

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 359 899

HE 026 597

AUTHOR Campbell, Malcolm B.
 TITLE Sectoral Differentiation in British Higher Education: Problematics of Mission in a Post-Binary System.
 PUB DATE 6 Nov 92
 NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Northeast Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society (Pittsburgh, PA, November 6, 1992).
 PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120)
 EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
 DESCRIPTORS *Access to Education; Colleges; Continuing Education; *Educational Change; *Educational Demand; Educational Quality; *Educational Supply; Foreign Countries; *Higher Education; Non Traditional Education; Universities; Vocational Education
 IDENTIFIERS *England; Polytechnics

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses issues generated by the British government's decision to abolish the binary division between university institutions of higher education and other postsecondary institutions. Sectoralization of British higher education in a post-binary system has created some problematics, two of which appear especially noteworthy: (1) student accessibility to higher education provision; and (2) the vocationalization of that provision. This essay presents the argument that the coordination of contemporary revised higher education missions in Britain, given concerns relative to student accessibility and vocationalization of higher education programs, requires minimally public modes of sectoral regulation, energized by other than market-responsive and privatized policies of institutional development. Prior to these arguments there is a discussion of student accessibility to British higher education within the context of the government - authored "binary principle" of higher education provision. An appendix contains a list of renamed binary polytechnics. (Contains 26 references.) (GLR)

 * Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
 * from the original document. *

Sectoral Differentiation in British Higher Education:

Problematics of Mission in a Post-Binary System

A Paper Presented to the 1992 Comparative and International Education Society Northeast Regional Conference, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 6, 1992, by Dr. Malcolm B. Campbell, Professor of Education, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43403-0251.

ED359899

AE026597

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organiza-
tion originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official
OEI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Malcolm B. Campbell

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Universities were not founded to spread thin layers of beneficent influence over the country; and, if they are content to devote their main energies to a merely peripheral development, they will rot at the center and in due time cease to be in any true sense universities at all (Truscot, 1951, p. 353).

The old binary divide will give way to the new frontier between further and higher education. We shall see the disintegration of watertight courses and watertight higher educational institutions (Ball, 1991, p. 104).

Over the past four decades a silent revolution in higher education provision has occurred in Britain, a paradigmatic shift in supplying post-compulsory educational opportunity, a sectoral restructuring the recent manifestation of which is the opening of 32 "new" universities this autumn in England, Scotland and Wales.* What E. Alison Peers referred to as "thin layers of beneficence" in his post-World War II Redbrick and the Future is now replaced by the abolition of what Sir Christopher Ball terms "the old binary divide." The "binary line" dividing the advanced further education sector in Britain into a non-university sector (consisting of colleges of higher education, principally art and teacher training institutions, and polytechnics, former technical institutions upgraded in the 1960's to form a public sector centered on vocationalized degree courses) and a university sector (including Oxbridge, Scottish and Welch institutions, the "civic" or "red brick" and "plate glass" institutions, together with institutions Privy Council-chartered from the former colleges of advanced technology sector) is to end in April, 1993, when Higher Education Funding Councils for England, Scotland, and Wales will replace the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC) as well as the Universities Funding Council (UFC), arrangements created by the 1988 Education Reform Act, legislation effectively freeing a number of colleges of higher education and the polytechnics from local education authority control (H.M.S.O., 1988, pp. 134-142).

The termination of two separate sectors in British post-secondary education, the advanced further education or non-university component and the university or autonomous component happen at a time when non-advanced further education, largely operating through

*See Appendix.

local education authority and the Department of Employment's Training Commission-sponsored training schemes for out-of-school and often unemployed youth, is competing for scarce funds with, additionally, a third sector, consisting of a mix of independent, market-driven, proprietary institutions (Campbell, 1992, pp. 20-26). Sir Christopher Ball may be correct when he envisages a new frontier developing in Britain between further and higher education. Sectorialization of British higher education in a post-binary system is not, however, without its problematics, two of which appear especially noteworthy: student accessibility to higher education provision and the vocationalization of that provision. This essay presents the argument that the coordination of contemporary revised higher education missions in Britain, given concerns relative to student accessibility and vocationalization of higher education provision, requires minimally public modes of sectoral regulation, energized by other than market-responsive and privatized policies of institutional development. Prior to presentation of that argument, a brief discussion of student accessibility to British advanced further education provision within the context of the Labor government's - authored "binary principle" of higher education provision is in order.

A. Background: Demand-side and Supply-side Higher Education Provision in Britain: Creating the "Binary Divide" and Abolishing It.

The pivotal Robbins Report in October, 1963 on the long-term development of higher education in Britain stressed that the then largely autonomous university sector and the publicly governed further education sector, consisting of local education authority controlled art, commercial, education, and technical colleges, did not constitute a "consciously coordinated organization" of full-time higher education provision and should: ". . . we proceed throughout on the assumption that the needs of the present and still more of the future demand that there should be a system" (Committee on Higher Education, 1963, pp. 4,5). The Robbins Report clearly defined the expansion of British higher education within the context of an increased, although not necessarily wider, demand for university places.

According to the Robbins Report axiom that full-time higher education provision should extend to "all those . . . qualified by ability and attainment to pursue (it)", the Robbins Committee developed a futuristic scenario in which 350,000 university places were required to meet demand-side expansion, creating a need for 50,000 places over and above what existing universities could offer. The committee suggested that six new universities accommodate 30,000 places, institutions exclusive of the septet of "plate glass" universities and the ten colleges of advanced technology in the process of receiving Privy Council Charters as universities. In the Robbins' scenario 20,000 university places would result by granting university status to some of 153 colleges of education, 15 Scottish central institutions, and 25 regional colleges, all engaged in university degree-level work (Committee on Higher Education, 1963, pp. 154-155). This scenario was not to be.

The mid-1960's Labor government eschewed the previous Conservative government's policy of transforming regional colleges into technological universities. Announced by the then Labor secretary of state for education and science, the late Anthony Crosland, at Woolich Polytechnic, April 27, 1965, and Lancaster University, January 20, 1967, full-time higher education provision would be supplied by a plural system, increasingly labelled as in Crosland's terminology "binary," consisting of an autonomous sector of universities and a public sector composed of polytechnics subject to control by local education authorities (later coordinated by a National Advisory Body) and created from 30 regional colleges which had not metamorphosed into technological universities (Cibois and Markiewicz-Lagneau, 1976, p. 41).

The "binary divide" was established in large part to balance the Robbins Report accent on the social demand for university places in higher education with a publicly accountable post-secondary provision for securing a manpower supply for the industrial and service sectors of British society. Yet a binary policy did not imply a binary system of equals governed by a

parity of esteem, however frequently the latter principle was enunciated by the British government. At least one critic viewed as a "misleading habit" the assumption that binary policy meant binary system, the latter established within two homogeneous sectors:

The non-university sector in particular is a heterogeneous collection of institutions which have little in common with each other except the fact that none is a university in the rather precise constitutional sense which we have adopted in Britain (Scott, 1983, p. 169).

Regardless of more recent efforts to coordinate competing sectors of British full-time higher education provision, efforts of the 1980's and early 1990's, some regard the British "system" as a mere "patchwork of elements which arose at different times in response to different pressures and needs" (Cuthbert, 1991, p. 122). Whether full-time higher education in Britain will continue to consist of a "patchwork of elements" depends on how supply-side provision defines "system" in the 1990's. Much will depend on how sectoral differentiation occurs. Some maps of that provision are already in place.

Supply-side full-time higher education provision in Britain has occurred because of the interplay of a number of factors on policies targeted at that provision, factors which include changes in student demand and use of higher education patterns, demographic changes, "disillusionment about and changing views of the purposes of higher education" (especially concerning its fit with a recessive economy), and Whitehall's acceptance of Thatcherite economy-of-scale measures (John Pratt, 1988, p. 2). The impact of these forces on Conservative government policy toward higher education in the 1980's resulted in what McLean (1990, pp. 157-158) has termed an "assault on higher education" eventuating in a "cultural revolution." A major component of this revolution was the increased significance of the advanced further education or non-university sector in Conservative government plans for the expansion of the public sector of higher education provision.

The abolition of the "binary divide" resulted from Conservative government policies aimed at making British higher education more accountable to projected manpower requirements necessary for improving the United Kingdom's performance in a global economy.

These policies, announced in the Green Paper, The Development of Higher Education into the 1990's (1985) and two succeeding White Papers: Higher Education: Meeting The Challenge (1987) and Higher Education: A New Framework (1991), accented the importance of the formerly local education authority-governed non-university sector at meeting the demand of the so-called "mature" or aged 25 years and older students for higher education. This recognition of the non-university sector was based on substantive revision of the Robbins principle. Higher education courses would be made available "to all those who can benefit from them and who wish to do so", as the National Advisory Body for Local Authority Higher Education and the University Grants Committee (both bodies now defunct) urged; availability was no longer linked, as had the Robbins Committee, to "ability and attainment" (DES, 1985, p.10). A 1987 White Paper also rejected the Robbins principle that higher education provision should conform to a 'ladder system' . . . headed by the universities with a 'waiting list' of subordinate colleges" (Pratt, 1988, p. 1).

The British government's 1987 White Paper, Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge placed higher education in the United Kingdom under two funding councils; legislatively adopted in the 1988 Education Reform Act: a Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (funding some 74 institutions in England, alone at that time) and the Universities Funding Council (a reconstituted University Grants Committee targeted then at some 45 United Kingdom institutions). Both funding bodies were to represent commercial and industrial interests, not academic interests solely (DES, 1987, passim). In one important respect, the 1987 White Paper, Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge and the 1988 Education Reform Act gave the polytechnic side of the "binary divide" an important characteristic of the university sector: financial independence from local authority funding coupled with the necessity for developing market-oriented pluralistic funding sources to match Whitehall's funding of university institutions through a 'contracting' system designed to increase accountability rather than autonomy. Yet, even as recently as this year, "binarianism" is present in British higher

education, albeit in different forms in England and Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland. Officially the "binary divide" will not end until April, 1993. Its obituary, however, was written in a White Paper of May, 1991: Higher Education: A New Framework, very different in substance from the Labor government's "framework" of a decade earlier, announced in the 1972 White Paper: Education: A Framework for Expansion.

While supporting the diversity of higher education institutions comprising the binary sectors, Prime Minister John Major's government announced the introduction of a single funding structure for general research and teaching in universities, polytechnics and colleges of higher education (principally colleges of art and teacher training) effecting the end of binarianism in the United Kingdom. The Government's rationale for doing so is predicated on introducing market forces in future expansion of higher education provision.

The Government believes that the real key to achieving cost effective expansion lies in greater competition for funds and students. That can best be achieved by breaking down the increasingly artificial and unhelpful barriers between the universities, and the polytechnics and colleges (of higher education) (DES, 1991, p. 12). (Parenthesis added.)

Clearly within this post-Thatcherite expansionary model emerge the issues of student accessibility to higher education provision and the vocalization of that provision. The Major government has dual objectives for that expansion, an increase in students showing an age participation rate (the number of home initial entrants to full-time provision expressed as a percentage of the averaged 18- 19-year-old population) nearly doubling from 17.1% in 1989 to 32.1% in 2000: broadened student access to higher education provision and increased privatization of that provision.

B. Broadening Access to Post-Binary British Higher Education: Does "More" Really Mean "Different"?

In the post-binary system of British higher education due to emerge in April, 1993, when the regional Higher Education Funding Councils become operational, the issue of broadened student access to higher education provision is paramount. Will, for example the

polytechnics-become-universities cater, to the demand for entry to the "new" universities by A-level students heretofore accommodated in the established universities or, in the competition for students, will these "new" universities continue to meet the demand for access by those students who do not possess the two-subject advanced level qualifications traditionally necessary for university entrance? The former occurred when a septet of new "plate glass" universities opened in the early 1960's; the latter mission remains a pivotal challenge in British higher education, a challenge historically met by the advanced further education provision in the non-university sector of the "binary divide" (Nelson, August 23, 1992, p. 4.9).

Widening student access to higher education provision in Britain remains problematic, despite the successes of the advanced further education sector. A recent O.E.C.D. study of member countries' non-university sectors accents the contribution of those sectors to broadening the participation of previously excluded groups in higher education: women, those aged 25 years and older, and students from lower socio-economic groups. In a post-binary system of higher education will the "new" universities formed from the pre-April, 1993, public sector continue to provide the chief access to higher education for working class students, especially through part-time courses (Pratt, 1988, p. 45) or will "new" university programs include only the highly qualified in terms of school-leaving credentials? O.E.C.D. casts this problematic in the form of a dilemma which interinstitutional competition for higher education students in post-binary Britain may create.

Highly-qualified applicants seek programs offering them the best rewards in terms of employment or status, and so will tend to displace students without conventional entry qualifications, generally those from disadvantaged educational and social groups. . . On the other hand, if the NUS (non-university or advanced further education sector) becomes the main route for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (as occurred in Britain), the sector and its students might be regarded as a second best, thus creating . . . (an) "academic and social *apartheid*" (O.E.C.D., 1991, p. 75) (Parentheses added).

In spite of Government rhetoric to the contrary, there is reason to assume that disadvantaged groups are marginalized in British higher education. The expansion of British higher education has minimally affected its social distribution pattern. Writes the Director of The Center for Continuing Education at the University of Edinburgh:

Despite the growth of courses specifically tailored to promoting the participation of under-represented groups, public provision in this area. . . has remained overwhelmingly the preserve of the young and middle classes. The representation of women has increased, albeit not evenly across subjects; but adults over the age of 25, the lower social classes and ethnic minorities are still substantially under-represented , especially in universities (Emphasis added) (Schuller, 1991, p. 4).

In one critic's scenario, widened access, "the fundamental issue in the shaping of future education policy," defined as increased recruitment of nontraditional students, has come to mean provisioning the demand of school leavers for higher education places, a demand fueled by the progeny of higher education graduates, the new General Certificate of Secondary Education's success in England and Wales, comprehensive reorganization of secondary education, the near parity of female and male participation in post-compulsory education, and the increased view of higher education as a "desirable commodity" (Scott, 1991, pp. 56-57). Will the strong demand for access by conventional or traditional school leavers result in the supply of more, rather than different higher education? At present that trend is occurring.

Non-traditional access to British higher education remains problematic, even marginal. As McPherson (1991, pp. 39-40) accents, initial higher education provision is chiefly a full-time student activity targeted at the traditional 18-year-old school leaver. In an expanding market driven differentiated system of higher education, McPherson cogently argues (1991, pp. 36-37), one possible outcome for broadened access may well be "replacing inequalities of access to an elite and relatively undifferentiated form of higher education defined by level, with inequalities of access within a more universal, but also more differentiated form of higher

education defined by stage." This possibility would extend throughout the revised sectoral differentiation of university and non-university sectors (the latter now composed of what prior to April, 1993, was the local education authority-governed advanced and non-advanced further education sectors). Whether this scenario plays out in the mid- and late-1990's remains to be seen. Perhaps more to the point is whether the "new" universities of a post-binary system will retain the programmatic elements that made colleges of higher education and polytechnics attractive to cohorts of non-traditional students. With the abolition of public sector higher education advisory and validating (accreditation) bodies, principally the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), will means of creating an open and flexible system of higher education such as the CNAA - developed trans-binary Credit Accumulation and Transfer Scheme, established as recently as 1986, be refashioned and reoperationalized by the quality assessment units established within the new regional Funding Councils (Figure 1)?

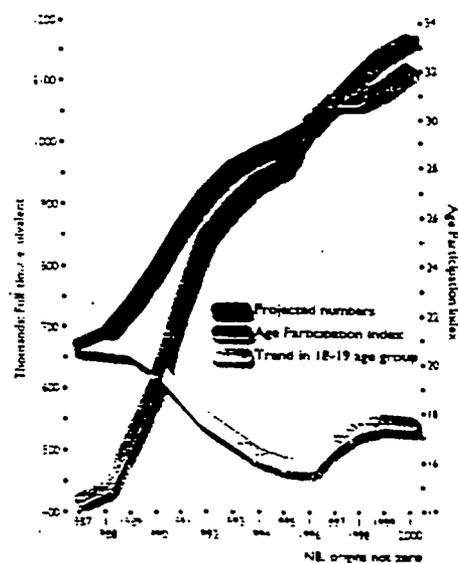
Figure 1. Quality Assurance in Higher Education

	CURRENT ARRANGEMENTS		PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS
	Universities	Polytechnics and Colleges	Universities, Polytechnics & Colleges
Quality control	Institutions	Institutions	Institutions
Quality audit	Academic Audit Unit (CVCP)	CNAA	Single quality audit unit independent of the new HE Funding Councils (institutional representatives and independent members)
Validation	Self-validation	Effective self-validation for accredited institutions Universities or CNAA for others	Degree-awarding institutions
Quality assessment			
For HE Funding Councils	Subject advisers	HMI	Quality assessment units for each new Council
For Secretaries of State	UFC	HMI	New HE Funding Councils based on the advice from their assessment units and other sources

Source: Department of Education and Science (1991). Higher Education: A New Framework. H.M.S.O. Cmd. 1541, p. 31.

A 1990 report of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce on this issue of broadened access was titled: More Means Different: Widening Access to Higher Education (Ball, 1990). There are those who argue that continued rise in the Age Participation Index (Figure 2) will not only offset the early 1990's decline in the use of higher education provision by the 18-year-old age group in the early 1990's, this increase in the A.P.I. will diminish significantly "the need to 'replace' traditional students with mature and non-standard entry students" (Reid, 1991, p.49).

Figure 2. Estimate of home students in Higher Education (GB)



Notes:

- The Age Participation Index (API) - plotted to the right hand scale - is the number of young home initial entrants to full-time higher education expressed as a proportion of the averaged 18- 19-year-old population.
- The line marked "trend in 18-19 age group" - plotted to the left hand scale - is the movement in the 18- 19-year-old population multiplied by 1987 home full-time equivalent student numbers. This gives some indication of what would have happened to numbers in higher education if participation had remained at 1987 levels. As it is, the fall in the age group to the mid-1990's is more than offset by increases in the API.
- The numbers of students in higher education - plotted to the left hand scale - and the API are projections from 1990 onwards. Before then, they are actual figures.

Source: Department of Education and Science (1991). Higher Education: A New Framework.

London: H.M.S.O. Cmd. 1541. p.11.

As Reid (1991, p. 54), Deputy Provost of the as yet unchanged-in-name City of London Polytechnic, suggests, the issue of whether broadened student access will characterize post-binary higher education in Britain, as it has the public sector of binary provision, may ultimately depend on whether individual "new" universities and colleges of higher education maintain and support "the accessible institution program". As significant to the development of post-binary higher education provision is the question of whether the academic/vocational distinction between the pre-April, 1993, binary sectors will be abandoned.

C. The Vocationalization of Post-Binary Higher Education Provision in Britain: Blurring or Abolishing the Academic/Vocational Divide

The recent Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development-sponsored report on the non-university sector of higher education provision in member countries speaks of the possibility that the traditional university sector, driven by "employment drift" energy will increasingly compete for students with the traditional non-university sector, largely centered in vocational education and training programs, especially those sectors structured in a binary scheme (O.E.C.D., 1991, pp. 80-81). The O.E.C.D. report further acknowledges that, as the traditional university sector is increasingly asked to contribute to "employment relevance" (O.E.C.D., 1991, p. 72), university programs are becoming vocationalized. This phenomenon marks a distinct turnabout regarding parity-of-esteem issues that characterized the early development of the public non-university sector in Britain and other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development member countries.

In the early 1970's non-university sectors were often described as higher education institutions seeking to drift academically in mission toward the universities. The non-university sector, then referred to as "short-cycle" higher education, was considered in program and staffing characteristics inferior to the university sector; "short-cycle" institutions would only improve their status by becoming more university-like. Wrote Dorotea Furth, Directorate for Scientific Affairs, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development: "It is interesting to note that the integration of SCI's (short-cycle higher education institutions) into

higher education has not necessarily contributed to the increase of their prestige within the context of the overall system" (Furth, 1973, p. 38) (Parentheses added). A decade ago a critic of British higher education noted that the university sector was assuming functions of a non-university sector, especially in vocational groups accrediting "subacademic" skills, and the like, yet argued that the academic purpose of the university sector remained inviolate.

The polytechnics have more readily accepted the task of subprofessional accreditation, and this gives credibility to a somewhat unreal distinction between the universities, with their academic traditions, and polytechnics with their more vocational orientation (Martin, 1983, p. 170).

The abolition of the "binary" divide in April, 1993, is at least partially due to the recognition that the "unreal distinction" between polytechnics and universities increasingly became more unreal in the 1980's and early 1990's.

Several factors, when taken together, account for the "blurring" of the "binary" divide and its planned abolition, not the least of which is the success of public sector higher education institutions, especially the polytechnics in meeting Whitehall's demand for cost effective expansion, even if this has meant cramming 500,000 full-time and part-time students into "buildings almost bursting at the seams" (Nelson, August 23, 1992, p. 4.9). Other factors include the strong influence the Manpower Services Commission (created in 1974 as an agency within the Department of Employment, an agency simply called the Training Commission from May, 1988) on training schemes in all post-school sectors, including the so-called "third sector" of proprietary further education, the latter a sector monitored voluntarily by accrediting bodies like the British Accreditation Council for Independent Further and Higher Education (Pratt, 1988, p. 15) and a sector also contributing to the "blurring" of the non-university and university sectors through competition for students. Writes a student of the earlier "academic drift" of public sector higher education in Britain of the 1970's:

The skills updating field is an acceptable arena for both university and PSHE (Public Sector Higher Education) within which to operate. Science Parks at Aston and Cambridge University, and the Industrial Center at Salford, indicate a willingness not just by PSHE to foster industrial links.

Involvement at post-graduate level with the MSC (Manpower Services Commission) extends across the binary line. At a time when both the public and university sector are under financial constraint, industrial links and MSC sponsorship become a prize neither wishes to lose. (Pratt, 1988, p. 23).

Such realities across the "binary" divide and others, a discussion of which space does not permit, such as the increased use of information technology to increase student access across sectors, have led to the collapse of that divide. In a post-binary system of higher education, however, one factor strongly distinguishes the university sector as traditionally defined: the high degree of subject specialization characteristic of school-leaving, Advanced-level evaluation, a characteristic of English and Welch three-year undergraduate university curricula.

As the polytechnics become "new" universities will they retain their practical and vocational studies, integrate these studies with single or joint honors subject academic courses in the traditional university sector, or abjure any attempt to maintain a vocational focus by accenting the 'liberal' education focus of university work? While it is premature to respond to that question, the support for revising Advanced-level work as a basis for university entrance in favor of the more flexible entry routes of public sector higher education, however rhetorically present in recent reports of British Petroleum, the Institute for Public Policy Research, and the Royal Society of Arts, all of which "advocate replacing the A level with a system that increases pupil and student choice, ...that provides attainable short-term goals which can accumulate in a variety of ways, and that reduces or dissolves the academic/vocational distinction" (McPherson, 1991, p. 44), is problematic.

The Government's rhetoric is targeted in Higher Education: A New Framework (1991, p. 10) at "achieving equality of status and standards between academic and vocational qualifications" and "the further widening of access to higher education". The track record of recent British Conservative governments in implementing these reforms is mixed. During the Thatcher administration, for example, the Government did not accept the Higginson committee proposals for broadening the Advanced level, sixth-form curriculum (Department of Education

and Science, 1988, passim.) Whether the academic/vocational divide will remain blurred or deconstruct in post-binary Britain remains at issue. The alleged vocationalization of that higher education provision suggests few grounds on which to resolve that issue. A-level students will remain the chief clientele for that provision.

D. Conclusion: Post-Binary Provision and Elitism in British Higher Education: The Challenge of Massification.

Britain's higher education system is no longer governed by the binary principle. Those polytechnics that have not yet crossed over from the public non-university sector to the traditionally autonomous university sector, will shortly do so. Sectoral differentiation of the last two-and-a-half decades ends in April, 1993. Observers of changing missions in British higher education question whether the "New Framework" installed to direct energies in adoption of massified provision, in a Trowian sense necessitating changes of attitudes toward higher education, not merely expansion in student numbers above 15 percent of the appropriate age cohorts (Trow, 1991, p. 165), will move Britain's university institutions significantly beyond their elitist pasts, Cautions Trow:

My own judgment is that Britain...has since World War II been trying to create a system of higher education which as some of the characteristics of mass higher education, especially its relevance to technological innovation and economic growth, without accepting the size and diversity of a mass system (Trow, 1991b,p. 15).

In Trow's view, Britain's transition to mass higher education is "aborted".

Higher education policy in Britain for the foreseeable future will accent market-responsive and privatized policies of institutional development. If post-binary universities are, as Truscot cautioned against at the outset of post-World War II university expansion (Truscot, 1951, p. 353), "to spread...layers of beneficent influence over the country"through what Sir Christopher Ball (1991, p. 104) termed "the disintegration of watertight courses and watertight higher educational institutions" post-binary policy will need to steer the "new" universities as well as the Oxbridge, "civic", and "plate glass" institutions away from a system

in which forceful and rational students opt out of less prestigious universities, thus confirming the reality of second-best for those left behind. School choice plans in Britain at the pre-tertiary level are already confirming this possibility (Shanker, July 26, 1992, p. E7). Will the new independent non-departmental funding councils for higher education in England, Scotland, and Wales in their advisory and regulatory capacities recommend policy initiatives that accent broadened student accessibility to a higher education system that includes vocational content but is not excessively vocationalized? If these initiatives are to occur in post-binary university missions, that most established view of British academic life will need revision: the idea that, expressed in Orwellian terms, some universities are more equal than others "despite the convention that all are equal" (McLean, 1990, p. 168). Minimally public modes of sectoral regulation are required.

Appendix

Binary Polytechnics Renamed Post-Binary Universities

NEW NAME	OLD NAME
The Robert Gordon University	Robert Gordon Institute, Aberdeen
Anglia Polytechnic University	Anglia Poly
Bournemouth University	Bournemouth Poly
The University of Brighton	Brighton Poly
University of the West of England, Bristol	Bristol Poly
University of Central England in Birmingham	Birmingham Poly
The University of Central Lancashire	Lancashire Poly
Coventry University	Coventry Poly
De Montfort University	Leicester Poly
University of East London	Poly of East London
University of Glamorgan Prifysol Morgannwg	The Poly of Wales
University of Greenwich	Thames Poly
The University of Hertfordshire	Hatfield Poly
The University of Huddersfield	The Poly of Huddersfield
University of Humberside	Humberside Poly
Kingston University	Kingston Poly
Liverpool John Moores University	The Liverpool Poly
Middlesex University	Middlesex Poly
Napier University	Napier Poly in Edinburgh
University of Northumbria at Newcastle	Newcastle Poly
University of North London	The Poly of North London
University of Paisley	Paisley College of Technology
University of Plymouth	Polytechnic South West
University of Portsmouth	Portsmouth Poly
Sheffield Hallam University	Sheffield City Poly
South Bank University	South Bank Poly
Staffordshire University	Staffordshire Poly
University of Sunderland	Sunderland Poly
The University of Teesside	Teesside Poly
Thames Valley University	Poly of West London
The University of Westminster	The Poly of Central London
The University of Wolverhampton	Wolverhampton Poly

UNCHANGED IN NAME: City of London Polytechnic, Derbyshire College of Higher Education (proposed name: University of Derby), Glasgow Polytechnic (merger with The Queen's College, Glasgow, and University status approved), Leeds Polytechnic (proposed name: Leeds Metropolitan University), Manchester Polytechnic (proposed name: The Manchester Metropolitan University), Nottingham Polytechnic, Oxford Polytechnic.

SOURCE: The Sunday Times, August 23, 1992, p. 4.9.

References

- Ball, Sir Christopher (1990). More Means Different: Widening Access to Higher Education. London: Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.
- Ball, Sir Christopher (1991). "Quality and Qualities: An Overview" in Tom Schuller, ed., The Future of Higher Education. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University, Press, pp. 100-105.
- Campbell, Malcolm B. (1992). "Non-University Sectors and the Provision of Higher Education in OECD Countries: Problematics of Articulation." Washington, D.C.: Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse On Higher Education, Identification No. ED 345591.
- Cibois, Phillipe and Markiewicz-Lagneau (1976). Students in Short-Cycle Higher Education: France, Great Britain and Yugoslavia. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Committee on Higher Education (1963). Report. London: H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 2154.
- Cuthbert, Robert E. (1991). "The British Binary System and its 'Missing Link'" in Robert O. Berdahl, Graeme C. Moodie, and Irving J. Spitzberg, Jr., eds., Quality and Access in Higher Education: Comparing Britain and the United States. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University Press, pp. 116-128.
- Department of Education and Science (DES) (1985). The Development of Higher Education into the 1990's. London. H.M.S.O., Cm. 9524.
- Department of Education and Science (DES) (1987). Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge. London H.M.S.O. Cmd. 114.
- Department of Education and Science (1980). Advancing A levels. London: H.M.S.O.
- Department of Education and Science (DES) (1991). Higher Education: A New Framework. London: H.M.S.O. Cmd. 1541.
- Furth, Dorotea (1973). "Short-Cycle Higher Education: Some Basic Considerations" in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Short-Cycle Higher Education: A Search for Identity. Paris: O.E.C.D., pp. 13-42.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office (1988). Education Reform Act 1988: Chapter 40. London: H.M.S.O.
- Martin, David (1983). "Trends and Standards in British Higher Education" in John W. Chapman, ed., The Western University on Trial. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, pp. 167-183.
- McLean, Martin (1990). "Higher Education in the United Kingdom into the 1990's: Shopping mall or reconciliation with Europe?" European Journal of Education, 25(2), pp. 157-170.
- McPherson, Andrew (1991). "Widening the Access Argument" in Tom Schuller, ed. The Future of Higher Education. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University Press, pp.35-44.

- Nelson, Francesca (August 23, 1992). "Polys face the university challenge." The Sunday Times, p. 49.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (O.E.C.D.) (1991). Alternatives to Universities. Paris: O.E.C.D.
- Pratt, John (1988). Alternatives to Universities in Higher Education. Country Study: United Kingdom. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Reid, Elizabeth (1991). "Access and Institutional Change" in Tom Schuller, ed., The Future of Higher Education. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University Press, pp. 45-54.
- Schuller, Tom (1991). "Reassessing the Future" in Tom Schuller, ed., The Future of Higher Education. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University Press, pp. 1-21.
- Scott, Peter (1983). "Has the binary policy failed?" in M.L. Shattock, ed., The Structure and Governance of Higher Education. Guildford, England: Society for Research Into Higher Education. Leverhulme Program Report 9.
- Scott, Peter (1991). "Access: An Overview" in Tom Schuller, ed., The Future of Higher Education. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University Press, pp. 55-60.
- Shanker, Albert (July 26, 1992). "Confused About School Choice?" The New York Times, p. E7.
- Trow, Martin (1991a). "The Exceptionalism of American Higher Education" in Martin Trow and Thorsten Nybom, eds., University and Society: Essays on the Social Role of Research and Higher Education. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, pp. 156-172.
- Trow, Martin (1991b). "Comparative Perspectives on Policy" in Robert O. Berdall, Graeme C. Moodie, and Irving J. Spitzberg, Jr., eds., Quality and Access in Higher Education: Comparing Britain and the United States. Buckingham, England: SRHE and Open University Press, pp. 11-28.
- Truscot, Bruce (1951). Red Brick University. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

M:4