The 1986 Education Act required that business community members in England and Wales be appointed to the governing boards of local public schools. Since the passage of the law, the idea of sponsored governors has developed. Sponsored governors receive financial support from their companies to serve on the boards. A survey of employees of three United Kingdom companies found that only about one-third of those serving as governors were identified on their boards as being from the business community. The members were overwhelmingly male and from the upper management levels. Most were also between 30 and 50 years old and had worked for their companies for more than 10 years. The governors attended an average of 12 meetings annually and made several visits to the schools. The members tended to serve on committees having to do with management of the school such as finance, personnel, and public relations. The contributions of the companies involved included time off with pay for governorship duties, use of office resources, and contributions of materials. The study confirmed that governors from the business community benefit schools through their management expertise, and, in turn, businesses improve their public relations. (Contains 36 references.) (JPT)
PRACTISING DEMOCRACY

BUSINESS COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CONTROL OF ENGLISH AND WELSH SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

Members of the business community have been encouraged to volunteer as governors for schools in England and Wales since the 1986 Education Act became law in 1988. They serve as unpaid, part time managers on schools' governing bodies with responsibilities for organising, together with the other governors and the full time school staff, all aspects of school life. This paper is the first study of these business community governors; it investigates the reasons for the policy of using them and reports a study of how the policy has developed through a study of the governors from three companies in 1992-93.
INTRODUCTION

"Rub a dub dub, three men in a tub;
Who do you think they be?
The butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker
Turn them out, knaves all three"

(Anon, 1877: 376)

The butcher, the baker and the candlestick-maker have been school governors since public schooling began in England in 1870. The need for, and the right of, the business community to be part of a school's governing body was, however, only recognised explicitly in 1986. The Education Act of that year stated that in selecting governors, regard should be paid "to the extent to which they and the other governors are members of the local business community" (Clause 6 (a) (i)). Since then, it has come to be accepted that the business community should be amongst those represented on the governing bodies of publicly maintained schools (i).

How this business representation has operated in practice is the subject of this research in three major UK companies. It aims to consider the roles which business community governors have adopted, how they have affected schools and the businesses in which they are employed and to discuss if, like their nursery rhyme counterparts, they are knaves who should be excluded.

Alternatively, are they knights in shining armour whose role should be made more overt? When business governorships were introduced, there were many values suggested for both schools and businesses and this research has found that there have been gains on both sides. The success of the idea has now prompted suggestions for the development of sponsored governors, an idea presaged in the Education Bill (1993) currently passing through Parliament (Cls. 60 & 240). These suggest the idea of sponsored governors whose companies are willing to invest money in particular curricula initiatives in schools.

Sponsored governors would represent a considerable extension both of the position of existing business community governors and of the ideas of incorporating a market economy into publicly maintained schools. Only five years ago, for example, an advice book for business community governors pointed out that "they are not representatives of their particular firms to promote them within the school and are not expected to act as spokesperson for their companies...There is no harm in publicising the name of the company - especially if it is done in a way that supports the school's work. Many companies produce an excellent educational package carrying the company name or logo." (Moreland and Opie, 1988: 11)

This reflects some disquiet over school sponsorship by both schools and businesses. In 1989, for example, concerns were expressed about a very few companies (not those included in this survey) which were felt to be abusing their position by asking their governor-employees to influence curriculum choices at schools where they were governors or by offering parents of potential pupils discount on company products if they opted to send their children to schools at which their employees were governors (Buckby 1992: 90). Further, from 1988, companies were for example, so reluctant to fund the new 'sponsored' City Technology Colleges that the government had to reduce the planned number and to provide a sizeable amount of the funding for those themselves. A 1988 guide for business community governors reported that "companies are reluctant to impose policies on their existing governors lest they are accused of interfering with private affairs that are no business of the company" (Moreland & Opie, 1988: 7). Now, however, impending legislation is legitimising the idea of sponsored governors for grant maintained, and voluntary aided, secondary schools; there can be a maximum of four such governors on a governing body.
This idea of sponsored governors has brought debate into the previously well accepted policy of having business governors. This paper is a contribution to that debate (Stiles, 1993) highlighting the roles of current business community governors. This paper is also part of a wider study of the roles of English and Welsh governors (2) and of their effectiveness (Thody, 1991 & 2) and is also set within the literature on the correlations between effectiveness of organisations and outsider representation on their directing bodies (Pearce, 1992; Kosnik 1987; Baysinger 1985). It is also a contribution to studies of the roles of different types of governors on school governing bodies; studies have been made of teacher and parent governors (Brigley and Golby 1988, 1989; Buckby 1992b; Hammond 1986) and there have been newspaper reports of services provided by companies for their employees who are governors but this is the first study of the roles of governors from the business community.

It discusses:
1) The research focus and its context: Why have governors from the business community?
2) The issues for investigation: governors' backgrounds, contributions, workloads and company benefits
3) The research process
4) The research findings
5) Immediate outcomes
6) Inferences and future research

1) THE RESEARCH FOCUS AND ITS CONTEXT:

WHY HAVE GOVERNORS FROM THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY?

The rationale for introducing a category for business community governors lies in
a) democracy
b) efficiency
c) education.

a) DEMOCRACY: The values of, and the mechanisms for the representation of 'the people' in the peoples' schools

Representation from the business community is part of the wider Anglo-American traditions of democracy; 'the people' should, in some wise, be involved in the government of the peoples' schools. This is partly in pursuit of public involvement in policy making and partly in response to the need to make effective, the doctrines of public accountability which have latterly been much vaunted by governments (Wagner, 1989; Burgess, 1992; Choice and Diversity, 1992) as a means of ensuring better standards. In England and Wales this accountability has been mediated through central and local government controls over the education system and through boards of school governors which direct each school.

The business community representatives are part of each school's governing board which consists mainly of non-educationalists all of whom are part time volunteers. They are responsible for staffing, budget, planning, curriculum, admissions and exclusions, buildings and salaries. The powers, composition and names of these boards have varied since their inception in the nineteenth century (Gordon 1974) but underpinning them has been the belief in the efficacy of incorporating active citizens in the first line government of the state.

The belief in the efficacy of democracy is partly reflected in the way in which school governors are selected (although the method of selecting this particular group of the business community representatives may appear to be a breach in the principle of democracy). Some governors are directly elected, some are nominated by people who have been directly elected and some are co-opted by the elected groups. The 1986 legislation implied that if business community governors did not emerge in the directly or indirectly elected categories, then they should be co-opted. While this could be seen as marginally less democratic than election, the general aim is to ensure that
school government is not dominated by teaching staff. Collectively, the outsiders should outweigh the educationalists and the business community governors are part of the non-educationalist groups.

Amongst all the groups from whom school governors have to be selected, only two are occupational groups - teachers (who have a minimum of one and a maximum of two representatives according to the size of the school) (3) and business community representatives. Each school is advised to have at least one person from the business community though no maximum number is specified. Some of this group will be the officially designated business community representatives. Others will have been selected in other capacities, such as parents, but will have business occupations. Most of these will represent local businesses and these may be anything from major multinationals to the local corner shop.

Each English and Welsh school's governing body will have business community representatives but the numbers will vary according to the choice of each governing body. The size of the whole governing body will also vary slightly with the size of the school; the smallest governing body would be 9 (even for schools with only one teacher) and the largest would be around 19 (for schools with over 699 students). For schools maintained by the local education authorities (currently the majority of schools), the governors are selected from

- parents (elected by ballot of all parents of children at the school)
- teachers (elected by ballot of all the teachers)
- local authority politicians (nominated by the members of local political parties who have been elected to be Councillors for the local authority
- co-opted governors, who may be deemed to have an interest in school. Business community governors will be appointed in this category unless there is deemed to be adequate business representation amongst the other categories. This group can also include representatives of the local communities, the church authorities (for public schools which are part Anglican or Roman Catholic managed), school support staff and students. The co-optees are chosen by the other three groups amongst the governors. They are sometimes proposed by other governors, sometimes by parents or community groups, sometimes by themselves and sometimes by their companies. For example, one of the major banks in the UK asked for volunteers amongst their staff to offer their services to local schools. The list of names compiled by the bank was then circulated to local schools who were invited to select those they wished to approach.

Parent governors, local authority governors and co-opted governors together make up 75% of the governing body. The remaining 25% will include the one or two teachers and a variety of other nominated people such as those representing lower tier local government bodies, charitable trusts which founded schools which have since become publicly maintained, representatives of the students and non-teaching staff and the principal (the latter may chose whether or not to be a voting governor but will always be present at meetings). Business community representatives may be found amongst any of the categories except that of the teacher governors. The extent of their representation can, therefore, be much higher than the minimum of one envisaged in the legislation.

The extent of democratic representation, and the numbers of governors from the business community, might seem to reflect a strong demand from the public, and from industry, to be involved in governing schools but there is no evidence that there was ever an overwhelming insistence on such participation. At the time when the initiation of the current policies for school government began to be discussed, there were a few vociferous, mainly middle class individuals and organisations, who were suggesting greater parental involvement, but nothing that could be termed a massive demand for participation nor for the extensive powers that school governors have since acquired (4).

Likewise, there were criticisms from industry of schools but no evidence has been located of claims for business mandated governors.

The movement could be seen as part of the late twentieth century state's needs to develop an active citizenry as volunteers to take over the functions of paid officials who can no longer be afforded. To make such a policy operative, representatives must be educated as well as elected. This was recognised in the 1986 Education Act which required all local education authorities to offer "such training as the authority consider necessary " (Cl. 57) to their school governors. This training has been free but is not compulsory nor has it been sufficient to provide for all governors nor easy to
ensure that it is at times convenient to fit in with employment. Businesses offering free governor training courses for their own employees, therefore, can provide useful supplements towards developing the active citizens needed by the state.

b) EFFICIENCY: the micro-economy of the school

In introducing the requirement for business community representation on school governing bodies, the British government was, no doubt, subscribing to the popular view that business people know how to create efficient organisations and would bring that knowledge to schools unused to the demands of commercial activity. This was deemed to be especially necessary as English and Welsh schools moved to site based management between 1988 and 1993. This entails control of virtually all their funds and the concomitant responsibilities of staffing, marketing, finance, buildings, student admissions, grounds and equipment.

Who better to advise on this than those from business who are used to having such responsibilities? Thus runs the political rhetoric reflected in an advice book for business community governors that "schools now need to be run like companies with the governing bodies being boards of directors and the headteachers the managing directors...Business areas include Finance, Marketing, Personnel, Production" (Moreland and Opie, 1988: 3).

Academic research, in the USA, however, is beginning to produce evidence that, to some extent, supports the politicians' rhetoric. Composition of both boards of directors of companies and of school boards is deemed to have "a strong impact on the quality of...deliberations, decisions, strategic direction and performance" (Pearce and Patrick, 1993). This impact is at its greatest when boards include strong outsiders (i.e. those not employed by the host company) with expertise who represent the community's needs. This current research builds on earlier work which sought to demonstrate correlations between the characteristics of directors and their power (Zald, 1969). 1992 investigations in England point to the same recommendations for English companies (Cadbury, 1992) (5).

The possible contributions of business community governors to improving the micro-economy of schools was recognised before the legal requirement for their representation was made since about 33% of governors came from business occupations before the 1986 Act came into force (Thody, 1991) although they had not overtly become governors for that reason. The post 1986 overt requirement for their presence, however, stressed the move away from 'generalism', which could be deemed to have been part of British democratic attitudes, and towards a new idea that representatives should be specialists. This is recorded as having caused some heart searching amongst governing bodies when appointments had to be made. For example, a governor wrote to the advice columnist of an educational newspaper to ask how to choose between governors with expertise (a lawyer and an accountant were cited) and those with community connections (such as a scout leader) (Buckby, 1992b: 87)

b) EFFICIENCY: the macro-economy of the state

The introduction of business community governors was linked to the need to find ways of solving Britain's economic difficulties in the late 1980s. There was concern amongst politicians and industrialists that the recession in the British economy was partly due to the failings of the education system to prepare workers adequately for the economic needs of the country. There were criticisms of the standards achieved by British schools in international comparisons and anecdotal accounts of employers disturbed by the literacy and numeracy standards of applicants for jobs. One of the solutions to this has been to find ways of integrating schools and industry and this has included the appointment of business community governors on school governing bodies from whence it was believed that they could directly influence school curriculum choices and teaching methods.

This was intended to help ensure that the Conservative economic thinking, which had been democratically endorsed through the national electoral process, was brought to bear upon current concerns for schools to be run as businesses and for the curriculum to reflect the state's move to a more market oriented economic system so that students would be better prepared for the enterprise culture.
c) EDUCATION : effect on the curriculum

From the mid 1980s there were several moves to increase the relevance of education to industry. These included Education and Industry Year in 1986, the establishment of an education link agency by the employers' organisation, the Confederation of British Industry, opportunities for teachers to undertake work placements, requirements for all students to have work experience included in their curriculum, government grants for a Technical and Vocational Initiative in schools and a policy to establish City Technology Colleges funded by businesses. Part of the reasons for these developments was that "Industry and commerce have long expressed dissatisfaction with education" (Moreland and Opie, 1988: 4) and the formal introduction of business governors was part of this movement to increase schools' understanding and links with industry (Eiles 1989).

Soon after the policy became law, The Industrial Society and the Royal Society of Arts both published guides about the roles of business community governors (Moreland & Opie, 1988; Opie undated). Their curriculum role was emphasised in such statements as "their appointment will raise the profile of industry and commerce in schools and improve education/industry links" (Moreland 1988, p.1). Such governors would, it was felt, help pupils "develop the personal and social skills [required], in the changing industrial environment" (Opie, undated, Sheet 1). Business community governors would, it was suggested, influence the curriculum by providing placements for pupils' work experience, opportunities for work shadowing, input into the curriculum, ideas and materials for projects, visits to businesses, up-to-date knowledge of technology, advice on work skills, mock interviews and presentations at career conventions. (Opie, undated, Sheet 12). It was interesting to note one dissentient voice around the time this advice was published: writing to the educational press, a governor queried whether or not business really did want educational standards to rise since if children were taught to exhibit greater initiative and creativity, how would they cope with the boring jobs they would face in business life (Buckby, 1992b:90).

2) THE ISSUES FOR INVESTIGATION

To assess the rationale for business community governors suggests analysis of four areas:

a) The backgrounds of business community governors.
What are their common characteristics and how do they differ from other groups of governors? Are they predominantly from the professional and managerial classes or has business governorship succeeded in extending representation outside of those groups usually serving as governors?

b) Governors' workloads.
Governors are expected to undertake a great deal of work for what is essentially a part time, unpaid, voluntary job; how much work is this group undertaking for school governorship and is it being done in their own time or in that of their employers? What support are they given by their companies to help them to cope? Is the workload so onerous that it is dissuading governors from service?

c) Specialist contributions
Do business community governors operate in any way differently to other groups of governors? In introducing business community governors, it is assumed that the government expected some specific contribution; has this occurred?

d) Contribution to business
What does supporting their employee-governors offer to the companies concerned?

3) THE RESEARCH PROCESS

This is the first study in this aspect of school governorship and it is, therefore, exploratory in subject matter and approach. The small number of companies and governors involved also make this a pilot intended to help to establish the nature of the field, its extent and the areas to be investigated. It is a descriptive study giving rise to hypotheses for later investigation. The project was initiated by the researcher, based in higher education, but it developed as collaborative research with the principal company involved; the survey instruments were jointly designed, the company provided project management and a technician researcher and the company has used the results to develop new policies for its employees.
Selecting the companies

Selection is a luxury that few personal researchers can afford and this study proved no exception to that expectation. Eight companies were approached; only one, IBM, agreed to participate and to fund the research. The eight were selected because five were known to have community relations' policies or departments and to have active education and industry links; one was known to be providing governor training for its employees; three were companies with whom the author or her institute had personal contacts. Each was sent a letter explaining the need for the research and the way it which it could help the company in its personnel relations. All were asked to support the research financially; it was suggested to the companies that the costs could be kept low by making use of industrial trainees in their companies since acting as a research assistant would give an opportunity for project management practice.

IBM followed that suggestion and provided an industrial trainee as research assistant. One of their public affairs managers organised the project. The company covered the costs of designing, distributing and analysing the questionnaires and paid the principal researcher as a consultant.

IBM's support was obviously vital and much appreciated. It must be realised that the support was given in a major recession in the UK when companies are reducing education industry links (of the original eight contacted, one halved its community affairs department and budget just as this request for support was received; another one has recently closed down its entire education operations). Business community governors could also be costing their companies money in terms of the time or resources they use for school governorship and publicising school governorship could increase employees demands for assistance; two companies who declined to participate did so on the grounds that they did not want to lead to employees feeling they had a right to take paid leave for governorship duties. One company, not in this survey, is reported as saying that they would not estimate the cost of supporting their employee governors because "it would probably be so appalling that somebody would put a stop to it" (Fletcher, 1993). Another company, approached by the author to participate in the survey indicated that they did not wish to do so for fear of arousing demands in employees for time off which the company did not wish to fund.

IBM was prepared to risk this. They had encouraged their employees to become school governors four years previously when the 1986 Education Act became law and were interested to find out how their encouragement had fared. The project manager from the public affairs department is himself a governor and very aware of the challenges currently facing governors.

Two other companies, Vauxhall Motors and Monarch Airlines also agreed to host the research. These were not in the original group contacted but during the course of this study, the principal researcher relocated her employment to Luton where both these companies are based. Both have close contacts with the College where the researcher is employed and the researcher had also taught their employees. Both were favourably disposed towards a survey but on the scale of the IBM group. They conducted their survey after the research with IBM had concluded.

The three companies are different in product and size but it was not the intention of this research to compare companies' commitment to the business governor concept but only to find out the scale and form of representation. IBM UK is one of the national group of companies within IBM Europe/Middle East/Africa, a wholly owned subsidiary of IBM Corporation. It is a leading manufacturer of computer systems and subsystems, is Britain's fifth largest exporter and employs 15,600 people. The headquarters of IBM is in London but the survey covered the company's locations throughout England.

Vauxhall Motors Limited is a wholly owned subsidiary of General Motors Corporation and produces cars and vans for domestic and commercial use. It has over 11,000 employees at the company's headquarters in Luton, in its three manufacturing and one after-sales organisations. This survey concerned the headquarters and one of the manufacturing and the after-sales divisions in Luton. Company interest in their employee-governors arises from its recognition of "its special responsibilities to the communities in which it operates" (Vauxhall, 1991, p. 1).

Monarch Airlines is one of the leading charter airlines with 75% of its business in the European leisure industry and 25% in long haul flights. The company, and its associate, Monarch Aircraft Engineering, are both located at Luton Airport which handles mainly charter aircraft. Luton is located about 30 miles from London.
Designing the research instruments

The research in IBM was conducted through issuing questionnaires to employees who offered to take part after information about the survey was sent to all employees, and after managers had been enjoined to make their section staff aware of the survey and the subsequent training sessions that might be offered. The questionnaire's areas for exploration were decided jointly by the researcher, the IBM project manager and the industrial trainee. The questionnaire was devised by the trainee and then amended by the principal researcher. The questionnaire was sent to employees through the company's internal electronic mail and a contact point was available for queries. Each employee printed out their questionnaires and returned the completed versions to the Public Affairs Department where the results were collated.

A questionnaire was chosen because of uncertainty about the numbers of governor-employees there might be, because questionnaires could be readily distributed through the in-company electronic mail and because they offered anonymity to the respondents. The latter was essential since the questionnaire explored issues concerning the amount of company time which employees were using for governorship and their feelings about whether or not the company had been supportive of governors.

One could only guess how many governors there might be in any company; if there were hundreds, then a questionnaire might be the best way forward; if there were only a few, then structured interviews would be preferable but these would have involved considerably more time for the researcher and IBM's employees. Questionnaires would give some idea of the width of the field, leaving depth for a later analysis. Two of the companies considered that they might offer training courses to their governors as an outcome of the research and it was considered that these would give some opportunity for the researcher to have fuller discussions with a small sample. Observation of governors would have been impracticable however many there were; governorship is part time, not always in the same place and activity happens irregularly.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections covering personal information about each governor (such as occupation), details of the governorship (such as the type of school governed) and information about how company employment was impacting upon school governorship. There were 25 questions, half of which could be answered with ticks or YES/NO answers but the others required longer, open ended answers. It was felt to be difficult to provide pre-selected categories for the answers to many of the questions because this was a first survey of this group of governors so there was no guiding track record for pre-selected categories. It was also felt important not to prejudice the answers to question though, in some cases, examples were given to indicate lines of thought. For example, the question "Does IBM provide any support to the school at which you are a governor?", contained the guidance, "For example using photocopiers or offering work experience".

The questionnaires had to be amended for the different companies although the information sought was essentially the same. Questionnaires for Vauxhall and Monarch were devised by the researcher but had to be approved by the two companies.

The IBM survey was timed to coincide with the British government's campaign to persuade more people to volunteer as school governors for the reappointment of most governing bodies in September 1992. The project was first discussed in February 1992 and intended to produce results and action by June 1992 which was nominated as the major publicity week for the government's "Schools need governors" campaign. The short time scale concentrated the action; the questionnaire was drafted, pre-tested (on the researchers' academic colleagues who were governors), distributed, returned, collated and roughly analysed in time to prepare activities for the special week in June. The rapidity of the project certainly avoided any results becoming questionable because of the passage of time and IBM's assistance to their governors since the project has demonstrated its immediate applicability.

Contacting the governors.

None of the companies wished to put any pressure on employees to participate which accords with the view that "Being a school governor is certainly a personal choice and should remain so" (Moreland and Opie 1988:7). Indeed, the privacy of employees was given as a reason for non-participation in this project by one company. The stress on this personal choice meant that the companies would not insist on their employees informing them of governorships and participation in the survey was optional. IBM's project manager thought it was important to stress that the research
was "not trying to regulate the work of the IBM governor [and] that the project may result in practical support for those who want to take advantage of it" (Lowe 1992).

The methods of contacting company employee-governors varied. At IBM, all employees were informed of the survey through the company's computer mailing internal network and section managers were also asked if they could identify governors amongst their staff. The 200 who indicated their interest were sent the questionnaire and 126 returned it. Monarch Airlines contacted those governors who were known to the personnel manager and it was stressed that this was personal, rather than through company personnel records. Both the governors approached completed the questionnaire. Vauxhall Motors advertised a free, in-house governor training session in the company's internal newspaper; the ten who opted to attend were given the questionnaire to complete. All ten did so. In the following sections outlining the findings from the questionnaires, the results from the three companies have been collated since the samples from two of them were two small to make inferences or comparisons.

All these methods would ensure that only those willing to be identified would be included. The very different rates of response amongst the three companies may indicate that IBM's method was more successful in locating respondents or it may be that there are simply fewer governors in the other two companies. The Airline company expected very few respondents because their workforce is predominantly very young and not, therefore, likely to have children of school age and their workforce often works away from Luton so would find it difficult to attend governors' meetings. Vauxhall Motors may have fewer governors because, as previous surveys have shown, (Thody 1989, 1991; Buckby 1992a & b; Jefferies and Streatfield 1988), there are fewer governors from social classes III (Manual) - V than there are from social classes I - III (non-manual); Vauxhall's shop floor workers would be classified in the former group. These comments are, however, speculative. Identical means of contacting governors in different companies would need to be employed before reasonable inferences might be made.

4) THE RESEARCH FINDINGS
a) The backgrounds of business community governors.
What are their common characteristics and how do they differ from other groups of governors? Are they predominantly from the professional and managerial classes or has business governorship succeeded in extending representation outside of those groups usually serving as governors?

Numbers and categories
33% of this group of governors were regarded as the business community representatives on their governing bodies. The overall percentage of business community representatives does not appear, therefore, to have changed from before the 1988 Education Act; a 1987 survey of one local authority's schools found 33% of governors from business backgrounds (Thody, 1989), as did a 1991 survey. The 1991 survey of one local authority's secondary schools' governors (Buckby, 1992b, 177-178) found one third of governors who had business connections in addition to the 5% who were officially nominated business community representatives. He suggests that the large numbers may have appeared because his survey was confined to secondary schools which are believed to attract more business people than would primary schools. The survey for this paper, however, included both primary and secondary schools and showed similarity between the numbers serving in each type of school (46% were on primary school governing bodies and 43% on secondary and middle schools).

The business community governors were elected, or selected, to represent all categories of governors:

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<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authority</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-opted and Foundation</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
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These figures do not appear to support concerns that there are too few business community governors nor to suggest a need to encourage business people to participate through offering the
possibility of sponsored governorships. This contrasts with what seems to have been a persistent belief that industry has been under-represented in our schools. In 1988, for example, when the first business community governors were officially nominated, schools were described as desperate to persuade industrialists to serve (Moreland and Opie, 1988: 2); in 1990, it was reported that the business community was not responding to calls to serve as school governors (Berry, 1990) and in 1992, the government proposed the idea of sponsored governors, perhaps thinking this might make school governorship commitments more enticing to companies.

The government's belief that there were inadequate numbers of business community governors may have arisen because they assumed that only governors bearing this title would actually come from industry. In practice, however, of those in this survey, those with business connections served in all the categories of governors except those of teachers. In Buckby's survey, even 4.5% of school principals claimed business connections either because their schools now have to be run as businesses since self management was introduced, or because of their management training or qualifications.

**Occupations**

Of the group from IBM, one third were classified as managers. The whole sample was distributed amongst the companies' functions in marketing (29%), manufacturing and development (17%), services (14%) and finance (6%). The Vauxhall and Monarch Airlines governors sample (too small to make percentage analysis sensible) listed the following occupations:

- Managers (commercial operations, education affairs, sales, customer sales, technical)
- Accountant
- Chief Safety Engineer
- Team Leader - Body Final Sets
- Executive Engineer
- Chief of Plant
- Cabin Services Manager
- Airport Station Engineer

At the time the idea of business community governors became law, it seems to have been expected that those attracted would be senior staff since an advice booklet of the time suggested that companies should encourage all employees to volunteer since, "It is not just professionals and managers who make effective governors" (Moreland & Opie, 1988:7) and a business community governor can be "anyone regardless of their background, position or type and size of their organisation, whether it is a factory or small firm, a bank or local shop" (Moreland, 1988:1). Evidence from past surveys does show that governors in general, and business community governors, appear to come from the upper echelons (19th century governors, Gordon, 1974; Gill, 1968: late 20th century governors, Thody 1989, Buckby 1992a & b, Jefferies and Streetfield, 1989) and this finding appears true in other countries where there are the equivalents of school governors (Papua New Guinea and New Zealand for example bear this out, Maha, 1992; Middleton et al 1990).

The results from this survey indicate that a wider range of occupations has been attracted into governorship and that the hopes for extension of this category beyond senior staff have been realised. It is, however, likely that all the occupations listed would be classified as being mainly from Social Class III upwards (which are the groups within which school governors are generally found) but that more might be classified as manual occupations than would be the case in the generality of governors. Introducing this category of governors may, therefore, have helped to make governing bodies more representative of the English population as a whole than are our other elected bodies of Parliament of of local authorities but it must be recollected that this extended occupational representation has occurred across all categories of governors and not just amongst those designated as the business community representatives.

**Gender**

97% of this sample are male. This contrasts with the national figures which indicate that about 60% of governors are male (Jefferies and Streetfield, 1989; figures for 1992 are not available) and area surveys which indicate about 70% are male (Buckby, 1992: 162) but the three companies in the survey all have a predominance of male employees. Nonetheless, the percentage is higher than the percentage of males employed in the companies (men comprise 80.9% of IBM's employees for example) so the figures may give some cause to reflect on the lack of female representation in this category. If one of the benefits of having business community governors is to increase awareness of business careers, then there appears to be a lack of role models amongst business governors for girls who might be interested in industrial careers.
**Age**

The age profile of this group of governors shows a similar distribution to those of governors nationally. There was only one governor under 29, 27% were aged 30-39, 52% were aged 40-49, 21% were 50+ and one was over 65 being a retired employee. (Only Vauxhall included the retired so it is not possible to know whether IBM and Monarch also had retirees amongst their governors). The age distribution of the governors differed from those of IBM's employees as a whole since the company has 35% of its workforce in the age band 40-49, in which 50% of its governors were found. 23% of IBM's workforce are under 30 but only one governor was in this category. Comparing the figures with the age profiles of Vauxhall's employees, finds the age range 40-60 providing a predominance of both employees and governors.

**Length of company service**

44% of these governors had worked for their companies for more than 20 years, 15% for 16-19 years, 22% for 10-15 years and 19% for fewer than ten years. One might infer from this that those who feel they are confident in their jobs also feel able to cope with the workload of governorship or perhaps that having been with the same company for a considerable number of years, that governorship provided an additional interest. These are merely speculative remarks and the sample needs to be compared with the service profile of all employees of these companies in order to help develop inferences from the data. The information may be helpful, however, in targeting requests for employees to stand as governors.

**Length of service as governors**

47% of this sample had served for less than two years as governors, 30% had between 3 and 4 years service and 13% were in their fifth and sixth years. 10% had more than 7 years of service. Combining the figures for the three companies, however, masks one important difference. IBM's governors' length of service was predominantly in the 3-4 year category (50%). This could be a reflection of the company's support for the business governor concept; in 1988 when the policy became law, IBM ran sessions to encourage employees to become governors but only 8% of their current governors claimed to have become governors because of those courses.

Returning to the combined results, it is interesting to note the large numbers who have less than two years service. This indicates a high level of appointment during governing bodies' terms of office (governing bodies are reconstituted every four years) and, therefore, a high rate of governor turnover. It has been suggested that this has been happening both overtly and covertly (the latter indicated through poor attendance at meetings) (Berry, 1990) but national figures are not available. The supposition is either that governorship is so burdensome that citizens are declining to participate or that parent governors are ceasing to serve when their children leave school (parent governors may serve for their full, four year term of office even when their children have left school). The evidence from this survey seems to support claims for a high drop-out rate but equally, it provides evidence that the places are being filled by further volunteers. In discussions with Vauxhall's governors at a training session, the researcher found that they were all finding the work as governors extensive but only one considered this might be grounds for resignation.

Directly comparable figures for length of service of all governors are not available but similar surveys indicate that this group of business community governors have fewer years of service than do other governors (Thody, 1991, Chapter 10; Buckby, 1992b: 174 - 176). Since the percentage of governors in this category has remained unchanged (at about 33%) since before the 1986 Education Act, one might infer a high rate of turnover in this category. Such a suggestion requires further investigation since, if it is correct, then there are implications for company support of governors and for reflection on the workload of governors generally.

**Governors' schools**

These governors serve in all the phases of education; primary (46%), secondary (36%), middle (13.5%), tertiary (6%) and special (4.5%). The schools concerned are predominantly local authority maintained (79%). 6.5% are at Grant Maintained Schools (directly centrally maintained), 10% are at Voluntary Aided Schools (part Church maintained) and the remainder are at further education colleges or independent schools (1). These figures reflect the numbers of each
type of school nationally.

b) Governors' workloads.

Governors are expected to undertake a great deal of work for what is essentially a part time, unpaid, voluntary job; how much work is this group undertaking for school governorship and is it being done in their own time or in that of their employers? What support are they given by their companies to help them to cope? Is the workload dissuading governors from service?

One IBM employee in the survey referred to governorship as "a second job" and the requirements of the 1986 and 1988 Education Acts have greatly increased the powers of governors in the management of every aspect of school life. The 1993 Bill will also confirm their responsibilities; governors will be 'inspected' with their schools, they will be expected to correct any defects found in schools by the inspectors from the new Office for Standards in Education or the governors can be dismissed. Much time could be committed to carrying these duties and there have been suggestions of governor 'burnout' from overwork (Johnson, 1992:26). The evidence from this survey shows the extent of time governors are committing to the school-based aspects of the job. It did not include estimates of time spent preparing for meetings (there is considerable reading to be done) nor for follow-up activities arising from meeting decisions.

All respondents registered high rates of attendance at meetings. This was to be expected; this group are likely to be enthusiasts since they were willing to respond to a questionnaire. All attended a substantial number of meetings and these usually last a minimum of two hours (four hours would be an average) and they take place in the evenings. 60% attended four to six full meetings of their governing bodies. 18% had three or less. 15% met between seven and ten times and 7% met more than eleven times. In addition, all attended sub-committee meetings; again, almost 60% had between four and six meetings to attend and 29% had at least three; 10% had between seven and ten and 5.5% had more than eleven. Sub-committee meetings are likely to be held during school hours (Johnson, 1992:26).

The majority, therefore, have at least twelve formal meetings per year which, in practice, will be concentrated in the nine months of the school year.

Meetings are not, however, the only part of the governors' task. Most governors make formal visits to their schools, sometimes annually, sometimes termly and most also visit informally more frequently. 47% of this group visited their schools at least three times annually during school hours and, in addition, 44% visited at least three times outside of school hours. 23% visited between four and six times in school hours and 26% visited the same number of times out of school hours. 18% visited more than seven times in school hours and 24% visited seven or more times out of school hours. 11% did not visit at all, inside, or outside of school hours.

In addition to meetings and visits, governors can also become involved in personnel matters concerning staff and student disciplinary issues and staff recruitment. Each of these would entail a minimum of half a day (for support staff or new teachers) and a maximum of three days (for principalship appointments). All of them would necessitate attendance during school hours which would mean governors taking leave from work. Governors' commitments in these areas during the four years of their terms of office showed that most had taken part in staff selection procedures but very few had been concerned with staff disciplinary issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of governor involvements in a four year period</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff discipline:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2</td>
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<td>3 - 4</td>
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<td>5+</td>
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For those governors holding office, there would be additional activities. Chairs of governing bodies will be in regular and frequent contact with school principals, usually weekly, though this may not always entail visiting school. 13% of this group were Chairs and 22% were Vice-Chairs so all of these would have additional responsibilities to add to their time commitment.

To fit in these activities would seem to require time off from work and the IBM group were...
asked how much work time they had used. 34% had not taken any time out of work. Half of these stated that they only visited during their holidays (in one case, this entailed 10 - 12 days of holiday) or by organising their flextime to save up time for visits. 41% used 1 - 2 days of the public service paid leave entitlement in IBM, 14% used 3 - 4 days, 4% used 5 - 6 days and 7% used more than seven days.

c) The specialist contributions of business community governors

How do business community governors operate? In introducing business community governors, it is assumed that the government expected some specific contribution; has this occurred?

Subcommittee contributions

This group of governors gravitated to service on those sub-committees which have responsibility for generic management tasks. 52.5% served on finance committees, 22.5% on personnel committees and 6.5% on public relations committees. 15% were on buildings sub-committees. 21% of the IBM group served on curriculum committees but none from Vauxhall or Monarch did so. There were individual memberships recorded of committees for buildings maintenance, special educational needs, school admissions, student profiles, opting out, development and training, pre-school, inter-school links, school and industry, pastoral care and computers. (School governing bodies may have any number of committees they wish and for any topic and with whatever title they chose). Governors felt that they contributed specialist knowledge from personnel, health and safety and finance specifically but that they also contributed to creating a customer focus for their schools enabling them to become more outward looking and more businesslike under the influence of non-educationalists.

What appears striking about this pattern are the high percentage on finance committees and that, from the occupational survey, the financial or personnel responsibilities of governors in their company employment are somewhat less than commensurate with the decisions they are taking in schools. These facts could mean that governors are undertaking work above their usual levels of responsibilities.

A significant percentage have, for example, taken part in staff and student disciplinary matters and in staff appointments; 22.5% of the whole sample had been involved in one or two staff disciplinary issues, 19% had had similar experience in student disciplinary matters and 61% had taken part in staff selection procedures on at least one or two occasions; 21% of the IBM group had been involved three or four times and one governor 25 times. Staff selection procedures will, almost certainly, have included those for school principals and other senior posts whose earnings and responsibilities will be in excess of those governors who are making the appointments. (85% of IBM's employees earn less than the principal of a small primary school; 4% earn more than the principal of a large secondary school).

Companies' assistance to schools

In 1988, when business community governorship was established, it was anticipated that companies' contributions to schools would be in the form of allowing paid time off for school governorship duties, paying expenses, encouraging governors to offer spare company resources to schools, allowing some use of company support services and providing training for their governors (Moreland and Opie, 1988: 6 - 8). Much has happened as expected. 51% of IBM governors recorded their time and skills as their company's contribution although 37% of the sample did not appear to realise that IBM offered time off with pay for governorship duties and some commented that managerial attitudes and their own workloads meant that they found it morally difficult to request paid leave for governorship. The remaining governors considered that they provided an additional range of support. 22% used IBM facilities for preparing documents, for photocopying or for accommodation for meetings. 17% had arranged work experience, interview practice or careers advice for pupils. 8% gave old equipment or books and about 5% had contributed old furniture, arranged visits to the company and participation in industry days or had proffered IT advice. Vauxhall and Monarch governors produced a similar list with the addition of sponsorship, the form of this was not specified), training and advice,
industrial tutorship, promotional items for school fetes and presentation/awards evenings.

"Our employees have a great deal to offer in terms of business knowledge, management, leadership and administration skills, and they are well used to the team approach to resolving issues " commented IBM's resident director for England and N. Ireland (IBM, 1992). His sentiments were echoed by IBM employees who reported having been able to allay teachers' fears about appraisal, use negotiation and presentation skills and help make decisions. One employee-governor stated that his "IBM background gives...the ability to gather information in a constructive manner and to make independent decisions. These skills are extremely useful in a small organisation like a school which increasingly needs this type of experience" (op cit).

Each company asked their governors what extra help they would like to see available. The lists showed that not all governors were aware of what help their companies were already providing through colleagues and which they too could access. The suggestions included paid time off for governorship duties, factory visits for school pupils, places on training courses for school staff, sponsorship for school libraries, fayres, events and trips, provision of prizes and P.E. kit, organisation of school governor courses and time for training as governors, help with strategic planning, vehicle loan for transport for children, insight into business methods for children, provision of redundant computer equipment, money, work experience for the disabled, training materials, recognition of governors' importance, encouragement to all employees to recognise the importance of education, help with school projects and company governors' groups to meet and to exchange ideas.

d) Governors' contributions to their companies
What does supporting their employee-governors offer to the companies concerned?

In order to persuade companies to participate in this survey, the researcher suggested that there would be benefits to the companies from being able to demonstrate an interest in their employees (which could be good for working relationships) and an adherence to government policy on education-industry links (which could be good for the company's political public relations). Personnel policies and training, which could be outcomes of the research, would emphasise to employees that there was a real commitment on the part of their company. The public relations gains in the IBM survey, for example, were stressed by the Public Affairs manager when putting the proposal forward within the company; he stated that he expected that employee-governors supported by the company would be good ambassadors for IBM. He also proposed being able to offer IBM governor training courses to company customers. IBM's resident Director for England and Northern Ireland endorsed this with his statement that governor-employees "can strengthen and enhance links between schools and IBM which is in the long-term interests of both parties" (IBM, 1992).

Such anticipated gains were in accordance with expectations of this category of governor generated at the national inception of the policy on business community governors. It was, for example, thought that benefits might accrue to company recruitment policies. This was overtly recognised in, for example, a letter to Chartered Accountants by their local professional association; the letter suggested that accountants should become governors because "there would be PR gains for the profession ... as the competition for young people intensifies for demographic reasons, it will be increasingly important that the accountancy profession establishes itself as an attractive career in the minds of pupils, parents and teachers. Active involvement by members as governors could be a significant element in helping to develop the right profile for Chartered Accountants" (Aspell, 1988). The Industrial Society endorsed this potential impact on finding prospective employees (Moreland and Opie 1988, p. 4) and although one might expect this to have declined in importance with the 1990s recession, it was still being quoted as a reason for company support for employee governors by Grand Metropolitan Hotels in 1993, (Fletcher 1993). Other benefits which were expected to accrue included enhancement of company profile in the community, demonstration of interest in the education of company employees' children, promotion of knowledge of the company, increase in the understanding between education and industry, staff acquisition of management skills from governorship which can then be used in the company and outsider challenge to the companies' ideas. (Moreland & Opie, 1988; Fletcher 1993).

In this survey, the expectations were perceived to have been realised. Employee governors felt
that improved community links did arise from their school governorships and that this resulted in public relations gains for their companies; 3% of the IBM group expressly cited customer relations gains and a much larger group made comments describing public relations returns, albeit in muted fashion: "I do not broadcast the fact that I work for Monarch" commented one governor.

Governors from all three companies agreed that their connections with schools should be helpful to the companies' future recruitment especially as the links should promote better understanding of industry by teachers who could, therefore, encourage their pupils' career orientation towards industry. IBM governors considered that the company gained from demonstrating its commitment to local communities and to education (54%) and from being able to demonstrate IBM skills (10%).

Many of the sample recorded personal gains which would be of indirect benefit to their companies. These included meeting techniques, interpersonal skills and personal projection techniques which 16% felt would help them in their jobs and 8% felt they were doing a better job for their companies because of this experience. 11% recorded a sense of achievement which could increase confidence. Employees also felt they had benefitted from gaining a better understanding of the education system, improved community outlook, broader views, and understanding of their own children.

94% of employee-governors recorded significant gains in specialist knowledge of personnel management, finance, organisational planning and marketing. 22.5% of the whole sample had been involved in one or two staff disciplinary issues, 19% had had similar experience in student disciplinary matters and 61% had taken part in staff selection procedures on at least one or two occasions; 21% of the IBM group had been involved three or four times. Organisational experience also arises from the fact that 13% of this group are Chairs of their governing bodies and 22% are deputy chairs.

The management knowledge and experience gains could be important because, as the occupational survey showed, the majority of these employee governors were not in positions in their full time employment that enabled them to take part in the high level decisions required of school governors. Prior to becoming school governors, most of these people are unlikely to have taken part in selecting or appointing staff, in managing a budget, in staff disciplinary actions or in corporate planning. School governorship requires all of these hence one might claim that schools are providing management experience for governors that they could not acquire at work.

It is, therefore, worth recording that IBM have returned the favour by offering a management training course, arising from this research, to employees who are chairs of governing bodies together with the headteachers of the schools where they hold governorships. This builds on similar courses which IBM has previously offered to school managers.

One unexpected, but practical, outcome has been to save IBM the cost of clearing redundant office accommodation. Realising that the survey had identified employee-governors' wishes to donate redundant IBM materials to their schools, IBM were able to offer office furniture which was eagerly acquired by governors.

Not everyone agreed that there were gains. 6% of the IBM groups said they had not gained at all and 11% considered that the company had not gained either. Two of the Vauxhall 10 recorded no gains as did one of the two Monarch governors.

5) IMMEDIATE OUTCOMES

Development of in-house training for governors

IBM and Vauxhall have both offered training for their governors following the survey. IBM has previously offered training, as have other major companies (Fletcher 1993). IBM launched its training initiative this time during the national 'Schools Need Governors' week promoted by the government in June, 1992. Meetings during that week at each of the company's six locations brought together the governors who had responded to the survey and any employees who had expressed interest in becoming governors following an item in the company newsletter and a newsflash sent to all employees on their Email bulletin board. This attracted 330 replies indicating that more employees had become governors at the reconstitution period in September 1992 or that more had decided to respond to an invitation for free training rather than just the 126 willing to complete a survey.
During the latter part of 1992 and the beginning of 1993, four IBM whole day, training sessions were provided for new and for experienced governors, by one of the major governor training agencies. They used the business analogy of non-executive directors on company boards of management as a comparison for the roles which business community governors might adopt. A further course is planned for employees who are Chairs of governing bodies who will be able to attend with their schools’ principals. This course will be run jointly by IBM’s own management training division and an external governor trainer. Vauxhall has offered one afternoon session, run by an external governor-trainer and this concentrated on the roles the business community governor might play and enabled the company’s governors to exchange experiences.

**Company Personnel Policies**

IBM has been revising and clarifying its policy provisions relating to school governance. The company’s education coordinators, situated in each of the company’s locations, have been given a document advising on how interested employees can become school governors and how IBM might consider assisting the volunteers. The ideas have been taken from those proposed by the survey governors together with new ideas such as a mentorship scheme using experienced company governors as guides for new recruits. None of the suggestions involve major expense but demonstrate how practical assistance can help in many small ways, such as the recognition of employee-governors’ rights to a small amount of free photocopying and for the use of company PCs for writing minutes and reports. An in-company newsletter for governors is being developed.

Great efforts were made to discover what is the company’s policy on time out for public duties; the difficulty of locating the allowance in the manager’s manual perhaps indicates why few governors were taking advantage of it. Staff have now been made aware that external activities are positively encouraged by IBM if they fulfill a community duty, as does school governorship. Time may be taken during IBM’s working hours provided that it does not exceed an average of four hours per week. This seems a good allowance in relation to governors’ workloads.

6) INFERENCES AND FUTURE RESEARCH

These governors are part of the one third of governing bodies’ members who have business community connections, which is a greater number than the government appears to realise participate in school governance. The occupational backgrounds of this group do not differ significantly from those of other groups of governors but there is some evidence to suggest greater width of social class representation. There are more males in the business community category than in the other governorship groups but the age profile of this group is similar to those of the other groups. These business community governors are well established in their companies but had a short length of service as governors.

They do contribute specialist business knowledge though it appears that they are operating at higher levels of management in schools than in their business occupations. A great variety of practical assistance in small ways has emanated from these companies to the schools at which their employees are governors. In return, governors feel that their companies have gained from improved public relations, employee morale and employee knowledge and experience of management. All these gains are likely to be indirect and long-term.

The cost to individual governors appears to be at least two lengthy meetings per month of their full governing bodies or of their sub-committees. Additionally, most visit school at least once per term and take part in staff selection processes.

IBM, Vauxhall and Monarch Airlines are prepared to support their governors although there are costs involved which cannot be related to direct benefit to the companies concerned. The companies contribute in payments for training and in offering some use of support services and equipment. The major cost will be in paid absence for attending meetings or visiting schools. In return, the companies are getting management experience for their employees which they would not have at work.

Inferences from these findings indicate future topics for discussion and for research.

* **DEMOCRACY**

Companies are contributing to the running of public institutions through supporting volunteer employees. The numbers of employees involved in any one company does not appear to be large but even IBM’s current estimates of 300 represent some financial contribution from the company if they
all 300 took their public service leave allowance. Other costs to a company are slight but create a
great deal of goodwill amongst both employees and schools. The companies are supporting training
for governors, in itself a contribution to developing an educated citizenry and this is reinforced by
the experience of being a governor. The roles adopted by these business community governors could
have implications beyond education because they may be the model for the new type of citizenry
needed in the twenty first century, with government organised more as a partnership between
private and public providers and with volunteers taking on an increasing, unpaid workload.

- EFFICIENCY: the micro-economy of the school

As outsiders, they do bring specialist knowledge and they do represent outside constituencies,
both factors which research on boards of company directors indicates will bring powerful influence to
bear on organisational effectiveness. The likelihood of co-optation may, however, reduce this
influence. The differences between the qualifications, salaries and experience of governors and of
those whom they govern could enhance the likelihood of this group becoming co-opted as
supporters of the school (Bacon, 1978; Thody, 1991). One IBM governor, for example, remarked that
she had gained an appreciation of the problems of school life and the difficulties under which
teachers work (IBM, 1992).

- EFFICIENCY: the macro-economy of the state

The experience of school governorship can contribute to the management experience of governor-
employees. There is clearly a gain here for the companies and individuals concerned, which could
influence company efficiency, though schools might question the implications of people without the
requisite level of management expertise, taking decisions at what are, effectively, corporate levels.

- EDUCATION: effect on the curriculum

Business governors have contributed to curriculum inputs in many ways through facilitating
industrial contacts and through participating in education industry links. IBM is developing this
further in its consideration of assistance with school project work and the provision of information
packs.

The butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker are now appearing in significant numbers on
governing bodies and they are making useful contributions to their schools and to their companies.
There does not seem to be any obvious reason for encouraging companies to sponsor our three men in
the tub but equally there does not seem to be clear evidence to make the overt indication of company
sponsorship for governors unsuitable. That particular issue needs further debate as do other elements
in this pilot study.

There is a need to locate other governor-employees to see if the experiences of these groups are
typical. Such groups for comparison need to be selected from both other major multinationals and
from small businesses who might appear to lack the resources to support employee governors. Is
business governorship the prerogative of large companies? There needs to be a study of how schools
regard their business governors and a comparison of the operation of business governors with other
categories of governors to see if there is a specialist model developing within our democratic system
or if our old traditions of generalist control persist. Interviews and diary records could be made to
produce in-depth studies of individual business governors to assess how the generalised benefits
indicated in this survey work in practice. International comparisons would also add a useful
dimension; there are varying modes of school governorship around the world and multi-national
companies might be able to locate employees serving in different countries' school systems. Do
different cultural norms lead to different patterns of support or is there a globalisation of attitudes?
Are there examples of good practice from other systems which might be adopted here?
NOTES
The assistance of Mr. Christopher Lowe, Public Affairs Manager for IBM, in the management of this research and in the compiling of results, is gratefully acknowledged, as is the financial support from the company. Thanks are also due to Vauxhall Motors and Monarch Airlines who hosted the smaller surveys.

(1) These comprise:
a) Local education authority maintained schools, currently the majority of English and Welsh schools
b) Voluntary Aided schools, maintained partly by Lias and partly by religious authorities
c) Grant Maintained Schools, funded directly by central government
d) City Technology Colleges, funded directly by central government and sponsoring companies
e) Sixth Form, and Further Education Colleges, centrally funded indirectly through a Funding Council

The governors in this survey are almost all governors of L.L.A. maintained schools. Grant Maintained Schools and City Technology Colleges have differently composed governing bodies with fewer parental representatives and a larger business community representation. Technology schools (i.e. those in receipt of extra government grants for the development of technology teaching), Grant Maintained Schools and Voluntary Aided Schools will be able to appoint sponsored governors should the 1993 Education Bill become law. Colleges of further education (for those aged 16+) must have 50% of their governors from businesses for which each college prepares students.

(2) Scotland and Ireland have different systems of school government

(3) There has been a debate over whether or not teachers should be allowed to be governors of school other than those at which they work. Many teachers who were also parents, became elected parent governors at their children's schools. Research in the late 1980s (Thody, 1989, Buckby 1992) showed that those with education related occupations comprised around 30% of governing body members. The government felt this could constitute undue influence of the education establishment and proposed disallowing teachers from being governors at schools other than that at which they were employed. There was an outcry about infringement of democratic rights and the proposal was dropped.

(4) The Taylor Report discussions, 1977. Organisations active at the time included the Advisory Council for Education, the National Association for Governors and Managers and the Campaign for the Advancement of State Education. Individuals, such as Joan Sallis, Felicity Taylor and Ann Holt, now noted national experts on school governing bodies, were just beginning to gain national recognition - Joan Sallis was appointed as a member of the Taylor committee.

(5) The contexts of these studies are not strictly comparable with those of English school governors, but the roles of company non-executive directors and of US school board members are sufficiently similar to those of school governors to suggest the lines of enquiry which might be followed in studies of school governors.

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