underachievement have demonstrated raised standards in their schools. Together with the longer term benefits of the literacy strategy, they will raise the standards of all pupils but reduce the disaffection of boys in particular. To help put education for this age group firmly on the agenda of secondary schools we intend to consult shortly on the introduction of statutory targets for 14 year olds. We believe that next December schools should set targets in English, maths and science for the tests in 2002.

That is some way off and will no doubt be widely welcomed but we want to make a start right away. The first and most important challenge is to build on the success of our literacy and numeracy programmes at primary levels. All the evidence shows that pupils in the early years of secondary schooling who lack the requisite literacy and numeracy skills fail to gain full access to the rest of the curriculum and are therefore the most likely to fall behind and become

disaffected. We therefore intend to strengthen literacy and numeracy at secondary level this year.

Last summer we trained the head and two teachers from each secondary school to prepare for the impact of the National Literacy Strategy. This summer we will do the same for the National Numeracy Strategy. In March we will publish extensions of the primary literacy and numeracy frameworks into the first year of secondary school. These will set out clear objectives for all pupils which build on what they have learnt at primary level and provide a positive, helpful teaching programme for the first year of secondary school. Above all they will ensure the necessary high expectations. From September, we will pilot the teaching programmes and the necessary professional development to ensure the new frameworks are effective. We will be inviting a dozen Education Authorities to work with us on developing this pilot. We have set aside £5 million for this purpose.

We are particularly concerned about those pupils who have not achieved Level 4 by the time they leave primary school. Their top priority, if they are to succeed in the future, is to get to Level 4 as soon as possible. In the summer of 1997, we piloted 50 summer schools at primary-secondary transition. In 1999, we ran 1,200. We were told when we embarked on this programme that pupils would not want to attend and even if they did, they would not complete the programme. In fact, there is enthusiasm for them. Not only do they help the pupils with literacy and numeracy, they also enhance their confidence and motivation and ensure they are better prepared for the new challenges of secondary education. Moreover, they encourage the teachers involved to try innovative teaching approaches.

This summer we will fund around 2,300 summer schools, including 500 targeted at the gifted and talented (based on a small pilot last year). It is my ambition that ultimately there should be a summer school available for every eleven year old in every community. This will help tackle the problem of transition.

However, a brief summer school, no matter how good, cannot complete the task. That is why we expect those who run summer schools to link them into their teaching programme for twelve year olds so that the summer school pupils get sustained support once they start at their new secondary school.

Schools which have done this well, and provided pupils with extra support, are already showing the difference they can make.

We want to strengthen this focus on pupils in the first year of secondary school. Schools need to prioritise and bring all pupils, particularly those who are behind in the basics, up to standard. We will provide guidance on how this is being done already in successful schools; what it means for the organisation of the school, and how to provide extra catch-up classes and other support. This year, to enable schools to assess the impact of their programmes we intend to pilot English and maths tests for the end of the first year of secondary school. They will provide a focus for additional work, motivation for youngsters to put in extra effort, and clear outcome measures and benchmarks for teachers seeing extra work come to fruition. For those who did not achieve Level 4 at the end of primary school, the test will show whether they have reached that crucial landmark a year later. A wider test covering higher levels will enable other pupils to demonstrate the progress they have made. Assuming the pilots succeed, we will make those tests universally available in 2001.

In order that all secondary schools can test all pupils who did not achieve Level 4 at the end of primary school, we will make these tests available free of charge. The basics are too important to be left to chance and no education system which seeks to be world class should ever give up on them. Meanwhile the introduction of world class tests in 2001 will enable our most gifted and talented pupils to benchmark their performance against the best 10 per cent of pupils aged thirteen on the planet.

I am well aware, of course, that there is much more to achievement at Key Stage 3 than literacy and numeracy. They are essential but, on their own, not enough. Many of our reforms pick up this wider agenda: the expansion of the specialist schools programme; the provision of out-of-school learning opportunities in half of all secondary schools; the introduction of citizenship provision; the investment in school music; increasing links with museums and galleries; and the increased availability of ICT. Our emphasis on standards in the basics, far from narrowing opportunity, is about opening up access to opportunity to more pupils in more spheres of learning than ever before. Creativity and the grasp of the basics are not in conflict. Drawing on a body of facts and learning is an essential stepping stone to the development of

creative thought which translates imagination into practical implementation and creates real opportunity for those whose talents have historically been tragically overlooked.

Now I want to go further. I have been very impressed by the growing evidence in this country, and abroad, of the impact on standards of systematic and disciplined approaches to the teaching of higher order thinking skills. The most impressive work in this country has been through the CASE (Cognitive Acceleration through Science Education) project, developed at King's College London. Pupils involved in the project have performed substantially better at GCSE than equivalent pupils not involved in the programme. There is now a similar successful programme in maths. It is not about some loosely defined or woolly approach to study skills. It is about the ability to analyse and make connections, to use knowledge effectively, to solve problems individually and to think creatively. It is about developing mental strategies to take on both academic and wider challenges. Above all, the evidence – not just from the CASE project – shows that the systematic teaching of thinking skills raises standards.

For these reasons, from this autumn, we shall pilot a professional development programme designed to ensure secondary teachers know how to teach higher order thinking skills through their subjects. Work on the materials for this programme will begin shortly.

14-19

If secondary schools ensured much higher standards for all pupils by age 14, it would open up room for further progress and more imaginative provision in the 14-19 age group. If what I have proposed for 11-14 year olds succeeds, virtually no pupil will leave school at 16 without any qualifications. All will be involved in education from 14 to 19 and in many cases beyond.

They will have a growing range of pathways through that decisive phase. Advised by the new Youth Support Service and pursuing their own aspirations, they will be able to choose an individual curriculum suited to their personal goals. They will have access to greater breadth of provision than their predecessors in previous generations because of our post-16 curriculum changes and also much greater depth in their areas of choice. They should

develop and deploy the skills that make them capable of the independent learning which is a crucial foundation for a lifetime of learning.

Above all much greater diversity will become possible – workplace learning, a wide variety of languages (ancient and modern), the full range of the arts and sciences, early access to university courses, mentoring schemes to encourage their aspirations and remove the barriers that stand in the way of their educational success, summer schools, both academic and practical, more international exchanges, and, through technology, a wider range of tailored programmes than ever before.

This is where the transition from secondary to adult life is so crucial. Having provided the foundations and the tools, not only for learning but for life, we need to ensure we bridge that gap – to make the connection between secondary and post-16 education, between adolescence and adulthood. One in five of those who fall outside any learning or work in their later teenage years become disconnected from the mainstream in that critical first summer after leaving school. They often have simply nothing to engage in. The consequences are severe: failure to stay in learning or work for a long period at this age is the strongest single predictor of unemployment at age 21.

That is one reason why Chris Smith and I have been looking at how the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and the DfEE could work together with schools and Education Authorities to extend what used to be a much more extensive programme of structured and challenging activity. This will develop confidence, self-assured leadership skills, the team working of young men and women and also support an educational experience. We can build on the good work of the past by using summer activities in a way that would positively link young people between school and advanced study, or school and the world of work and further training. We will be working together to look at how, through imaginative links, we can assist with the transition which for children in better off families has always been an opportunity for travel, for new experiences, such as summer camps in North America.

This would also be an opportunity for the individual to contribute to the community, to focus on volunteering and active citizenship and perhaps to offer extended opportunities for experience in the world of work. It would build on the work experience programme that young people will have had in their last two years in school. This is a vision we can fulfil: young people

who move into further and higher education and the employment market knowledgeable, skilled, self-confident, flexible and infused with what Tony Blair called last month "the learning habit".

We can achieve this within the foreseeable future. I mean, within the first decade of the new millennium. The prerequisite for doing so, is for us to think strategically and build firmly on the strong foundations we have begun to put in place in the last 32 months.

Conclusion

We have always known that the creation of a world class education service would be a task for five to ten years not two or three, but let us celebrate the progress that has already been made. More than anything else, this has been as a result of the skill and commitment of staff at all levels in the education service and I thank you and your colleagues all over the country for that.

We all know how far there is to go, but – imagine – we can be the first generation actually to achieve success for everyone, rather than just talking about it. It is an inspiring vision at an extraordinary moment in history.

There is still a mountain to climb, but together we have already shown that by concerted effort we can make a significant difference in a relatively short space of time. With that renewed sense of confidence and self-belief let us look forward to taking on and overcoming the challenges that lie ahead.

Together let's turn that vision into reality.

This is the challenge that we are laying down and the opportunity which we are opening up.

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INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON THE NEXT WAVE OF EDUCATION REFORM

Key Messages For The Development Of Education Policy In This Country Flowing From The First Day's Discussion

1. Strengthen capacity of intermediaries to carry strategic messages and assist/support in implementation.
2. Build the mood of the nation for collective responsibility for all to achieve in the interests of a civil society and a healthy economy.
3. Urgent need for improvements/turn around of the teaching profession.
4. Testing and assessment methods/instruments have to be differentiated and improved to meet the measurement need for "social competences."
5. Radical developments are essential but:
 - (i) better implementation plans for initiatives and
 - (ii) better **perceived** support from teachers.
6. Start national debate/discussion on a topic to "soften up" the nation for a new policy initiative.
7. If you value competencies beyond literacy and numeracy, it will be helpful to:
 - a) give them a name (the Dutch "social competence" may do);
 - b) create some standards as well as exemplars of work meeting standards; and
 - c) assess them, perhaps via portfolios.

Two points:

- i) as these skills matter in the workplace too, business may be helpful in avoiding excess "squishiness" or political heat; and
 - ii) students might be put in the driver's seat (e.g. assembling electronic portfolios as they do in certain US colleges).
8. You might consider, in your efforts to shift the school leaving exams to a more transitional role, allowing students to take them individually, whenever they are ready - much as scout badges. Students could move on for further education in a discipline whenever they were ready, freeing strained teacher resources to help those who need additional instruction.
 9. The importance of ensuring there is an effective agency between the centre (government) and schools that can support the implementation of "policy into practice." This will need to be aligned to the national imperative/agenda and also able to sensitively manage change at teacher/school level.
 10. The importance of getting it right with **teachers**.
 11. The challenge of moving from "schooling" to education.

12. Avoid making new regulations the answer to every challenge.
13. Do we need 400,000 teachers in 10 years' time?
14. Develop intermediate institutions to give support through ownership and leadership to teachers in implementing (and developing) policy.
15. Take the lead in bringing citizenship and PSHE into a recognised national accountability framework.
16. To put major time, effort, research into developing programmes, both embedded into curriculum delivery and discrete programmes to aid children's emotional and social and personal development.
17. Time for high quality teacher training built into the professional system, time to change to different posts, responsibilities and back again.
18. Set ambitious but achievable targets benchmarked against the best in the world, and go for them uncompromisingly.
19. Agree national ethics and teach these across the curriculum, engaging parents and communities in upholding them.
20. Now that you have widespread commitment to improving literacy and numeracy and evidence of success already, you should give emphasis to other areas. In the case of personal and social skills, embed their development in cognitive learning (of philosophy for children as one example and development measurement strategies with low-stakes sample assessment through which to give teachers assessment strategies as well as a system performance levels.
21. Restructuring teachers' work may offer some strategies for reducing the size of the profession and increasing remuneration.
22. The investment in education (money, resources, trust) has to be immense - bigger than anything imagined before.
23. The government must say where it stands on moral, social, character education; who will deliver; how; who will assess it?
24. The Blair government has laid an outstanding foundation - both in setting high expectations and in measuring progress towards them. The next challenge is to be equally ambitious in the next wave of reforms so that this government will continue to capture the imagination and participation of the British people and achieve the goal of providing a truly world-class education. That means setting forth bold targets for the next decade e.g. eliminating the achievement gap, making after-school and summer schools universally available, launching a new nationwide effort in character education and social competence and not being afraid to invest heavily in them.
25. For reform to succeed broadly, especially at the secondary level, Britain will have to take on the question of social and character development. Schools are critical to this mission, but if not solely their mission nor can government do it alone. The Blair government should consider a national crusade to improve discipline, reduce social exclusion and increase social competency by giving schools and communities strong

incentives to teach character education, require community service and promote responsible behaviour. This national strategy could take advantage of the hours after schools (when working parents are looking for safe places for their children) and of outside institutions (churches, civic groups, charities and private schools).

26. The speed of change: my perception is that it is not a matter of how radical we change but rather of to what we want the system to change.
27. The importance of teacher ownership: my perception is that by the existing teaching force or a new teaching force.
28. Turn the embryo work on citizenship into the National Programme of Citizenship Education.
29. Keep moving on - teachers are capable of changing. They need better leadership and better professional development.
30. Stay with standards strategy but look for (cause) increase in capacity which will shift the balance between centrally driven reform and bottom up influence. This is a moving system.
31. Explicitly integrate "social competencies" into curriculum and recognise them as (a) value in their own right and (b) value-added contributions to cognitive achievement.
32. Keep a focus on standards and keep a focus on integral reforms into the context of standards.
33. A pluralistic society requires multiple or pluralistic delivery systems for social services. Your goals are good and well written but "one size does not fit all" in terms of how to ensure that all pupils reach them.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Cheng Kai Ming - Hong Kong

Pluses of reform in your country

1. **Comprehensive:** involving all sectors and all levels of the education system, hence allowing a total solution to a necessary paradigm shift.
2. **Closely associate with the change in the society:** prompted by the actual crisis in education which is due to the transition into a knowledge society.
3. **Restoring the concern for students' learning:** vis-à-vis concerns for the system, school management or teachers; ensuring opportunity for every student.
4. **Establishing the framework for lifelong learning:** moving beyond the conventional notion of "education", beyond schools and institutions.

Minuses of reform in your country

1. **Comprehensive:** change in all fronts, need for co-ordinating what are never co-ordinated.
2. **Dubious teachers' support:** teachers support the reform in principle, but are sceptical of its implementation.
3. **Weak in reform in curriculum:** the conventional notions of curriculum, curriculum development and the relevant mechanism all being challenged.
4. **Slow in reforming the executive organs:** reform in the executive organ does not come in synchrony.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

1. Building legitimacy where the government is short of legitimacy.
2. Building consensus in a disorganised plural society.
3. Facing crossroads at cultural values.
4. Establishing alliance with the media.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Michael Fullan - Canada

Pluses of reform in your country

1. Sadly, hardly anything at the present time.
2. Strong curriculum in Ontario, with important potential.
- 3.
- 4.

Minuses of reform in your country

1. Lack of any policy on teacher development.
2. Piecemeal, unco-ordinated effort at reform.
- 3.
- 4.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

1. Ontario College of Teachers (OCT)
2. Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAD)
- 3.
- 4.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

David Hargreaves - UK

Pluses of reform in your country

1. A clearer understanding by all about what is meant by educational standards.
2. Failing schools are being turned round and the problem of underperforming teachers being addressed.
3. The literacy and numeracy strategies and target setting are bedding down as normal practice.
4. Schools and teachers being funded to engage in the creation and transfer of professional knowledge and good practice by various schemes.

Minuses of reform in your country

1. Some teachers are overwhelmed by the pace of reform. Pressure is not perceived to be balanced by support. Teachers fail to recognise progress made.
2. Too much paperwork for schools and teachers; insufficient devolution to schools.
3. Lack of national funding formula.
4. Teacher recruitment and retention, especially in the inner-city.

Interesting developments in reform in your country (all potentially positive but as yet unclear)

1. Reform of educational R&D.
2. Citizenship education.
3. Work-related learning in KS4.
4. CPD policy and practice.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Kati Haycock - USA

Pluses of reform in your country

1. Standards, finally.
2. Schools newly accountable for improving learning.
3. At least a rhetorical attachment to educating "all" students to high standards.
4. Growing recognition of need for systemic solutions rather than programmatic add-ons.

Minuses of reform in your country

1. Unwillingness to seriously address deep inequities in teacher quality, instructional resources, finances.
2. Raised standards for students without commensurate increases in standards for teachers.
3. Schools are responsible for improving student learning but school leaders do not have control over hiring, resource expenditures and the like.
4. Inadequate investment in professional development and extra help for students who need it.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

1. Rapid increases in "charter" schools.
2. Movement to break large high schools into multiple small ones.
3. Much experimentation with alternative forms of assessment.
4. Rapid movement towards "mainstreaming" most special education students.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Tony Mackay - Australia

Pluses of reform in your country

1. National goals for schooling, targets, benchmarks, standards frameworks.
2. Growing commitment to reform in the middle years of schooling.
3. Genuine effort to mainstream vocational education and training in the post compulsory years.
4. Sense of urgency to confront educational disadvantage - particularly in relation to indigenous young Australians.

Minuses of reform in your country

1. Maturing teaching force and school leadership with immediate prospect of supply problems, both in quality and quantity.
2. The level of national R & D, PD and reform of "scale-up capacity".
3. The level of systematic national collaboration and cross sectoral co-operation and whole of government support.
4. The percentage of young people not engaged in education, training or work.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

1. Renewed interest and debate in education for the public good and school resourcing.
2. Growing pressure to explore new profession - the role of teachers in the knowledge society.
3. Growing pressure to reconceptualise the curriculum for a knowledge society/global economy.
4. The potential of ICT in an increasingly receptive and knowledgeable education market.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Barry McGaw - OECD

Pluses of reform in your country	
1.	Without any increase in the minimum school leaving age, participation to the end of secondary education has been increased substantially.
2.	Curriculum offerings at upper secondary level include vocational education and training, including arrangements of dual credit for components to enable students to obtain a VET qualification and university entry.
3.	Along with many other countries, a much stronger focus on outcomes has been achieved with a new standards framework and system-wide student assessment to monitor achievements.
4.	The success of programmes directed to achieving higher and more successful participation by girls in traditionally male fields confirms the efficacy of targeted programmes with clear goals.
Minuses of reform in your country	
1.	In much of the process, teacher unions have been marginalised as interested only in industrial matters, despite prior evidence to the contrary.
2.	Some of the curriculum diversity created at upper secondary level has produced study patterns with limited destinations into which students newly attracted to stay (particularly low SES) were directed.
3.	The new emphasis on outcomes, at a time of tight labour market for young people, encouraged increased defections from public to private sector schools.
4.	To create a climate for reform, a situation of inadequacy was declared and schools were blamed.
Interesting developments in reform in your country	
1.	Those who argue that expenditure levels are unrelated to outcomes in education, and then press for reductions in public expenditure, usually pay fees for their children to attend private schools.
2.	The government schools that compete most effectively with the private sector are highly selective, academic schools.
3.	A growing awareness of the demands of a knowledge society is creating the context in which increasing the competences of all is seen as necessary and achievable (in contrast with sorting according to limits of capacity).
4.	Australian higher education is a highly marketable commodity - generating \$3 billion/year in international trade.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Rosemary Potter - UK

<i>Pluses of reform in your country</i>	
1.	Rapid rate of improvement in primary schools, especially impact of literacy strategy.
2.	Increasing rate of improvement in secondary sector.
3.	Immediate impact of cash injection on teacher training recruitment.
4.	Impact of ICT everywhere.
<i>Minuses of reform in your country</i>	
1.	Responsibility of secondary sector to get Key Stage 3 right quickly (especially Yr 7) and to build on primary achievements.
2.	Content (not structure/technology) of the national grid for learning.
3.	"Recycling" of some personnel in EAZs/Excellence in Cities; individuals who have contributed to 20 or 30 years of gross underachievement have re-surfaced leading new projects.
4.	Current teacher shortages and proliferation on "consultants."
<i>Interesting developments in reform in your country</i>	
1.	International education; teacher placements abroad and many more collaborative schemes.
2.	Developing role of teacher/learner and diverse methodology.
3.	Possibilities of reformed schools/day/year/concept of attendance/distance learning.
4.	The merging of provision in EAZs; health/education/social services.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Bruce Reed - USA

Pluses of reform in your country	
1.	States that have targeted the lowest-performing schools for reform have seen significant achievement gains by disadvantaged students.
2.	Virtually every state has put standards in place over the last decade and begun measuring whether students are meeting those standards.
3.	A growing number of urban districts like Chicago are becoming laboratories of tough-minded reform.
4.	Some conservatives are finally conceding the need for greater investment in education, and most liberals acknowledge the need for greater accountability. The education debate is no longer over whether schools need more money and more reform, but over what role the national government should play in making it happen.
Minuses of reform in your country	
1.	Despite two decades of national concern about whether our schools measure up, American students start out highly competitive in international comparisons but fall further behind the rest of the world the older they get and the longer they stay in our schools system.
2.	We're beginning to see a backlash against testing, even before most of the country has rigorous tests in place.
3.	We already have an acute shortage of qualified teachers, especially in poor communities that need them most and because of retirements and increasing enrolment, we face the enormous challenge of raising teacher standards and attracting 2 million new teachers at low salaries in a tight labour market.
4.	American parents still have no means of comparing their child's achievement with children in other cities, states or countries
Interesting developments in reform in your country	
1.	Charter schools have increased nearly 2000-fold in the past decade and produced widespread parental satisfaction, even though the movement is too new to determine whether the schools are improving performance.
2.	Educational accountability is a top domestic priority for both the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, but Congress is not even seriously debating the issue this year.
3.	For all the debate about private school vouchers and charter schools, the fastest growing area of school choice is home schooling which also had produced surprisingly strong results.
4.	The United States has managed to build the greatest system of colleges in the world and the worst system of high schools of any industrialised nation.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Andy Rotherham - USA

<i>Pluses of reform in your country</i>	
1.	Adoption of standards. A defining characteristic of the American public education system is inequities. Standards are helping to reduce inequities in terms of expectations and content and curriculum. There has basically been a 10-year push for standards that has resulted in the adoption of at least math and reading standards in about 48 states.
2.	Increased investment. The attention paid to education reform during the past 10 years has resulted in an increase in investment. Money alone is not the answer to educational woes but there is a growing awareness that support has to be coupled with demand to drive effective reform. This awareness is translating into greater support at the state and national level.
3.	A dialogue about real accountability. Accountability is a word with a long history in the debate about American education; however, in the past few years, a constructive dialogue is emerging about what accountability really means in concrete terms. This dialogue is examining the real -building level- issues associated with fixing low-performing schools.
4.	Stranglehold on policy by special interests is being broken. Although the signs of this plus are small and tepid, there are indications that the special interest lock on policy is starting to erode. Evidence of this can be seen at the local, state and national levels.
<i>Minuses of reform in your country</i>	
1.	Resistance to standards. Although states are adopting them, there is considerable resistance to standards and standards-based reform in many quarters. This backlash threatens to undermine a lot of the work that has gone into standards up to this point.
2.	Inequities. America's fetish about local control results in gross inequalities in resources, teacher quality, and other supports that impact learning. There is still a lot to be done to address these inequities in a constructive and politically feasible way.
3.	Resistance to change. Although progress is being made increasing accountability and decreasing the special interest stranglehold over education policy, there is still a great deal to be done and at the local level - especially in larger school districts.
4.	All the attention makes it hard to get things done at the national level. This seems counterintuitive, but the more attention an issue gets nationally the harder it seems to be to get anything done. Despite considerable attention to education, Congress has gotten woefully little done the past few years.
<i>Interesting developments in reform in your country</i>	
1.	Public school choice is evolving. More and more, the dialogue around public school choice involves more radical concepts like charter districts. Progress on standards is partly responsible for this increased focus on devolving responsibility and moving away from industrial models of organisation.
2.	Minorities become stronger supporters of private school choice. Minorities in the United States are growing frustrated with the Democratic party's continued resistance to most kinds of schools choice and are beginning to look elsewhere for leadership.
3.	Non-traditional superintendents. Larger school districts are increasingly looking to people outside of education to serve as superintendents. Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Seattle and Cincinnati (with LA, New York and Chicago being the three largest districts in the nation) all have non-traditional superintendents. What this means for the principalship and other leadership roles is unclear.
4.	Focus on teachers. There is finally a thoughtful dialogue emerging on the issue of teacher quality and how to address it.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Ray Shostak - UK

Pluses of reform in your country

1. The very high priority given to education and the alignment of interest in the task of raising standards.
2. The framework of expectations (NC, OFSTED, FF) for the service and development of the use of self evaluation in schools aspect of the framework.
3. Focus on outcomes and targeted intervention.
4. Balance between national and local levels.

Minuses of reform in your country

1. Lack of focus on teacher development in the round.
2. Lack of involvement of parents in the real work of schools and in education more broadly.
3. The impact on teacher recruitment and morale.
4. The pace and its impact on teachers ... a plus and minus.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

1. School self-evaluation as the basis of a stronger engagement of teachers in the improvement effort.
2. Literacy/numeracy/NGfL
3. Attempts at local level to join up responses to young people and families (along with Connexions 13-19).
4. The attempt to bring best practice into the learning system.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Liz Thompson - UK

Pluses of reform in your country	
1.	Measuring outcomes so that parents, teachers and children have more idea of the impact of teaching and progression.
2.	National Curriculum programmes in primary schools especially Literacy and Numeracy and the implementation into secondary schools of similar programmes.
3.	Reducing the tiers of management by giving more local management to schools.
4.	Through Performance Management and assessment/monitoring, tracking the teaching and learning of individual pupils, using the data to devise new teaching programmes and give support/extension work.
Minuses of reform in your country	
1.	Initiative overload - not enough time to consolidate, reflect and improve and measure impact of reform.
2.	Inadequate resourcing, support and training for inclusion
3.	Endless paperwork, record-keeping etc, providing evidence, giving reports, documenting progress to a variety of bodies.
4.	Insufficient good quality, on-going training for teachers, too ad-hoc and unsystematic, no common threads picked up across schools and delivered together. No-one to organise this aspect properly except for literacy and numeracy.
Interesting developments in reform in your country	
1.	Greater contact and interaction between primary and secondary schools; more co-operation and less isolation between headteachers.
2.	More varied and innovative practice in many schools, encouraged by research-based work in schools and initiatives such as Excellence in Cities.
3.	Extension of out-of-hours learning programmes for the most needy - summer schools, holiday classes, homework clubs, before-school tuition, ICT.
4.	Challenging the more able and the development of programmes using thinking skills across subjects.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Geoff Whitty - UK

<i>Pluses of reform in your country</i>	
1.	Sure Start and other inter-agency initiatives.
2.	Excellence in Cities - linking inclusion and standards agendas.
3.	ICT strategy/National Grid for Learning.
4.	General Teaching Council if given a significant role and stakeholder support.

<i>Minuses of reform in your country</i>	
1.	Emphasis on raw test scores sometimes overshadows other goals.
2.	Potential for polarisation through quasi-markets and covert selection.
3.	Narrowing of the curriculum as a response to targets (in some contexts).
4.	Continuing "low trust" relationship with teaching profession, especially OFSTED.

<i>Interesting developments in reform in your country</i>	
1.	Education Action Zones.
2.	Citizenship/PSHE/Healthy Schools Initiatives.
3.	National College for School Leadership etc.
4.	Some aspects of Performance Management.

THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Rein Zunderdorp - The Netherlands

Pluses of reform in your country	
1.	Ever Raising Ambitions, raising standards at all levels, high achievement in mathematics.
2.	"Study House": the new learning of active responsible pupils/students.
3.	Development of national curriculum.
4.	High school participation, high and equal scores on adult literacy
5.	Good connection school-labour market: low unemployment age 20-24
6.	Increasing schools responsibility for performance/contract relations.
Minuses of reform in your country	
1.	Immigrant children: poor performance, segregation x free school choice.
2.	Selectivity at young age, strict, de-motivating: 21% non-diploma exit.
3.	Teachers: obsolete profession, defensive; shortage of teachers.
4.	Government interventions: too much on the structures/organisation.
5.	Gap of mistrust between government and schools on education policy/ineffective innovations/implementation strategies.
Interesting developments in reform in your country	
1.	Pupils/students as active learners: demand quality of schools, have national organisations, use internet communication and publicity.
2.	Integral school supervision: national inspectorate on pupils scores and educational conditions/processes.
3.	OK-schools (at risk): improved combined effort of government/inspectorate/city boards/school boards.
4.	Community-school movement.
5.	Beyond meritocracy: after talent instead of class, now results whatever talent.

STRUCTURE, ORGANISATION, FUNDING AND PROVISION

9:30-10:45 a.m. Tuesday 20th June

We aspire to a "high performance, high autonomy" system in which each school's performance has been demonstrated and autonomy earned.

As we move towards a high performance, high autonomy system, the role of **central government** will be to:

- provide leadership and a strategic overview, and spell out the core narrative of the change process;
 - identify priorities and drive (or finding others to drive) change on those priorities;
 - monitor performance and ensure that failure is tackled;
 - ensure rapid dissemination and effective adoption of best practice (in particular ensuring that the system constantly prioritises levering up standards in the lowest performing ten per cent of schools);
 - scan the horizon nationally and globally to identify trends, innovation and cutting edge practice;
 - promote equity;
 - invest steadily in return for high standards and modernisation.
- close achievement gap
- nat stds vs nat curriculum*

Most of the change in the system will be driven by a range of other agents, such as good schools and networks of schools (which will sometimes be international), higher education, private companies, especially in the ICT and education services sectors, and the National College of School Leadership.

By 2010, the system should be greatly simplified and much more transparent, with schools and headteachers the main agents of management and leadership:

- each school with an effective headteacher with powers of a 'chief executive', immediately responsible to a small 'strategic' board of governors of no more than ten people, each of them being given time off and modest pay where needed;
- a local education service responsible for a tightly defined range of essential services and intervention powers required above school level, which is accountable for the delivery of defined high standards and ensuring best value. A range of companies, and public-private-voluntary ventures, would provide the contracted services;
- a university sector, much more actively contributing to the school system, often through subject departments and specialist institutes, and offering the involvement of undergraduates as mentors in high schools, involvement of PhD students as teaching associates, through the provision of consultancy and education services operating on a business basis and through its facilities being much more openly accessible to schools.

FUNDING

Education expenditure will need to continue to grow as a proportion of GDP through to 2010.

The funding system will need to be reformed to provide each school with a transparent budget. A possible distribution mechanism might be:

- i) a national funding system which establishes a minimum entitlement and additional funding to cover differing levels of disadvantage and/or geographical factors (e.g. prices);
- ii) a grant to local education authorities for the role ascribed to them with the option for them of raising additional local taxation to add to i) or ii);
- iii) a national strategic change fund;
- iv) direct funding to schools for professional development;
- v) Individual Learning Accounts for teachers;
- vi) Pupil Learning Credits to fund out-of-school learning for pupils from disadvantaged homes.

TEACHING AND LEARNING

5.15-5.45 p.m. Monday 19th June and 8.30-9.30 a.m. Tuesday 20th June

The reputation of the teaching profession needs to be dramatically enhanced and, instead of being seen as a backwater, it would be seen as innovative, ambitious, a route to promotion and higher pay and at the leading edge of change. Possibilities include:

- giving beacon and other good schools the lead in initial teacher training and provided each ITT student with a credit to buy the HE element wherever they want;
- ensuring that teaching has a remuneration structure – and recruitment incentives – commensurate with the best in the public and voluntary sectors, with a strong appeal to those in or aspiring to better paid jobs in the private sector through 'short service' and 'career break' options;
- developing new routes into teaching, particularly for new graduates undertaking 'short-term' (2-4 year) teaching careers before embarking on other professions, and mid-career professionals seeking career breaks or career switches;
- through the Leadership College, ensuring high quality leadership in every school;
- introducing performance-related contracts;
- giving every school that succeeds much greater freedom to combine teachers, paraprofessionals and technology in new ways to achieve their goals and ensuring that schools in challenging circumstances are funded at a higher level;
- introducing individual contracts for teachers and effective performance management;
- ensuring stronger incentives to work in the most challenging circumstances;
- greatly increasing the funding available through the School Achievement Award Scheme (from the current £60 million to say £300 million) to reward whole school improvement;
- introducing a new pattern for the school year, if pilots show it to be a marked improvement on the status quo;
- greatly increasing investment in teachers' professional development;
- introducing seven-yearly performance reviews on the threshold basis (see threshold standards attached) for every teacher, administered by the GTC, in addition to annual performance management;
- ceasing to worry about class sizes and Pupil Teacher Ratios and focusing the debate on funding per pupil.

THRESHOLD STANDARDS

The threshold standards require that teachers:

- have a thorough and up-to-date knowledge of the teaching of their subject(s) and take account of wider curriculum developments which are relevant to their work;
- consistently and effectively plan lessons and sequences of lessons to meet pupils' individual learning needs;
- consistently and effectively use a range of appropriate strategies for teaching and classroom management;
- consistently and effectively use information about prior attainment to set well-grounded expectations for pupils and monitor progress to give clear and constructive feedback;
- show that, as a result of their teaching, their pupils achieve well relative to the pupils' prior attainment, making progress as good as or better than similar pupils nationally;
- take responsibility for their professional development and use the outcomes to improve their teaching and pupils' learning;
- make an active contribution to the policies and aspirations of the school.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON THE NEXT WAVE OF REFORM

SCHOOLS 2010

OUTCOMES OF EDUCATION (Curriculum, Standards, Assessment and Wider Goals)

3:15-5:15p.m. Monday 19th June

Our goal is a world-class education service for all our children. Every pupil should become literate, numerate, well-informed, confident, capable of learning throughout life and able to play an active part in the workforce and the community. All pupils should have the opportunity to become creative, innovative and capable of leadership. Pupils will need education for a world of rapid change in which both flexible attitudes and enduring values have a part to play.

This may involve:

- universal high standards in the basics at every level;
- a transformation of expectations and standards at secondary level to mirror the transformation at primary level begun in this Parliament;
- a modernised National Curriculum at ages 5-14 and a much more challenging, diverse and flexible curriculum from 14 to 18;
- clear minimum standards for each key stage with promotion to the next stage depending on meeting them;
- schools and learning networks (including ICT networks) with the flexibility to deliver a curriculum tailored to individual needs and aspirations;
- a huge reduction of disaffection among teenagers, and an end to disruption as a serious problem in city schools;
- state of the art infrastructure (buildings, equipment, ICT) and an end to serious repair backlog;
- schools seen as a community resource;
- the effective abolition of the notion of an education leaving age of 16;
- standards continuously benchmarked against the best internationally;
- a teaching profession widely respected and an attractive career option for talented young people.

For the curriculum, the key changes might be:

- a new conceptualisation of the curriculum as an entitlement for everyone but with a range of diverse routes through and different journey times for different individuals;
- a new emphasis on "new economy" skills and attitudes, including entrepreneurship,

teamwork, ICT competences and creativity;

- much greater clarity about the development of character and the teaching of moral frameworks;
- dividing the National Curriculum into 5-14 and 14-18 phases, with 14 seen as “coming of age” - the age at which the essential core of learning should have been achieved by almost everyone – and the current GCSE turned into a 'midway' test on the 16-18 programme for most students. This would allow students beyond 14 to follow study/vocational programmes far better suited than now to their aptitudes
- the introduction of just-in-time testing, with many students taking key stage tests at least a year early;
- a new broader range of qualifications to include ethics, personal development, community involvement as well as academic performance, drawing on the International Baccalaureate, providing depth and breadth of achievement beyond a universal set of requirements;
- enrichment opportunities (music, sport, etc) which give all children – from primary level upwards – the opportunities currently available only to a minority;
- hugely expanded workplace and community learning, with many pupils post-14 spending significant learning time off campus; redeployment of the resources of the school to support this, which would involve re-thinking the role of teachers and mentors and drawing them together.

Small Groups

Option 1

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
David Hargreaves	Geoff Whitty	Rosemary Potter	Liz Thompson
Andy Rotherham	Michael Fullan	Kati Haycock	Bruce Reed
Tony Mackay	Barry McGaw	Rein Zunderdorp	Cheng Kai Ming
David Miliband	Andrew Adonis	Nicola Roche	Ray Shostak
			David Normington

Option 2

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
David Hargreaves	Geoff Whitty	Rosemary Potter	Liz Thompson
Kati Haycock	Bruce Reed	Andy Rotherham	Michael Fullan
Cheng Kai Ming	Tony Mackay	Barry McGaw	Rein Zunderdorp
Andrew Adonis	David Miliband	David Normington	Nicola Roche
	Ray Shostak		

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON THE NEXT WAVE OF EDUCATION REFORM

SESSION 2: OUTCOMES OF EDUCATION

FEEDBACK SHEET

Key thoughts on the outcomes of education:

Implications for accountability/systems:

SHIFTING BOUNDARIES: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, SCHOOLS, HOME AND COMMUNITY

10:45a.m.-12:30p.m. Tuesday 20th June

We can anticipate growing business and voluntary sector involvement in the provision of public education. The issue is not "whether" but "how?"

Government will need to base its approach on some principles such as:

- pragmatism or "what works";
- the need to promote equity and challenge disadvantage;
- the need to consider education in the context of wider changes such as globalisation;
- the need to ensure that where provision is not public, it is nevertheless publicly accountable.

The precise forms which business or voluntary sector involvement will take over the next decade are hard to anticipate:

- will companies provide management and running of schools as in parts of the USA?
- will they provide contracted services to local authorities or schools?
- will they provide shared services (all the data we need could easily be held on one computer)?
- will small schools become part of companies as happened to local shops in the last generation?
- will ICT/media services provide entire courses (including much of the teaching) to whole systems or large parts of systems?
- what will be the role of the current private (independent) school sector?
- how much learning will take place at home, how much out of school in a variety of settings and how much at home?

Work-site schools

3rd way b/w charters

**INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
ON THE NEXT WAVE OF EDUCATION REFORM**

19th-20th June 2000

at

**Accord Rooms
St. Matthews Church
20 Great Peter Street
Westminster
London**

Participants

Chairman: Michael Barber - Head of Standards and Effectiveness Unit, DfEE

David Miliband - Head of the Prime Minister's Policy Unit

Andrew Adonis - Prime Minister's Policy Unit

Estelle Morris - Minister for School Standards

Sir Michael Bichard, Permanent Secretary, DfEE

David Normington - Director General, Schools Division, DfEE

Nicola Roche - Divisional Manager, Policy Innovation Division, DfEE

Professor David Hargreaves - University of Cambridge

Rosemary Potter - Principal, Djanogly City Technology College, Nottingham

Ray Shostak - Director of Education, Hertfordshire County Council, UK

Elizabeth Thompson - Headteacher, Rushmore Primary School, London

Professor Geoff Whitty - Institute of Education, University of London

Professor Michael Fullan - Dean, School of Education, University of Toronto

Kati Haycock - The Education Trust, Washington

Cheng Kai Ming - Pro-Vice Chancellor, Hong Kong University

Tony Mackay - University of Melbourne and IARTV

Barry McGaw - Deputy Director (Education), OECD

Bruce Reed - Special Adviser to the President for Domestic Policy, The White House

Andy Rotherham - Progressive Policy Institute, Washington DC

Rein Zunderdorp - Office of the Prime Minister of The Netherlands

**INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
ON THE NEXT WAVE OF EDUCATION REFORM**

19th-20th June 2000

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Accord Rooms
St. Matthew's Church
20 Great Peter Street
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London

Programme for Monday 19th June 2000

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 12.30-3.15 p.m. | Opening session: introductions and key themes in the modernisation of the public services |
| 3.15-5.15 p.m. | Outcomes of education (curriculum, standards, assessment and wider goals) |
| 5.15-5.45 p.m. | Teaching and learning (Part 1) |
| 5.45-6.00 p.m. | Summary of the day |
| 7.00 p.m. | Dinner at 10 Downing Street |

Programme for Tuesday 20th June 2000

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 8.30-9.30 a.m. | Teaching and learning (Part II) |
| 9.30-10.45 p.m. | Structure, organisation, funding and provision |
| 11.00-12.30 p.m. | Shifting boundaries: public and private; school, home and community |
| 12.30-2.00 p.m. | Overview |

Tobacco ~~mt~~ day

- Jack + Gobar + AG
- vote tonight

TX
School prayer/USSC

~~MTW~~
MSR - Wed or Thurs or not this wk

State crimes start.

RX BBA giveaways

Gun trafficking
- Thurs or Monday

Charities

Strategic plan



Death penalty
- learn on 3 principles
08 sometime (4th of July radio address)

Tom + FR #

Articles - BC OK
Graca - HCFR/days

Cigar warning labels -

Afr Am reparations

Families USA - Medicaid/WR - Pear

July 12th - WR - push HHS hard

- call Shalata

- Medicare anniv. - July 30th

WM Fellows

**HIGH EXPECTATIONS AND STANDARDS
FOR ALL, NO MATTER WHAT:**

**Creating a World Class Education Service
in England**

Professor Michael Barber

31 MAY 2000

Summary

This paper provides an overview of the Blair government's approach to education reform.

- pages 3-6 describe the vision, opportunity and overall strategic approach known as "high challenge, high support";
- pages 6-8 describe the framework for continuous improvement which is similar to what Americans call standards-based reform;
- pages 8-11 describe the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies which are designed to bring urgent and substantial improvement in reading, writing and maths at elementary level;
- pages 11-15 examine the transformation of secondary education including the policies to improve performance in the middle years and bring both equity and diversity to secondary schools in large cities;
- pages 15-18 examine the radical modernisation of the teaching profession which is currently being put in place;
- pages 18-19 examine the problems of implementing large scale reform;
- pages 19-21 conclude the paper by raising four emerging issues which education reformers will find it necessary to consider.

THE VISION

The determination of the Blair government to pursue education reform and bring about a step change in the performance of the education service is not in doubt. Ever since it was elected in May 1997, the Labour government has sought, with passion and purpose, to turn into a reality of Blair's commitment in Opposition, to make "Education, Education and Education" his three priorities. (The recent commitment of Governor Paul Patton of Kentucky to make his four priorities "Education, Education, Education and Education" simply raises the stakes!)

Our vision is a world class education service; one which matches the best anywhere on the planet. We want to see it achieved, not at some indeterminate date in the future, but as soon as possible within the decade that has just begun. Our sense of urgency comes, not just from the belief that every passing day when a child's education is less than optimal is another day lost, but also from the belief that time is running out for public education to prove its worth. The danger is that as the economies of developed countries grow, more and more people will see private education for their children as a rational lifestyle option. If this were to occur, they would become less and less willing to pay taxes to fund public education, which over time would become, in the devastating phrase of the sociologist Richard Titmuss a generation ago, a poor service for poor people. It is hard to imagine how social cohesion could be achieved and how cascading ever-growing inequality from one generation to another could be prevented under these circumstances.

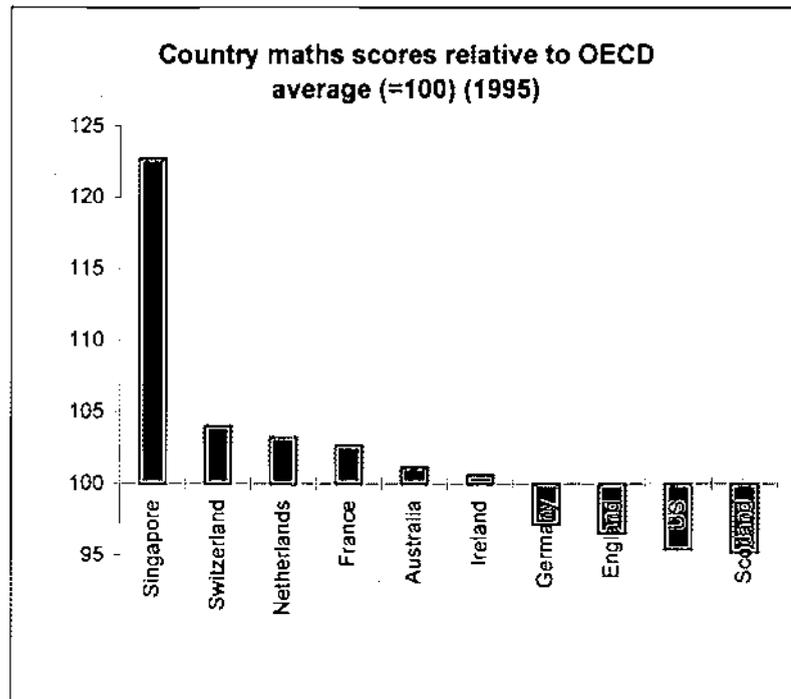
Only if public education delivers, and is seen to deliver real quality, can this unwelcome prospect be avoided. We believe that successful reform is possible, that public education can meet the needs and aspirations (not just the needs) of all students in our diverse, modern societies; and that it need not take forever. That is the vision before us.

THE OPPORTUNITY

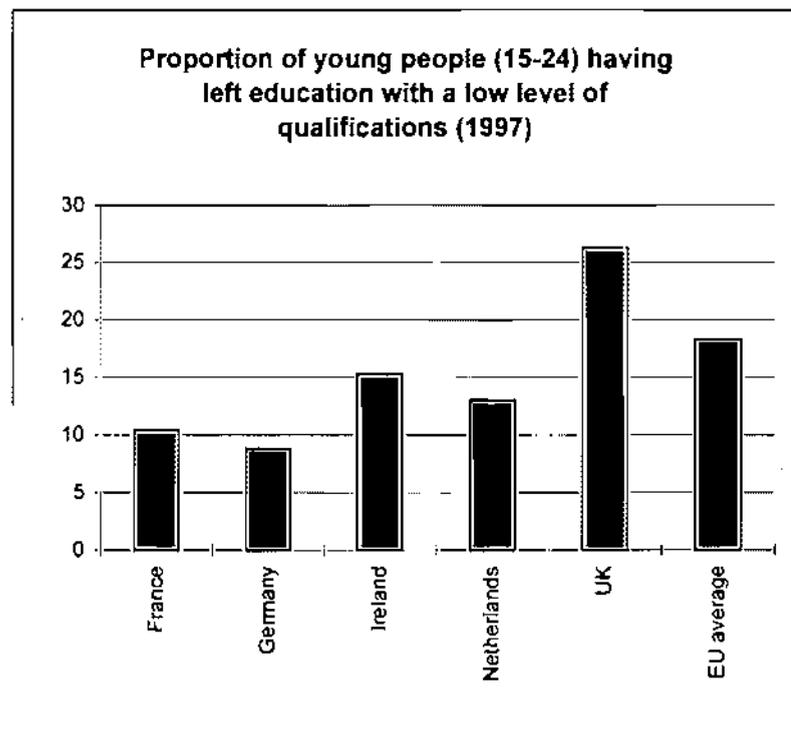
In England we have an opportunity, possibly unique, to achieve that vision across an entire system of 24,000 schools and 7 million students. The government has a large majority and real power. Expenditure on education is increasing in real terms year-on-year (over 5 per cent real growth last year, over 8 per cent this year and three further years of real growth already promised).

Furthermore, a combination of macro-economic policy and changes in the tax and benefits system will mean that, by the end of this fiscal year, over 1.2 million children will have been taken out of poverty since May 1997 with obvious benefits for education itself. If it is not possible to reform education successfully in these favourable circumstances, it is hard to imagine when it would be.

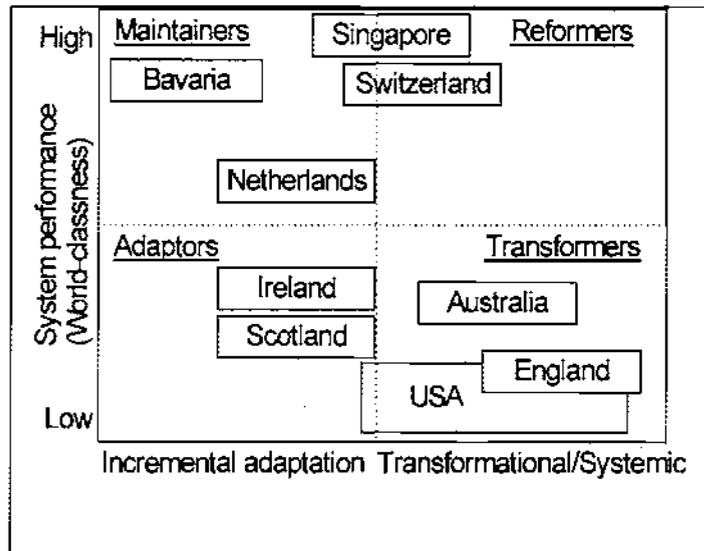
In seeking to achieve this vision we are highly conscious of our starting point. In a 1995 study of adult literacy the UK fell behind most European countries and Australia, performing similarly to the United States. On maths for 13 year olds (in the 1995 TIMSS) England fell below the OECD average, as the graph below illustrates.



Meanwhile the proportion leaving school unqualified or with low levels of qualification is unacceptably high compared to other developed countries.



Clearly, this relatively poor starting point provides a greater impetus to reform. The extent to which any given government seeks a transformative approach to reform is influenced by both this starting point in terms of performance and its degree of ambition. After comparing our reform to eight others we arrived at the following categorisation.

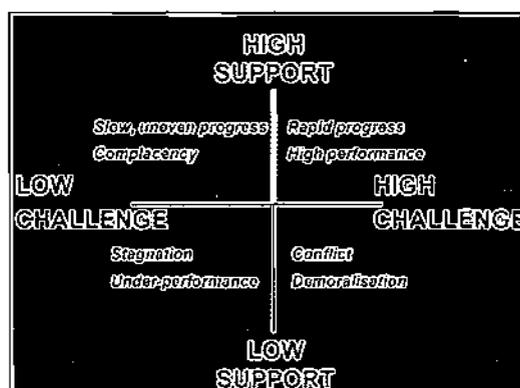


This explains in part why we in England are so keen to learn from experience in the USA - a fellow transformer - and why there is such strong support for our reform among the electorate.

In the modern world, though, electorates are fickle and impatient. They do not take the words of politicians on trust. Why should they? They may be prepared to give a new government a little time to settle in, but only a little. Much as they might share the long-term vision of a world class education service, they will not wait patiently for five or ten years to see if it is delivered. They want immediate evidence that it is on the way. Hence the central paradox facing education reformers in a democracy - a long-term strategy will only succeed if it delivers short-term results.

HIGH CHALLENGE: HIGH SUPPORT

In order to move from the evidently underperforming system of the mid-1990s to the world class vision and to do so while generating short-term results, we have developed a policy approach best described as "high challenge, high support", which is illustrated below.



It is possible, by generalising ruthlessly, to see this diagram representing 25 years of educational history in England: ten years of low challenge and low support until, in the mid-1980s, the Thatcher government turned its formidable attention to the problems of the education service. Their answer? Increase the challenge: new standards, new tests, new school inspection, new publication of school test scores. Ten years of high challenge, low support followed. The increased challenge was not matched by investment in teachers' pay, smaller classes, improved technology, professional development or better school buildings. Nor was enough done to address the social circumstances which, particularly in declining

industrial areas and large cities, made the job of educators daily more difficult. The result was some improvement but also conflict and demoralisation. During those conflicts many educators waited for the election of a Labour government which, the historical evidence suggested, would reduce the challenge and increase the support. But the Blair government did not believe the old approach would deliver either long-term vision or the short-term results. Instead it built on the Conservative government's reforms, sharpened the challenge and, crucially, added the support. Hence high challenge, high support.

The principles of this approach can be summarised quickly.

All students can achieve

- set high standards and expect every student to meet them;
- recognise that for some students, in some circumstances, reaching those high standards is more difficult: give them the extra assistance and time they need.

Lois Easton, writing in *Education Week* (12 April 2000) summarised this approach excellently: if standards of achievement are the constant, then all the other factors in the equation - time, place, teaching approach and resource - must become variables.

Don't compromise on quality: invest in it

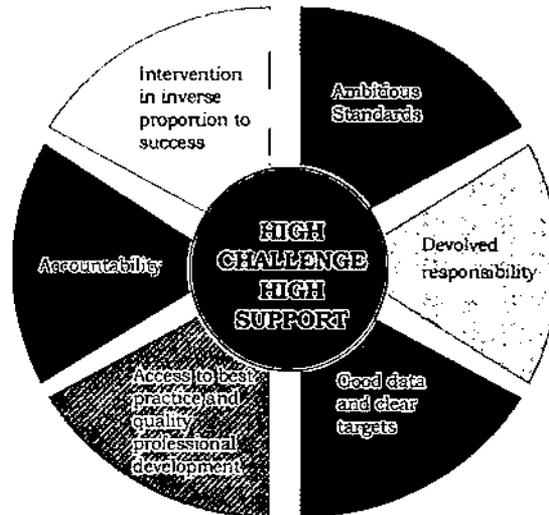
- expect schools and teachers to do an excellent job: hold them to account for their performance;
- reward success, challenge failure;
- recognise that if teachers are to perform excellently they need the encouragement, the rewards, the support, the materials, the buildings and, above all, the professional development that makes sustained excellence possible;
- recognise that, for some schools and some pupils, the challenge of meeting high standards is more demanding and provide the necessary targeted support.

A government that demands quality, must provide it too

- constantly restate the big picture and strategically manage reform so that the substantial demands of radical change are seen by principals and teachers as an investment in a better future rather than a series of unconnected initiatives which are here today and gone tomorrow;
- create a culture in which everyone takes responsibility for student outcomes, including the Secretary of State for Education and in which problems, however intractable, are out in the open being tackled rather than being swept under the carpet;
- invest steadily and ensure that, to use the Blair soundbite, all money is for modernisation.

THE FRAMEWORK FOR CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT

The way in which these principles of high challenge, high support are turned into practical policies which will drive school improvement is summarised in the following diagram.



The policies for each segment (starting at 12 o'clock) are set out in the following chart.

AMBITIOUS STANDARDS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High standards set out in the National Curriculum • National Tests at age 7, 11, 14, 16 • Detailed teaching programmes based on best practice • Optional World Class Tests based on the best 10 per cent in the 1995 TIMSS
DEVOLVED RESPONSIBILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School as unit of accountability • Devolution of resources and employment powers to schools • Pupil-led formula funding • Open enrolment
GOOD DATA/CLEAR TARGETS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual pupil level data collected nationally • Analysis of performance in national tests • Benchmark data annually for every school • Comparisons to all other schools with similar intake • Statutory target-setting at district and school level
ACCESS TO BEST PRACTICE AND QUALITY PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universal professional development in national priorities (literacy, numeracy, ICT) • Leadership development as an entitlement • Standards Site (http://www.standards.dfee.gov.uk) • Beacon Schools • LEA (district) responsibility • Devoived funding for professional development at school level • Reform of education research
ACCOUNTABILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National inspection system for schools and LEAs (districts) • Every school inspected every 4-6 years • All inspection reports published • Publication annually of school/district level performance data and targets
INTERVENTION IN INVERSE PROPORTION TO SUCCESS (Rewards, Assistance, Consequences)	<p>For successful schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • beacon status • celebration events • recognition • school achievement awards scheme • greater autonomy <p>For all schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • post-inspection action plan • school improvement grant to assist implementation of action plan • monitoring of performance by LEA (district) <p>For underperforming schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more prescriptive action plan • possible withdrawal of devoived budget and responsibility • national and LEA monitoring of performance • additional funding to assist turnround (but only for practical improvement measures) <p>For failing schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • as for underperforming schools plus • early consideration of closure • district plan for school with target date for completing turnround (maximum 2 years) • national monitoring three times a year • possible fresh start or city academy <p>For failing LEAs (districts)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intervention from central government • possible contracting out of functions to the private sector

There are many parallels between this approach and what is known in the United States as standards-based reform. The policies pursued with considerable success, for example, in Kentucky, North Carolina, Texas and Philadelphia have strikingly similar characteristics. Not least because of the evidence from places such as these, we are confident that in the medium and long term this framework for continuous improvement will work. The emerging evidence reinforces our confidence: the number of failing schools has fallen; the average time it takes to turn a failing school round has dropped from 25 months to under 18 months; the percentage of students meeting standards at 16 and 18 has risen slowly but steadily; and the percentage of students leaving school with no qualifications has dropped significantly (from 8 per cent of the cohort to less than 6 per cent), though it is still too high.

Our welcome for this progress (not to mention relief!) is tempered by the knowledge that it is neither rapid nor dramatic enough to convince us, or more importantly the citizens of our country, that we are on track to achieve world class standards within the next few years. In order to achieve the step change we require in addition, three broad strategies have been developed and implemented, each one of which is aligned with and reinforces the framework for continuous improvement:

- the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies at primary (elementary) level;
- the transformation of secondary education;
- the modernisation of the teaching profession.

THE NATIONAL LITERACY AND NUMERACY STRATEGIES

Our education system will never be world class unless virtually all children learn to read, write and calculate to high standards before they leave primary (elementary) school. At the time of the 1997 election the national data showed how far we were from achieving this goal. Only just over half of eleven year olds were meeting the standards set for their age in literacy and numeracy.

During 1996-7 Labour in Opposition developed a national strategy to tackle this dire state of affairs immediately after an election. Within a few days of that election therefore the new government was able to set ambitious national targets for the year 2002: that in literacy 80 per cent and numeracy 75 per cent of eleven year olds should meet the standards set for their age. These targets are staging posts on the way to even higher levels of performance by the middle of this decade.

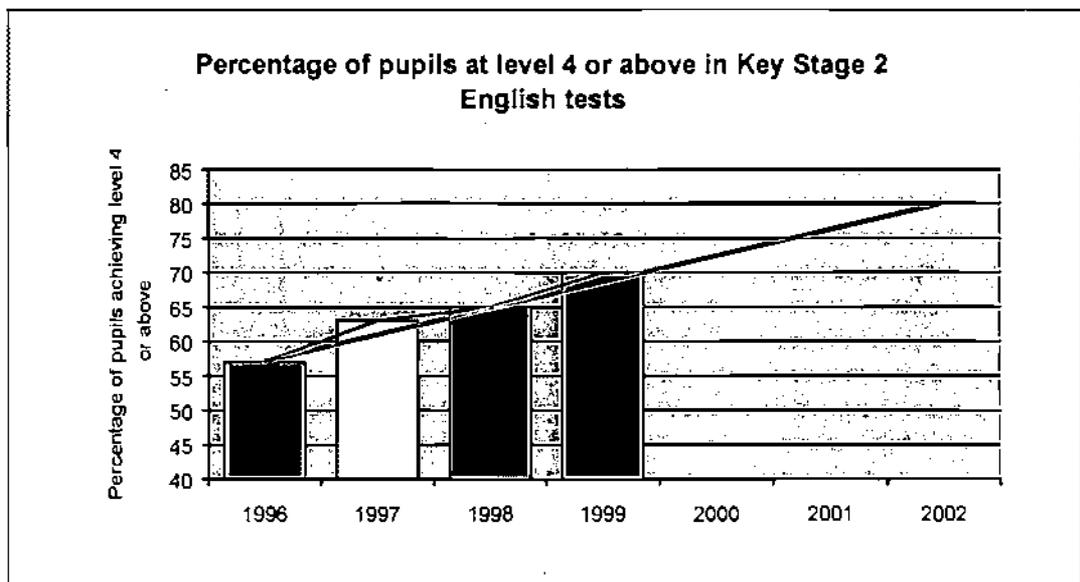
Our assumption, based on a review of the international research is, that about 80 per cent of children will achieve those standards simply as a result of being taught well by teachers who know, understand and are able to use proven best practice. A further 15 per cent have a good chance of meeting the standards if, in addition, they receive extra small group tuition, should they fall behind their peers. The remaining 5 per cent are likely from time-to-time to need one-to-one tuition, preferably early in their school careers (i.e. before age 8). Some of these will prove able to meet the standards: for a very small percentage we do not yet have the knowledge or the capacity to enable them to meet the standards but, for sure, we won't give up trying.

To achieve these ambitious objectives we have progressively put in place, what the leading Canadian educator, Michael Fullan, has called the most ambitious, comprehensive and aligned national strategies anywhere in the world. The chief elements of the strategies are as follows:

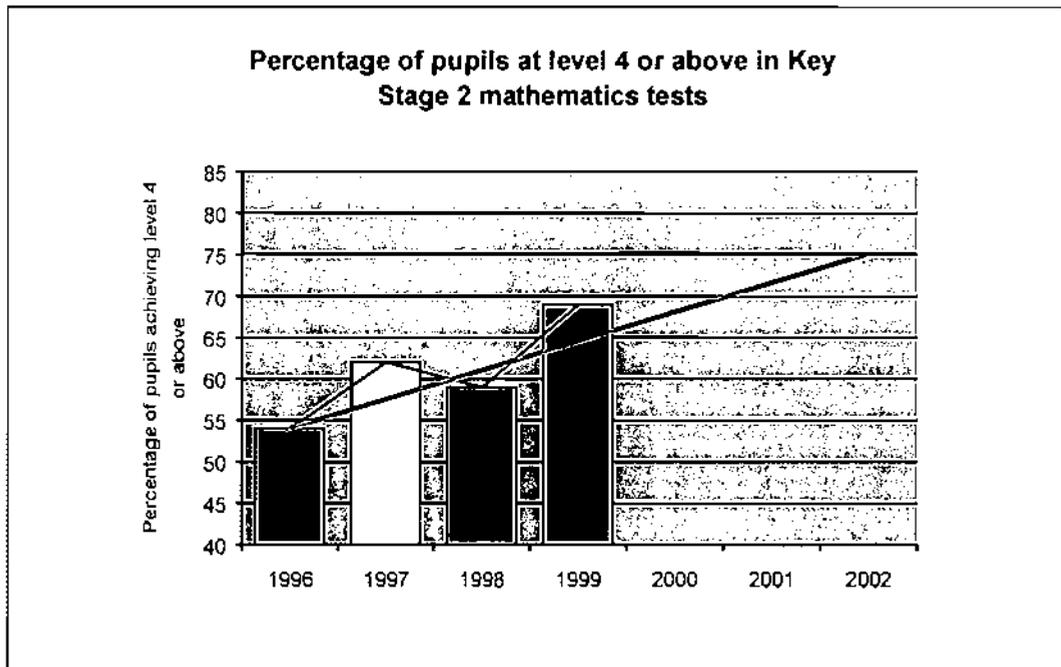
- a nationally-prepared project plan for both literacy and numeracy, setting out actions, responsibilities and deadlines through to 2002;
- a substantial investment sustained over at least six years and skewed towards those

- schools which need most help;
- a project infrastructure involving national direction from the Standards and Effectiveness Unit, 15 regional directors and over 300 expert consultants at local level for each of the two strategies;
 - an expectation that every class will have a daily maths lesson and a daily literacy hour;
 - a detailed teaching programme covering every school year from age 5 to 11;
 - an emphasis on early intervention and catch up for pupils who fall behind;
 - a professional development programme designed to enable every primary teacher to learn to understand and use proven best practice in both curriculum areas;
 - the appointment of over 2000 leading maths teachers and hundreds of expert literacy teachers, who have the time and skill to model best practice for their peers;
 - the provision of "intensive support" to around half of all schools where the most progress is required;
 - a major investment in books for schools (over 23 million new books in the system since May 1997);
 - the removal of barriers to implementation (especially a huge reduction in prescribed curriculum content outside the core subjects);
 - regular monitoring and extensive evaluation by our national inspection agency, Ofsted;
 - a National Curriculum for initial teacher training requiring all providers to prepare new primary teachers to teach the daily maths lesson and the literacy hour;
 - a problem-solving philosophy involving early identification of difficulties as they emerge and the provision of rapid solutions or intervention where necessary;
 - the provision of extra after-school, weekend and holiday booster classes for those who need extra help to reach the standard.

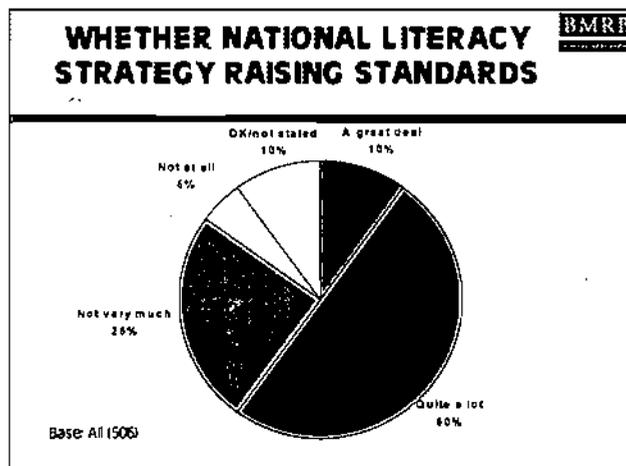
The impact of the strategies so far is evident in the national test results over the last three years. The first graph shows the progress towards our 2002 target in literacy.



The second graph shows the impact of the government's numeracy strategy, with a fall in 1998 when a new mental arithmetic element was introduced to the test, followed by a large rise in 1999.

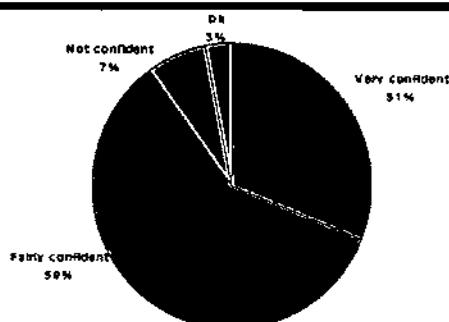


In my job you are, like the manager of a sports team, only as good as your most recent results! Earlier this month all 700,000 eleven year olds in England took the year 2000 tests. These results will be crucial to the credibility of the government reforms. It is important to remember, though, that test results are only a representation. In the case of the tests we use they are a good representation but what matters most is the reality of what students in schools know, understand and are able to do. The most heartening evidence so far of the impact of the strategy is not last year's test scores, but the fact that teachers and heads can see the difference day-to-day in the capacity of their students. The diagrams below, taken from an independent opinion poll, shows what primary headteachers think about the impact of the strategies on standards. Sixty per cent believe the literacy programme has had "quite a lot of impact" or more. In numeracy they are more positive still.



HOW CONFIDENT STRATEGY WILL RAISE STANDARDS

BMRB



Base: All (519)

Secondary headteachers confirm these findings: they can see the difference in their new cohorts. The progress so far is only the beginning. Our intention is to pursue the strategies consistently, to refine them constantly and to invest in professional development for primary teachers through to 2004 at least. Each year the professional development programme will be based on analysis of what pupils and teachers have (and have not) been able to do well the previous year. Precision-targeting of professional development across a system is, I believe, one of our most important strategy innovations, ensuring both quality and cost-effectiveness. While the overall strategy impacts directly on teaching, learning and student achievement, a series of other measures are designed to provide the necessary underpinning:

- pre-school education has been introduced for all four year olds whose parents want it and for around 60 per cent of three year olds;
- class sizes for 5, 6 and 7 year olds are being reduced to a maximum of 30 across the system;
- learning mentors (school-based counsellors) are being provided to help remove barriers to learning outside school from thousands of primary age pupils in the disadvantaged parts of our large cities;
- after-school and/or summer learning opportunities are being offered in over 25 per cent of primary schools;
- campaigns, including government-funded television advertisements, have been run to promote parental support for reading and mathematics;
- the National Year of Reading (in 1998-9) and Maths Year 2000 have opened up opportunities for businesses, community groups, libraries, churches and others to join the national crusade;
- family literacy schemes are supporting parents whose own levels of literacy prevent them from assisting their children as much as they would like;
- growing investment, year-on-year, is being made to provide extra assistance in literacy and maths for children whose first language is not English.

The result of these measures is not only to strengthen the capacity of the system to deliver the demanding reward targets but also - to use the phrase of a school principal from El Paso - to take all the excuses off the table.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

In our drive for world class performance the next phase demands that we modernise secondary education so that it builds on the growing success of the primary sector rather than, as at present, dissipating it.

Our data shows that currently in the middle years (age 11 to 14):

- around 30 per cent of pupils have regressed in English and maths a year after leaving primary school;
- the quality of teaching is poorer than for any other age group;
- pupils make less progress than in other phases, especially in science;
- the gap in performance between girls and boys, already evident at age 11, widens significantly;
- the performance of black pupils, especially boys, slips dramatically;
- secondary schools with concentrations of pupils whose prior experience of learning has been uninspiring and whose present social circumstances are characterised by poverty, face an enormous challenge;
- there is immense variation in performance among our secondary schools, even after controlling for intake.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that many aspirant parents of all classes, especially in the large conurbations, are sceptical about publicly-provided secondary education. A key goal politically, socially and educationally is to convince this group that we can deliver a service which meets the needs and the aspirations of their children.

Our strategy for doing so has two elements:

- a universal strategy to improve the quality of teaching and learning and therefore improve achievement for all pupils aged 11 to 14;
- a targeted programme called "Excellence in Cities" designed to promote both equity and diversity in England's major conurbations.

Teaching and Learning in the Middle Years (age 11-14)

Our intention over the next three years is to design and implement a strategy for the middle years which will be of comparable thoroughness and quality to the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies at primary level but which takes account of the greater complexity of secondary schools and the secondary curriculum. Its main characteristics will be:

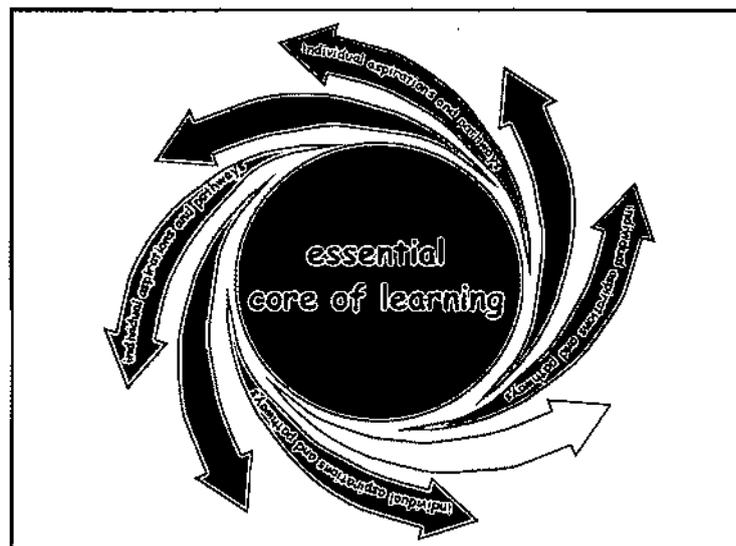
- new annual targets for schools and LEAs relating to the performance of 14 year olds and national targets for 2004;
- new tests for age 12 and 13 (in addition to those already in place for 11 and 14 year olds) to check that all pupils are making progress and that those who had not met national standards in literacy and numeracy by age 11 are catching up;
- extending the primary school strategies for literacy and numeracy into the middle years, including materials, a professional development programme and extra assistance for schools facing the greatest challenge;
- improving transfer arrangements from primary to secondary schools including funding summer school provision aimed at transferring pupils in almost half of secondary schools;
- new teaching programmes for all curriculum subjects available electronically and traditionally from this month;
- the preparation and provision of professional development opportunities for all teachers in every subject;
- the preparation and provision of professional development opportunities in "transforming teaching and learning" available to all secondary teachers and including the teaching of thinking skills, assessment against standards, student engagement and individual student-level target-setting.

Each aspect of this comprehensive programme will be trialled over the next two years starting in about 200 secondary schools this September. From September 2001 it will be extended and by September 2002, the full programme should be in place and making an impact on every one of our 4000 secondary schools.

Excellence in Cities (EiC)

Excellence in Cities (EiC) is a programme designed to transform both the reality and perception of secondary education in England's largest conurbations. Its purpose is to convince both parents and students that publicly-provided education can meet both their needs and aspirations. If the programme is to succeed, it will need to guarantee high standards for all in the essential core of learning and, simultaneously, open up individual pathways and aspirations for each student. In short it will need to provide both **equity and diversity**.

From the point of view of the individual student the diagram below prepared by Vicki Phillips, the inspirational Superintendent of Lancaster (PA.), depicts precisely what we aim to achieve for each individual student.



We have developed four core beliefs which inform every decision from national level to individual classroom. The statement we sent to participating schools reads as follows:

High Expectations of Every Individual

EiC will encourage all schools to have high expectations of every individual pupil and all young people to have high expectations of themselves. It will seek to meet the needs and aspirations of all young people whatever their gifts and talents and to remove systematically the barriers to their learning, whether inside or outside the school. No pupil's education should be confined or restricted because of the school they happen to attend.

Diversity

EiC is designed to increase the diversity of provision in secondary education in the major conurbations. Diversity will differ dramatically from the past in two important respects. Firstly - as with the Government's wider approach - it is not for a few at the expense of the many. Through the establishment of more specialist schools, more beacon schools, more EAZs and through City Learning Centres, many secondary schools will take on specialist functions in addition to their core function of providing a good rounded education for all their pupils.

Secondly, the additional resources a school receives under the programme are designed to bring higher performance, not just to that school, but to other schools in the area too.

Networks

EiC is based firmly on the belief that schools working together, collaboratively, can achieve more for pupils, parents and communities than schools working in isolation. Of course, each individual school is responsible for continuously improving its own performance. But by working with others to share best practice, tackle common problems and offer specialist opportunities to pupils from a range of schools, each school can help to enhance performance across an area. Promoting diversity, recognising excellence and disseminating good practice are essential to these networks working effectively.

Each pupil should see him or herself as a member, not just of a specific school community, but of a wider learning community committed to his or her success.

Extending Opportunity

Some schools in large conurbations have always succeeded. Yet others, often close by, have suffered. The EiC programme is intended to bring success to every school rather than concentrate it in a few locations. The investment that the EiC programme brings to an area should therefore extend opportunity. Rather than reinforcing current inequalities, it should enhance quality. Its purpose is to make Excellence for Everyone a reality rather than just a slogan.

To turn these beliefs into reality there are seven strands of the policy:

- **The gifted and talented**
Each participating school providing a teaching programme for the most gifted and talented ten per cent of students at the school.
Each school is part of a national training programme designed to enable them to do so.
- **Removing barriers to learning**
Each school able to provide a learning mentor - a trained, dedicated adult - whose job is to remove, for those pupils who require it, problems outside school which prevent learning inside.
- **Behaviour support**
New provision within schools of learning support units which strengthen a school's capacity to deal with disruptive students.
- **Beacon schools**
Schools of proven success, each given a funding and responsibility to provide professional development to other schools in the Excellence in Cities area; these schools are part of the IBM Wired for Learning initiative.
- **Specialist Schools**
Schools which receive additional funding in order to provide a specialist focus in either technology, modern foreign languages, sports or arts and a responsibility to share that resource and expertise with others.
- **New City Learning Centres**
Centres, based at schools, designed to take advantage of the latest developments in technology and provide learning to students of all ages across a community during evenings, weekends and holidays as well as school time.
- **Education Action Zones**
Small networks of schools, in pockets of severe deprivation within large cities, focused on integrating primary and secondary education more effectively and also co-ordinating

education, health and social services in those areas.

The programme has only been operational for ten months but already there have been substantial reductions in truancy and exclusion and improvements in pupil attitude. The programme is hugely popular with teachers and principals (which is not true of all our policies!). It has broken down the isolation of many inner city schools and encouraged a new sense of shared endeavour. We believe these are "vital signs" of improvement. Ultimately the programme should result in a complete re-engineering of secondary education. Instead of fitting students into the system as we did in the 20th century, we would build the system around the needs and aspirations of students.

THE MODERNISATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

No matter how coherent our framework for school improvement is, no matter how successful our policies to strengthen primary and secondary education, world class standards will elude us unless we can recruit, retain and develop teachers and school leaders of real quality. As in many parts of the United States, we face major challenges in doing so:

- there are major teacher shortages in some secondary subjects including science, maths, modern foreign languages and music;
- schools in challenging circumstances face particular recruitment and retention difficulties;
- there is a shortage of good candidates for leadership positions especially at primary levels;
- all of the above are particularly acute in London and the South East where the cost of living is much higher.

Beyond the challenges of recruitment and retention are other serious problems. While at the cutting edge of change, there are growing numbers of teachers and school leaders who are embracing reform, the general culture in the profession is characterised by anxiety about change, sensitivity to criticism, and a sense of being overburdened. In addition there is a pervasive belief, to some extent justified, that society does not value teachers sufficiently. The government's reform programme, with its powerful critique of the status quo is simultaneously the short-term cause of some of this and the long-term solution. Either way, it is evident that as the economy continues to boom the education service will find itself competing ever more fiercely with the rapidly growing demands of the new economy for talented graduates. It is against this background that the government is implementing the most radical reform of the teaching profession since the second world war.

In order to address these problems, some immediate, others still emerging, before they became acute, the government published proposals for a comprehensive reform of the teaching profession in December 1998. The programme outlined at that time, modified slightly in the light of consultation, is currently being implemented.

The new vision of a modernised teaching profession has five aspects.

Strengthening Leadership

The framework for school improvement, with its emphasis on schools themselves taking responsibility for their own destiny, puts a high premium on leadership. It may be a simplification to say that the difference between success and failure is the quality of the principal but it is not far from the truth. In the turnround of failing schools for example a change of principal has been necessary in around 75 per cent of cases. The systemic problem is clear. The people currently in, or on the brink of leadership positions, have been promoted expecting to administer the traditional education system, only to reach the top and find it in a process of radical transformation. Their careers have prepared them to manage a system which no longer

exists. Instead of managing stability they have to lead change. In place of an emphasis on smooth administration, they find an unrelenting focus on pupil outcomes.

Our tasks as a government are to attract and develop a new generation of school leader and to enable the present generation to adapt to this radically new and demanding world.

To do so we have:

- created a new qualification for aspiring principals (the National Professional Qualification for Headship) which sets new standards and combines workplace learning with scholarship;
- provided all newly appointed headteachers with a £2000 voucher to spend on professional development, invited them every year to a spectacular conference in London and linked them to an online learning community in which they can debate among themselves and with internationally-known education experts;
- established a new qualification for mid-career principals (the Leadership Programme for Serving Heads) which requires them to engage in vigorous, externally validated self-assessment;
- announced the intention to establish a new National College for School Leadership which will become operational later this year, have a new state of the art building on a university campus, develop an online as well as traditional presence, and will link our school principals to leaders in other sectors and their peers in other countries;
- worked with business to provide business mentors for thousands of school principals;
- improved principals' pay and capacity to earn performance bonuses;
- created a new leadership tier in each school;
- established a £50 million fund to enable the removal or a retirement of principals who are not ready for the new challenge.

Linking Pay and Performance for Teachers

The central challenge for us, as for many other education systems, is to recruit good people into teaching, enable those who are demonstrably successful to rise rapidly and improve the status of teachers in their own eyes and those of the public. Linking teachers' pay to their performance is the key to achieving these objectives. In addition to raising the pay of all teachers by more than inflation (a 3.5 per cent pay increase this year with inflation around 2 per cent), we will introduce in the next twelve months:

- a new performance threshold for teachers seven years into their careers or earlier if they are exceptional: their performance will be assessed by their principal and an external assessor against published standards (see below) which include the impact of their work on pupil performance; all those who meet the standard will receive a £2,000 pay rise (about 8 per cent extra for the average teacher) which will be consolidated permanently into their pay; this year all 24,000 teachers who have been teaching for seven years or longer are eligible to apply by June this year;
- a performance management system under which principals must assess every teacher's contribution annually in improving performance of both pupils and the school;
- two routes to higher pay above the threshold, one for taking on management and administration, the other for being an outstanding teacher; the historic complaint of teachers ("the only way to get promoted is to stop teaching") has thus been answered;
- a School Achievement Award Scheme which will provide lump sum bonuses to be distributed among the staff of those schools which demonstrated substantial improvement or sustained excellence; about 30 per cent of schools will benefit.

The Threshold Standards

Teachers should:

- have a thorough and up-to-date knowledge of the teaching of their subject(s) and take account of wider curriculum developments which are relevant to their work;
- consistently and effectively plan lessons and sequences of lessons to meet pupils' individual learning needs;
- consistently and effectively use a range of appropriate strategies for teaching and classroom management;
- consistently and effectively use information about prior attainment to set well-grounded expectations for pupils and monitor progress to give clear and constructive feedback;
- show that, as a result of their teaching, their pupils achieve well relative to the pupils' prior attainment, making progress as good or better than similar pupils nationally;
- take responsibility for their professional development and use the outcomes to improve their teaching and pupils' learning;
- make an active contribution to the policies and aspirations of the school.

These proposals have been highly controversial within the teaching profession but broadly supported outside it. The unions representing principals have now accepted them and decided to make them work. Those representing classroom teachers are divided. The flashpoint has been the government's insistence that pupil outcomes must be taken into account in assessing a teacher's performance. We have done so partly because, to anyone outside the teaching profession, it is simply not credible to leave the central purpose of an activity out of the assessment of it, and partly because our wider objective is to create a culture in the education service in which everyone, whatever their role, takes responsibility for pupil performance.

Improving Professional Development

For most teachers professional development has traditionally been haphazard, off-site, barely relevant, poorly provided and a chore at best. I exaggerate but not much. If we are to create an education service capable of both achieving world class standards and changing rapidly, we know we have to do much better. We are significantly increasing investment in professional development year-on-year but the issue is at least as much one of the nature and quality of provision. Across the country as a whole, expenditure on professional development is likely to exceed 5 per cent of the total teachers' salary bill for the first time, next year. To improve quality as well as quantity we have:

- developed the capacity to organise and deliver professional development of quality to all teachers on themes of high national priority, such as literacy and numeracy in primary schools (I have already described this model above);
- begun to put in place arrangements to ensure that each school, in addition to its mainstream devolved budget, has a clearly identified, separate pot of money for professional development designed to support its own improvement strategy;
- developed programmes, most currently in their pilot phase, to encourage individual teachers to see their own professional development as both a right and responsibility. Among them are state-funded individual learning accounts for teachers in disadvantaged areas, research scholarships and international exchange opportunities;
- sought to enhance the capacity of teachers to provide professional development for their peers through the creation of beacon schools, advanced skills teacher posts and, for national priorities, the creation of networks of exemplary professionals such as our 2,000

leading maths teachers, each given several days a year to share good teaching practice with colleagues in other schools;

- established a General Teaching Council to promote higher professional standards and improve the status of the profession; its founding chairman is the internationally-known film producer (*Chariots of Fire*, *the Killing Fields*) David Puttnam.

Strengthening the Preparation of Teachers

While our professional development reforms are improving the skills of the existing teaching force, we are also seeking to improve the training and preparation of new entrants. Our reforms to date have:

- imposed a new National Curriculum for initial teacher training setting out the standards and content of training courses which all providers must follow;
- introduced training salaries of £6000 (£13,000 for teachers of shortage subjects) for good graduates doing post-graduate training or for mature entrants joining teaching through the employment-based routes;
- required for all newly qualified teachers an induction year with a lighter timetable and clear standards for achievement by the end of the year;
- run television and cinema advertising promoting teaching as a career;
- developed plans for a fast-track route into teaching for exceptional candidates of any age, with extra intensive training, extra pay and extra responsibility.

These measures are designed to lead into the wider reforms allowing talented teachers to progress more rapidly than ever. It is too early to say what their impact will be but applications for initial teacher training are up significantly since the new training salaries were announced.

Providing greater support

Teaching is demanding work at any time. During a period of rapid change and high public profile it is exceptionally demanding. If teachers are to be successful in the future, we will need to enable them to prioritise teaching, learning and their own professional development and simultaneously to relieve them of the other demands on their time. So far we have not achieved the balance we would want but a number of measures are beginning to make a difference:

- a major investment in school buildings (11,000 improved since May 1997), staff facilities and information and communications technology;
- the provision of standards, teaching materials, planning guidance, data and best practice advice through the internet (the Standards Site had 17,000 pages searched on Christmas Day!);
- making provision for, and encouraging, the use of technical expertise to maintain ICT systems, manage school budgets etc;
- training and developing over 20,000 additional classroom aides, particularly to support literacy and numeracy teaching in primary schools;
- reducing bureaucratic burdens on schools and teachers by streamlining administrative systems.

THE PROBLEMS

I work for the government. It's my job to promote policies, show their coherence and expect them to work. By any standards the programme is an ambitious one and I believe it will work and achieve our objective of creating a world class system. No-one, however, is likely to believe my account or share my optimism unless I draw attention to the problems and

"messiness" which accompany this reform, just as they accompany any major programme of change. Indeed, just over three years on, it would not be an exaggeration to say it is at a critical stage. A great many elements are currently in intensive implementation - literacy, numeracy, the pay threshold, performance management and training for ICT, for example. The capacity of the system (not to mention many individual principals and teachers), is stretched to the limit. People are tired. Reforms are tiring. Only if each element of the reform is well-planned and implemented, can we achieve successful and irreversible reform.

In the meantime, the challenges remain substantial:

- too few teachers see the big picture of reform as I've described it in this paper; they see instead "one damned initiative after another" and the experience of the last decade leaves them sceptical about whether any government ever sees a reform through;
- in order to promote radical change, the government has to spell out a compelling critique of the present but in doing so, too often portrays schools and teachers negatively;
- the sustained drive from national government, risks the creation of an entirely top down reform with its associated pressures to conform, whereas all evidence suggests that successful reform requires a combination of top down and bottom up change;
- the growing assertiveness of central government on the one hand and principals of successful schools on the other, has placed local education authorities, the middle tier, in an uncomfortable position, criticised from the school end for being interfering bureaucrats and from the centre, for not being sufficiently effective in implementing reform;
- the system for funding schools while a great deal more progressive than that in most American states is nevertheless complex, lacking in transparency and a cause of tension; too often it provides an excuse for schools or LEAs not to take responsibility for reform and, from a central government point of view, does not always deliver the substantial extra resources to the frontline where it makes most difference;
- and, of course even highly competent governments make mistakes - policies with design flaws, moments of cack-handed implementation, blunders in presentation - which, even in a context of broadly successful progress, create "noise" and frustration in the system.

Our success in bringing about irreversible reform will depend on our ability to address these problems, and minimise their negative consequences, while sustaining the implementation of the overall strategy until all students achieve high standards, no matter what.

CONCLUSION

The present phase of reform is all-embracing and urgent but, even as it is implemented, it is important to look ahead and to anticipate the shape of reform to come. I want to finish this paper with some speculations about the future.

1. **The first task is to see things through**

It may seem a statement of the obvious but the first task in the next three to five years is to embed the reforms currently being put in place and ensure they become irreversible. The literacy and numeracy strategies at primary level need to be constantly refined and built upon for at least another four years so that every primary teacher's skills reach high levels. The performance management system needs to ensure that every teacher is focused on the quality of their teaching so that all students achieve high standards. The system needs to develop the capacity to prevent failure as well as to tackle it after it has occurred.

All this is not about new reforms but ensuring the present ones work. The last twenty years of education reform are littered with programmes which have been inadequately implemented or abandoned by governments without the courage or strategic sense to

see them through to impact on student performance. We will not make that mistake.

- 2. If it all works, the result will be schools with high autonomy and high performance.**
The policy principle of intervention in inverse proportion to success is being applied steadily. If our overall strategy works, as more schools succeed, so they will have greater autonomy and reward. Ultimately each school would have very substantial autonomy. Each would have responsibility for meeting standards in the core areas of learning but also making a distinctive contribution to the system as a whole. The autonomy would not be unconditional. It would have been earned, because performance had been demonstrated. Government's role in these circumstances would shift from driving reform to creating the conditions, and crucially the culture, for a transformation which would be led and created by the schools themselves. This is precisely the shift that has happened in successful businesses with the centre shaping overall direction and culture while frontline units lead innovation and respond to ever higher customer demands.

- 3. School reform will globalise**

Just as financial services globalised in the 1980s and media and communications in the 1990s, so in this decade we will see education reform globalising. The impact of the international comparisons of the 1990s, such as TIMSS, was profound. Increasingly researchers and policy-makers have extended their horizons beyond national boundaries in the search for solutions. This process will go much further as technological change and globalisation gather pace. The death of distance, best characterised by e-business, will not leave education untouched. We will see the globalisation of large elements of the curriculum. We, in England, will want to be sure that our 14 year olds are as well as educated as students in the USA, Germany or Singapore, not least because ultimately they will be competing in a global job market. In any case, physics is the same in Kentucky as it is in Kent. Media and communications organisations will prepare and market internationally excellent interactive materials which will influence curriculum, standards, pedagogy and assessment across international boundaries. They will also re-engineer where and how learning takes place. It is hard to predict how this will happen: successful school systems will be those open-minded and sensitive enough to spot it when it does.

The school will remain crucial providing the foundation of learning, the induction into democratic society and the constant support that every individual student needs but it will cease to be the provider of all learning for each student. Instead, while it will provide some, it will also seek learning opportunities in other schools, in out-of-school learning settings (such as museums), in the community, in the workplace or over the internet. It will be an advocate for the student and a guarantor of quality. Increasingly teachers and principals will think not just outside the boundaries of their school building but beyond their city and their country too. To anticipate this in England we intend to provide international exchange opportunities for 5,000 teachers a year and from next year through the new Leadership College offer every principal the opportunity to link to their peers abroad.

- 4. The central question for public authorities will cease to be "who provides?" Instead they will ask "how is the public interest to be secured?"**

We must ask ourselves from where the energy, knowledge, imagination, skill and investment will come to meet the immense challenge of education reform over the next decade.

For most of the 20th century, the drive for educational progress came from the public sector, often in combination with the religious or voluntary sectors. Towards the end of 20th century, as frustration with existing systems grew, this legacy was challenged by a

growing vibrant private sector, especially in the USA, but also in many other parts of the world, including China, Africa and South America. The challenge for the 21st century is surely to seek out what works. The issue is not whether the public, private or voluntary sector alone will shape the future but what partnerships and combinations of the three will make the most difference to student performance.

There is a rich field for research and development here and we need to know more. In England we are consciously experimenting by creating new vehicles for partnership with the private sector. So far, we have:

- 250 beacon schools, some linked to IBM's Wired for Learning;
- 70 Education Action Zones bringing private and public sectors together to raise standards in areas of disadvantage;
- the Private Finance Initiative bringing private capital into school building;
- 500 specialist schools, all with business partners;
- proposals for new City Academies, developed in partnership with business, in large cities.

We are also intentionally breaking the mould in our relationships with the voluntary and religious sectors by, for example, providing for the first time state funding for Muslim, Sikh and Seventh Day Adventist schools as well as Catholic, Anglican and Jewish schools which have received state funding for over a century.

The central challenge is to build social coalitions in the drive for higher standards and radical reform. It is clear in Hong Kong and elsewhere that the business and religious sectors are strong allies. This is true in the USA too where, in cities like Philadelphia, the churches provide real energy and drive for educational progress. It is clear in Eastern Europe, where the Soros Foundation is investing heavily in early years education. Each a different combination, each fit for purpose and each shifting the public policy question from "who provides education?" to "how can the public interest in education be secured?".

Public authorities will need to invest more in education than ever before, partly because of technology and pressures to improve teachers' pay, conditions and professional development but mainly because they will be striving to achieve much higher performance standards for ALL, not just some, students. Meanwhile, those parents able to will spend more money than ever on their children's education. Some may choose private schools, depending on the quality of public provision locally, but many will spend on resources for the home and on out-of-school learning opportunities of all kinds.

The challenge for government will therefore be, not only to provide high quality schools, but also to provide the equivalent of the home and out-of-school learning opportunities for those students whose parents do not have the will or the means to provide them. This will be crucial from an equity as well as a performance point of view and opens up an entirely new area for public policy.

Professor Michael Barber is Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett, and Head of the Standards and Effectiveness Unit at the Department for Education and Employment. He is author of "The Learning Game: Arguments for an Education Revolution" (Indigo 1997) and "How to Do the Impossible: A Guide for Politicians with a passion for Education" (Institute of Education 1997).



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Professor Michael Barber
*Head of Standards and
Effectiveness Unit*

6th June 2000

Dear Bruce,

I am delighted you are able to join our seminar on the next wave of education reform. We see this event as a vitally important part of helping us achieve our ambitious goal of creating a world class education service during this decade. I now enclose the programme and some background reading:

1. a speech by the Prime Minister delivered in December 1999;
2. a speech by David Blunkett setting out the vision for the future and delivered in January 2000;
3. a paper I prepared recently for a conference in Washington DC summarising the school reform programme which the government has put in place since 1997;
4. a statistical briefing on social inequalities in the UK.

I am very conscious of how busy you are but I would be very grateful if, in addition to reading (or at least skimming) these texts, you could do two brief tasks in preparation for the event.

Drawing on an Edward de Bono technique (the PMI - pluses, minuses and interesting), I'd like you to write down the four most positive aspects of reform in your country, the four aspects that worry you most and the four that you think are most interesting but which are neither positive nor negative. I enclose a form for you to fill in so that you don't feel you have to write too much! If you can get these to us in advance, that would be helpful. If not, you can bring them with you.

In addition, I'd like you to prepare one idea that you think we should consider to enhance our reform programme in the next five to ten years. You will, of course, have opportunities throughout to contribute thoughts and ideas, but I'd like you to pick just one to bring into the conversation in the opening session over lunch on Monday 19th June.

Accommodation has been reserved at the **St. James Crowne Plaza Hotel, 45-51 Buckingham Gate**, details of which are attached. The seminar will be held at the **Accord Rooms, St. Matthews Church, Great Peter Street** (see enclosed map). Lunch will be provided on both days of the event. Please let me know if you have any special dietary requirements.

Thank you for agreeing to contribute to this important event. If you want further information, please don't hesitate to contact me. I look forward to seeing you.

Best wishes,

Professor Michael Barber



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE



THE PMI - PLUSES, MINUSES AND INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN REFORM

Bruce Reed

Pluses of reform in your country

1.

2.

3.

4.

Minuses of reform in your country

1.

2.

3.

4.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

1.

2.

3.

4.

Pluses of reform in your country

- States that have targeted the lowest-performing schools for reform have seen significant achievement gains by disadvantaged students.
- Virtually every state has put standards in place over the last decade and begun measuring whether students are meeting those standards.
- A growing number of urban districts like Chicago are becoming laboratories of tough-minded reform.
- Some conservatives are finally conceding the need for greater investment in education, and most liberals acknowledge the need for greater accountability. The education debate is no longer over whether schools need more money and more reform, but over what role the national government should play in making that happen.

Minuses of reform in your country

- Despite two decades of national concern about whether our schools measure up, American students start out highly competitive in international comparisons but fall further behind the rest of the world the older they get and the longer they stay in our school system.
- We're beginning to see a backlash against testing, even before most of the country has rigorous tests in place.
- We already have an acute shortage of qualified teachers, especially in poor communities that need them most – and because of retirements and increasing enrollment, we face the enormous challenge of raising teacher standards and attracting 2 million new teachers at low salaries in a tight labor market.
- American parents still have no means of comparing their child's achievement with children in other cities, states, or countries.

Interesting developments in reform in your country

- Charter schools have increased nearly 2,000-fold in the past decade, and produced widespread parental satisfaction, even though the movement is too new to determine whether the schools are improving performance.
- Educational accountability is a top domestic priority for both the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, but Congress is not even seriously debating the issue this year.
- For all the debate about private school vouchers and charter schools, the fastest growing area of school choice is home schooling, which also has produced surprisingly strong results.
- The United States has managed to build the greatest system of colleges in the world and the worst system of high schools of any industrialized nation.

- It is possible to close the achievement gap (ie all children can learn)
- Most pressing public concern
- Charters
- Pay for performance experiments
- Stds in every state, assessments

- strong support for local control and national intervention
- Greater parental involvement despite working more?
- School districts with 100 languages
- Wired the schools but don't talk to each other. Info exchange but no replication.

ROMANES LECTURE
DELIVERED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, RT HON TONY BLAIR MP
AT THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD
THURSDAY 2ND DECEMBER 1999

It is hazardous for a Prime Minister to speak in Oxford on education. However, I am not in search of an honorary degree; and I could hardly decline after Roy Jenkins pointed out to me that the first Romanes lecture was given by Mr Gladstone who also took education as his theme.

On closer investigation in Roy's superb biography, I discovered that Gladstone gave the lecture when he had just become Prime Minister for the fourth time at the age of 82. The thought crossed my mind that I should seek a postponement until 2034. But this idea didn't linger long, you will be relieved to hear.

My title this evening is 'The Learning Habit'. I want to explain what the government is seeking to achieve in its programme of education reform, and how as a nation in the 21st century we can achieve a 'learning habit' across society – a nation hooked on learning, not just as young people, but throughout life.

Let me first set the context. As we took office, we could look at some areas of real improvement over the previous twenty years – for example, industrial competitiveness, and curbing excessive trade union power. But some things had got worse. Economic management was poor, with two deep recessions in two decades. There was chronic instability – boom and bust – in the economic cycle. Borrowing was £28bn and national debt doubled at the up-stage of the cycle, an unsustainable position. Investment in infrastructure and the public services was declining as a proportion of national income. The share of national income spent on education was falling sharply. Unemployment was set to rise, pushing up social security spending, which had already risen by 4% in real terms over the last Parliament, a higher rate than spending on schools, hospitals and transport.

These things were integrally linked. Economic instability meant business failed to invest. Rising unemployment and social exclusion increased unproductive spending and crowded out investment in the future. A lack of investment harmed competitiveness, and so on.

First, we had to put the economy on a sound footing. The new system of economic management – Bank of England independence plus the new fiscal rules – is now in place. It is too soon to claim that we have definitely beaten boom and bust, but we have come through a downturn without a recession for the first time in decades. Inflation and interest rates are at historic lows. Partially through this, and partially through measures like the New Deal and the Working Families Tax Credit, unemployment is falling. Youth unemployment has actually halved and we now have Britain's highest ever level of employment.

As a result, social security spending on social and economic failure is falling. After two tight years of public spending – something, incidentally, that is a promise kept, not a promise broken – we are now in a period of steady rise in the proportion of national income spent on education and health, in particular. By the end of this Parliament, both will be higher; and with continuing sound economic management, we can then plan substantial investment in the three years after that.

But with investment will come essential reform. Money for modernisation is what we promised, and it is what we will deliver.

Our number one priority for investment is education. The reason for this is simple. In the 21st century, as we forge a new progressive politics on the centre-left, the battle of this century between the 'economic' and the 'social' will end. The old dispute between those who favour growth and personal prosperity, and those who favour social justice and compassion, is over. The liberation of human potential – for all the people, not just a privileged few – is in today's world the key both to economic and social progress. In economic terms, human capital is a nation's biggest resource. Brainpower, skills and flexibility – not cheap manual labour – are the key to competitiveness and productivity. In social terms, the old basis of civic society, built around deference and hierarchy, will not do. Today's people will accept citizenship on nothing less than equal terms – opportunity to all, responsibility from all.

Education is critical to both the economic and the social, and the implications are profound. For the nation as a whole, it means shifting from a low skill average to a high skill average – or as I put it, excellence for the many, not just the few. The wider purpose of schools must also change, in a society where rights and duties need to be justified and accepted, not inherited and imposed. Yet most important of all is the implication for the type of education we need. On the one hand, universal competence in the basic skills, including ICT. On the other, diversity

with excellence – an education meeting the full range of individual needs beyond the basics, both the innate abilities too often neglected at present, and the specific training and skills suited to people's aptitudes, which requires a far more flexible system of secondary and post-16 education.

Universal competence in the basics. Diversity with excellence beyond, meeting the needs of each individual. A learning habit spanning society, at all ages. I believe it is now possible to achieve a world class education system which meets these objectives. Later I will explain how, building on our resolute commitment to basic skills, exploiting the vast potential of ICT, and taking forward a programme of significant further investment and modernisation in our schools and learning institutions. And not only can we achieve it, but we will achieve it, if we resolve to do so as a nation.

The inheritance

However, to grasp the future we need to understand the past and present. As a country, we value continuity as much as change, and we are often right to do so. In education, we can be justly proud of parts of our inheritance. A tradition of scholarship, discovery and creativity second to none. Some of the best universities in the world. Many excellent schools and dedicated teachers. But when it comes to education for the broad majority of the people, we need with honesty and frankness to confront our past, not continue it. We must understand where we went wrong. Why we reached the end of the first century of universal state education with nearly one in four of our adults lacking basic literacy, the highest proportion in Europe except in Poland and Ireland; ranking 25th in international assessments for maths among 13-year-olds; with poor average school standards and widespread indifference to achievement, despite the best efforts of so many schools and teachers.

Cultural forces have played a part. So too the structure of an economy built on mass manual labour, with little premium on higher skills in its major industries and too little innovation and enterprise.

These themes are well rehearsed by historians and economists. But I want to highlight another factor too little emphasised, but I believe utterly critical – political indifference and lack of leadership. This too has deep roots. For most of the last 150 years, mass education has been of at best fitful concern to England's political leaders, left and right. In consequence, central

government has taken scant interest in standards and investment, too often dismissing as a matter of local concern and regulation what was in truth a chronic failure of national leadership and responsibility.

Mr Gladstone is a telling case. I do not for a moment deny that he was one of our greatest Prime Ministers. But not as an educational reformer. At a time when leading Continental states – Germany in particular – were forging ahead in primary and technical education, Gladstone's Liberal governments would go no further than to allow local ratepayers to set up primary schools if they so wished. Gladstone rejected compulsory schooling as 'adverse to the national character', opposed the abolition of fees in primary schools, and was agitated that, even at its then paltry levels, state education spending would explode unless reined in. Characteristically, his Romanes lecture – delivered in 1892, by when Britain's educational failings were clearly apparent – was an erudite account of the history and strength of the ancient universities, particularly Oxford and Cambridge, with not a hint of concern about the world beyond.

I am not, as it were, expecting Edison to have invented the Internet. England's weakness in mass education was the subject of sustained commentary among the Victorians, by royal commissions and others, as it has been ever since. Yet the political will to lead and act was rarely present and never sufficient. When in 1839 Lord Melbourne's government made the first state grant for schools – equivalent to a tiny fraction of what Prussia was then spending – the minister responsible told Parliament that English education was 'very inferior' to that of northern Europe, and 'the want of education and the deficiency of the means of popular instruction are almost universally admitted'. Yet it was another 30 years before the state took direct responsibility for providing primary schools, and fully 50 years before primary schooling was free and compulsory. Average standards remained very low.

The slow growth of secondary education is an equally sorry tale. By the 1880s, there was widespread agreement that government needed to act. Two decades followed of ineffective half measures and haggling about who would do it and pay for it. Finally came a ministerial admission that the situation was critical and that something had to be done– this time from Arthur Balfour, the only Prime Minister before Jim Callaghan to take much interest in state schooling. This is Balfour introducing his 1902 Education Bill: 'From the example of America, or Germany or France, or any other country which has devoted itself to educational problems, I

am forced to the conclusion that ours is the most antiquated, the most ineffectual, and the most wasteful method yet invented for providing a national education'.

Yet what happened? Thirty-five years later, on the eve of the Second World War, not even four in ten 14-year-olds were attending secondary school. At the end of the war came a half step forward with the Butler Act of 1944. But a half step at best, because universal secondary education came with the 11-plus, consigning the majority of teenagers to secondary modern schools which were soon a by-word for failure. So too with the promise of a school-leaving age of 16, not honoured for yet another 30 years because schools were too low a spending priority for Tory and Labour governments alike.

National indifference and lack of leadership. It was revealed in so many other ways too. In poor support and recognition for the teaching profession. In the buck-passing between central and local government on major issues of policy and investment – in stark contrast to health, where, under Aneurin Bevan, the post-war Labour government took a decisive lead. And in the low status of the education ministry for most of its history, and its semi-detached status within the education world itself. I regret to say it was Labour's Reg Prentice who had this to say of his 15 months as Education Secretary in the mid-1970s: 'We had very little education policy when I was there, and what there was meant very little to me'. What a depressing but revealing statement. Imagine an ex-Chancellor writing of his time at the Treasury: 'we had very little economic policy, and what little there was meant very little to me'. Even if it was true, they wouldn't dare to admit it.

In retrospect, the mid-1970s marked the turning point, and Jim Callaghan famously came to Oxford to say so. Jim Callaghan knew vividly from his own experience both the power of education and the price of missed opportunities. His 1976 Ruskin speech began with Tawney's words: 'the endowments of our children are the most precious of the natural resources of the community'. So why, he asked, was industry complaining that recruits from schools 'sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job'? Why was there no national curriculum? What should be done about teaching practices which 'seem to produce excellent results when they are in well-qualified hands but are much more dubious when they are not'? What was 'the proper way of monitoring the use of resources to maintain a proper national standard of performance'?

Read today, the speech is remarkably tame. The sensation was caused not so much by what he said, but the fact that he was saying it. For the first time ever, a Prime Minister was placing national school standards high on the political agenda and suggesting that government should give a firm lead and take proper responsibility.

It has taken another twenty years for this to happen. I readily acknowledge that the last government moved some way forward in its later years, establishing a national curriculum and introducing overdue reforms such as the GCSE, national testing and regular school inspections. However, few would claim that education was among the last government's key priorities. We inherited a situation all too little changed from Jim Callaghan's day: average performance far too low; inadequate momentum to improve it; and – an integral part of the problem – an inadequate system of accountability and responsibility, from the centre outwards.

National leadership and purpose

So let me say where I stand. It is central to my conception of politics, in an age when 'the endowments of our children' are – literally, not just rhetorically – 'the most precious of the natural resources of the community', that government should give proper leadership and take proper responsibility for educational standards in this country. Not doing so, in the modern world, is as great a dereliction of the national interest as failing to maintain an adequate defence or foreign policy.

What does it mean for government to take proper leadership and responsibility?

I believe it means three things – and not just 'education, education and education'.

- First, government must take national responsibility for investment in raising standards, and place the imperative for this at the top of the political agenda. In doing so, its intervention should be in inverse proportion to success – full accountability, decisive action to tackle failure, but trust and reward for successful leaders.
- Second, government must set clear goals. I will set out what I believe to be our fundamental goal: an education system combining diversity with excellence. High standards for everyone in the basics in primary schools, as a platform for an education liberating the talent and capacity of each individual. For our primary schools this means

investment in a broader curriculum and set of opportunities as we achieve near universal competence in the basics. But the most radical implications are for our secondary schools, where we need to abandon, once and for all, a mindset which views only two broad options: an entire system based on selection, with some kind of 11-plus, on the one hand; or on the other, standardised, monolithic comprehensives offering a standardised, monolithic provision for pupils whose needs are highly diverse and individual. We need diversity with excellence to be the hallmark of the secondary system, rejecting completely the notion of a comprehensive education treating different provision for different individuals as a betrayal of their equal worth. In the modern world, diversity with excellence – schools with distinct centres of excellence, providing radically different opportunities and provision for pupils with different needs – is the only viable future for our secondary schools. This is now increasingly recognised in the secondary sector; we need it to become universally so.

- Our third task is to be equally robust and ambitious about opportunities beyond 16 – how to abolish, once and for all, the notion of an education leaving age of 16. But equally, how to combine diversity with excellence in our colleges and universities, where a wide variety of quality provision focused on individual needs is as necessary as it is in secondary schools.

Let me take these in turn. First, national responsibility for investment in raising standards.

As a government we have set out, more boldly than any of our predecessors, our objectives in education, and the investment required to meet them.

We said the nation's key priority was early education, and shaped our programme accordingly. Under-five provision so that children start school ready to learn. Primary schools with no classes of more than 30 in the infant years. Far better and more focused teaching in the key skills of literacy and numeracy. We have done as we promised – a nursery place for every four year old whose parents want one. A large increase in places for three year olds. On target next year virtually to eliminate classes of more than 30 for five, six and seven year-olds. A significant advance in literacy and numeracy standards.

We said we would make provide a step change in investment in school buildings and infrastructure, too much of which is in a deplorable state after decades of neglect. We have done as we promised: capital spending on schools will double in real terms over the course of this Parliament. More than 10,000 schools have already been upgraded.

We said we would tackle failing schools and local education authorities. We are doing so. Failing LEA services are being contracted out, and both the number of failing schools, and the time taken to turn them around, are falling.

We said we would reform student finance in an equitable way, to improve the funding of universities after a decade of serious erosion and to allow for further expansion in student numbers. We have done so, with a reform which takes full account of each family's circumstances – a third of students paying no fees at all, a third paying a reduced fee, and only a third paying £1,025, which itself represents only a quarter of the average cost of a university course. Through this reform we have been able to increase university funding in real terms, expand student numbers; separately, in partnership with the Wellcome Trust, we have increased funding for university research and infrastructure by £1.4 billion.

We said we would increase education spending as a share of national income over the course of this Parliament. We are on course to do so. Given the strong economy, this is generating a very significant rise in education spending, an increase of at least 16% in real terms over this year and the next two.

In saying this, I am not just blowing the government's trumpet. I am spelling out what we mean by national responsibility for investment in raising standards and enhancing opportunities. And this is only the first step. I know how much more there remains to be done, in universities as elsewhere. There will be no less demanding targets, and the investment to back them up, in our programme for the next Parliament. Let me make it absolutely clear. Education will continue to have the first call on public resources in return for a step-change in standards.

But national leadership is not just about providing the resources. It is about guaranteeing that they are used for their purpose – to modernise and raise standards. Where that means government acting decisively to bring about reform and higher standards, we have done so and will continue to do so – and not repeat the error of the past and remain indifferent on the sidelines.

Consider the nation's most basic educational objective of all – ensuring that all our young people are literate and numerate. Until the introduction of national tests for eleven year-olds four years ago, and the publication of the results, there was no means of parents knowing the

success of primary schools, school by school, in getting children up to standard in English and maths, let alone what the national picture was.

When revealed, the national picture was deeply shocking. In 1996, 43% of 11 year-olds were below standard in English; 46% below standard in maths. A child who cannot read cannot learn. Nearly half – half – of pupils were going on to secondary school without the basic tools to be able to learn, after six years of full-time schooling. And that was the national picture. In a large number of primary schools, and some entire local education authorities, most of the pupils were reaching 11 without the essential tools of literacy and numeracy. What chance of a learning society on that shameful foundation? And should we have been surprised that levels of disaffection and drop-out are so high at secondary level, giving us one of the lowest staying-on rates at 16 in the developed world?

At this point, abstract arguments dissolve. Ensuring that children leave primary school with the basic tools of literacy and numeracy is the most fundamental task of the education system. It was not happening. So we acted. One of David Blunkett's first acts as Education Secretary was to set up a Standards and Effectiveness Unit within the Department for Education and Employment, which developed literacy and numeracy strategies based on best practice in primary teaching. A nationally determined, locally delivered programme of teacher training followed, with special help for schools with the lowest test results, all supported by national investment. New literacy and numeracy lessons were introduced on a national model. National targets were set – 80% of 11 year-olds to be up to standard in literacy by 2002, 75% in numeracy – and translated into targets for each individual school by local authorities. National investment to reduce all early years classes to below 30 was also instituted, because of the evidence that smaller class sizes in the early years improved teaching of the basics. Taken together, a budget of more than £1billion - £1billion of new money – was allocated to implement this programme and to generate a step-change in primary standards.

Two years later, large classes in the early years have been almost eliminated. Teachers and parents overwhelmingly support the literacy and numeracy lessons in schools. Test results have improved sharply – this year's reached 70% in literacy and 69% in numeracy – in the full glare of local and national attention. The feverish expectation surrounding the publication of this year's test results reminded me of what used to accompany the balance of payments figures, so great is the political and media interest now in school standards. And I am pleased

to say that David Blunkett, who took full responsibility for the national targets – another first – looks set to be around for a good while yet!

I have gone into the literacy and numeracy strategies in some detail, not, I suppose, because they will be of much use to anyone here preparing for finals, but because they demonstrate what I mean about government giving proper leadership and taking proper responsibility. As a Government we acknowledge our duty, on behalf of parents and children, to secure acceptable minimum standards in schools – all schools – something that should have been done decades ago. If schools are to succeed they also need the maximum resources available – which is why we are pressing local education authorities so hard to delegate more to the front line, and not to hold money back in bureaucracy or an outdated belief that, except in cases of failure, they know better how to spend money than do the headteachers in charge.

Across the education system, where standards are being met our approach is one of high autonomy in return for full accountability, allowing maximum freedom to the successful. In the case of higher education, I know that universities are not always over the moon about existing accountability arrangements. Acronyms like RAE, TQA and QAA don't seem to get much of a cheer when in audiences like this. But let me say that we take seriously the principle of intervention in inverse proportion to success, which is why the future of teaching quality assessments, in particular, is being reviewed to keep red tape to an absolute minimum.

Diversity with excellence

This brings me to my second theme, diversity with excellence.

The starting point is clear enough – every child must be competent in basic skills. 80% in literacy and 75% will be a major step forward, but not enough. Beyond 2002, a further intense national effort is required to get as close to 100% as we can. Tackling adult basic skills is also vital, and David Blunkett intends radical action to follow the Moser report's findings on the acute challenge we face in this area.

It is equally clear that the concept of basic skills can no longer be restricted to literacy and numeracy. Proficiency in ICT has become a basic skill, even for a Prime Minister. Its importance will increase exponentially within very few years, not least within the learning

process itself. After 500 years of just 'teachers and books', we suddenly have a continuous stream of new technologies enhancing the learning process. Leading edge schools are already deploying composition programmes in Music, digital cameras in Art, simulation software in Design and Technology and Science, spreadsheets in Mathematics and in Business Studies, the Internet across the curriculum and interactive programmes in languages and many other subjects. ICT is permeating every school and the entire curriculum.

We are the beginning of the end of an era of education – an era where the issue for most part was how to achieve the maximum amount of learning within limited teaching resources.

Entering the 21st century with the new technology, our goal is to become 'learning bound' not 'teacher bound' – not to replace teachers, but to enhance and supplement them – in and out of school – with the vast interactive resources of ICT. It has been estimated that the full cost of one school teacher-hour is £50 and, rightly for our teachers, it is rising; but the full cost of one school ICT-hour is about 75p, and dropping at 20% year, at the same time as the inherent capability of the technology is rising. And as it rises, in the hands of skilled teachers as learning managers, so too does the capacity for ICT to personalise learning – to provide the tailored support for different aptitudes and needs which is critical to the future. This is one of the most exciting and important implications of ICT.

The transformation ahead may be as significant as the rise of organised schooling itself. And not just for young people, but for all people. This time Britain must and will be an international leader. Our position is strong. We already have one of the most ICT literate school leaving population in the developed world. In the National Grid for Learning and the University for Industry we have a strategy and investment programme to keep us there, spreading ICT learning far beyond the school-age population. With continued investment, not least in R&D, and the right commercial partnerships, we can lead in the application of ICT to all areas of the curriculum. This will be one of our highest priorities as a government.

Literacy, numeracy and the ability to use ICT are the three key skills which every school and college leaver requires, and which every adult should have the means of mastering and updating, whether in the workplace, at home, in college or through the new technology itself. But no one argues that they are an end in themselves, or that primary schools should concentrate on them at the expense of all else. Our position has always been clear. To tackle the crisis we faced in school literacy and numeracy, basic skills had to become the overriding priority of primary schools. We believe they should continue to be so in each school until the

overwhelming majority of pupils are achieving the competence needed for their age as a matter of course. Secondary schools also need to pay proper attention to literacy and numeracy for those students who are below standard. But once we have achieved excellence in basic skills, we need a proper diversity of opportunities beyond, so that the aptitudes and abilities of every individual are developed to the full. Education is for life, not just for jobs. I make no excuse for placing literacy and numeracy at its core. They too are for life, not just for jobs, and those who lack them, young or old, are handicapped, socially as much as economically. But as we succeed in reaching the standard needed in these key skills school by school, we will be able to pay increasing attention – and make an increasing investment – in the broader curriculum and range of opportunities for our young people. Singapore, with academic results among the highest in the world, recently appointed a commission to report on education for the 21st century. It concluded that education needed to go beyond skill acquisition ‘to instil qualities such as curiosity, creativity, enterprise, leadership, teamwork and perseverance’, developing young people in the ‘moral, social, physical and aesthetic domains’. That is our ambition too. Many schools already achieve a great deal in these areas and year by year – most recently with David Blunkett’s drive to improve citizenship education in our schools – we move forward. But there is more to be done, both in primary schools, and still more for secondary schools, where the modernisation of the comprehensive principle is in its early stages.

Let me start at primary level with a few concrete examples. Modern languages. English may be the new lingua franca, a competitive advantage for us as a nation, not least in education. But the competitive advantage for each of us as individuals is the capacity to make our way as freely as possible through the new Europe and the wider world. Everyone knows that with languages the earlier you start, the easier they are. The national curriculum rightly makes a modern language compulsory from the beginning of secondary school. But many children gain a valuable head start earlier. Some primary schools already do excellent work in this area, and language teaching from the age of seven or eight is almost universal in independent schools, once competence in the basics has been achieved. As all schools move towards universal competence in literacy and numeracy, the scope for more language teaching in the later primary years is something we are seriously considering.

So too with music and sport. David Blunkett has done a great deal to promote sport and music in our schools, including tough action to prevent the sale of sports fields, new funding for local music provision, and new specialist secondary schools for sports and the arts. Yet as we succeed with literacy and numeracy, more can be done. Too many schools we visit have no

sports facilities, let alone playing fields and organised games. Too many young children lack the chance to learn a musical instrument, or to develop talent in other branches of the arts. Opportunities are too unevenly spread, particularly for those who have so few to start with. There is no single blueprint for improvement. But music, art, sport, and languages all have a part to play, in school and beyond. The idea of the 9 to 3.30, Monday to Friday school – with no after-school or holiday activities – must become a thing of the past.

Once we have got the basics right, we develop the skills and talents of all our young people to the full. This requires opportunities for all, reflecting the equal worth of all. It is not a question of equal provision for all, let alone – as some on the Right allege – of prizes for all simply for taking part. How many children sit in schools today, with low ambitions but with huge reserves of talent that have never been unearthed? A sports enthusiast at a school with no playing fields, no competitive sports, no place to practice. A child with a talent for music, but no chance to learn a musical instrument, or to go to a concert? A would-be actor with no drama club or production to take part in? A potential leader with no responsibility? All those for whom the chance to excel – or even experience – has never been given; or who go to schools where everything stops at 3.30, and there are none of the organised activities and instruction which the more fortunate take for granted? As a nation we have done superbly, over generations, for a small number. At the top, the standards we achieve, and the emphasis we place on education beyond the classroom, are internationally renowned – the pastoral dimension, sport, music, voluntary service in the community. But we need to make them nationally renowned too, by making them available to all. This is what I mean by equal worth – a one-nation society in which all citizens have the same rights and responsibilities. Our goal is high standards; realism and rigour in ensuring that young people pursue courses that suit them; but no ceilings to ambition or impediments to its realisation.

Let me summarise the picture so far. Nationwide nursery provision which prepares all children to learn at primary school. Primary schools which achieve universal competence in the basics. As this is achieved, a broader range of opportunities and skills, starting in primary leading through to secondary, so that children have an equal chance to develop their aptitudes to the full. Proper emphasis on moral and social education throughout.

This brings me to secondary schools, where the challenge is greater still to fulfil the potential of each individual pupil.

To move forward, we need to confront our past in secondary education, and to understand what went wrong here in particular. Comprehensive schools were devised as a way of radically improving a system which consigned 80% of children to a second-class education and second-class jobs thereafter. It was a reaction to an undoubted injustice – the injustice of determining a child's ability and potential at the age of 11, and in effect, whatever the intention, branding them a success or a failure. Few people now want to return to that system for the whole nation. But most people recognise that children do indeed have different abilities; and often different aptitudes in different subjects. What is more, simply proclaiming that we have a 'comprehensive system' is no use if in fact there are vast disparities in the quality of one comprehensive against another.

What this Government is undertaking is, in effect, a radical modernisation of the comprehensive system. We are replacing the 'one size fits all' concept with a massive extension of diversity within the system – on the basis of high standards for all in basic skills as the platform for excellence. This is why we are pushing forward so strongly with specialist schools. Specialist schools build on the national curriculum to develop areas of specialist excellence within comprehensives, whether technology, sport, the arts or modern languages, with business and community sponsorship. Setting is also being encouraged. New programmes of pupil support are being developed, promoting the needs of gifted and talented pupils, taking welfare workers directly into schools, and providing headteachers with better tools to tackle disaffection and barriers to learning on an individual basis.

There is much further to go in all these areas. This is after all only common sense. Children do indeed have different abilities. To admit it is not elitist, but necessary if we are to build an education system around the equal worth of each individual child. Universities have a part to play, particularly in raising aspirations and helping schools to make appropriate provision for their more able pupils. Last week I launched a university summer school programme for 5,000 pupils from schools in the six largest cities. I am glad that Oxford is one of the universities involved, and I was delighted to meet a group of Oxford students, pioneering an access scheme, who came to the launch in a north London comprehensive. We need a step change in the quantity and quality of relationships between schools and universities, alongside improved links between schools and employers.

We also need diversity with excellence in the provision of new schools. In the last two years Muslim and other groups have received state funding for new schools providing education for

their faith communities, building on our long tradition of Church schools. There is room for greater diversity in the provision of new schools at secondary level too, not only for those with a religious motivation, but for those with other distinct missions, particularly centres of excellence in mainstream areas of the curriculum.

Post-16 and universities

Our ambitions are similarly high for post-16 education. Our best students perform exceptionally well here too, although we accept the general criticism that, even at the top, achievement could be higher still if the A-level curriculum was broader, which is why new AS levels are being introduced so that students begin sixth form with four or five subjects before narrowing down. However, our biggest challenge is again with the middle and bottom third of achievers. For the middle third, opportunities to progress to worthwhile, vocationally-oriented HE courses are too restricted, which is why we are looking to a further expansion of higher education focusing, in particular, on new two year courses, akin to US associate degrees, to meet high skill needs in particular vocational areas.

With the bottom third, the situation is frankly deplorable. Today, in 1999, 160,000 16 to 18 year-olds – nearly one in ten of the total – are neither in education and training nor have a job. Most of them left school with no GCSEs whatever, or practically so. A further 17 per cent undertake no formal education or training, usually because their qualifications and motivation are not up to it. So a quarter of our school leavers have effectively given up on education and training, and have often done so well before leaving school. No surprise, then, that our staying-on rates in education and training are far below the EU average.

The roots of this lie in the widespread failure, demotivation and under-performance at school which I have described already. But incentives to stay-on, and the range and quality of post-16 education, are also important, and we are addressing these too. Pilots have just started with Education Maintenance Allowances – cash allowances of up to £40 a week for students from lower-income families who are engaged in worthwhile post-16 courses. If these make sufficient impact, we are ready to introduce such allowances nationwide, as part of our commitment to student support to encourage participation and achievement. We are also promoting new arrangements for post-16 education and training, to improve work-based training and provision

in our further education colleges, which are a crucial but under-appreciated part of the education system.

Our vision is simple. It is to abolish the outdated notion of an education leaving age of 16. To make staying-on, whether physically in a school or college or by combining work with study, perhaps through ICT, as common as success in literacy and numeracy at primary school. And by doing so to instil a habit of lifelong learning – giving each individual the capacity and flexibility to benefit from learning and training throughout life, particularly when it comes to changing jobs and updating skills.

12th, 14th

Universities also have a critical part to play in the learning society. I need hardly stress how important excellence and diversity are in higher education, as in schools. The last government was right to dismantle the artificial barriers of title which divided universities from polytechnics. The result, has not been convergence on some identikit average, and nor should it be. Universities develop their own missions according to their strengths. This government will always be careful to target resources so as to secure best value and excellence, both in teaching and research. Government has a responsibility both to fund research adequately and to ensure that resources for university teaching and student support safeguard quality and open access. We were mindful of both obligations in our reforms to student finance and in our large extra investment in research and the science base.

We will continue to pay close attention to the pressures on universities. But the future is as much in your hands as ours. I am told that less than one third of Oxford's income now comes from the government's Higher Education Funding Council. Universities, particularly the world leaders including Oxford, compete in an increasingly international market for research, staff, students and innovation. You are at threshold of an ICT revolution which could transform the very idea of the university as a community of learning, as surely as ICT will transform learning in schools. In the knowledge economy, entrepreneurial universities will be as important as entrepreneurial businesses, the one fostering the other. Universities are wealth creators in their own right: in the value they add through their teaching at home; in the revenue, commitment and goodwill for the UK they generate from overseas students, a market we need to exploit as ambitiously as possible; and in their research and development, of incalculable impact to the economy at large. We look to you, and to our other leading universities, not only as the guardians of traditions of humane learning on which your reputation depends; but also as one of our key global industries of the future, able to give the UK a decisive competitive

advantage within Europe and beyond in the 21st century economy. This means government giving you the support only we can provide; but it means universities generating the maximum possible entrepreneurial drive on a national and international plane.

Learning institutions

Underpinning all that I have said this evening is a broader theme. A learning society does not just depend upon well-educated individuals. It requires learning institutions throughout society. I don't just mean schools, colleges and universities. In the knowledge economy, every organisation, from the business to the community group, the hospital to the employment agency, has constantly to improve itself. To succeed, it must be open and receptive to change, to best practice at home and abroad, to competitive pressures, to new ways of working, to the new demands of customers and consumers. Organisations capable of reflecting systematically on what they do – lessons learned, evaluations, assessments, benchmarking against the best in the world – and developing their staff accordingly.

This is a challenge for business. In Silicon Valley, companies are tested for their success in getting new knowledge onto the balance sheet. But it is no less a challenge for the public sector. The public sector has been slow to put in place knowledge management systems – so that for example local police forces can learn from international best practice, and schools can learn from their counterparts overseas. Initiatives such as the new National College for School Leadership for school leaders, and the Centre for Management and Policy Studies established in the heart of Whitehall, are intended to counter this weakness. And here too universities have a part to play, with your international perspective and sources of knowledge and research.

I began with Mr Gladstone and the fundamental failure in the 19th and 20th centuries to provide excellence for the many in education. Confronting our past is difficult and painful, particularly when the past is so recent. It is only ten years since Kenneth Baker described moving from the Department of the Environment to the Department of Education as 'like moving from the manager's job at Arsenal to Charlton. You crossed the river and dropped two divisions'. Now it is only one, and some of us might not take the same view of Arsenal. But all of us know that a nation whose government relegates education out of the premier division will end up relegated in everything else too. Our mission is not just to reverse that decline. It is to mobilise, with all

the strength we can, the purpose and resolve of this generation to transform Britain into a learning society. A society where the learning habit empowers the many, not the few. Where our top universities cease to be oases of opportunity for the fortunate few, and become the apex of an educational pyramid spanning the whole of society. It can be done. We have started. All we need is the will to see it through.

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Social Inequalities – a new series

A new report*, bringing together in one accessible volume the most recent information on factors associated with social inequality, is published today by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). It is the first in a new series and focuses in particular on income, education and work.

Some key findings include:

- Over three million children lived in households whose income is less than 60 per cent of the median income (Great Britain 1997-98, before housing costs).
- Eight per cent of boys and five per cent of girls received no graded GCSEs, or their equivalents, in their final year of compulsory education (Great Britain 1997 – 98).
- In April 1999, the average gross annual earnings for full-time employees in Great Britain were about £20,000; the average for men was £23,000, around 42 per cent higher than for women.
- The proportion of women with one or more dependent children who are economically active has increased from 60 per cent in Spring 1987 to about 70 per cent in Spring 1999.

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** Social Inequalities*

The Stationery Office Price £30 ISBN 0 11 621269 1

Prepared by the Government Statistical Service

The report looks at differences between all groups in the population and analyses the relationships between different aspects of people's lives. It presents trends over time – for example, how long do people stay on low incomes.

Summary of other main findings

People and Places

- In last quarter of the twentieth century the United Kingdom population grew from 56 million to 59 million - 18 per cent were over pensionable age and 20 per cent were under 16.
- In Great Britain in 1997, four million people were from minority ethnic groups. The age distribution of people from these groups was younger than the White population, with about 40 per cent being under 20 compared with around 25 per cent of the white population.
- Between 1961 and 1998, the proportion of households headed by a lone parent rose from two per cent to seven per cent.
- A quarter of households headed by a Black person are lone parents with dependent children.
- Infant mortality (deaths under the age of one) for babies from the "unskilled" group in 1974 to 1976 was more than twice that for babies in the "professional" group. By 1995 to 1997, the rate was just less than twice that in the professional group.

- Most people living in England in 1997-98 were satisfied with where they lived (85 per cent). Those who lived in socially rented housing were the most likely to be dissatisfied with their area (17 per cent).
- In 1998, 63 per cent of households headed by an unskilled manual worker had access to a car or van, while almost all households headed by someone in the professional class had access (96 per cent).

Income and Wealth

- In Britain income is not evenly distributed; those in the bottom half of the income distribution received around a quarter of total income, a similar amount to that shared by those in the top ten per cent in 1997-98.
- Over two in five people in lone parent households had incomes in the bottom fifth of the distribution in 1997-98.
- Over three in five children living in a household with two parents where neither was in full-time work, and two in five children living with a lone parent not in full-time work, had an income of below 60 per cent of the median in 1997-98.
- Just over a fifth of those in pensioner households were living on income below 60 per cent of the median income in 1997-98.
- Less than one in ten individuals living in households headed by people in the Black, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups were in the top fifth

of the income distribution while just over one in five of those in White households were in this group in 1997-98.

- For full-time workers hourly pay was lowest in 1999 among the youngest workers.
- In 1997-98 around 30 per cent of households reported having no savings, 14 per cent reported having over £20,000 of savings.

Education training and skills

- Girls performed better than boys at all key stages in English-related subjects in England in 1999.
- In 1998-99, pupils in Local Education Authorities in England with high proportions of children eligible for free school meals generally had lower GCSE attainment levels than pupils in areas with low free school meal eligibility.
- Recently there has been an increase in the number of young women in higher and further education; rising from around one million in 1970-71 to about two and a half million in 1997-98.
- Around nine-tenths of working aged men and women in the UK with a degree level qualification in 1999 were in employment. Less than half of women and around six-tenths of men with no qualifications had a job.
- Over the last decade many jobs have increased their skills requirement.
- A higher proportion of younger people in work undertake training than those over the age of 50.

Work

- Over the past twenty years, the proportion of men who are economically active (see Background Note 2) has decreased whereas the proportion for women has increased.
- Over three-quarters of women who work part-time do so because they do not want a full-time job.
- Although temporary contracts overall make up less than a tenth of employment, two-fifths of men on temporary contracts could not find a permanent job.
- Men who had been employed in unskilled occupations during the 1990s were about 65 per cent more likely to be unemployed than men overall.
- Unemployment rates for men in the United Kingdom were twice as high for those from Black or Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups than for those from White or Indian groups in Spring 1999.
- The proportion of children living in households with no workers has been fairly steady at between 17 and 19 per cent from Autumn 1996 to Spring 1999.

BACKGROUND NOTES

1. The Social Exclusion Unit defines social exclusion as "... a short-hand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a concentration of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown". *Social Exclusion Unit (1997) The Social Exclusion Unit brochure, Cabinet Office.*
2. Economically active is defined as those who are in work or training or actively seeking work.
3. Details of the policy governing the release of new data, including a description of the release categories featured on the front page of ONS releases, are available from the press office.
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College failure deals new blow to fresh start policy

Education Unlimited

Will Woodward and Helene Mulholland
Wednesday June 7, 2000

The government's drive to revive failing schools received another blow last night when inspectors ordered emergency rescue measures at one of its fresh start schools.

East Brighton arts and media college is the first fresh start school to be taken back into "special measures". It is looking for a permanent head following the resignation of "superhead" Tony Garwood in March. In its report, published last night, Ofsted criticised Mr Garwood's leadership.

The Department for Education defended its fresh start policy and put the blame in Mr Garwood's court.

"There was a problem with leadership at the school and we are trying to resolve that following the departure of the head. This was more a failure of management within the school than of our fresh start policy," a spokesman said.

In its report on East Brighton, Ofsted said the school was "failing to give its pupils an acceptable standard of education". Pupils made satisfactory progress in only 18 of 31 lessons observed. Leadership was weak, attendance and punctuality poor and staff morale low.

"There is too much unsatisfactory teaching. Teaching was satisfactory or better in only two thirds of the lessons," the report said.

"There is a core of hard working teachers who provide sound and sometimes good lessons, but in many classes the teachers have low expectations, or have difficulties managing pupils' behaviour."

In the few months since the college opened, eight pupils have been excluded permanently and 47 temporarily. Mr Garwood preferred not to comment on the report, which he had not read in detail. "I think people need to focus on the future, on what is being done now," he said.

Under "special measures", Ofsted will visit the school every

teem



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Harvard tries to move with
the times

Musical politics

term and the school and LEA will follow a joint action plan.

Clive Frost, director of east Brighton's education action zone took over as acting principal on May 1. "There has been a lot of change for staff and students here, but there are many good things going on now," he said last night.

The school, formerly Stanley Deason and, for two years, renamed Marina High, is near Roedean college and featured in Nick Davies's series earlier this year in the Guardian. The pressure of Ofsted inspections was partly responsible for the resignation of its former head.

Of 562 pupils aged 11-16, 48% were on free school meals, twice the national average. Pupils' level of achievement on entry to the college were well below average and most come from the problem Whitehawk estate.

Ofsted said there were "serious weaknesses" in the way the LEA established the college. Mr Garwood had arrived at the start of September, less than two weeks before the pupils. He resigned in March but stayed until Easter. The college was visited by inspectors on three dates in April.

In a statement, the college said since the inspection it "has taken action to make improvements in the key areas of leadership and management; raising standards; improving behaviour; staff recruitment and raising attendance".





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Search for new teachers widened

Education Unlimited

Rebecca Smithers, education correspondent
Wednesday June 7, 2000

teem

The government is to cast its net wider in the search for new teachers in an attempt to exploit the increased job mobility which sees people switching careers several times during their working life.



Ralph Tabberer, chief executive of the teacher training agency, announced yesterday that it was looking to recruit teachers from among the 45% of the population who were saying they might consider entering the profession.

The first step was to study the reasons why people were deterred from teaching, he said.

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The agency will also redouble its efforts to convert inquiries from prospective trainees into applications for places and then jobs. A record number of phone calls, more than 10,000 a week, have been logged by the agency since its latest advertising campaign.

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The school standards minister, Estelle Morris, said yesterday that more than 4,500 graduates, a 32% rise on this time last year, had applied to become teachers since plans for "training salaries" of £6,000 were announced in March in a £70m incentives package.

In this section

She said the system of performance-related pay being introduced in September, which would give good teachers the chance to earn up to £30,000, was also attracting more of the best graduates into teaching.

Wednesday 7 June

[College failure deals new blow to fresh start policy](#)

[Search for new teachers widened](#)

Mr Tabberer denied critics' claims that there was still a recruitment crisis: "Vacancy rates are running at less than 1%."

• A Labour-supporting businessman, Bryan Sanderson, was named yesterday as chairman of the learning and skills council, which will be at the heart of the government programme for those aged over 16.

Tuesday 6 June

[US backs quest for brightest children](#)

[Hague goes on attack over discipline in schools](#)

Mr Sanderson, group managing director of BP Amoco and chief executive of BP Amoco Chemicals, will take up the part-time post in October, in charge of an annual £6bn budget.

Boarding schools no



Boarding schools no longer 'preserve of the elite'

Monday 5 June

Elitism row fuelled by study into university admissions

Top universities 'waste state school talent'

The arithmetic of bias

A-level playing fields

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Prescott presses point on university elitism

Heads 'deserve £100,000 salaries'

NUT lifts threat of strike over pay linked to results

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'Elitist' Oxford don rounds on ministers

Blunkett pledges backing for heads on violent pupils

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Prescott echoes battle cry against elitism

Harvard tries to move with the times

Musical politics





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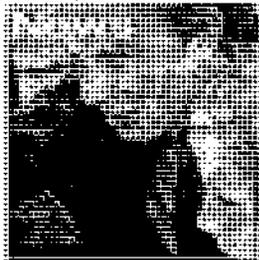
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US backs quest for brightest children

British scheme to find gifted youngsters with 'world-class' tests supported by Washington as universities gear up to copy aptitude exams



Education Unlimited
Try some of the test questions

Rebecca Smithers, education correspondent
Tuesday June 6, 2000



Britain's development of tests to identify the brightest youngsters in the world moved a step forward yesterday after the US government gave the proposal its backing.

The tests, devised as part of a Labour programme to locate gifted children in urban areas, are set to be introduced at the start of the 2001 academic year.

Search this site

Pupils aged nine and 13 will tackle questions in maths and problem-solving which will be pitched at the brightest 15% of children in the world. Teachers and parents will be encouraged to put suitably bright youngsters forward for the tests, which aim to stretch them to their full potential.

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The education and employment secretary, David Blunkett, has so far invited the US, Australia and Singapore to become partners in the tests, which are to be piloted shortly in 50 schools in England.

In this section

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Tuesday 6 June

Yesterday the US secretary of state, Richard Riley, had detailed discussions with British ministers and officials about the tests, and a trans-Atlantic collaboration was announced to enable both countries to learn from each others' experiences of turning round failing schools.

Mr Riley said: "I'm very interested in the fact that [the tests] are being done here. As a first step we will have to see if larger urban school districts will want to take part".

In a separate move, outstanding headteachers who have raised standards in British schools will be invited to attend the first bilateral conference on school improvement, which will be held in Washington in October.

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Wednesday 31 May

Britain has already borrowed many education ideas from the US, most recently plans for so-called city academies which are based on the American charter schools.

But yesterday Mr Riley, who is the longest-serving minister in Bill Clinton's cabinet, made it clear that he already thought there was scope to transfer many British initiatives to US schools in the drive to raise standards, including the numeracy strategy introduced under the Blair government as well as the proposed new "world class tests".

Yesterday Mr Riley visited a north London primary school, where he sat in on a class of 11-year-olds being tested on their mental arithmetic during their daily maths lesson.

Later he expressed his serious concern about the "downward slide" in standards of maths among American youngsters, which had worrying long-term implications for jobs and the economy.

Estelle Morris, the schools minister, yesterday welcomed Mr Riley's interest in British schools and his backing for the world class tests. "We are determined to learn from the experience of other countries as well as our own about the task of raising school standards. This includes raising the performance of schools in challenging circumstances. We want to establish a dialogue and share good practice at school level."

Progress on the world class tests will disappoint those who believe that pupils in Britain are already among the most tested in the world.

Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, said: "These tests will quite quickly become mandatory. The government is preoccupied with testing but we will soon arrive at the day when we are getting kids through the tests but they are not getting the rounded education they deserve."

The tests Will Woodward

They are being touted as the panacea for the ills of university admissions - a way of weeding out the super bright from the merely pump primed.

Scholastic aptitude tests are completed by more than a million American 16- and 17-year-olds at junior high school in the year before university entrance. Their SATs have the same acronym but are different from the standard assessment tests completed by pupils in England and Wales at 7, 11 and 14.

The Sutton Trust, the educational charity, believes US-style

Prescott echoes battle cry against elitism

Harvard tries to move with the times

Musical politics

SATs could help universities discover talent in state schools. The trust is paying the National Foundation for Education Research to develop and pilot tests.

But as Education Guardian reports today, the US tests have critics. Lobby groups claim they discriminate against African Americans. Whites do best, and the average boy's score is 40 points ahead of that for girl's, although women do better in the first year of college. Coaching can improve test scores by 100 points.

Of the 138 questions in the three-hour test only 10 of the questions - on maths - require students to write in answers rather than select from multiple choice options. The questions below were included in tests set on May 6.

Verbal: analogies

Pick the answer that best expresses a relationship between the two words similar to that in the question

1 CREVICE/OPENING

(a) well/water (b) crack/stress (c) slit/cut (d) base/summit (e) leak/seal

2 SOPHISTICATE/CALLOW

(a) misanthrope/introverted (b) stockbroker/financial (c) novice/unproved (d) procrastinator/habitual (e) malcontent/satisfied

Sentence completions

3 Bedlam, a popular name for the first English insane asylum, has come to signify any scene of ----- and confusion

(a) collaboration; (b) treachery; (c) secrecy; (d) turmoil; (e) placidity

4 Mary Ellen Pleasant, as a ----- supporter of black emancipation before the US civil war, spurned politicians who advocated quiet dissent

(a) cavalier; (b) vociferous; (c) sanguine; (d) premature; (e) noncommittal

Maths: regular questions

5 If $5n+p=3$ and $2m-10n=2$ what is the value of $m+p$?

(a) 2; (b) 4; (c) 5; (d) 7; (e) 8

6 On a number line, point A has coordinate -3 and point B has coordinate 12. Point P is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way from A to B. What is the coordinate of point P?

(a) -1; (b) 2; (c) 6; (d) 7; (e) 10

7 When 247 is divided by 6, the remainder is r, and when 247 is divided by 12, the remainder is s. What is the value of $r-s$?

(a) -6; (b) -1; (c) 0; (d) 1; (e) 6

8 For a concert tickets that were purchased in advance of the day of the concert cost \$5 each and tickets purchased on the day of the concert cost \$8 each. The total amount collected in ticket sales was the same as if every ticket purchased had cost

\$5.50. If 100 tickets were purchased in advance, what was the total number of tickets purchased?

Answers

1 (c), difficulty level: easy; 2 (e), hard; 3 (d), easy; 4 (b), medium; 5 (b), hard; 6 (d), hard; 7 (a), medium; 8 120, hard.

For more questions see [College Board SAT Learning Centre](#)



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The schools at the top and the bottom of the pile

Education - the great divide

At the start of his second agenda-setting series on education, award-winning writer Nick Davies investigates schools at the top and bottom of the pile to try to find out how education for the majority of British pupils can be improved

[Education Unlimited](#)

Monday March 6, 2000



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Today is speech day at Roedean College. The string orchestra plays Mozart as the parents gather in the centenary hall. They have come to hear the report on the state of the school, to join the applause for the retiring staff and to watch the three head girls deliver their review of the year, but most of all, these mothers and fathers have come to salute the achievements of their children.

The headteacher, Patricia Metham, calls the girls up one by one, announcing their awards and their prizes and their exam results. "Irina Allport, eight and a half passes at GCSE. Leonara Bowen, nine and a half passes. Angelica Chan, 11 passes." The applause drenches the hall.

In this section

Mrs Metham says the school's results are the best in Sussex and place Roedean high in the first division of league tables. And the future? "For those at Roedean," she declares, "it need hold no terrors."

Nick Davies special report 2000

Down the grassy hill, on the far side of the Roedean playing fields, on this October Saturday it is just another morning on the Whitehawk estate - lads belting a football around East Brighton park, dogs sniffing at the dustbins. Whitehawk is a sprawl of terraced red-brick houses, home to something like

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Nick Davies special report 1999

Part 1: the state of our schools

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Part 3: politics

11,000 people, most of them white, many of them out of work. Whitehawk is the poorest estate in Brighton and one of the poorest 10% in the country.

While Patricia Metham is celebrating success, another headteacher is having a very different experience. Libby Coleman spent three long years as the headteacher of Stanley Deason comprehensive school on the Whitehawk estate and now she sits at home, less than a mile away, staring out at the sea and looking back over those years that began with so much hope when she had no idea - really, none at all - that by the time she left, her career as a head, her health and the school would all be in ruins.

This is the story of two women. In many ways, they are quite separate - the secure and confident head of the famous old private school where almost every pupil scores at least five top grades at GCSE, and the rueful and defeated head of the state school where only 10% of the children could achieve the same marks.

The two women have never met. The strip of land between Roedean and Whitehawk marks the most notorious division in British society. And yet, for all this separation, the women have this in common: that after several decades in teaching they know what makes schools tick.

High achievers

A few weeks before Roedean's speech day, Tony Blair appeared on Channel 4 news and talked about this same division. He made clear how passionately he wants state schools to match the results of their private counterparts. You can see why. There are 550,000 children in private schools. They count for a mere 7% of the pupil population and yet provide more than 20% of those who make it to university and nearly 50% of those who go to Oxford and Cambridge. A Financial Times survey of A-level results last year revealed that all but 13 of the top 100 schools were in the private sector. In the private schools 80% of pupils pass five or more GCSEs at grades A-C; in the state schools only 43% reach the same standard.

Why is this happening? In government circles, the answer has been agreed for years: teachers in state schools fail to do their job properly. The analysis is alarming: over a period of 30 years, beginning in the 60s, the quest for excellence was undermined by an obsession with equality; student teachers were injected with a theory of child-centred learning that poisoned the heart of pedagogy, allowing the pupil to dictate the pace and direction of teaching; discipline and effort were banned from classrooms where no child might now be accused of failure; whole-class instruction gave way to groups of children ambling along; criticism was replaced by consolation, and achievement was subverted by a poverty of expectation.

By contrast, according to this view, the private schools were inoculated from this progressive disease by their tradition of competitive achievement.

This perspective was born on the right as a rebuttal to the comprehensive movement. It was expressed with clarity by the former Tory education minister, George Walden, in his book, *We Should Know Better*: "The idea that every child can advance at his or her pace by informal, non-competitive techniques that favour spontaneity over effort is a beautiful

Political coup bred educational disaster

The weird world of bogus facts

David Blunkett's view

Do we want to bus the middle class?

The Guardian Education Debates 1999

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Chris Woodhead's view

Woodhead bites back

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Woodhead in the corner...

...teachers in full support

Class and cleverness are barely related

A bucket load of Baker

Gold stars

Hackney Downs: a case in point

Kids behaving badly = punishing poverty

What the data shows

What we can do about it

Education - the debate begins

dream which, lodged in impressionable minds and given scientific status, becomes unconscious dogma. In reality, it leads to overstressed teachers, low aspirations for the gifted and ungifted alike, bored or disaffected pupils, and an enormous waste of time and money. The contrast with the private sector needs little emphasis."

Rightwing journalists pursued the same critique with passion and found that, in opposition, Tony Blair's Labour party had joined their crusade. It is now close to the heart of New Labour's approach to education to see private schools not as an enemy to be abolished, but as a partner to be emulated - as "a benchmark of best practice". In the three months before Roedean's speech day, both the head of Ofsted, Chris Woodhead, and the minister for school standards, Estelle Morris, spoke at conferences of private headteachers, stressing admiration for their work. Since May 1997 the government has invested £1.6m in bridge-building schemes to allow state-school pupils to enjoy the techniques of private-school teaching.

It is explicit in this analysis that the strength of private schools is not to be explained by their intake of highly motivated children from affluent families, compared with the deprived and demotivated children in some state schools - in the government's words, "poverty is no excuse". Nor is it to be explained by the extra resources or smaller class sizes in private schools, as Mr Woodhead has explained repeatedly, pointing instead to "a toxic mix of educational beliefs and mismanagement". As the department for education recently told the Guardian: "The quality of teaching is the main thing."

Hopeful start

Libby Coleman was full of hope when she arrived at Whitehawk. It was January 1995. She had already been a head for 10 years, first in Northampton and then in Barnet, and she had done well - and yet she wanted something different. In both her schools, she had seen deprived children struggling to make the grade and she believed she could help them, that poverty was no reason for failure.

She was excited by all the new ideas that were bubbling out of the political world - literacy hours, numeracy hours, mentors, beacon schools - and so she had decided to move to a school that was really struggling and to try to use these ideas to turn it around.

Stanley Deason was struggling with poverty. Ms Coleman was struck by two things: some 45% of its pupils were poor enough to claim free school meals, and almost all of them were white. There were no aspiring immigrants here, pushing their children to succeed. These were second- and third-generation long-term unemployed. By the time the children reached Stanley Deason many of them had fallen way behind. Among the year seven children she found only 10% had a reading age of 11. And the attendance was terrible. On average, each morning, only 72% of pupils were turning up. By the afternoon, even more had faded away.

Ms Coleman was undaunted. She could do it, she was sure. As the weeks passed, she found the kids had a wildness in them. There were children who reeked of lighter fluid: they had soaked their shirts in the stuff and hooked them over their faces to suck in the fumes. One boy had started working as a prostitute down on the Brighton waterfront: as far as Ms Coleman could find out, he had originally been seduced by his stepfather who had tried to cash in by taking the lad to Amsterdam to sell him in the brothels there.

Then she was dealing with a lovely, bright girl who had the intelligence to reach the top level in her Sats tests but she wouldn't speak. Not a sound. Ms Coleman had come across such muteness before - it is often a sign of abuse. But she was told there was hardly any point pursuing it: there was so much sexual abuse on Whitehawk that unless you had real evidence no one was going to try to prove it.

In Whitehawk, she learned, the apparently simple could rapidly become bizarre and frightening. She was asked to find a place for a 14-year-old boy who had been expelled from another school. As soon as she met him she could see he had good in him but, within days, the boy was abducted from the estate by three men who drove him to some woods and raped him. She had the boy and his mother in afterwards to talk about it, but the mother was incoherent with tears and the boy attacked her. There was nothing she could do. He ended up in a locked ward.

The parents were as troubled as the children. She held an open day for new parents but a group of them turned on a young mother who had been a pupil there with them years ago and started bullying her, just as they had done as children. Some parents disappeared; one ran off to London with her pimp, leaving her boy with his blind grandmother.

Still, this was why she had come here, to help kids in this kind of trouble. She was sure she would be all right. But if there was a problem that worried her it was in the staffroom. From the first she had been warned she was in trouble. The vice-chairman of the governors, a man called Robert Metcalfe, universally known as "Met", was apparently dead set against her. Having retired as the school's deputy head, he seemed to look upon the place as his personal fiefdom. He had backed another candidate for head and lost. Now he was telling anyone who would listen that this Coleman woman was no bloody good. She was warned that Met had several friends in the staffroom who were sewing the seeds of dissent. They were saying she would be out in less than six months.

Free thinkers

Patricia Metham's study is a peaceful place. There is a group of wicker chairs in front of the fireplace, a Persian rug, a collection of sculpted hands, a computer, a printer, a teddy bear, a neat and tidy desk and a picture window looking down over the playing fields to the sea. Mrs Metham is intelligent, forceful and clear in her thinking. First of all, she is clear that Roedean is not the private school of familiar cliché, all fresh air and hockey sticks. It is a place of academic excellence but, more than that, she says, it is a place of breadth, which prizes drama and dance and sport and music. Even more than that, she wants it to be a place for free thinkers. She was rather proud to find one of her old girls leading a rent strike at Oxford last year. "Intelligent independence" is her mantra.

It may be for this reason that although she knows what ministers and conservative journalists say about private schools such as hers, she does not agree with them. Not at all.

Teaching technique comes into their success, but her explanation has almost nothing in common with the government's analysis. It is built, first of all, on a simple foundation: the intake of children. "Those schools that dominate the league tables choose to be, and can afford to be, highly selective," she says. Every pupil who wants to enter Roedean sits an exam. The 11-year-olds who enter the school are among the brightest and the best.

Roedean puts its year seven pupils through cognitive ability

tests. Last year not a single child was below the national average for non-verbal or quantitative skills. And all of them could read.

Mrs Metham goes further. It is not just that these children have their academic engines running when they reach the school, but they tend to be from homes that have impressed on them the need to take education seriously. "On the whole, we have highly motivated pupils and highly motivated parents."

This is the most important part of the story - the intake of able children from supportive families - but it is by no means the end of the explanation. Three years ago the London School of Economics produced a study that compared the educational achievements of students who went to private schools on the Tories' assisted places scheme with the achievements of those who had turned down such places.

The LSE checked the verbal and non-verbal reasoning scores of the two groups and confirmed that the two sets of students were similarly able. And yet by the time they came to take their A-levels the group who had opted for the private schools had clearly pulled ahead. First, they had sat more exams and second, they had scored better results.

Translated into A-level grades, the children who went through the private schools were achieving between one and a half and three grades higher than their equivalents who had stayed in the state sector.

The intake of children is clearly important but equally clearly, as a mass of educational research has shown, schools make a difference. The successful private schools are selecting talent. But they are also developing it.

Flirting with disaster

On the Whitehawk estate, life at Stanley Deason was sometimes like being inside a threshing machine, as one incident crashed down on the tail of another. One moment there was a neighbouring school on the phone complaining that two Whitehawk girls had been down there with razor knives, trying to cut up a girl for flirting with one of their boyfriends. The next, a boy kicked out a water pipe and flooded the library below. Someone started a fire in the toilets. And then Ofsted said it wanted to inspect the place.

Still, Ms Coleman knew what she wanted. She was just not so sure if she could pay for it. Early on she had discovered that the school roll was carrying "ghost children" - at least 30 kids whose names were being ticked off on class registers, who were being funded by the local education authority, and who were essentially fictitious. Either they had been at the school but left long ago or else, so far as she could tell, they had never existed. She called her union. It was fraud, she was told, and she could go to prison. So she called the LEA and told them about it. The ghosts were exorcised from the roll and the school lost about £40,000 out of its annual budget.

At first Ms Coleman thought she could live with the loss. Miraculously, the school had managed to store up £80,000 in its reserves. Except that the money was nowhere to be found. She called in two sets of auditors in search of the cash, but it was not there.

She wanted more teachers. There was no chance of that: the whole LEA was being told to expect a cut across the board. She wanted to buy a computer program called Success Maker for the year seven children to work with on their own, stretching each child to an appropriate level. But there was no money for

that. In fact, there was no money for computers and the only ones the school had were too old to take software that used Windows.

She tried to tackle the truants, calling the parents and posting attendance figures on the noticeboard. She thought it would help to give prizes for the class with the best attendance and for three pupils who most improved their attendance so she paid for the prizes herself.

The whole school was struggling to drag itself forward and she could see the stress pumping through her staff. There were teachers who simply lost it and sobbed or climbed up on chairs and started yelling at the children. She saw one teacher screaming at a boy: "You're useless, you're completely worthless." She did not know what was more upsetting - to see a teacher reduced to such hysteria or to see a child's self-respect so battered. In any case, she went off to the toilets to be sick.

There were several staff off ill. An English teacher had died and everyone said it was stress. Another had simply disappeared. There were several who developed serious illnesses: cancer of the kidney, cancer of the colon. One of the art teachers had a breakdown, the head of maths left in tears, the new science teacher cracked up and took six months off.

Only the most talented teachers could thrive against these odds. There were others who limped along, with no help or support, constantly calling in sick, forcing the school to hire supply teachers.

And then there were those who, Ms Coleman believed, should never have gone near a classroom, teachers who treated children with contempt, who were glad when they stayed away because it made life easier and who were quite happy to manhandle them.

She wanted to get rid of these really bad ones but she couldn't. It was not just that the law created a 12-month obstacle course to dismissal, policed at every stage by unions that would jump on the tiniest procedural fault, but, worse than that, she would need the support of the governors and most of the really bad teachers were also allies of Met Metcalfe, now making no secret of his desire to oust her.

Soon, she was fighting a cold war against this group of teachers. From time to time, she would discipline a teacher for manhandling a student and there would be a storm of whispers in the staffroom. Teachers who had no time for Met and his gang of troublemakers began to worry that Ms Coleman was creating a culture where children were encouraged to dish dirt on teachers, true or not. Some began to say it was her fault they were suffering such stress, because she was so quick to criticise.

Several times she went to her desk to find that someone had been through her papers. She began to take sensitive work home. As she identified problems, she found her working day stretching from eight in the morning until late at night, spilling over the weekend. Every solution seemed to spawn another problem: there were teachers who were furious when she succeeded in steering the most unruly pupils back into their classrooms. Soon, the tide of tension was reaching her, too.

She had a lurking feeling of sickness. She found she was grinding her front teeth almost all the time, she realised that her neck and shoulders were constantly tight; in fact the tension ran all the way up around her skull and into her

forehead. She was smoking more and more - up to 30 a day - and she was having trouble sleeping.

Sometimes in the evening she would drink whisky to force the tiredness upon her, but then she would wake in the small hours and wander around the house, smoking and squeezing her hands. She realised just how bad she was becoming when a girl refused to come to school because she had been gang-raped - several of the boys who attacked her were in her class. The police seemed unable to do anything, and Ms Coleman could not see a solution in the classroom. So the girl left. But what really shocked the head was the realisation that her sadness for the girl had been quickly supplanted by quite a different feeling: dismay that she would lose the couple of thousand pounds' funding that went with the student. She was getting chest pains, too. But there was no time to worry about any of that. Ofsted was on the way.

By the time the inspectors arrived, in May 1996, she had been running the school for 15 months. Things had improved a little, but not enough. The Ofsted team did a good job. They told Ms Coleman what she already knew: not enough children were coming to school; too many were failing exams; the school was in deficit and was going to have to make cuts to stay alive. Privately, one of them told her, they had never come across such treachery in the staffroom.

The Ofsted inspectors offered their own version of support, but it was not one she welcomed. They suggested the school should be put into "special measures". They said it would help: the LEA would have to give more support, she could get a better budget, the staff would have to work together to keep the school open. But Ms Coleman was worried. She knew special measures could be a poisoned chalice: the school would be branded a failure and the few remaining middle-class families would run, taking precious money with them. If she was really unlucky, the best staff would start fleeing, too. And this was all the help on offer.

She went home, too exhausted to think. It was half term and she believed she was dying, she could not speak, she could only shuffle, and she stayed cocooned in fatigue, wondering whether she might be rescued by death. In the car on her way back after the break she felt one side of her body go dead. She looked in the rearview mirror and saw that her face was bloodless, her lips were grey. She managed to drive to the hospital where she was told there was nothing wrong, at least not physically.

Pride of place

Patricia Metham is proud to show you her school: the chapel with the neo-classical ceiling and the Byzantine marble; through the quiet cloisters to the renaissance garden; into the language labs; the science labs; and then the network of libraries containing 20,000 books, a collection of videos and CDs, and 25 computers linked to the internet.

Here is the Roedean theatre; the dance studio; the art studio, the design technology suite where some of the sixth-form girls have been stripping down an old Austin; the six indoor netball courts, two indoor cricket nets, one indoor hockey pitch, the gym and full-sized indoor pool.

It is no secret why a private school may do more for its children than a state school. Money. "If the government want state schools to offer what we offer, they are going to have to spend on each child something much closer to the fees that our parents pay," Mrs Metham says. Roedean is paid £10,260 a year for a day girl, roughly five times the amount a school like

Whitehawk is given for each pupil.

Money shows not only in physical resources but at the heart of the school's business, where the teacher meets the child. The biggest classes may have 20 girls, usually a highly motivated group of the same standard, but for those who are not so confident or who are approaching big exams, classes are much smaller, sometimes as small as three. The pupil-staff ratio across the school is 8:1. And, although Mrs Metham and her staff may work hard, they are not collapsing under stress and illness.

If Patricia Metham is right - that this combination of a bright intake and adequate resources is the real foundation of her school's success - there is nevertheless more to her account. There is a third factor that finally defines the division between these two educational worlds.

On her own

Libby Coleman knew her school was one step away from closure. She turned to the authorities for help, but the education department took five months to authorise her action plan; the LEA was being broken up, Ofsted was supposed to come back each term but disappeared for a year. She was alone. Worse, the announcement of special measures was driving families away; that meant the budget was being cut and the governors were looking for redundancies. The staffroom was a snakepit of dissent and depression. As a result of the special measures every teacher's job was now threatened. Met's allies were constantly whispering against her - the person who would decide their future - and she knew others were blaming her for failing to protect them, for raising their hopes in the first place.

She poured out ideas: catch-up lessons for poor attenders, a welfare officer for the lower school, work experience for older children, CCTV to stop vandals, a working party on staff absence, mentors for year 10 pupils, teachers to visit other schools, new homework programmes, shorter lessons, more lessons. But she was trapped by a lack of funds and lack of support. The staff were demanding that some of the most difficult children be excluded but the rules of special measures forbade it. Ms Coleman had identified the staff who ought to go but she could not get rid of them because no good teacher was going to replace them. The students started to roam wild in the corridors; she sent patrols of teachers with pagers and walkie-talkies to hold the line against chaos.

Eventually, in mid-1997, more than a year after Ofsted's visit, HM inspectors came by and said things were improving, and the new Brighton and Hove authority came up with some money for a senior teacher and the Success Maker software. That September the school was relaunched with a new name, Marina High, and it became the first secondary school in the country to introduce a literacy hour. Met's term on the governing body came to an end. Ms Coleman began to think things might be all right.

But she soon began to see that there were too many holes in the boat. The students had had a riotous summer, burning out half a dozen police cars on the estate. The police said some were working for a drugs syndicate that had moved down from Glasgow. The few new teachers were drowning in classroom disorder. One walked out for good. She decided to bring in a counsellor to help with some of the wilder children.

He arrived to find workers removing her study door (someone had smashed a fist through it) and Ms Coleman tried to explain that she had lost her sixth girl that year, pregnant; that a

17-year-old former student had just been murdered on the rubbish tip next to the school; that the brother of one student had just been accused of helping to murder the father of another; that a boy had been run down on the crossing outside the school; that she herself had just had her purse stolen by a year eight girl who had evidently given it to her older sister, and that the older sister, a prostitute, had used her credit cards, and the police had traced her to a flat where they had found her dead from a heroin overdose along with her boyfriend, and so now the year eight girl had been taken into care and it was her friends who were upset and needed counselling. The counsellor said he would have to see what he could do.

In November HM inspectors came back, saw a rotten collection of lessons and narrowly escaped disaster when someone threw firecrackers at them in a crowded corridor. In December the LEA warned Ms Coleman that the school would close if there was not dramatic change. She spent Christmas in a fog of defeat. She had seen a psychiatrist to try to release her stress but now carried so much tension in her shoulders and neck that her jaw locked tight and she lost the ability to speak.

Within weeks of the new term beginning she knew she was hurtling towards disaster. In a single week children made two serious allegations of assault against staff. She followed procedure and suspended both teachers while she investigated. The staffroom went berserk and, when she reported that both allegations were groundless, the news only increased the teachers' irritation. The education department and the LEA and Ofsted and HM inspectors were all demanding results and the more Ms Coleman passed on the pressure to the staff, the more they hated her. Some wrote an anonymous letter to the LEA saying the school was in chaos and the headteacher was mad; the former governor, Met Metcalfe, phoned and demanded that the LEA sack her.

In February 1998 the education department paid a lightning visit to the school and did not like what it saw. HM inspectors were due back and, shortly before they arrived, Ms Coleman went to the LEA and told it she could not go on. It agreed to let her go with a decent package if she would stay for the visit. The inspectors came and shook their heads and took Ms Coleman aside to tell her she had done her best, and reported that the school was still failing. It was Ms Coleman's last day. She felt mad with fatigue and maybe relief, almost speechless with lockjaw. She went for one last walk through the school, leaning on the arm of a visiting deputy head. A year eight girl saw her. "Are you pissed, miss?" she asked. "No, darling - just very tired." The next day, she resigned. She was 52 and she would never teach again.

When she was talking to the parents at Roedean's speech day, Patricia Metham warned her audience: "It's not easy being a teacher these days. What other profession is so beset by 'experts' who haven't ever done the job themselves and who wouldn't last five minutes in a real school? Having in the distant past been a pupil is felt by too many to be qualification enough to dictate terms to those who are trained and experienced professionals."

Nobody dictates terms to the teachers in Roedean. They are not answerable to David Blunkett, the education secretary, or his department or the LEA or Ofsted. They are not bound by the national curriculum or Sats or special measures or any of the superstructure of supervision that has settled over the state schools. And that is the third factor in Roedean's success: freedom to teach as its staff think best.

"All teachers in the maintained sector have been constrained

by the same rather rigid bureaucracy and requirements," Mrs Metham says. "If you talk to people who have had a really good educational experience, nine times out of 10 they will tell you about the charismatic teacher who stimulated an interest in a subject, an idiosyncratic person who knew enough about pacing and matching, understanding what was required. At independent schools, teachers are highly accountable - to the headteacher and to the parents - but how they get their results and what they do in the classroom or in a department, the judgment is left to them."

Continued...

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A London Bridge, and a Leader, Are a Bit Shaky

By WARREN HOGE

LONDON, June 12 — No country has built more ambitious Millennium projects than Britain, and Prime Minister Tony Blair has counted on their becoming sleek symbols of the contemporary big-embrace form of government he promised the country. But the opening this weekend of the latest showcase provided quite a different kind of metaphor.

The \$28 million footbridge across the Thames designed by Britain's leading architect, Norman Foster, is a New Labor icon, a high-tech aluminum and stainless steel walkway with an untraditional suspension system. It unites the new riverside Tate Modern gallery with the old solid Georgian and Victorian buildings of the City of London financial district and St. Paul's Cathedral.

When the first arrivals swarmed onto the span on Saturday, it began to sway and bounce violently, causing people to stumble and lurch about. Access was promptly restricted, and tonight the bridge was closed for at least the rest of the month while emergency engineering work continues to see whether major repairs are needed.

A spokesman for the Millennium Bridge Trust was initially defensive when asked what the problem was. "It's meant to wobble," he said. Then he added, "It is moving in a way that it should not move, and at the moment we do not know why that is."

A similar attitude of confusion and dismay has seized 10 Downing Street as the Blair government has been buffeted by a series of events in recent weeks that have caused the prime minister's once stratospheric popularity figures to swoon and his three-year-old administration to lose public trust. Labor politicians have expressed alarm at the sudden wobble in the smooth-running administration, and there are calls on Mr. Blair to adjust his approach. According to the new surveys, Mr. Blair, until now the most popular prime minister in British history, is being perceived as distant, controlling and smug.

Compounding Mr. Blair's problems is that just as he has been losing his touch, William Hague, the Conservative leader who has struggled to make a mark since taking over the party from former Prime Minister John Major three years ago, has been finding his voice. Mr. Hague has seized upon emotive issues like tougher action against asylum-seekers, more protection for homeowners who attack burglars, and reduced increases in pensions, and the Blair

government has been cast onto the defensive.

In The Mail on Sunday, the well-regarded MORI survey showed Mr. Hague only three points behind Mr. Blair, the first time he had ever broken out of double-digit trailing margins. Also for the first time, Mr. Hague is being talked about as a serious competitor in the national election expected next year.

The survey took place after a humiliating episode last week when Mr. Blair found himself heckled into awkward silence by the 10,000 people attending the convention of the Women's Institute, the rural service

organization known for its allegiance to "jam and Jerusalem" — home-bottled preserves from English country kitchens and the Blake poem enshrining "England's green and pleasant land." The women complained that the speech was too political and patronizing.

The image of a prime minister facing a disapproving crowd of provincial women and not being able to do anything about it but grin sheepishly was displayed across the front pages of newspapers and played repeatedly on television. It was Mr. Blair's first appearance since returning to work after two weeks of

time at home with his wife, Cherie, and newborn son, Leo, and it damaged his claim of being sensitive to the concerns of middle England rather than just the "liberal elite" that Mr. Hague has accused him of favoring.

Emboldened, Mr. Hague laid into the prime minister, declaring him "the most out-of-touch, arrogant, opportunistic, remote prime minister we've ever had."

Mr. Blair is finding that he can no longer ride on his party's hard-won reputation for competence, an early goal of his to separate the British public from its traditional suspicion, based on the performance of past Labor governments, that the party could not be trusted to run the country. Starting his fourth year as prime minister, Mr. Blair is being held responsible for the failure of his social programs to produce more immediate gains, and the aggressive British press is uniformly reporting that he has lost his grip.

Mr. Blair's press spokesman, Alastair Campbell, said today that it was "business as usual" at 10 Downing Street and that the prime minister was paying no attention to the papers. It was probably just as well since their front pages have been carrying headlines like "Rattled," "Blair Is Clapped Out" and, in reference to his savaging by the Women's Institute delegates, "Handbagged."

Roy Hattersley, a former deputy leader of the party, faulted Mr. Blair for trying to appeal to too broad a gamut of the public.

"The tent is now so big that all we hear is canvas flapping in the wind," he wrote in today's Guardian. Michael Meacher, the Environment Minister, said the government's policies remained right but the presentation was flawed. "I think we are under pressure now, and we have got to make those facts clear in an unvarnished, straight, clear and honest manner," he told a breakfast television show.

The government has fought back with a populist assault on Oxford and Cambridge based on questionable evidence that they practice class-conscious admissions policies. The debate was prompted by the case of a young woman from a state school in the North who was denied entry to Magdalen College but got a full scholarship from Harvard. In a second effort to placate internal critics, the government announced today that it would move more aggressively in Parliament to obtain a ban on hunting with hounds, a popular issue with the Labor left.

What is happening seems not to be in doubt, if what it means still is.

"Something is going wrong with this government," the left-of-center Guardian said in an editorial. "Friends of Labor will hope this is only a bad case of mid-term blues, but the patient is looking very peaky."

Labor can only wish that a prediction by Lord Foster about the future of his bridge comes true for them. "I don't want to minimize the issues that are at stake," he said today, "but there's going to be a point when everyone can look back on this as a hiccup."

Greece Proposes New Anti-Terrorism Measures

ATHENS, June 12 (AP) — Greece will propose to Britain a European Union initiative to combat terrorism, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said today, adding that the shooting last week of a British military attaché here made a case for joint action.

A similar agreement for increased police cooperation with the United States has already been drafted, said the spokesman, Panos Beglitis.

Both actions come after increased criticism of Greece's law enforcement record, following the killing last Thursday of Brig. Stephen Saunders. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the terrorist group November 17.

The group is thought to have killed 22 people — including four American

officials — since 1975, but none of its members have ever been caught. Even with assistance from Scotland Yard investigators, Greek police have made no headway in the Saunders case.

Mr. Beglitis said Deputy Foreign Minister Ehsavet Papazou would discuss the initiative to fight terrorism with Britain's foreign secretary, Robin Cook, in Luxembourg, where both officials were attending a meeting of the 15-nation bloc's foreign ministers.

"Today the terrorism question can't be dealt with on a local level," Mr. Beglitis said. "We would like to take it to a European level."

He did not elaborate on the initiative, but said that the Amsterdam

charter adopted by the European Union in 1992 had given member states the ability to work more closely on issues like terrorism. "Now we have the tools to work on a European level, something we did not have before Amsterdam," he said.

The memorandum with the United States has been drafted and was ready to be signed by Public Order Minister Michalis Christodidis, Mr. Beglitis said.

Mr. Christodidis said over the weekend that Greece was doubling its reward to \$2.8 million for information leading to the arrest of November 17 members.

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Ambush Kills 7 Mexican Officers On Patrol in Chiapas Rebel Area

By JULIA PRESTON

MEXICO CITY, June 12 — Seven police officers were killed today in an ambush on a rural road in the troubled state of Chiapas, a state official said.

State Attorney Eduardo Montoya Liebano said one police officer and one civilian had been hurt in El Bosque, the site of longstanding tensions between clashing factions, including supporters of the Zapatista guerrillas. Mr. Montoya said it was not clear what role, if any, the Zapatistas had in the attack.

The ambush was one of the worst incidents of killings of security forces in the southern state of Chiapas since the Zapatistas led a brief armed uprising in January 1994, demanding greater democracy and Indian rights.

A partial accord was signed in 1996, but peace talks broke down.

The police were on patrol for gangs of armed robbers in the rain-forest region when the gunmen struck, officials said. The dead included two police commanders.

Army troops were dispatched to the area "in spite of the risk that implies," Mr. Montoya said.

Bitter differences have divided pro-government and pro-Zapatista factions in El Bosque, an Indian township, since the government sent 1,000 troops in 1996 to oust the Zapatistas from a village that they controlled there and dismantle an independent town government that the rebels had tried to establish. At least 16 people, including police officers

A serious loss of life for forces battling the Zapatistas.

and rebels, died in that confrontation.

In recent months, with the approach of presidential elections on July 2, violent episodes in Chiapas have increased, and more than 22 people have been slain.

On May 7, three Indians were killed and a 3-year-old suffered a bullet wound in violence that the authorities attributed to a land dispute but that Zapatista sympathizers attributed to armed government supporters.

The Zapatistas have complained about increasing army and police patrols in their villages. But a number of violent episodes also seemed to indicate an increase in crime not related to politics.

Gov. Roberto Albores Guillén of Chiapas is one of the most aggressive supporters of the presidential candidate of the governing party, Francisco Labastida Ochoa.

Opposition leaders in Chiapas have complained that Mr. Albores is worsening the tension in the state with his strongly partisan performance during the campaign.

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