The University of Liverpool

Management School

'Philanthrocapitalising for Social Change': A Policy and Practice Perspective of

Academisation

A thesis presented to the University of Liverpool

in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

16 September 2022

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Abstract

Philanthrocapitalising within academisation was introduced into the English education system as part of the radical structural and agency redesign of the English education system. Academisation aimed to diminish the Local Authority role of accountability for schools and introduced new management organisational contracting with central government. Thus, creating opportunities for private individuals and organisations to engage in philantrhocapitalising within academisation. Philanthrocapitalising is perceived to encompass the practices of philanthrocapitalists (Bishop, 2006), who apply business techniques to their giving and engage in social change by changing the way business and government operate.

Critically examining philanthrocapitalising is necessary in understanding its place within academisation policy and practice. Thus, this thesis makes an original contribution to the study of philanthrocapitalising by analysing what is involved, how it can be accomplished and what unique contribution it makes within academisation. By exploring the nature of practices at system level, organisational level and individual level, the study assists in developing a greater understanding of the dynamic phenomenon of philanthrocapitalising through the participant's lived experience (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975), in the perceived pursuit of social change.

This study also makes a novel contribution through the application of the theoretical lens of Structuration Theory, proposed by Anthony Giddens who was a key adviser to Tony Blair through the late 1990s and early 2000s when academisation was first developed into policy.

Philanthrocapitalising within academisation policy and practice is explored through the lens of the *'duality of structure'* (Giddens, 1984), which provides a means of understanding structure and agency as a duality and not a dualism within social systems. Empirical data was generated from the study of education legislation and academisation policy documentation as a single institutional case study, 86 Academy Trust contractual documentations and mission statements from their annual reports where used as organisational level cases, and two Academy Trust Members participated to provide primary data case studies. By considering structure (policy) and agency (practice) data together, those that are changing policy and practice for social change are subtly exposed. These changes are explored through the lens of *'structuration'* (Giddens, 1984), which enables the understanding of the nature of *'acting differently'* (Giddens, 1984) in the production and reproduction of social systems in the pursuit of social change. Structuration is demonstrated within the study where policy and practice create change within or beyond the system.

The study concludes that philanthrocapitalising involves motivation and the capability to act differently (Giddens, 1984). Routine practices are not motivated and are directly adopted from policy. However, because changes within policy and practice are evident in the findings, this illustrates that some individuals do have the motivation and capability to act differently. The evidence suggests that philanthrocapitalising is accomplished through the application of business techniques to giving, changing the way business operate and changing the way government operate (Bishop, 2006). Thus, philanthrocapitalising creates social change. Taken as a whole, this thesis enriches, enhances and extends thinking about academisation policy (structure) and practice (agency) enablers and constraints in the pursuit of social change.

Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the personal pursuit of a portfolio career across the public, private and charity sectors. My career has played a huge part in shaping my interest and understanding of the world. I would like to thank colleagues along the way who have inspired and helped me, and the participants of this study for sharing their experiences and unique insights into their lives and practices. They are inspirational role models.

I write this thesis as a way of inspiring my son and creating an academic legacy of my own. The hope and drive to be an inspiration to him, that I have gained as a mother, is a great asset and I am proud to present my work for future generations to ponder. I hope that he believes that he can do better and goes on to do so.

The resilience that I gained from my mother, Susan, and the determination from my father, Robert, have been features in my personal mission to complete this body of work and transition into the academic-professional realm. This has been a long journey from starting my MBA in 2012, to embarking upon the MRes pathway in 2015 and completing this PhD thesis in 2022 at age 46 years old. Longer than I could have ever imagined being engrossed in academic study. Quite an achievement since I didn't complete the MSc or Mphil that I started years before. But, it has been the best brain workout that I could have ever hoped for and I am at peace having finished. Not bad for a person who was predicted to fail her GCSEs and achieved two Es (alongside a C and a D) at A'Levels!

The support from my husband, Russell, and family and friends has been everything that I'd hoped for along this journey. Their help financially, emotionally and critically has been much appreciated. I couldn't have put in the hours without our babysitters and my mother who has cared for my son so wonderfully throughout the most writing-intensive stages.

I would like to thank my university supervisors Alan Southern and Dale Heyward for their support, challenge and direction. To Dilani Jayawarna, the previous Director of PhD Programme, and the panel members who have given support and direction each year at my thesis reviews. The feedback has been invaluable in shaping my thinking. To Jackie, my PhD buddy, who would have been by my side in the library if we had been on campus. I will never forget the late nights with the suitcase under the desk!

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the personal struggles I have overcome whilst on my PhD journey. I became a mum in 2016 and breastfed for over 3 years resulting in chronic symptoms of sleep deprivation. In November 2018, I developed a horrific 12-month-long illness called Guillain Barre Syndrome, which is a rare and serious condition affecting the nerves in my feet, hands and limbs. In the beginning of 2020, COVID-19 created a global pandemic. I believe I contracted COVID-19 and have suffered from a range of symptoms. My mother had a hip replacement and my father had two knee replacements, which created emotional strain. In 2019, I re-located with my son to my parent's home to help with my parents' recovery before my husband was able to join us from Hertfordshire. I sold my Liverpool home. I have established three businesses, which I will manage post-PhD, and will continue to support the running of my parents' two businesses. I am surprised at what I have been able to achieve in this time!

Chapter 1: Introduction

Problem Definition

Exploring philanthrocapitalising within the context of academisation enables greater understanding of institutional policy and organisational and individual practice where there is an emerging favour of public-private organisations within the public sector; relations and interactions, and the process of production and reproduction of social systems in the pursuit of social change. Philanthrocapitalising is an undefined term in the process of social change. The practice and involvement of philanthrocapitalising in the context of academisation is unknown. However, philanthrocapitalism is not a new phenomenon (McGoey, 2012) and is defined by business techniques applied to philanthropic giving to change how business and government operate to achieve social and environmental progress (Bishop, 2006).

With little known about philanthrocapitalising, case study methodology is the most appropriate approach to developing an emerging description. It provides an ideal means of exploring new subject areas as explained by Hartley (1994: 213) *'case studies are tailor-made for exploring new processes or behaviours or ones which are little understood'.* This approach has particular unparalleled means of capturing contextually grounded information (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991). The researcher acknowledges the strategic choice made in capturing and analysing secondary data from multiple cases alongside two case studies that generated primary interview data. The researcher's commitment focusses on the important features of the cases itself (Stake, 1994) and developing a rich description from the collated data. The researcher's decision to focus on a small number of primary data cases seeks to avoid the

crucial trade-off, when using a large number of cases, of overlooking the complexities and dynamics within which rich contextual events occur (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991). The researcher's intent acknowledges that any generalisations made from the case analysis are applied with caution to population-wide generalisations.

Although this research ventures into unexplored research territory in terms of both policy and practice, and ideally begins with a *'clean theoretical slate'* (Eisenhardt, 1989), there are acknowledged preconceptions of the phenomenon that underpin the research questions. For example, philanthropic giving in relation to donations are observable within academisation because they are listed within publicly available documents. Philanthropists involved within academisation are observable because their contributions are publicly recognised including the naming of organisations after themselves. Many philanthrocapitalist practices are observable where organisations have directly involved businesses in their endeavours and leveraged social capital for the benefit of others, which is publicly celebrated. Wider industry change is observable, for example changing methods of training and recruitment of young people through academised schools. Philanthrocapitalising practices in changing government policy or how government operates is less observable in the public-eye. However, autonomy within academisation provides the basis for observable personalisation and policy adaptation in practice, and the opportunities of position-practices are observable within policy departments or policy groups. Therefore, the opportunity to change government policy is observable in publicly available documentation. However, this prior knowledge lacks theoretical constructs or hypotheses. Using a case study approach with inductive data analysis, *'allows research to flow in the less common direction, from data to theory'* (Chetty, 1996: 77). Thus, this research maintains its' phenomenological inquiry base to construct a

rich description of philanthrocapitalising and holistic theoretical propositions built upon structural and agency contextual data.

Justification of Research

Despite the disruption caused to the UK during the global COVID19 pandemic, as well as the departure from the European Union, the roadmap out of lockdown is looking positive from a consumer confidence and economic perspective (Mintel, 2021). However, with political and social change challenges, including climate change, it is very difficult to determine how philanthropy will respond now and in the future to educational giving. Philanthropy is defined by financial and in-kind giving, and the history of philanthropy suggests that there is a positive correlation between income and giving. UK GDP is forecast to return to pre-pandemic levels in Q1 2022 with an anticipated level of growth of 5.1% and stabilise with a long-term growth pattern of 2.1% growth from 2023 (British Chambers of Commerce, 2021). Thus, there is a positive outlook for leveraging philanthropy, should the economy bounce back as predicted.

History shows that philanthropy and politics have a strong association and that philanthropy has played a large part of social change including through the involvement in the English education system. Focusing on the timeframe from the late 1990's to 2021, this research will explore how successive English governments have implemented ways of redesigning education as a social change mechanism, and by harnessing philanthropy. The exploration of philanthrocapitalising involved in social redesign also becomes the cornerstone of understanding academisation of the education system during this period. As of 1 July 2021, academisation makes up 44.6% of English state funded schools with a net asset worth of over

£49.7 billion (includes property, plant, equipment and pension liabilities) and annual revenue income of over £28.9 billion (including revenue grants, capital grants and other income) (DfE, 2019).

Theoretical Basis

As a means of setting the scene for the theoretical lens for this research, which stems from Structuration Theory as developed by British sociologist, Anthony Giddens, it is important to acknowledge that Giddens played a major part in developing the political strategic direction in England during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Many policies implemented during this period remain in place today including education policy. It is this legacy that creates the epicentre for the theoretical exploration of academisation. Anthony Giddens became one of the prominent advisers to the Tony Blair and Bill Clinton administrations. In his key advisory capacity to Tony Blair from 1997 to 2003, he influenced English political ideology through Structuration Theory and his concept of the *'Third Way'*, which proposes that the old class-based divisions of the left and right were redundant due to the effects of globalisation. Thus, bringing about social change in the greater expansion of public-private policy to deliver public services.

The literature review delivers a critical review of Structuration Theory and its application in the field of social change. There are very few examples of Giddens' Structuration Theory being applied within this field. Thus, this research explores literary uncharted ground. However, it should be emphasised at the outset that Structuration Theory is a general social theory rather than a specific theory related to this research context. Structuration Theory

offers a theoretical lens through which to explore key conceptual foundation principles and sensitising concepts which act as a way of understanding structure and agency within this research context. Structuration Theory attempts to transcend the dualism by giving structure and agency, knowledgeability and reflexivity, and time and space equal ontological status. Within each chapter of the thesis, these key sensitising concepts of Structuration Theory are critically explored in relation to epistemological, ontological and empirical applicability within social change research.

Giddens played a fascinating role in creating social change within education sector policy throughout the 1990's influencing the greater expansion of public-private policy to deliver public services. This period of public-private policy structure is characterised within the education system by academisation. Within the structure of academisation, there are complex and dynamic relationships and practices driven by public and private actors both at policy and practice level. The unit of analysis for this thesis becomes the practices of the private actors. These practices are characterised by philanthrocapitalism. Thus, academisation provides the empirical structural context and philanthrocapitalism provides the empirical agency context for the in-depth exploration of philanthrocapitalising. Therefore, Structuration Theory should provide a means of explaining philanthrocapitalising as a new conceptualisation of the practices of private actors.

Contribution to Knowledge

By eliciting narratives from semi-structured interviews that focus on what is involved in philanthrocapitalising and how it can be accomplished in practice, provides an effective lens in which to study the unique contribution that philanthrocapitalising makes. Instead of viewing practice as inputs and outputs, this approach provides an interesting means for interrogating what the philanthrocapitalist does. This research aims to highlight the patterns of individual practice and how these patterns are implicated in constituting and shaping structure and agency in the context of a quasi-privatised public service system. The implications of what practices are deployed, intentional and unintentional, are subtly exposed. Thus, this research makes an original contribution to knowledge by defining what is involved in philanthrocapitalising, how it is accomplished and what unique contribution it makes in the pursuit of social change. Developing this knowledge into a framework of philanthrocapitalising provides the potential for future research opportunities to compare and contrast policy and practice used across other public-private social systems.

Studying philanthrocapitalising within the context of academisation makes a unique contribution to knowledge about structure and agency in what may become the largest social system delivering English education in the future. At the heart of this contribution is the concept of the *'duality of structure'* (Giddens, 1984), as described through Structuration Theory, which considers both structure and agency equal and inseparable. Thus, this research makes a unique contribution in illustrating the interactions and relations between policy and practice. It also highlights the dynamic possibilities between policy and the involvement of others with a myriad of political, economic and social perspectives, and business, religious,

charitable and philanthropic priorities, with blended individual and organisational mission and motivation.

To contribute to the body of empirical work in the application of Structuration Theory and address the lack of methodological approach for such a study, this research also makes an original contribution by proposing a novel methodological and analytical strategy in combining temporal bracketing with thematic analysis through the dual analysis of structure (policy) and agency (practice) by means of the structuration of academisation.

Research Aim and Objectives

This research, *'Philanthrocapitalising' for Social Change: A Structuration and Practice Perspective of Academisation'* aims to explore philanthrocapitalising within academisation as a means of social change. In broad terms, this thesis asks the question *'How does philanthrocapitalising facilitate social change?'*.

Although trait-based research is attractive in the pursuit of answering the questions 'Who is a philanthrocapitalist?', 'Why do people become philanthrocapitalists?' and 'What are the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful philanthrocapitalists?', disappointingly, this would lead this research to differentiate and compare individuals and would not assist in understanding the nature of philanthrocapitalising. Discriminating between features to make generalisations about characteristics of individuals becomes a risky business (Brockhaus, 1982) because in adjacent fields of research, like entrepreneurship, Hull et al (1980) conclude that even after comprehensive empirical study of entrepreneurship *'a definitive means of*

measuring and identifying these characteristics goes on' (Hull et al, 1980: 80) and the search

for the *'Heffalump'* continues (Kilby, 1971). This challenge is attributed to the use of differing

methodologies from small-scale case studies to large-scale surveys and comparing subjects

at differing points along a spectrum (Hull et al, 1980: 250). Thus, a small-scale sample and

behavioural process approach is adopted within this research to elicit a rich description of

what is involved in philanthrocapitalising because the research questions steer away from

exploring a set of personality traits and characteristics from a generalised population.

There are key differences in research questions for this study of philanthrocapitalising are

shown below in table 1.

Table 1, p15: Primary Research Questions adapted from Bygrave and Hofer (1991)

Trait-based approach to philanthrocapitalising	Process-based approach to philanthrocapitalising
Who is a philanthrocapitalist?	What is involved in philanthrocapitalising?
Why are people philanthrocapitalists?	How can philanthrocapitalising be accomplished?
What are the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful philanthrocapitalists?	What unique contributions does philanthrocapitalising make?

Adapted from Bygrave and Hofer (1991) primary research questions for the study of the

entrepreneurial process.

The research objectives and questions facilitate the achievement of the aim:

    (1) Analysing the nature of philanthrocapitalising – What is involved in

        philanthrocapitalising?

    (2) Identifying practices of philanthrocapitalising – How can philanthrocapitalising be

        accomplished?

(3) Analysing the contribution of philanthrocapitalising – What unique contribution does philanthrocapitalising make?

Meeting the research objectives means establishing the premises for understanding practice from the lived experiences of the individual philanthrocapitalist and associated actions, which are embodied within practice. This view of understanding the substantive nature of philanthrocapitalising is critical in understanding what and why it is happening and to explore what is involved. This research does not ask questions such as 'Does philanthrocapitalising work?' or 'What are the outcomes of philanthrocapitalising?'. This type of question implies a sceptical, comparative and quantifiable study of those practicing philanthrocapitalism and those who do not or of those that are deemed successful and those that are not. This study focuses on unique contributions of philanthrocapitalising and adopts a positive approach in the pursuit of developing new knowledge that supports policymakers and practitioners. Documenting the dark side is inevitable, however, this research does not set out to question the comparative merits of differing organisations and individuals within the education system. It also does not seek to impugn the motivations of those involved. This research is focused on discovering how policy makers and practitioners are making philanthrocapitalising work and to provide a framework of practices to help future philanthrocapitalism. Thus, the research asks questions about what is involved, how it can be achieved and what is the unique contribution.

Research Questions

RQ1: What is involved in philanthrocapitalising?   Are there discernible patterns of *philanthrocapitalistic practices that are used to shape structure and agency at institutional, organisational and individual level?*

The uniqueness of each philanthrocapitalist's personal and contextual perspective underpins an idiosyncratic experience and becomes their social and economic reality upon the unique interactions with others. Each philanthrocapitalist has a unique experience to build unique practices around their unique interpretations. Giddens (1984) refers to this as *'Instantiation'* as in that instant the social and economic system is formed by the individual through time and space. Thus, social change becomes an individually idiosyncratic conceptualisation and represents the discovery, evaluation and deployment of philanthrocapitalistic opportunities. It could be argued that multiple individuals do not pursue the same opportunities, however, depending upon the enabling and constraining properties of social system structures and agency, there are some assumed similarities. This research considers both differences and similarities of experiences of the philanthrocapitalists and draws on instantiated conceptualisations.

RQ2: How can philanthrocapitalising be accomplished? What influences structuration?

The *'duality of structure'* (Giddens, 1984) assumes interdependence of structures and agents that co-evolve over time and space in the process of action, interaction, and interpretation. The philanthrocapitalistic practices that are assumed by the philanthropist are produced and

reproduced through the individual philanthrocapitalist's unique perspective, the interaction and the intended or unintended consequences of the interaction. The outcomes are assumed to be idiosyncratic to the individual and not easily replicable by others in the same configuration. However, although the individual's interpretation is unique, depending upon the enabling and constraining properties of social system structures and agency, there are also some assumed similarities.   Giddens (1976: 124) acknowledges that one property (signification, domination and legitimisation) may become more salient within a given context, which may give the reason for this.

RQ3: What unique contribution does philanthrocapitalising make?

Structuration Theory suggests that the philanthrocapitalist creates or instantiates philanthrocapitalistic practices through specification, interpretation and influence. This implies a process of interrelationships between historical experiences, knowledge, opportunities, capabilities and interpretation leading to interaction, consequences and reflection. Structuration Theory acknowledges the influence that the philanthropist may have upon others and the social and economic systems they practice within. Controlling resources (authoritative and allocative) through signification, legitimisation and domination structures represents the most visible aspect of philanthrocapitalism. With a focus on structures of domination, that is *'asymmetries of resources that agents draw upon in exercising power and in the sustaining of power relations in and between systems of interaction'* (Giddens, 1986:93). This merges the structuralist conception of agency with the institutionalist perspective on social systems. Thus, revealing implications for both structure and agency from institutional, organisational and individual level outcomes.

Arrangement of The Thesis

This thesis is arranged in five chapters. Chapter one includes the research problem definition, summary and questions are included within this section to establish the frame of reference for this research. Chapter two includes the literature review of social and organisational theory to discuss Structuration Theory across the structural and agency realms. Chapter three presents the methodology and methods used as a basis for this research. Chapter four illustrates the research findings, analysis and discussion. Chapter five presents the conclusion and makes recommendations.

Chapter One: Introduction

As described above, this chapter sets the scene for this research by describing the research problem and questions.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two is the literature review which provides a detailed account of the literature spanning plural and overlapping fields of study across social and organisational theory, social policy and social change research. This provides theoretical findings from predominately studies applying a Structuration Theory lens, empirical and non-empirical studies of philanthrocapitalism and studies focused on the context of academisation. This critical discussion focuses on various pieces of literature to identify gaps and methodological challenges. This review unveils information that grounds the research in the existing

theoretical debate. However, it deviates from a traditional thesis structure because there are three sections within the literature review presented within this study.

Firstly, the literature pertaining to structuration is discussed, which is focused solely upon theoretical perspectives to develop the main theoretical problems and propositions embedded within Structuration Theory. This section explores how structuration is formed of a duality - two component parts that require equal literary discussion: structure and agency. The methodological challenges for using Structuration Theory are also highlighted throughout this section, as well as the theoretical conclusions for selecting the Barley and Tolbert's (1997:101) *'Sequential Model of Institutionalisation'* as the means of framing the duality and methodology for study.   Academisation is identified as the *'Institutional Realm'* and philanthrocapitalism is identified as the *'Realm of Action'*.

The second part of the literature review is focused on understanding the theoretical perspectives of the *'Institutional Realm'* relating to the context of academisation (government policy as the case study). This section is expanded to present a discussion of secondary source materials that illustrate the historical policy context, as well as the theoretical perspectives in relation to policymaking and implementation of academisation. Combining theoretical, policy and practical perspectives provides a synthesis and analysis of the published research and secondary source data in order to describe the state of knowledge about the context: academisation at an institutional level. This draws upon contextual data that is already in existence in published government reports to make the theoretical perspectives of *'structure'* more meaningful and grounded within context.

The third part of the literature review focuses upon the *'Realm of Action'* as defined by philanthrocapitalism (Academy Trust Members). However, Haydon et al (2021) identify only 10 empirical studies using interviews out of 186 philanthrocapitalism publications that were reviewed. This highlights the distinct lack of theoretical and methodological perspectives of philanthrocapitalism derived from primary data. Thus, supplementing this with theoretical perspectives of agency alongside secondary data within differing levels of agency, is imperative to providing more meaning to the theoretical perspective of the *'Realm of Action'*.

The three sections combined within the literature review provide a holistic theoretical and contextual data driven perspective of the individual component parts of structuration and the proposed methodological framework for capturing the lived experiences and interactions of structure and agency within the framework through time and space. Thus, providing rich meaning to the research context.

Early analysis of secondary source data alongside the theoretical perspectives also provides the rigorous knowledge synthesis from secondary source materials to frame the identification and definition of the case studies for primary data collection and analysis. Empirical studies reflecting similar priorities for philanthropy researchers, resonate the challenges of the lack of theoretical and empirical studies in the field (Hay and Muller, 2012; Kohl-Arenas, 2017) and the need to synthesise critical, theoretical and functional interpretations (Haydon et al, 2021).

By setting out this information within the literature review, it allows the researcher to focus the findings and discussion section, later in the thesis, on the in-depth analysis of the primary cases. Situated within a more holistic presentation of the context, this enables more

meaningful conclusions. The researcher presents this as the most effective way to explore structuration, philanthrocapitalising and academisation within this study.

Section 1 - Structuration Theory: Theoretical Foundations for Research

The first section within the literature review called *'Structuration Theory: Theoretical Foundations for Research'* draws upon a range of literature from across social and organisational theory to discuss the principles of Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory. This includes the combined use of Structuration Theory principles alongside other theories, the development of extensions of Structuration Theory and concepts, and the implications for creating a methodology for empirical research. Thus, the influence of Gidden's is dual, theoretical and methodical, and provides the means of scaffolding understanding and analysis of policy and practice.

Section 2 - The Structural Realm: The English Education System and Academisation

The second section, the *'Structural Realm'*, explains academisation from a theoretical and policy perspective. This sets out academisation within the English education system and presents the influence of Anthony Giddens advising Tony Blair between 1997 and 2003. Changes in political and social direction fashioned an extensive diversification of the English education system through new public-private partnerships under a myriad of different legal, fiduciary, economic and socio-cultural processes. Thus, Tony Blair's Labour government in the year 2000 initiated *'academisation' (DfE, 2000),* what has become the largest scale system redesign within English education since the 1940s.

Section 3 - The Agency Realm: Academisation Agency

The third section, *'The Agency Realm'* presents the actors and explores the agency context for this research. The agency context has been driven by the desire to diminish the *'polycentric hierarchical'* (Ball, 2009) role of local government and create greater autonomy at service delivery level. Thus, creating a new public management paradigm with a more *'distributed hierarchical'* (Ball, 2009) model of multiple school management organisations. Through academisation, schools are re-opened under new management; out of local government control, out of the hands of school governors and into the hands of private individuals and non-public organisations (Academies Commission, 2013:9) in a quasi-privatised relationship. Academisation encourages direct engagement of private sector agents in the management of state sector schools.

Understanding what is involved of organisations and individuals engaged within academisation is important to understanding structure and agency of social change within this thesis. It is important to acknowledge that during the New Labour period that the diversification of education and increased involvement of private individuals had also become a global phenomenon. Thus, these research insights should prove useful for global comparisons.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

Chapter three sets out how the methodology adopts an interpretive approach in the pursuit of developing new knowledge that supports policymakers and practitioners. Epistemologically, this research follows a qualitative methodology and employs qualitative methods. This research does not set out to answer questions that require large-scale comparative and quantifiable data. This research is built upon small-scale case study methodology. Adopting carefully aligned methodology and methods; interviewing, bracketing of space and time, and thematic analysis, this has enabled sufficient data to develop a holistic critique of the research findings.

Understanding philanthrocapitalising informs the development of a framework of practices to help future philanthrocapitalism. Thus, drawing together an understanding of the structure and agency of philanthrocapitalising.

Whilst asking these questions, documenting the positive and negative perspectives of philanthrocapitalising is inevitable. It is important to raise philosophical questions about the principles of the practice and its co-existence within the context of academisation and social change. Questioning philanthrocapitalising within the context aids our understand of what the implications are of philanthrocapitalising in both policy and practice for any wider application beyond the English education system. Exploring both practice and context; philanthrocapitalising within academisation, provides a means of critically analysing the structure of the system, strategies, accountability, and institutional arrangements. This is

alongside operational delivery models; financing, legalities, public-private relations, governance, leadership and community engagement.

Qualitative Methodology

The qualitative methodology is underpinned by Structuration Theory because this theory focuses on *'ontology-in-situ'* where this places context and practice at the forefront of any methodological approach with the emphasis on the importance of practice, or a series of practices, as a means of understanding how social life is recursively formed through structure and agency. Thus, this research adopts a process approach to selecting research methods to deploy.

By analysing agent actions and interactions within the structural realm and agency realm, the aim is to provide a means of understanding the structuration of academisation involving philanthrocapitalising; what is happening within the process-practice, not a product, that materialises in creating social change. This process-practice perspective focuses on structure and agency, interactions, pattern-making and implications.

Qualitative Methods

Detailed discussion within chapter three explains how the methods focus on the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings for the selection of qualitative methods, which include semi-structured interviews as the method of qualitative data collection, temporal bracketing as a

means of analysing practices within time and space, and thematic analysis as a means of interpreting experiences, relations and conceptualisations of change within society.

Case Study Research

This research presents evidence from a single case (the government) at institutional level, 86 cases (Academy Trusts) at organisational level and two cases (Academy Trust Members) at agency level providing a rich multi-level and in-depth collection of case evidence for the basis of analysis and interpretation. The significance of the data should not be understated. Data from elite individuals, who have influences and status with society, is exceptionally difficult to access, and to illicit guarded private practices. Thus, the quantity of primary cases does not devalue the importance of their contribution.

It also should be acknowledged that the large amounts of contextual secondary data presented across all chapters supplements the interview evidence. A range of secondary data is drawn upon, from Government, company and public sources, to present the wider contextual situation. Thousands of central records have been analysed and over a hundred in-depth Academy Trust members have been investigated to build the overarching context.

Temporal Bracketing

The *'Sequential model of Institutionalisation'* (Barley and Tolbert, 1997) offers a means of identifying *'observable, recurrent activities and patterns of interaction characteristics of a particular setting'* (Barley and Tolbert, 1997:98), which will be discussed through this chapter. This uses a specific method of sequential temporal bracketing of time and space to illustrate a process of practice. This involves encoding, enacting, replicating or revising, externalising and objectifying, which are highlighted as the modes of production and reproduction of social systems.

Semi-structured Interviews

This research draws upon the fundamental principles of semi-structured interviewing in the collection of qualitative data. However, the identification and development of a unique typology of cases requires an extension to these principles because the individuals included are classified as *'elites'*. Thus, this research method draws also upon the principles of conducting interviews with elite individuals.

Thematic and Practice Analysis

The analytical procedures used in thematic analysis will be deployed to interpret the complexities of response data from the semi-structured interviews. This method will provide

a means of interpreting experiences, relations and conceptualisations of society. Similar strategies are commonly used alongside structuration and process theories by contextualist researchers (Pettigrew, 1990), traditional ethnographers (Van Maaen, 1988) and cultural researchers (Bartunek, 1984). Thus, providing a significant body of work to draw upon in the development of a thematic strategy for this research.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion

Chapter 4 will revisit the initial research questions, present both the findings and the analysis of the data in the creation of the analysis of the cases. Identifying structuration of academisation forms the main discussion of this section. This leads into the discussion on practices and position-practices to develop an understanding of philanthrocapitalising and subsequently formulating a framework of philanthrocapitalising for wider application.

Section 1 - Academisation Structuration

Whilst chapter two and three illuminate the set of assumptions about the structural and agency context within academisation, chapter four focuses on drawing this together to illustrate the process of structuration of academisation. The phases identified cover a series of events, a period of change, which can be identified by structural and agency contextual changes, for example, programme *'initiation phase'* (policy debate, policy approval in law, policy implementation), *'execution phase'* (delivery of the programme as intended) and *'control phase'* (monitoring and control). This is not an exhaustive list.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

The final chapter focuses on building a *'framework of philanthrocapitalising'* as the final theoretical contribution of this research and provides a summary, conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Section 1 - Structuration Theory: Theoretical Foundations for Research

Introduction

This chapter draws upon a range of literature from across organisational and social theory to discuss the principles of Structuration Theory. In the identification of the key sensitising concepts specific to this research and the critique of these, principles from a range of other theories will be considered alongside other extensions of Structuration Theory concepts and the implications for creating a methodology and deploying methods for research. Arguing that Structuration Theory is a valuable framework for a rich understanding of structure (policy) and agency (practice) in the process of social change, this literature review will explore a range of ontological, epistemological, empirical and methodological issues.

It should be emphasised at the outset that Structuration Theory is a general social theory rather than a specific theory related to this research context. Thus, the level of abstraction provided by Structuration Theory is used as a means of seeing the world and applying this view to explore philanthrocapitalising and academisation. As this research sets out to create new knowledge and establish the importance of understanding philanthrocapitalising, primarily through structure and agency, it is important to discuss the key assumptions in detail before applying this theoretical perspective.

The breadth of literature available from scholars working across organisational and social research is vast. However, a specific selection criterion has been applied to filter out whose

theoretical perspectives stemming from Structuration Theory or whom attempt to offer a theoretical or methodological extension to Gidden's perspective. Although many scholars are explicit, some are less explicit in their reference to Gidden's, but their theory draws upon the central tenants of Structuration Theory. Others reference to Gidden's is superfluous. Thus, it is important to stress that the literature reviewed is not an exhaustive list, it is selected as most obviously relevant to this study.

Anthony Giddens' Body of Work

Structuration Theory proposed by Anthony Giddens provides the theoretical underpinning and key sensitising concepts for the direction of this study. At the heart of this perspective is the concept of the *'duality of structure'*, as described through Structuration Theory, considers both structure and agency equal and inseparable. Giddens produces a social ontology that simultaneously draws on the central tenants of functionalism and phenomenology, which replaces dualism with a duality.

As one of the world's most cited sociologists (Bryant and Jary, 2001), Gidden's Structuration Theory provides a starting point for this research. Giddens' early body of work provides an understand of the underlying theoretical position of Structuration Theory. Drawing upon the work of Durkheim, Marx and Weber, Giddens published *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory* (1971), *Elites in the British Classes* (1972) and *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies* (1973). Subsequently, *New Rules of Sociological Method* (Giddens, 1976, second edition 1993) established the foundations of Structuration Theory and later elaborations came within *Central Problems in Social Theory* (Giddens, 1979), *A Contemporary Critique of Historical*

Materialism (Giddens, 1981, second edition 1994) and *The Constitution of Society* (Giddens, 1984).

Gidden's 1972 publication *Elites in the British Classes* highlights power asymmetries where elites may have greater influence over the process of altering existing institutions than other classes (Child, 1997; Ransom et al., 1980; Whittington, 1992). In the *Class Structure of Advanced Societies*, Giddens (1973: 130) discusses *'the socially-conditioned production of asymmetrical life-chances'* in relation to an individual's access to resources and the capabilities to maximise the potential of them. He also explores power asymmetries and how classes operate and are experienced in practice (1973: 104-7) for example, influences on working class structuration may take the form of ethnicity or gender, or managerial structuration is influenced by marriage ties, personal or professional contacts (Giddens, 1973: 171). His ideas on structuration culminate in *The Constitution of Society* published in 1984, which comprehensively defined the theoretical constructs of Structuration Theory.

Giddens views his work as a continuous development (Bryant and Jary, 2001: 6), however, critics accuse Giddens of moving away from Structuration Theory by publishing later works that demonstrate a separation of societal and individual levels (Jones and Karsten, 2003). Critics neglect to acknowledge that this approach is simply an analytical means of exploring specific dimensions of Structuration Theory across different contexts, not ontological separation. Giddens' early work focused on social class (Giddens, 1973), elitism and poverty (Giddens, 1979, 1984), and the state (Giddens, 1985), which portends his later work on social democracy, politics and power (Giddens, 1991a, 1995). Although his later work focuses on self-identity (Giddens 1991b) and intimacy (Giddens, 1992), this remains within the sustained

perspective of inseparable structure and agency. This body of work includes publications such as *The Consequences of Modernity* (Giddens, 1990), *Modernity and Self Identity* (Giddens, 1991) and *The Transformation of Intimacy* (Giddens, 1993).

Giddens' more recent work turns to new perspectives on globalisation and political ideology which is reflected within his books *Beyond Left and Right* (1994), *The Third Way* (1998), *Runaway World* (Giddens, 1999), *The Third Way and Its Critics* (2000) and *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (Giddens, 2001). At the time, the *'Third Way'* ideology emphasised the urgency to raise standards and productivity to increase Britain's ability to compete globally. This introduced a new perspective of structure and agency regarding the roles and responsibilities of individuals within the global marketplace. This influenced a means of lower dependency upon government social welfare, which became a key focus for New Labour (the British Government) from 1997 (Robertson, 2000: 187; Peters, 1994).

Since the publication of the Third Way (1998), Giddens has remained a figure head in political and global ideology writing about *The Progressive Manifesto: New Ideas for the Centre-Left* (2003), *The New Egalitarianism* (2005), *Europe in The Global Age* (2007), Turbulent and Mighty Continent: What Future for Europe? (2013) and The Politics of Climate Change (2013). With over 34 books covering his holistic view of modern societies he provides a significant body of structure and agency conceptualisations to draw upon in the pursuit of exploring philanthrocapitalising and academisation.

Structuration Theory

Through Structuration Theory, Giddens (1984) offers a social reality formed by complex structure and agency relations, whereby they are both involved in the production and reproduction of social systems. Giddens (1984) argues that all other theoretical approaches to understanding the structure and agency problem fail to transcend the dualism by emphasising one over the other. Critics including Archer (1982, 1988, 1995) explain that structure and agency warrant separate ontological status and that the *'duality of structure'* conflates structure and agency because they are assumed inseparable (Layder, 1987; Callinicos, 1985). Thus, the challenge is to achieve a balanced perspective in the pursuit of research into the duality.

In order to fully understand the central concepts of Structuration Theory and the implications for application within this research context, the following discussion covers the key sensitising concepts

- the *'duality of structure'*;
- the *'knowledgeability and reflexivity'* of agents; *and*
- *'time-space'* relations.

From the outset, it is important to establish conceptual foundations and then move towards heuristic definitions of the terms used by Giddens to reflect them within the context of this research. The final discussion presents how the theory is interpreted and what the implications are for its application within this research context.

The Duality of Structure

Structuration Theory offers a resolution to the dualism of structure and agency by proposing the central concept of '*duality*' (Giddens, 1984: 25) where relationships between structure and agency are considered interdependent and equal. Giddens (1979, 1984) argues that structure and agency are connected to each other within social systems, and therefore, the social relational conditions governing production and reproduction (structuration) of social practices emphasises the duality of structure and agency, which cannot be separated. This is offered as an alternative approach to what are generally referred to as opposing approaches to the structure and agency duality; objectivism and subjectivism. Durkheim's objective reality refers to structure holding supremacy over action, which rules out the active role of the individual in the reproduction of social systems. The subjectivist approach perceives the opposite with action holding supremacy over structure, hence, human conduct is conceived from individual preference. Thus, subjectivist approaches are considered weaker in developing an understanding of structural influence on agency and objectivist approaches are considered weaker in developing an understanding of agency influences on social practices. Hence, structuration enables the conceptualisation of a single framework of structure and agency to consider the production and reproduction of social systems.

Structure

Giddens (1984: 256) describes the conceptualisation of structure as '*what gives form and shape to social life, but is not itself the form and shape. Structure exists only in and through the activities of human agents.*' Structure is recursive and therefore, systems are '*reproduced*

relations between actors or collectives, organised as regular social practices' (Giddens, 1984: 25). Structure is not viewed to be an exogenous force that is restraining, but as a resource to be manipulated by human actions in enabling and disabling forms.

Systems

Systems reflect the *'reproduced relations between actors or collectives, organised as regular social practices'* (Giddens, 1984: 25). Thus, systems exhibit routines and ritualised practices across time and space which become accepted as social norms (Cohen, 1998: 282). Across the Structuration Theory literature, the often helpfully cited example of a human social system which exists as a result of the inseparable nature of structure and agency, is human interaction through language. Language (structure) uses rules to establish understanding, which is used by the agent with knowledge of the use of voice and language (resources) such that speech (system of interaction) is understood. Jones and Karsten (2003) cite other examples to illustrate Structuration Theory. Work wear is a simple means to illustrate how appearance influences social structures to be reproduced by individuals. Thus, wearing a white coat in a medical environment or a police uniform signifies a certain role and the power an individual has. The challenge of such dress code may invoke sanctions. However, if they are challenged, new structures may develop over time, demonstrating the capability to transform structures.

Structuration

Structuration is described as *'conditions governing the continuity or transmutation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of social systems'* (Giddens, 1984: 25). Thus, *'analysing the structuration of social systems means studying the modes in which social systems, …., are produced and reproduced in interaction'*. Giddens' (1984) view is such that structuration is described as *'the process of structures reproducing systems; the system of interaction exists as a result of the language spoken'* (Giddens, 1984). Underlying social norms of structures are not implacable or immutable. The operation of norms depends upon the sustained ongoing reproduction by agents. If agents challenge the social order, over time, new structures may develop. Giddens' view is such that individuals possess the capability to transform structures through a constant state of reflexive monitoring. Agents are assumed to have the knowledgeability to act, but as Polanyi (1967) suggests, we know more than we say. Giddens explains, there are unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of action, which can be desirable and undesirable social norms. Giddens (1984) balances his argument by acknowledging that structures can be changed by unintentional or intentional action such as social norms being ignored and they become substituted or reproduced in different ways. He also frames the role of structure as being both constraining and enabling human action.

Structural Modalities

Giddens (1984) explains that social order is drawn from a further level of complexity between the structural and agency realms. Giddens (1984) refers to the concept of *'structural*

modalities' as being the connection. The modes of structure are described within three concepts; significance, dominance and legitimacy. The modes of agency are described as communication, power and sanction. The degree to which institutions are embedded within agency form within the structural modalities of interpretive schemes, facility and norms, which provide the connection. The modes and modalities of structure and agency are summarised within the diagram below (Figure 1). The modes of structure are deemed as the institutional realm and the modes of agency are deemed as the action realm.

Figure 1, p35: Modes and Modalities of Structure and Agency, The Dimensions of the Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984)

The Dimensions of the Duality of Structure
Giddens (1984)
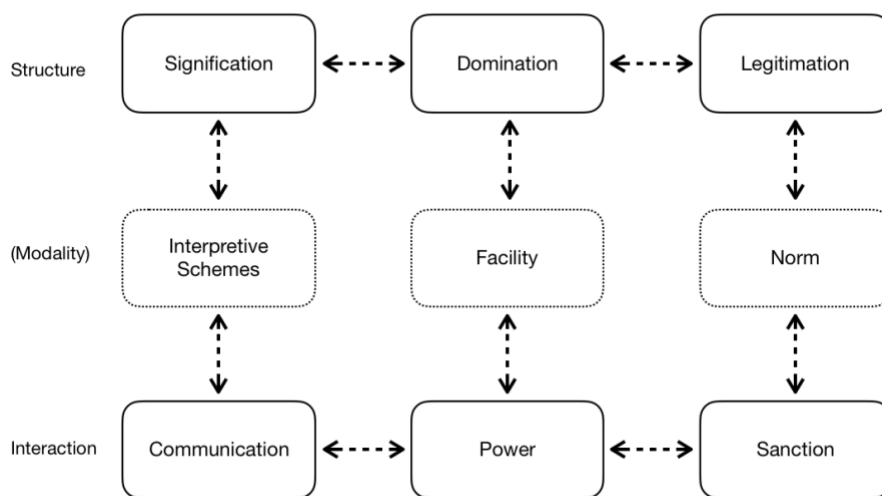
Signification relates to meaning produced through webs of language (semantic codes, interpretive schemes and discursive practices) in social interactions such that the agent is able to interpret and manipulate by interpretive meaning, which is beyond the simple meaning of words. It is commonly accepted that domination focuses on the production and exercise of

power, originating from the control of resources (material and human). The forces of domination and submission exist within power-based relationships and that resources drive these (Giddens, 1984:256-262). Domination is considered a productive force as a means of bringing about change underpinned by choice. Legitimation refers to the evaluation and acceptance of social norms which produce a moral order or code of conduct, values or standards forming the social structure (Giddens, 1984: 28-34). Through the interaction of agents, social norms are weighed against the moral order of the structure to gain legitimacy. *'Therefore, whether or not an action is considered legitimate in the social order is structured by this dimension of legitimisation'* (Lamsal, 2012). It is the means through which rewards or sanctions are bestowed. Although all three are incorporated within a social system, Giddens (1976:124) acknowledges that one structural type can be more salient that another within a given context.

The modalities form three concepts – interpretive schemes, facility and norms. For Giddens (1984), interpretive schemes are the mode between signification and communication where an agents' knowledgeability when applied reflexively sustains communication and becomes shared knowledge in practice. Facility is related to the power dimensions of institutions and society based on two types of resources – authoritative resources and allocated resources. Giddens' (1984) approach is to understand the power relationship as a form of interaction between structure and agent where resources are a form of authority as demonstrated within a principal-agent relationship for example, between the organisation and employee. Norms are the mode between legitimation and sanction because they mediate between the rights and obligations governing interactions.

Giddens' (1984:3) describes *'action'* as an embedded set of processes stemming from reflective monitoring, rationalisation and motivation, not a combination of *'acts'* nor *'action'* separated from *'the body, its mediations with the surrounding world and the coherence of an acting self'* (Gidden's, 1984: 3). Action is considered an intentional cyclical process involving acts, interaction and reflectivity. The modalities influence how agents communicate, engage their power and determine sanctions, forming the action realm.

The dimension of communication is referred to as a general element of communication including communitive intent (what an agent intends to say or do) and meaning. Both are regarded as equal in interest and importance. Gidden's (1984) argues that agency relations are not hierarchically or one-dimensional where one agent has power over another. Power is one element of these dynamic relationships under conditions that are defined in flux interacting with the structure. Thus, Gidden's emphasises the transformative capacity of human agency in the process of social change. Giddens (1984) holds that social systems are both constrained and enabled by structure and agency, suggesting complexity and contradiction. Through the exercise of domination and power, transformational change may or may not follow from a legitimate structure (Lee and O'Neill, 2003).

Although rules guide behavioural patterns, these may be challenged and create varying contextual norms within the system of production and reproduction of normative interactions (Tihanyi et al., 2003). Within capitalist structures of rules and resource allocation, appropriate conduct is expected within the bounds of state regulations and legislation against a backdrop of consequences. However, as Giddens (1984) identifies, structures do not have

total dominion and that the power of defiance allows individuals the dialectic of control. The

dialectic of control means that superiors can be influenced by subordinates.

Giddens (1984) writes that change is not confined to individuals and individual institutions.

Collectives, and individuals intersecting and overlapping multiple organisations and

institutional environments, have the power to effect systemic social change through

collective agency, although it is assumed to not be monopolistic in nature. It is through

purposeful and reflexive organisation of groups that can create whole new social cultures.

This plurality suggests choice over the structure and agency enlisted within and across

organisational practices. Thus, assuming that structures exist, the focus shifts the domain of

analysis from any form of social totality or the individual agent toward *'social practices*

ordered across space and time' (Giddens 1984; 2). Within the duality, Giddens (1984:25)

operationalises the definition of structure as the *'rules and resources, or sets of*

transformation relations, organised as properties of social systems'. However, he warns

against the categorisation of rules and resources involved within a given practice. The focus

is on the constitution and reconstitution of social practices. Giddens (1984) asserts that

'Structure is embedded within practice, or in a series of practices, in which it is recursively

implicated' (Giddens, 1984).

Critics argue that structural modalities serve as a characterisation of structural and agency

properties, not as the connection (Wilmot, 1987).   Wilmot (1987) suggests that *'the*

modalities appear as the structural properties of social systems, as expression of signification,

domination and legitimization… [they] are understood to be drawn upon by actors in the

production of interaction. And, at the same time, they are the media of the reproduction of

the structural components of systems of interactions' (Wilmott 1987). However, for Giddens' the structural modalities are important because they provide a focus for attention on points of intersection between the two realms. Archer (1989) argues that *'artistic hermeneutics'* prevails where research exists without an empirically viable means of establishing the link between the two realms.
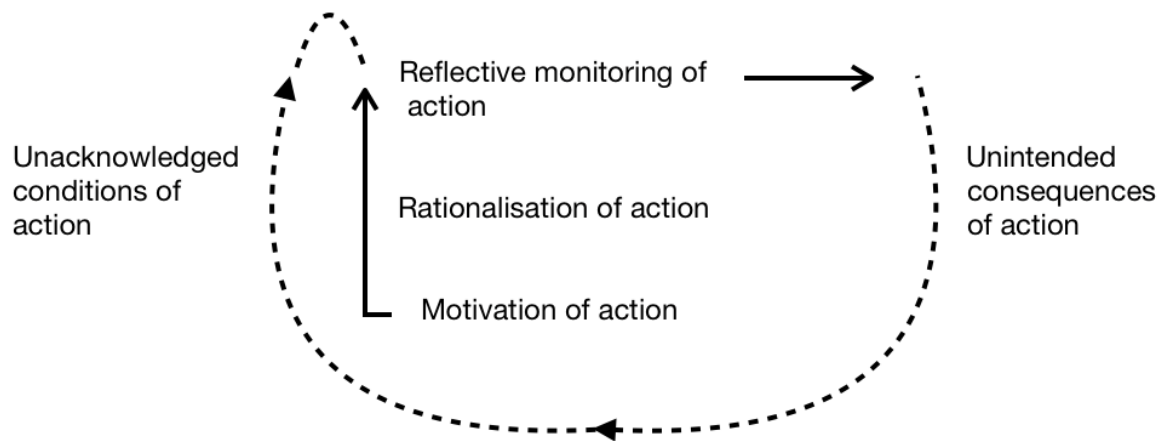
Knowledgeability and Reflexivity

Structuration Theory assumes that agents have familiarity of their social context and that the continuity or transformation of practices stems from the process of reflexivity. Giddens (1984) describes reflectivity as including key elements such as knowledgeability, motivation and capability in the agents' production and reproduction of social systems. Structuration, conditions governing their conduct, does so in such a way that constrains and enables the ongoing flow and alteration of practices to occur involving a dynamic social process in which agents operate in complex and evolving relationships within their social and institutional environments through a continuous flow of cognition and practice.

This is demonstrated within diagram below (Figure 2). The *'stratification model'* (Giddens, 1984: 5) illustrates how agents continuously monitor their activities, as well as expect others to do so of theirs, and monitor the social and institutional context in which they move within.

Figure 2, p40: The Process of Reflexivity, Stratification Model (Giddens, 1984)

Stratification Model
Giddens (1984)

Reflective monitoring of action

Unacknowledged conditions of action

Rationalisation of action

Unintended consequences of action

Motivation of action

Structuration Theory assumes knowledgeability of agents and for them to have *'reflective capacities'* (Giddens, 1984:3). As the agent reflects on structure and agency, these reflections are informed by the past, orientated toward the future, flexible in the present, and combine the past and future within the contingencies of the moment (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). For social practices to become routinised or altered to create change, agents need to be knowledgeable about society and the social conditions in which their social context is formed; the rules they follow, the resources they have access to and the sets of transformation relations*.* Giddens' argues *'it is the specifically reflexive form of knowledgeability of human agents that is most deeply involved in the recursive ordering of social practices'* (1984: 3). Knowledgeability is described as both discursive and practical consciousness. Both demand a familiarity with the social conditions and context and are a highly visible feature of action in the study of practices. Giddens (1984:7) refers to the differences as *'what can be said'* and *'what is characteristically simply done'.* Discursive consciousness is the verbal expression of

knowledge. Practical consciousness refers to tacit knowledge and those actions where the agent may not be fully able to express knowledge (like riding a bike, swimming, walking).

'Reflexive monitoring of action' develops from the *'rationalisation of action'* where agents *'maintain a continuing 'theoretical understanding' of the grounds of their activity'* (Giddens, 1984:5). *'Where routine prevails, the rationalisation of conduct readily conjoins the basic security system of the actor to the conventions that exist are drawn upon in interaction as mutual knowledge'*. (Giddens, 1984:220). The desire to maintain routine behaviour is described as an agent's *'ontological security'*, which is primarily embedded within practical consciousness.

Motivation is distinguished separately from knowledge and is defined as *'potential for action rather than to the mode in which action is chronically carried on by the agent. Motives tend to have a direct purchase on action only in relatively unusual circumstances, situations which in some way break with the routine…much of our day-to-day conduct is not directly motivated…'* (Giddens, 1984: 6). Thus, unconscious motivation is conceived as a key feature of agent practices within the routinised course of events, similarly as conscious motivation is in the deviation from the routine.

For agents to step out of routinised actions, then a discursive and motivated consciousness is required which Giddens' suggests *'agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently'* (Giddens, 1984:9).   Thus, Gidden's emphasises the transformative capacity of human agency in the process of social change to alter the course

of events. He acknowledges that individuals are knowledgeable, purposeful, responsible and self-monitoring, and driven by internal reflexive monitoring, rationalisation and motivations. Thus, Giddens' explores formal constraints (structures as formal configurations) and the control of action, as well as what people actually do (structures as patterned regularities and processes of interaction), which provides both the opportunity to explain enablers and constraints on individual action and depict the capability of agents to avoid constraints and to modify systems. Here lies the potential for deliberate strategic choice, even when faced with established routinised structure and agency. Whittington (1992: 695) concludes that *'Giddens' substantive work projects a world that possesses structure but is neither monolithic nor so determined as to preclude deliberate and effective action'*. However, sustainable social change demands space and time, perseverance and consistency. '*To succeed in implementing change there is a need to make certain options more likely than others, and there is a need to put pressure on commonly understood and accepted directions'* (Gynnild, 2001: 4).

Giddens (1984:14) argues that agency is *'the capacity to make a difference'* because of the capability of agents to influence and change structure and agency through the process of enactment. Kilminster (1991: 102) refers to Structuration Theory as a social ontology that emphasises *'the freedom of the individual, seen as potentially self-directing and expressive'*. Therefore, capability is defined as the capacity of agents to act otherwise in altering the status-quo. This is described as the power to intervene or not. Giddens (1984: 14) describes this as *'to be able to 'act otherwise' means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs'*. Power is defined as a psychological factor that one party (principal) has over another (agent) (French and Raven, 1959), which can be organisational or personal (Gibson et al., 1991).

However, Gidden's (1984) argues that agency relations are not hierarchically one-dimensional where one agent has power over another, power is one element of these dynamic relationships within the duality of structure.

Other critics originate from both sides of the debate of the structure-agency problem with consensus theories (e.g. functionalism - Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, 1924, 1935, 1952) on one side and conflict theories (e.g. structuralism – Marxism, Nadel, 1957) on the other. Consensus theories argue that structure and agency originate from a sense of belonging to society, therefore, any problems occurring in society, societal consensus forces will resolve these. Conflict theories place their emphasis on society inherently consisting of inequalities, oppression and power relationships and that large-scale social change is necessary to resolve these issues. Thus, it is important to acknowledge at the outset that traditional agency theorists argue that agents don't have greater scope to choose their behaviour, which constrains opportunities for creative and disruptive agents. Critics suggest that social structures are fluid in the hands of agents (Cohen, 1989; Philo, 1992; Driver, 1997; Sharpe et al., 2000). However, critics suggest that Giddens views of agency are set within a progressive modernist ideology which presents *'nice-guy agents'* who are *'always knowledgeable and reflexive'* and '*all powerful'* (Zhu, 2006:108). This assumes that agents are *'good'* and neglects the conception that agents could be a *'source of domination and oppression'* (ibis). However, Donnelly (2006: 332) argues that *'what might be construed as mere self-interest or conservatism, in fact reflects the investment of the individual in the structures that she or he sustains and is sustained by'*.

Time-Space Distanciation

Time and Space have a unique set of social assumptions. Palitsky et al (2016) and Sulivan et al (2016) highlight variations in the way time and space is organised, which they suggest, shapes temporal and spatial experiences, relations and conceptualisations of society. One perspective, illustrated by Keefer et al (2017: 298), explains that time is *'some sort of resource, and therefore can be wasted. Moreover, it relies on thinking of time as somehow ''empty,'' and therefore capable of being filled with different activities—some useful and some wasteful. It requires a kind of budgeting of one's activities in space, too, because one must organize one's movements through space to spend time effectively.'* The opposite perspective comes from agrarian and biblical critics who argue that time passes in the natural events of the world and therefore, is not a resource (Ecclesiastes 3).

Giddens (1984) argues that human action is situated in time and space, and that social science needs a temporal means of dealing with production and reproduction of social systems. Thus, Giddens proposes a phenomenon termed *'time-space distanciation'*. Giddens uses the term time-space distanciation to describe the process of *'the 'lifting out' of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-spans'* (1990: 21). Modern society also changes social interfaces *'interconnections, and differentials of power, found between different societal types comprising intersocietal systems'* (1984, p. 164). Through Structuration Theory, Giddens (1984) responds to an identified weakness across social psychology, where the relational dimensions of time and space are rarely

considered or considered independently. This remains as an identified weakness across the field (Keefer et al, 2017).

Giddens illustrates a difference between the concept of *'place'* and *'space'*. Place refers to localities whereas space is unbounded activity. He explains that within modern societies, space and place are no longer coinciding in localised activities that create a *'presence'* of face-to-face interaction. Modernity increasingly forms *'locationally distant'* relationships and interactions. (Giddens, 1990: 18). Technology has enabled such remote and absent activities. Gidden explains (Giddens, 1984: 68) "... mediated contacts that permit some of the intimacies of co-presence are made possible in the modern era by electronic communication...". Thus, modern societal analysis has complexities in making sense of the *'social integration'* level, which is described as face-to-face interaction and the *'system integration'* level, which is described as relations between systems or collectives (Giddens, 1979:76). Analysis of macro, meso and micro levels highlights the need to carefully consider space, presence and time in social relations.

Giddens (1984:171) is critical of others perspectives on time and space by recognising that *'social scientists have failed to construct their thinking around the modes in which social systems are constituted across time-space'*. With this focus on the temporal and spatial character of social systems, Giddens explains *'the study of interaction in circumstances of co-presence is one basic component of the 'bracketing' of time-space that is both condition and outcome of human social association'* (Giddens, 1984:171). Co-creation and co-evolution involve recursive interaction over time and form a dynamic process with structure-agency

inter-dependence. This is described in three *'intersecting planes of temporality'* that tie together structure and agency in the recursive make-up of social life - *durée* (the reversible temporality of daily experience), Heideggerian *dasein* (the irreversible temporality of the life-cycle, being-unto-death) and Braudel's *longue durée* (the reversible temporality of institutions). Thus, this raises questions about how to manage time-space relations within empirical research.

Wilmott (2000) and Gregory (1984) are critical of Giddens and argue that the time-space dimension is wholly underdeveloped and Urry (1991: 160) has a general observation that Giddens fails to *'interrogate the concepts sufficiently'*. This criticism is duly made because of the limited methodological approach offered for empirical research. The extent to which time-space distanciation allows for the abstraction of time and space from within a social system as a quantifiable dimension over time, for measurement and control, is under question (Sullivan et al., 2016: 299). Adam (1990) questions whether social time is 'reversible' and how applicable the *'time-space of power relationships'* are in less developed societies because Giddens work is set within modern developed societies.

Management and Organisational Research

In order to set the scene for the empirical foundations of this study there needs to be a brief explanation of the breadth of influence of Structuration Theory across several research fields. Giddens' views of structuration have prompted a considerable body of empirical organisational and management research studies throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s

across Britain and Europe, particularly within organisational sociology journals. These have been published within journals such as the Academy of Management Reviews, Academy of Management Journal, the British Journal of Management Studies, Organisation Studies and Administrative Science Quarterly. Directly influencing management theory because of the reoccurring problem of structure and agency within organisations and the wider institutional environment.

Many studies focus on Giddens early work, 1976-1991, including the key elements of Structuration Theory including the *'duality of structure'*, *'agents' knowledgeability and reflexivity', and 'time and space distantiation'*. These cut across both *'social integration'* and *'system integration'* sociological spheres. Examples include the analysis of practices involved in management control and managerial agency (Whittington, 1992), management action (Macintosh and Scapens, 1990), managerial agency and strategic choice (Armstrong, 1991), strategy (Pozzebon, 2004), strategy-as-practice (Whittington, 2010), processes of institutionalisation (Barley and Tolbert, 1997), implementing organisational change (Van de Ven and Poole, 1995; Brocklehurst, 2001) and shaping organisational strategy (Jarzabkowskl, 2008; Johnson, 1987), the implementation of technology and strategic management (Pozzebon and Pinsonneault, 2005; Poole et al, 2004; Zhu, 2006; Jones and Karsten, 2008), identity in homeworking (Brocklehurst, 2001), power relations (Courpasson, 2000; Brocklehurst, 2001), personnel power struggles (Dowding, 2008; Fligstein, 1987; Layder, 1985) and social entrepreneurship (Nicholls and Cho, 2006).

This body of literature suggests that Structuration Theory has been most appealing as a process theory in the study of practise within *'social integration'* (face-to-face interactions)

because of the high replication rate of routine organisation and management practices, which are more susceptible to change. This micro level analysis focuses on individuals within organisations interacting and the implementation of change. Overall, it has been less appealing for understanding institutionally changing practices including sector, industry and policy changes because these have a lower transformation rate and take longer to appear over time. Studies involving *'system integration'* demand more complex longitudinal data over considerable periods of time, which is more challenging to observe and obtain.

Philanthrocapitalism and Social Change Research

Philanthropy creates a dialectal dance of structure and agency that moves, eludes, unnerves and yes, even captivates us. It is a term used interchangeably with other terms for example, giving, donating, non-profit and charity, and alongside other terms for example, venture, strategic and impact. Daly (2012) describes the challenge of conceptualising philanthropy as it being *'no easy task given the susceptibility of philanthropy to change in light of social, economic and political circumstances'* (Daly, 2012:553). However, Daly (2012:553) asserts that conceptualisation *'is a task that is essential for progress'*. Thus, this *'underlines scholarly pragmatism in the articulation and use of the concept'* (Ibid). In 2006, Bishop coined the phrase *'philanthrocapitalism'* and defined it as involving business techniques applied to philanthropy and as a means of changing the way business and government operate such that philanthrocapitalism was positioned as *'the growing role for private sector actors in addressing the biggest social and environmental challenges facing the planet'* (Bishop and Green, 2015:541).

Within this research, structurally, *'capitalism'* is interpreted as an economic system based on capitalist agency involving market methods, private ownership and profitable operations (Muller, 2012). Proponents of capitalism ideology vow for business take-over and market methods to address weaknesses in public sector policy and practice (Edwards, 2008; Bishop and Green, 2015). Critics (Clark and McGoey, 2016) focus on the negative outcomes of governmentality with policy influence coming from the rich, and performance objectives prioritised over social needs. Amalgamated with *'philanthropy'*, which is defined within this research as an idiosyncratic form of agency - private giving, produces a complex and contested duality of structure and agency that has resulted in dynamic tensions in conceptualising philanthrocapitalism. These two contested concepts: *'philanthropy'* and *'capitalism'* creates an ambiguity that is embedded as a polemical tool, with no fixed closure to its meaning. Its constitution, and material and social relations are constantly contested.

This recursive tension, evolving and changing as struggles over economics, politics and society prevail means that it is unsurprising that academics, policymakers and practitioners face a problematic situation in researching and reaching agreement on their definitions and justifications of their conceptualisations of philanthrocapitalism. Academic discourse on philanthrocapitalism is scarce (Adloff and Degens, 2017; Edwards, 2008; Sandberg, 2014) despite its increasing use in public-private policy and practice (Baltodano, 2017). Haydon et al (2021:355) reviewed 186 peer-reviewed scholarly texts (excluding practitioner discourse) to examine the academic fields where debates about philanthrocapitalism were centred. This research noted that there was a *'scattered discourse'* across a large number of fields of research with very few articles published in one discipline. The greatest predominance of articles was evident in the third sector and sector specific areas such as education,

conservation and law. Haydon et al (2021:355) highlight that 100 articles were non-empirical and *'more than half the articles addressing agriculture, healthcare and international development were non-empirical'*. Only 86 empirical studies deployed research approaches including case studies, interviews, ethnography, network ethnography and surveys, for example.

Hay and Muller (2012) cite methodological challenges being the pinnacle factor in the lack of empirical data because of the difficulties in defining, identifying and accessing participants. Thus, there remains a substantial gap in knowledge in understanding the key debates and interpretations of the concept of philanthrocapitalism, particularly from the insider perspective. This research argues that disagreements within philanthrocapitalism discourse are not a lamentable condition of its applicability and to make best productive use of this, there is the need to create a new approach to dissect its' use and applicability within the context of academisation where it is identified as a feature. This applicability is in the clarity of framing (Muukkonen, 2009) the conceptualisation of philanthrocapitalism. Gallie's (1956) analytical framework assists in the examination of concepts to unpack definitions, meaning and use by different scholars across different fields. Thus, philanthrocapitalism is appraised as characterised by three features; private giving, the application of business approaches to giving, changing the way business operate and changing the way government operate. Each feature of the concept is given equal weighting and there is unity in this description. The character of philanthrocapitalism is set within the norms of the time period such that the concept is time-bound in any analysis and that it is also set within direct contest to other scholars' interpretations. The consistent use of terms and definition throughout this study provides a means of establishing the modality (structures into actions).

This study focuses upon philanthrocapitalism and no other alternative forms of philanthropy. The researcher gave due consideration to a range of other conceptualisations of philanthropy before establishing philanthrocapitalism as the best fit. For example, venture philanthropy is defined by three characteristics – building operating capacity, close engagement between donors and recipients, and clear performance expectations (Kramer, 2002). Venture philanthropy lacks the ability to capture the notion of interaction between policy and practice. It is organisationally and individually driven rather than facilitating exploration of institutional and agency interactions. Strategic philanthropy is driven by impact analysis and mostly associated with corporate philanthropy – to reach business objectives (Ricks and Williams, 2005). Impact philanthropy is focused on the individual philanthropist and their relationship with the recipient. There is a close association between the giver and receiver (Duncan, 2003). Thus, the definition of philanthrocapitalism provides the most suitable holistic definition applicable for this research.

The theoretical search for an alternative to the Marxist perspective of structure and agency leads to Structuration Theory as a less deterministic concept of structure and agency because it focuses on the constant interplay of structure and agency – the 'duality'. Although critics argue against Structuration Theory because it is not considered a substantive theoretical proposition in the process of social change (Gregson, 1986; Fincher, 1987), it does encourage non-linear recursive relational understanding in the duality of structure and agency (Gregory, 1989:354).

Despite its' benefits to conceptualising the duality, Giddens' Structuration Theory as a theoretical lens or framework for studying philanthrocapitalism is not apparent within the research identified by Haydon et al (2021). Explicit engagement with theoretical perspectives was only evident within 28 articles. Only 12 theoretical perspectives were applied within the philanthrocapitalism literature. Although Structuration Theory is not featured within the list, there are some similarities in theoretical principles that consider structure and agency in a duality. These principles are evident in Haydon et al's (2021) interpretation of the dominant theoretical concepts; *'philanthrocapitalism as a mode of governmentality and philanthrocapitalism as a hegemonic device',* for example. Philanthrocapitalism within academisation as a mode of governmentality is theoretically plausible as well as a means of hegemony; dominance, shaping and influencing policy and organisations. Taken together, these do provide understanding about how policy and practice interact. For example, the duality of structure and agency is evident in some theoretical perspectives relating to governmentality and assemblage (Foucault, 2008; Li, 2007) where this mode normalises and legitimises self-governing systems and where philanthrocapitalists resemble altruistic authority. Hyperagency (Schervish, 2003) considers philanthrocapitalism in the context of shaping policy and the creation of new philanthropic organisations which offers some parallel influences aligned to structuration in the production and reproduction of social systems. Thus, Haydon et al's (2021) conclusions provide some literary justification underpinning this study to use a Structuration Theory lens to expand understanding.

This research provides scope for learning about philanthropic practices, which are considered socially transformative in the main. Thus, providing a different perspective for analysis of transformational practices rather than routines. However, there is a growing body of

research that is set within the social economy in which philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism reside, whereby *'social entrepreneurship'* takes centre stage alongside Structuration Theory. Philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurship bear resemblance. Nicolls and Cho (2006: 111) explain that *'the social entrepreneurial individual or network often consciously challenges the societal status quo by disrupting dysfunctional structures to innovate, change, and deliver greater social or environmental impact'*. However, many studies provide only limited reflections on innovative practices and have an underdeveloped concept of structure and agency in the process of innovation (Dees, 1998: Dees, Emerson and Economy, 2001). Therefore, this research has much to offer by way of opening up serious theoretical discourse about structuration across the fields of philanthropy and social entrepreneurship where discursive motivations and disruptive practices are evident and more easily identifiable.

Social Policy Research

Structuration Theory has been discussed to some extent within Education policy literature. This is mostly a theoretical critique in relation to the sociology of education rather than empirical application. Nonetheless, this body of literature is a helpful means of reflection for the further exploration and application of Structuration Theory within this research context of academisation.

Within social policy literature, Willmott (1999:9) describes the education system as contextually limiting what agents can do, where and when. Such studies predominately focus on teachers as agents and their limited capacity to change the status-quo due to the nature of their roles or *'social position'* (Shilling 1992: 80). Shilling (1992) describes how social positions carry social expectations that agents will fulfil routine practices. Although, Bratton et al., (2007) argue that *'individual choices are seen partially constrained, but they remain choices nonetheless'* and agents are neither powerless nor invincible relative to the context in which they are situated.

Similarly, agency issues dominate the social policy literature across the study of school-based education, further education and higher education. Structuration Theory has featured within publications such as the Management in Education, British Journal of Sociology of Education, and the Journal of Education Policy. Several studies have provided a theoretical critique in relation to the sociology of education rather than an empirical application (Shilling, 1992; McFadden, 1995; Willmot, 1999; Morrision, 2005). However, predominately, education policy research focuses on practice as policy enactment, organisational strategy

(Jarzabkowski, 2008), practices for educational change (Morrison, 2005), communities of practice, leadership practices, teaching practices, approaches to learning (Gynnild, 2002), curriculum development (Ivinson and Duveen, 2005), and alternative learning practices (Ashley, 2010).

Few studies focus on practices influencing macro-level institutional change, hence, there is a significant gap of unexplored structure and agency interactions and practices between the two. Other education literature makes reference to Structuration Theory in passing (Warren et al., 2011) with some briefly referring to the Academy programme, and others make no reference at all, but, embody the central tenants of Structuration Theory.

Giddens (1979, 1984) proposes that meaningful explanations of social phenomena can be achieved through his alternative approach in which both structure and agency are considered equal in their influence at all levels of routine and transformational practices. Shilling's (1992:71) work within the field of the sociology of education argues that Structuration Theory has the potential to successfully combine structure and agency at macro and micro-levels (see Watkins, 1985; 1986; Shilling, 1991). Therefore, resolving the epistemological debate regarding the relative weight given to agents' accounts and sociological constructs, addressing ontological concerns by focusing on how social processes are generated and shaped, and methodologically, applying theoretical perspectives to micro-level research (West, 1984). In his work, Shilling (1992) highlights the unfortunate consequences of the separation of micro and macro-level processes, which leads to a significant problem in conceptualising the process of change. This issue is widely recognised within the sociology of education (Hammersley, 1984). As Shilling (1992:70) describes *'splitting social life into*

hierarchical levels makes it difficult to conceptualise change as a dynamic process involving both structures and human agents'. Whittington (2010) concurs that *'Structuration theory mandates full-spectrum research: the wide-angled analysis of institutions as well as the microscopic study of praxis'* (Whittington 2010: 109).

Implications for Creating a Methodology for Research

The ontological limitations of Structuration Theory exist because of the nature of how social processes are formed from unique properties. Structures as enabling and constraining agency, do so, but differentially, producing varying degrees of influence and outcomes. Structuration Theory is viewed as lacking explanation as to how to unravel this complexity into manageable pieces, hence, it is not easy to distinguish structure or agency from that which explains it. Thus, for Structuration Theory it is difficult to establish an ontology for empirical research on this basis (Gregson, 1989:237). Epistemologically, limitations also exist in establishing the relative weight that should be given to either sociological constructs and agents' accounts in the construction of the duality (Archer, 1982, 1989, 1995; Thompson, 1989; Layder, 1997; Willmott, 1997, 1999) and in combining institutional, organisational and individual level perspectives (West, 1984).

However, it is not the purpose of this study to provide a detailed literature review of Giddens' theoretical views on all methodology matters, as these already exist in other authoritative texts. The discussion does not seek to debate the ontological nor the epistemological status of structure and agency, although structure and agency will be presented as two distinct elements in interaction that are worthy of explicit examination in the understanding of the

duality. Acknowledgement is given to traditional views that point to structure as holding supremacy over agency where structures constrain or enable individuals' capability to act, which generally rules out the active role of the individual in the production and reproduction of social systems. As well as other views, where agency holds supremacy over structure in that agents' actions and interactions are considered central to the production and reproduction of social systems. However, in the case of this research, structure will be assumed to exist prior to agency due to the nature of the context being derived from historically established social and education policy. Thus, the time frame of 2000 to 2021 bounds this research.

Critics of Structuration Theory increasingly search for alternative approaches to simplify and operationalise the theory and align it with specific methodological and methods. A considerable amount of literature has been published fusing Structuration Theory with Institutional Theory in the analysis of practice to explain the structure and agency duality (Jarazabkowski, 2008). These studies draw upon a theoretical framework developed by Barley and Tolbert (1997:101) which aligns the institutional (structure) and action (agency) realms.

Barley and Tolbert (1997) propose that Structuration Theory combined with Institutional Theory provide complementary insights, and also suggest this approach defines a methodology for investigating how every-day and transformational practices produces and reproduces institutional forms. Giddens' concept of structure bears strong resemblance to definitions of institutions. Institutions are defined by Barley and Tolbert (1997:96) as '*shared rules and typifications that identify categories of social actors and their appropriate activities*

or relationships'. Thus, within combined studies structure and institution are used synonymously.

Barley and Tolbert (1997) describe the institutional realm to *'represent an existing framework of rules and typifications derived from a cumulative history of action and interaction'*. Giddens (2000:172) explains *'social institutions are formed and reformed via the recursiveness of social activity. The techniques, strategies, and modes of behavior followed by actors in circumstances of co-presence, even in the most seemingly trivial aspects of their day-to-day life, are fundamental to the continuity of institutions across time and space'* (Giddens, 2000: 172). These social institutional mechanisms are recognised by Giddens as *'abstract systems'* such as symbolic tokens (e.g. money) and expert systems (e.g. professions) and described as *'Symbolic tokens are the media of exchange which have a standard value, and thus are interchangeable across a plurality of concepts… Expert systems bracket time and space through deploying modes of technical knowledge which have validity independent of the practitioners and clients who make use of them'* (Giddens, 1991a:18). Barley and Tolbert (1997:100) argue that actions *'constitute institutions diachronically'* providing the historical context and *'institutions constrain action synchronically'*, which focuses on a specific point in time when action takes place without taking history into account. Hence, *'the modification of an institution is more likely to require conscious choice than does its reproduction'* (Barley and Tolbert, 1997: 102). They also describe how environmental conditions such as economic downturn or global warming increase the likelihood of modifications to institutions as individuals and collectives question the *'scripted behaviour' (ibis)*. In the absence of such contextual change, the propensity to continue to adhere to the script makes institutions persist in their established form (Hughes, 1936: 180).

Barley and Tolbert's (1997) *'Sequential model of Institutionalisation'* proposes a linear model where behavioural regularities are central to the concept of interaction and action between the realms. This extends the notion of structure and agency of Giddens and Berger and Luckman (1967). The central concept is that of *'scripts'*, which are defined as *'observable, recurrent activities and patterns of interaction characteristics of a particular setting'* (Barley and Tolbert, 1997:98) over time. *'Scripts'* (ibis) are considered a useful substitute for Giddens' modalities because they provide a means of empirical identification at any level of analysis. This illustrates a process involving encoding, enacting, replication or revision, externalise and objectify, highlighted as the modes of production and reproduction of social systems. This is shown in the figure below (Figure 3). The model reflects the institution and action realms, the duality within social systems, the constraints and enablers on action, and the possible modification of the institution through agency.

Figure 3, p55: A Sequential Model of Institutionalisation (Barley and Tolbert, 1997)

A Sequential Model of Institutionalisation
Barley and Tolbert (1997)   Institutional Realm

```
                                                                          A          D
        A            D         A          D         A
        │    D    ↗           │    D    ↗          │              ↗
        ↓   ↘  ↗              ↓   ↘  ↗             ↓           ↘ ↗
    ┌─────────┐           ┌─────────┐          ┌─────────┐
    │ Script T1 │          │ Script T2 │         │ Script T1 │
    └─────────┘           └─────────┘          └─────────┘
        │      ↗              │      ↗             │      ↗
        B   ↗                 B   ↗                B   ↗
        ↓  ↗  C               ↓  ↗  C              ↓  ↗  C
       ↗                     ↗                    ↗
    ┌─────────┐           ┌─────────┐          ┌─────────┐
    │   T1    │           │   T2    │          │   T3    │
    └─────────┘           └─────────┘          └─────────┘
```

Key: A = encode, B = enact, C = replicate or
revise, D = externalise and objectify

Realm of Action
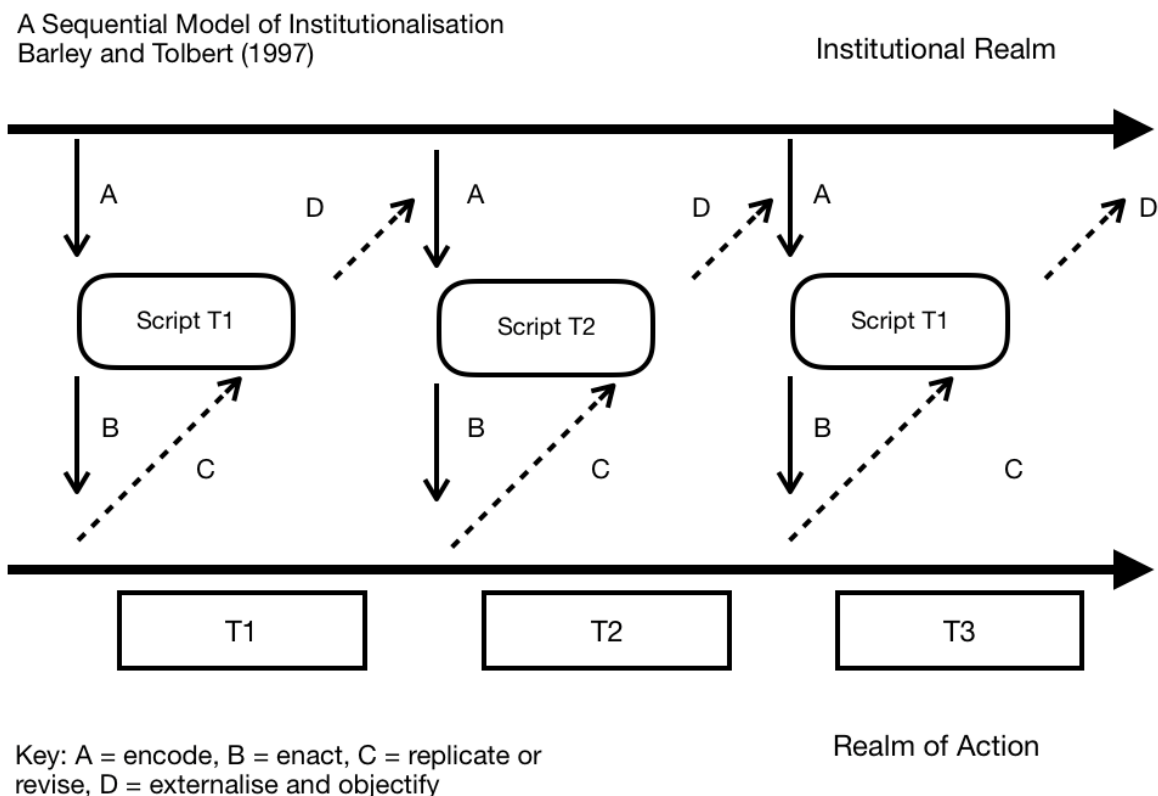
It is evident that the application of Structuration Theory has been limited by the lack of clarity of a methodological framework. Bergmann (1992) and Nowotny (1992) consider the methodological implications of unravelling the complexity of time-space principles of structuration theory and suggest that the nature of temporality is neglected by Giddens. Barley and Tolbert's (1997) theoretical model, which illustrates the method of sequential temporal bracketing of time and space shows, Giddens fails to provide any such model to clearly identify how time and space relations interact. Within many studies that have attempted to resolve temporal issues, time-space distanciation is defined through temporal bracketing in the identification of various stages in the process of production and reproduction. This focuses on segmenting time and space in order to be to compare what

has occurred or not occurred. Thus, temporal bracketing in this way provides the opportunity for exploring structuration over time and space.

Temporal bracketing of time and space is used because this enables a practice to be identified and isolated for investigation at a specific point in time and space. This means that the interview questions and secondary analysis can focus specifically on exploring the patterns of practice and structuration occurring within the designated boundary. This eliminates distractions, however, this method can limit the breadth of understanding of the practice in producing and reproducing social change beyond this specific point in time.

Langley's (1999) review of strategies for theorizing process data also provides important insights into the use of temporal bracketing and events similar to Barley and Tolbert's model. Langley's (1999) *Seven Strategies for Theorizing from Process Data'* provides a comprehensive perspective on combing multiple strategies including grounding strategies (grounded theory and alternative templates), organising strategies (narrative and visual mapping) and replicating strategies (temporal bracketing, quantitative and synthetic). Four such strategies have proved a popular approach across the information technology field of research (Pozzenbon and Pinsonneault, 2005), which are grounded (Orlikowski, 1993), narrative (Yates and Orlikowsji, 1992), visual mapping (Orlikowski(1996) and temporal bracketing (Barrett and Walsham, 1999). According to Langley (1999), temporal bracketing seems more appropriate for exploring the driving mechanisms, visual mapping seems better at discerning patterns in processes and narratives are better for analyzing meaning. Pozzenbon and Pinsonneault, (2005), suggest that *'a combination of narrative and temporal bracketing as central for dealing with the duality of structure and the interplay between micro-*

macro'. Although, Pozzenbon and Pinsonneault (2005) refer to 'fine-grained' temporal bracketing as the exemplar, which gives a high density of data. For example, Barley (1990) conducted 10 months of observations over six to seven hours per day during the implementation of a new technology within an organization. Thus, there is a process of delineating the sensitizing concepts, aligning strategies for gathering and analyzing data, and which combinations of strategies best capture the research purpose.

A New Field for Discovery

Over the last twenty years, the quasi-privatisation of public services has been England's central government's key policy for influencing social system production and reproduction conditions for social change. This is an attempt to radically redesign system structure and agency through implementing public-private contracts for the management and delivery of public services. This institutionally validates private sector techniques and influences as a combined means of social change. Changes have occurred both within societal norms and law. This is evident within public services such as the health service, the education sector, and national infrastructure development.

Giddens (1985b:18) refers to the state as *'a collectivity in which knowledge about the conditions of system reproduction is reflexively used to influence, shape or modify that system reproduction'*, which provides an example of where deliberate strategy can move institutions, organisations and individuals in an explicit direction through human engineered progress, although not in totality (Giddens, 1985a:186). System redesign opens up the possibilities of agency enabling the potential to choose deliberate strategy. However, a basic human need

described as *'ontological security'* (Giddens, 1984:50), leads agents to adhere to routines. Social order is sustained through predictable routines and interactions. Thus, complex tensions exist within the constitution and reconstitution of social practices in the process of social change. Through researching an individual agents' experience, the capacity of the agent to *'make a difference'* (Giddens, 1984:14) and to *'have acted differently'* (Giddens, 1984:9) can be explored.

Academisation provides an interesting context for studying philanthrocapitalising for social change. This context presents an attempt of government and private individuals to influence the social conditions (structuration) for social change. Philanthrocapitalistic practices are carried out through a combination of philanthropic and capitalistic ideology, creating an environment for philanthrocapitalism, driven by political and private agendas as the basis of new societal and legal relations and interactions. The way this is arranged challenges our assumptions about these potentially opposing forces (philanthropy and capitalism), the scope for social change, and the idiosyncratic nature of private philanthropic giving.

This research focuses specifically on academisation within the English education system which includes approximately 45% of English state funded schools. Through newly formed quasi-privatised relations, the explicit intention of academisation is to improve the lives of children and young people by improving educational outcome. However, discussing the successes and failures of academisation is beyond the scope of this research. The Academies Act 2010 established a new legal framework and operationally, established public-private contracts between the government (Secretary of State for Education) and the newly created management and delivery organisations called Academy Trusts forming the 'Funding

Agreement'. The academisation of schools is considered a radical approach to structure and agency redesign by central government as schools are re-opened under new management; out of local government control, out of the hands of school governors and into the hands of private individuals and non-public organisations (Academies Commission, 2013:9) in a quasi-privatised relationship.

The importance of understanding structure and agency relations within contemporary society is underlined by the increasing appetite for the quasi-privatisation of public services. What appears to be most relevant for this research context is highlighting the value of Structuration Theory in illuminating how structure and agency co-evolve, and the implications of the intended and unintended consequences. Rather than creating explanations that focus singularly on structure or agency, or on different levels of perspective, which cannot successfully appreciate the duality on an organisational, interorganisational or institutional level. This aims to tackle traditional theoretical limitations by moving beyond part-whole analysis of the function or the properties of the parts, or the reciprocal causality and hierarchical relationships, to explore the dynamic complexities of social interaction between macro and micro levels, suggesting a more holistic approach to understanding the pieces of the social puzzle. Hence, the choice between Structuration Theory and other alternative theories is a matter of ontological preference of the researcher (Pozzenbon, 2004).

Conclusion

From this brief review of the existing literature relating to Structuration Theory it is clear that there are mixed views about its legitimacy as an approach for empirical research. In contrast to these assertions, this review refers to several examples of empirical studies that have successfully applied Structuration Theory to create critically insightful accounts of the complex dynamics of the mutual interdependence of agency and structure.

Critics have argued that because Structuration Theory is complex, based on general propositions and concepts operating at high levels of abstraction, and is difficult to apply in empirical research without a methodological guide, it can only serve as a general frame of reference (Pozzebon, 2004) or second-order theoretical foundation (Gregson, 1989:245), which needs supplements (Whittington, 2010). Giddens does not shy away from the complexities of his creation. He asserts that *'structuration theory is not intended as a method of research or even a methodological approach'* (Giddens, 1989:296). Therefore, it is the expertise of the researcher to harness the important perspective on which the ontological and epistemological scaffolding is built for understanding observed practices of individuals or collectives, and the influence of present or absent structures within systems.

Giddens addresses empirical research issues directly within *The Constitution of Society* (1984: 284-384) and in his reply to critics (1989: 293-301). It is from these chapters that the researcher draws the fundamental concerns for this empirical application of Structuration Theory, as well as those published studies deploying supporting theory and methodology. It

is clear that many issues relating to the structuration of philanthrocapitalising for social change remain unknown and empirically under-explored. It is this analytical observation that has led to the choice of Structuration Theory as the most appropriate lens through which to understand the empirical data within this study.

Methodological challenges exist as a result of the lack of clarity given by Giddens to the operational definition of structure and agency, and guidelines for methodological practices. As Barley and Tolbert (1997) suggest, this research defines the English education system as an institution undergoing change during the duration of the study. Academisation provides the context in which to identify management and delivery organisations also undergoing change in the process of enacting this social policy. The practices of agents working within the system provide the flow of action and 'scripts' that can be examined to understand patterns of practice. The unit of analysis will be the individual practising philanthrocapitalising. Hence, with supporting observations from a range of wider sources on institutional change, the complexity of structuration within this context can be unravelled. This research unites three research domains; social policy, philanthropy and organisational discourse, and examines the way in which engagement in philanthrocapitalising for social change is both enabled and constrained by structure and agency. Thus, the nexus among them is explored. Through this approach, philanthrocapitalism will be redefined from a duality perspective and a new way of identifying and analysing structuration in relation to philanthrocapitalism for social change will be presented. Central to this is the conceptualisation that philanthrocapitalising is both created by and creates structure and agency, and through knowledgeable philanthrocapitalists who carry out philanthrocapitalistic

practices, the constraints and enablers of structure and agency will be revealed. It is through the reflexivity and monitoring of actions, that the philanthrocapitalists deploy their practices for social change. The recursive interaction of the philanthrocapitalist with others within social system enactment creates the mechanism of this co-creation, as defined through philanthrocapitalism. This represents the capability to create social change through knowledgeability and reflexive monitoring of rules, resources and relations, and strategic conduct by the philanthrocapitalists. This highlights the importance of the agent's understanding and interpretation of rules, resources and relationships governing the continuation or change of social life, which is otherwise defined as 'structuration' (Giddens, 1984:25).

By adopting this theoretical lens, we begin to explore the institutional realm as formed of education laws and social policy and the action realm formed of individuals and collectives. The English education system and academisation form the context with philanthrocapitalising as the mode of practice operating between the institutional and action realms. Identifying and analysing philanthrocapitalising through this approach is essential to gaining a detailed understanding of how private individuals and groups are practicing and influencing England's public sector landscape in a quasi-privatised social policy context. This includes understanding how philanthrocapitalists interpret and influence their world as a recursive dualistic process to accomplish their goals and goals on behalf of others. This highlights the importance of understanding how philanthrocapitalising, as a practice, combines philanthropy and capitalism in order achieve aspired philanthropic benefit, economic returns and sustained social improvement. We begin to discover how agents use their

knowledgeability to discover, evaluate and exploit opportunities with intended and unintended consequences of action. Thus, Structuration Theory can provide a framework for developing deep insights into the discernible patterns of philanthrocapitalistic practices through which individuals and groups use to recursively shape structure and agency, the implications of philanthrocapitalising for social change over time and the constitution of philanthrocapitalistic structuration. This demonstrates how this approach is highly compatible for exploring the contextually grounded practices and perceptions held within. Thus, highlighting the importance of examining how policy and practice are constantly being defined and redefined during enactment.

Giddens' contribution provides the backdrop of a compelling story such that philanthrocapitalising as a phenomenon should be afforded more academic attention. Hence, providing impetus for the kinds of challenges and implications faced within quasi-privatised public services to be more thoroughly considered, and exploration of future intended and unintended consequences both in practical and theoretical terms.

CHAPTER 2

Section 2 - The Structural Realm: The English Education System and Academisation

Introduction

Before the discussion focuses upon the year 2000 to 2021, the preamble takes a journey through education policy structure and agency pre-2000. This starts the process of identifying structure and agency preceding the formal introduction of academisation. Education policy from the early piloting of academisation through to the Parliamentary acceptance of The Academy Act 2010 will be explored to understand the evidence of a historically complex and dynamic change to the institution; the English education system. Subsequently, the discussion will extent to the present day and reflect the context from the year 2000 to 2021. Publicly documented evidence for the exploration of structure (policy) provides a means of identifying key events in time and space that provide a context for identifying structure and agency relations, whereby they are both involved in the production and reproduction of this social system. Given the scale and scope of academisation to potentially create social change led by different types of agents from politicians and educationalists to charities and philanthropists, it creates a significantly interesting and dynamic social system in which to explore structuration and philanthrocapitalising.

As previously explained by Giddens (1984:256) structure is '*what gives form and shape to social life, but is not itself the form and shape. Structure only exists in and through the activities of human agents*' and in these activities, agents have the capability to '*have acted differently*'. (Giddens, 1984: 9). Thus, academisation enables the exploration of the

fundamental problem of linking structure and agency, and how to develop an adequate theoretical account which deals with simultaneously occurring policy constraints and enablers, and routine and transformational practices. Within the historical account of the introduction and development of academisation over time and space, the malleability of the structure will be brought into question. The potential to uncover real-time structuration processes of praxis that are predictable and unpredictable, challenges our current thinking about the formation and cycles of practice. Structures do not change by themselves; only agents act. Structural redesign of exogenous conditions may alter agent behaviour and thus alter structure. The predictable nature of this change in behaviour occurs because of the material or ideational conditions. Exogenous variables within the English education system include diversification, competition, financing, curriculum variance, technology and workforce mobility. Stratification derived from diversification risks dividing the population, beyond current inequalities created by geography, socio-economics, faith or ability, to include price per pupil and private financial investment. In the process of ongoing change, Giddens (1979) warns that structure and agency can harden, yet fracture, and constrain, yet enable. This may create unevenly interacting structure and agency in the process of production and reproduction of social systems.

Within this chapter, academisation as structure will be conceptualised independently to agency. Separating the structural realm and the agency realm discussion within this part of the thesis is a choice of the researcher to provide the in-depth analysis required to develop clarity for the concepts discussed. This is not to give structure primacy over agency, this is a mechanistic approach in order to give both elements of structure and agency the discussion they warrant. This is not an ontological separation. The discussion seeks to focus on the

context and explore contextual examples of structural formation, production and reproduction by the interplay of structure and agency.

It is also not the intension of this discussion to assume a two-dimensional linear explanation of the structure. However, discussion is presented in a chronological order for the purpose of simplifying the details of events and change over a substantial period of time. This is represented through the Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy as adapted from the Sequential Model of Institutionalisation (Barley and Tolbert, 1997) and provides a mechanism for organising the structure as shown below (Figure 4).

A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy Adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)
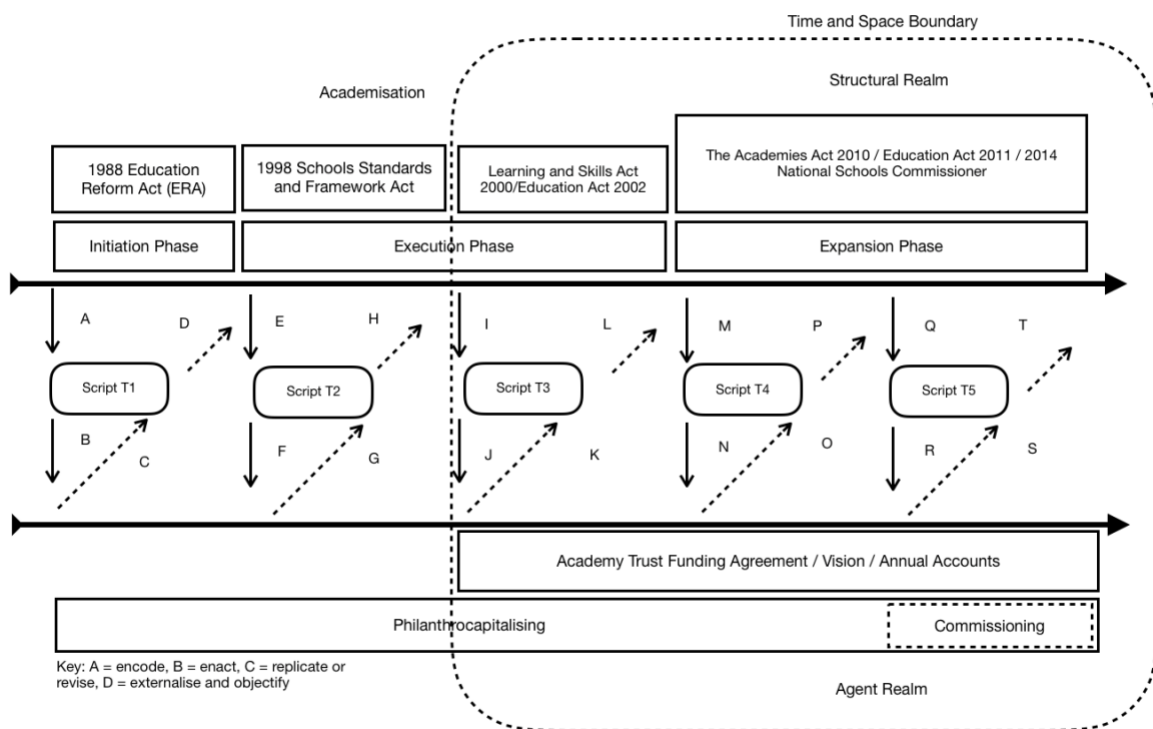

Figure 4, p66: A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)

Education policy changes from the 1970s to 2020s, with a focus on public-private contracting, provides a time and space bound context for the exploration of the structure which highlights key system pressures acting upon the English economy and society for example, globalisation and the need for the workforce to be able to compete in a global workplace. This includes pressures from other nations where structural change occurs at a more rapid pace and demonstrates evidentiary competitive success. Also identifiable are symbolic and physical makers of external structures (Stone, 2005) consisting of key political national, regional and local policy developments and socio-economic determinants.

From the introduction and formation of the first Academy Trusts, academisation as a system has evolved and if as patterns identified suggest, will continue to evolve. The academisation eco-system of structural and agency interactions and patterns, alongside some fluid and reactive episodes show identifiable stages. These stages will be briefly outlined within this conclusion and will be drawn into the discussion in-depth within the chapter titled 'Academisation Structuration'.

For the purpose of initialising a method for organising contextual time and space ahead of analysis, the structural context can be identified by phases. Phases are represented as linear at this stage, however, after later analysis, this may not necessarily a linear process nor a represent a single occurrence, as will be explained within the proceeding chapters.

Phases are identified as:

- An 'Initiation Phase' to illustrate the initial introduction of public-private education initiatives and school autonomy from local democratic control. This based around the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform act (ERA) and includes the introduction of Grant Maintained Schools, City Technology Colleges and Specialist Schools.

- An 'Execution Phase' to illustrate policy implementation at scale. This is based around the 1998 Schools Standards and Framework Act, the Learning and Skills Act 2000 and the Education Act 2002. This includes saturation of Specialist Schools and the introduction of academisation.

- A 'Expansion Phase' to illustrate the control and monitoring of expansion or reduction of policy and/or scale. This is based on the 2010 Academies Act and Education Act 2011. This includes the introduction of the National Schools Commissioners in 2014.

This summary of time and space divisions will be developed through this chapter and into the next, which illustrates structure and agency as the bedrock of collating the analysis of external structuring aligned with internal structuring to understand the duality. Temporal bracketing of time and space across the academisation lifetime to highlight structuration both as broad-spectrum (varying in length of time) and fine-grained (why and how events happen). This will be explained further within the methodology chapter.

Education Policy

Today, the English education system represents over fifty years of redesign characterised by experimentation and uncertainty as successive governments have implemented more efficacious ways of transforming the system. As the pressure to redesign the education system has increased, for political, economic and socio-cultural reasons, policy interventions and social discourse have increased. Extensive education reform has taken place since the implementation of the tripartite system of education or comprehensive education system of the 1940s to 1970s. The *'academisation'* (Gorard, 2009:101) of schooling in England came at the beginning of a new phase of system redesign termed the *'Post-Welfarist Education Policy Complex (PWEPC)'* (Gerwirtz, 2002:3) or the *'Academisation Policy Complex (APC)'* (Rayner et al, 2018). This has been realised through a systemic process of structural and agency changes underpinned by legal, fiduciary, economic and socio-cultural interventions. Academisation provides an abundancy of opportunities to consider the interdependence and recursive nature of structure and agency, and assist in the development of theoretical and empirical implications of such a stance.

Anthony Giddens played a major part in developing the political strategic direction through which academisation was introduced. In his key advisory capacity to Tony Blair from 1997 to 2003, he influenced political ideology through his concept of the 'Third Way', which proposed that the old class-based divisions of the left and right were redundant due to the effects of globalisation. Giddens described the redesign of the economy as creating a 'mix economy' that is driven by

'..a synergy between public and private sectors, utilizing the dynamism of markets but with the public interest in mind. It involves a balance between the economic and the non-economic in the life of the society. The second of these is at least as important as the first, but attained in some part through it.' (Giddens, 1998, p99-100)

He argued that the economic and social influence from powerful global forces are too significant to rely on traditional views such that faith in state intervention in the economy was outdated, but also the neo-liberal belief that everything should be left to the market, should also be rejected.

Giddens' argued that the political concepts of socialism and capitalism were breaking down and a new approach was needed. His view was to simultaneously draw on left and right political ideology in his advice on government policy. Giddens also argued that both the social forces and the actions of individuals that maintain society were not defined by themselves, but in relation to each other. Through Gidden's influence, the *'Third Way'* was presented as the UK's response to globalisation underpinned by political ideology that transcended the distinction between socialism and capitalism, and individual and societal perspectives.

Drawing on both sources: Anthony Giddens' *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy (1998)* and Tony Blair's *The third Way: New Politics for a New Century* (1998), the '*Third Way'* influenced an increase in the emphasis on a new *'mixed econom*y' bringing together public-private partnerships and the expansion of the non-profit sector in the delivery of public services. This was a significant departure from public sector nationalisation strategy within traditional Labour policy. However, the previous years of the break-up of large public

providers and fragmented generation of outsourcing of public service, gifted the opportunity for the third sector to become more coherent and efficient. Thus, this change in political direction fashioned a more extensive redesign of the education system to include public, private and third-sector players through new public-private partnerships under a myriad of different legal, fiduciary, economic and socio-cultural processes.

Weakening Local Government Control

The weakening of local government control had started under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government whom initiated education system redesign through the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA). As a government intervention strategy to weaken local government control and create a *'quasi-market'* (Le Grand and Bartlett, 1993), it was most poignant in non-conservative local authorities where central government had concerns that their policies were not being implemented. Chitty (2009: 51) observed that the ERA *'attracted more bitter and widespread professional opposition than any piece of legislation passed since the introduction of the National Health Service in the second half of the 1940s'.* Firstly, the ERA enabled parents to vote for autonomy from Local Authority management and to become Grant Maintained; opting out of local government management and receiving their funding directly from central government as an incentive, which led to over 20% of local government schools opting out. Achieving Grant Maintained status meant the injection of greater diversity of provision within the education system which was underpinned by funding reforms such that schools were paid directly per pupil and not *'top-sliced'* for services by the local government (Chitty, 2009:52). Grant Maintained status created structural and agency changes in that

'When a school obtained GM status, its governing body was reconstituted, taking over ownership of the school's property from the LEA and becoming the employer of the school's staff. It also became responsible for the school's admissions policy' (DfE, 1997).

Grant Maintained schools added to the myriad of existing diverse school management organisational forms including existing local government-managed, faith-managed, foundation or trust-managed, public-privately managed and privately (fee paying) managed schools. The remaining Local authority maintained schools may have thought that they had escaped the grasp of diversification, however, the introduction of the '*Local Management of Schools'* (LMS) changed the structure and agency of school funding to allocation per pupil granting schools greater autonomy to choose to spend the funding how they wished (Le Grand, 1991).

Market mechanisms were also introduced into the education system at this point through competition and consumer choice for example, the ERA required the publication of school league tables which was deemed to encourage poor performing schools to improve otherwise face losing pupils to more successful schools. Coupled with a new open enrolment system enabling parental choice (parents specify their first choice but were able to select multiple schools) and schools being selective (to varying degrees) in setting their own admissions criteria, created an expectation that schools would compete with one another to attract pupils. Thus, mechanisms to promote competition and consumer choice were endorsed. Roberston (2000: 174) argues that *'efficiency and equity in education could only be addressed through "choice" and where family or individuals were constructed as the customers of educational services.'* Historically, critics blamed school leaders and teachers because they

knew that parents could not easily take their children elsewhere if they were dissatisfied with the performance of the school (Shliefer, 1998; Adnett and Davies, 2003). However, by framing schools as the problem, centrally-led reforms appeared to solve those problems and were seen to be acting to improve outcomes for children and young people.

New Business Management of Schools

Traditionally, school management within the education system has been driven by local government public servants, as well as religious and charitable organisations. The 1988 Education Reform Act changed structure and agency within the public sector and subsequently drove a process of change that disempowered established agents and injected new knowledge, new business practices, and different social capital into the system. For example, the City Technology College programme movement was introduced as the process of transformation using new modes of public-private partnerships. Subsequently influencing change in structure and agency through the engagement of public-private organisations, as well as stimulating greater private interest in public education through the formation of companies with charitable status to manage and run the schools. Led by the Conservative Education Minister, (now Lord) Kenneth Baker, and (now Sir) Cyril Taylor through the late 1980s and early 1990s, the programme delivered 15 City Technology Colleges.

Change was driven by the desire to diminish the *'polycentric hierarchical'* (Ball, 2009) role of local government and create greater autonomy at service delivery level. This developed a new public management (NPM) paradigm. Thus, creating a more *'distributed hierarchical'*

model of multiple school management organisations. As the contribution of private sector influence and financing increases, the hierarchy of command becomes increasingly blurred between the public and private spheres (Newman, 2001). Structure and agency redesign suggests a restructuring of traditional agency relationships between the state and society, between the state and local government in retained polycentric hierarchy, and between the state and the private sector. The emerging new heterarchical structure facilitates the production of existing relationships and the reproduction in terms of new relationships, in a rapidly changing public education sector landscape. However, the core of public education financing is funded through government taxes. This is important to remember when discussing structure and agency redesign in this context because government funding control remains a key feature. This is regardless of the mechanism by which the school management organisation is formed or runs.

The City Technology College programme was underpinned by political views that schools were not teaching the skills required for industrial success. Structural and agency education system reforms in the form of public-private relations suggest superiority to those that are held within administrative and bureaucratic forms as they are perceived to achieve more efficient and effective allocation of resources (Whitty et al, 1998a; Robertson, 2000; Hatcher, 2003) because public service forms lack incentives, are politically managed, and monopolised on a local scale.

Starting by converting failing schools (secondary education) within cities that served the most disadvantaged communities, the City Technology College strategy sought to enable public-private partnerships by means of leveraging private financial donations and sponsorship for

new school buildings and equipment, offering a curriculum focused on technology and business, and introducing new structure and agency into governance to strengthen education leadership and influence improvement (Walford & Miller, 1991; Whitty, Edwards, & Gewirtz, 1993). The concept rejected the idea that students in disadvantaged communities were doomed to failure and with the pressure from private sector partners, performance was anticipated to improve. Thus, private sector partners dominated the governing bodies of the CTCs (Chitty, 2009) and autonomy gifted to them by government enabled freedoms to vary staff salaries and terms and conditions, for example. Sponsorship funding was initially called for of around £8 million towards the capital costs of each college, but this was reduced to £2 million after little private interest was established. Dogged by several scandals and political opposition, the programme ceased in 1991. By this stage in the early 1990s, reinstating local authority representation on governing bodies and funding schools through local authorities meant that self-governance *'opting out'* was no longer in fashion (Bush et al., 1993:69; Fitz et al.,1993:66).

The redesign of the education system through the Conservative government years of John Major (1990 to 1997) assumed another guise; specialisation. Implemented in 1994, the '*Specialist School' (1994)* programme brought further diversification, competition, choice and private sector engagement. Grant Maintained and Voluntary-aided schools were able to apply to become a technology college and others later on would be able to become language colleges. This policy drove a greater diverse range of private sector partners into the education sector and further financial sponsorship into school budgets as each specialist school was required to raise private funding of £100,000 towards capital costs of improving

their specialist facilities (West and Bailey, 2013: 142). New arrangements for additional funding for specialist schools provided the incentive, as well as match funding of private sector donations, with varying degrees of success of private sector engagement (Chitty, 2009) and across a range of subject specialisms.

The New Labour years fashioned an era of contradictions within education policy. In opposition, New Labour pledged to abolish the Grant Maintained programme and within 15 months of being in office published the 1998 Schools Standards and Framework Act, which set out to re-design the system with local authority involvement reinstated. This was represented within the system redesign to varying degrees, presented as three categories of schools: foundation, voluntary and community schools.

At the same time in this political chapter, Giddens' influence was permeating government and in contradiction to local authority control, many features of previous Conservative governments' strategy were reignited and extended. The Specialist School programme was re-launched with the aim of further diversification within the system, promoting collaboration across groups of specialisms and opening school facilities for local community use (DfE, 1997: 41). Charles Clarke, the then Secretary of State for Education and Skills reported that *'half of all secondary pupils are now taught in a specialist school – there were just 257 specialist schools in 1997'* (DfE, 2004). The challenges of engaging private sector partners in education had proved to be difficult. Interestingly, match funding of financial contributions of private sector sponsors was reduced to £50,000 (£20,000 for small schools) to incentivise more schools to specialise, with retained additional central government contributions (West et al., 2000). The Schools Standards and framework Act 1998 allowed for the expansion of the

programme with selection allowed of up to 10% on aptitude of subject capability. Specialisation expanded in 1997 with additional subjects.

Globalisation

Anthony Giddens' influence over New Labour at the time, using the *'Third Way'* ideology, emphasised the urgency to raise academic attainment to compete with global standards of education and productivity. Although Giddens (1998) rejected neo-liberalism, neo-liberalism allows us to understand the reformation of the education system in-line with economic development as economic productivity and employability of the individual becomes the focus. Education becomes less about developing a well-rounded individual and more about skills development, entrepreneurialism and added economic value within a global marketplace. Enabling the individual to compete in a global marketplace and be responsible for themselves (Robertson, 2000: 187; Peters, 1994), means less dependency upon government social welfare.

Tony Blair's Labour government in the year 2000 initiated what has become the largest scale system redesign within English education since the 1940s. The Learning and Skills Act 2000 introduced *'academisation'* through the City Academies programme and subsequently, the Education Act 2002 removed the prefix *'city'* from the academies programme to extend the programme beyond cities to include rural schools, and the Act also enabled the City Technology Colleges to convert to an academy. The City Technology Colleges programme was originally titled a *'pilot'* project and provided a testing ground opportunity. Whitty et al (1998b:218) explain that the structural and agency changes introduced through this

programme can *'be interpreted as providing a model for how autonomous schools might be funded, organized and operate in a market'*. All but two have since become academies (the BRIT School and Thomas Telford), suggesting these early principles of structure and agency change established a blueprint for the development of academisation.

Initially, academisation was a more radical approach to system redesign by central government closing failing schools and re-opening them under new management; out of local government control, out of the hands of school governors and into the hands of individuals and non-public organisations at an accelerated pace (Academies Commission, 2013:9). Where these schools are governed and managed by businesses, this creates opportunities for them to *'produce human capital for competitiveness in the global economy'* (Hatcher, 2003: 4). As a result, the education system becomes re-organised to meet the needs of the economy and the responsibility of the individual shifts from society as a whole to the individual. Society's expectations are refocused, and fewer expect society to be the provider of education. Thus, creating direct relationships between business and education.

Academisation drove the desire to diminish the *'polycentric hierarchical'* (Ball, 2009) role of local government and create greater autonomy at service delivery level. This created a significant expansion of the development of the new public management (NPM) paradigm. Thus, extending the *'distributed hierarchical'* model of multiple school management organisations. However, the core of public education financing continued to be funded through government taxes. This is regardless of the mechanism by which the public-private school management organisation is formed or operates.

As well as academies, by 2009, 3,068 Specialist Schools were open. The Specialist School programme ceased in April 2011 under the Coalition government (under the Conservative-DUP agreement, 2010 to 2016). Michael Gove's letter to Elizabeth Reid, Chief Executive of the then Specialist Schools and Academies Trust stated

'Now that specialism is so firmly established I believe that the time has come to remove the Government imposed prescription that has built up around the programme and to give school leaders greater freedom to make use of the opportunities offered by specialism and the associated funding. This is part of my wider commitment to trust school leaders to take decisions in the best interests of the pupils and parents they serve.' Michael Gove (2010).

Michael Gove (2010) went on to say that *'Of course, Academies are already freed from centralised control and are not constrained in their choice of specialism or required to undergo designation or re-designation. I look forward to an increase in the number of schools and academies enjoying these and other Academy freedoms.'* Thus, presenting a firm commitment towards academisation as a means of delivering the Coalition government's (under the Conservative-DUP agreement, 2010 to 2016) goals for education.

Global Education Policy Trends

It is important to acknowledge that during the New Labour period, the redesign of education and business involvement had also become a global phenomenon, which would prove to be of instrumental importance to the further development of education policy in England. Driven by the need for the workforce to compete on a global scale (Levacic, 1995), improving

education had become the focus of many governments (Dimmock, 1993) through dismantling centralised or localised bureaucracies (Whitty et al., 1998a). Many nations had begun to experiment with not-for-profit and for-profit management organisational models of schools.

Global trends, particularly within Western contexts for example in the USA, Sweden, Spain, Australia and New Zealand brought alternative education policy approaches to traditionally government-led models of public education, which challenge the status quo, increase parental choice and diversify provision to increase competition, although, regardless of measured success. Free Schools were pioneered in Sweden in 1992 before being adopted in England, under a programme of reformation that focused on a voucher system linking public funding to individual students where students had the choice where to spend them, as well as initiating an industry of private management companies running Free Schools. The largest for-profit organisations in Sweden include Academedia, Internationella Engelska and Kunskapsskolan. Kunskapsskolan, runs 36 Free Schools within Sweden out of over 100 school across the world, one of the largest private-public providers of public schooling in Sweden. Serial entrepreneur Peje Emilsson established the private for-profit company, which operates the schools through the voucher system. Kunskapsskolan (2021) is described as

> *'a private enterprise and as such depends on earning a surplus in order to raise capital and invest in its commitment to the long-term development of schools and education programs. Kunskapsskolan's business philosophy is based on the conviction that education is an industry that will benefit from players with a long-term perspective, sound finances and stable conditions. It is also convinced that education, as any advanced knowledge industry, needs long-term investments in research, development and innovation.*

With over a fifth of Swedish schools now being Free Schools, supporters claim Free Schools gain better results than state schools with results being better in geographical areas where there are a greater number of Free Schools (Bohlmark and Lindahl, 2012). However, Sweden has experienced a steep decline in its international performance within the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) league tables with the critics suggesting there are no positive long-term effects, which has drawn into question the tensions between making profits and improving a child's education. Similarly, the Charter Schools programme in the United States, introduced in 1991, has since introduced over 7,000 schools with approximately 3.2million students in attendance (NAfPCS, 2018). Charter Schools are of particular influence as this reform policy frees schools from municipal control, grants greater freedom from regulation than district-run schools and engages other social agents in the management and funding of schools, with a focus on parental demand for innovation. Philanthrocapitalists, Bill and Melinda Gates (Gates, 2018), expect to invest over $1.7 billion in USA public education over five years from 2017 to 2022 including Charter Schools. However, many USA Charter Schools have been dogged by allegations of exploitation and profiteering such that in 2018, California banned Charter Schools operated by for-profit organisations, for example. Recent political ideological change in 2018 within New Zealand has led to the Labour-Green coalition party abolishing Charter Schools (also known as Partnership Schools), which will be replaced with *'special character'* state schools as set out in the Education Amendment Bill 2018 (DfE, 2018). 11 such schools in New Zealand are affected, receiving termination letters from the Ministry of Education and undergoing a legal process to convert them back to state control. However, the opposition National party who established the Charter School movement within New Zealand have vowed to reinstate the charter school model if they were to come to power in future.

The Academies Act 2010

After the introduction of the 2000 Learning and Skills Act and Education Act 2002, the most significant academisation legislation to be passed within Parliament was The Academies Act 2010. The academisation of schools has been considered the most radical approach to structure and agency redesign by central government since the 1988 Education Reform Act. Through The Academies Act 2010, schools rapidly re-opened under new management; out of local government control, out of the hands of school governors and into the hands of private individuals and non-public organisations (Academies Commission, 2013:9) in a quasi-privatised relationship. Academisation is governed by a Funding Agreement contractual arrangement between the Secretary of State for Education and the Academy Trust. This establishes a direct contractual relationship between the principal (the Secretary of State) and the agent (The Academy Trust Members).

The Academy Trust is a registered charity, therefore, serves a charitable purpose and the public interest. However, private benefits are permitted (DfE, 2014). The financial regulations the Academy Trust operates under are set out in the Academies Financial Handbook (EFA, 2016). This allows for lawful private financial flexibility, but it is not void of public scrutiny. Academisation enables a school to set up as an Academy Trust (single academy trust or multi-academy trust) or join an existing Academy Trust (multi academy trust). The Academy Trust is legally a private entity, operating as an exempt charity, under a legally-binding contract what is known as a Funding Agreement between the Academy Trust and the Secretary of State for Education. The Academy Trust (single or multiple) is established as a company limited by guarantee with no share capital and members and directors of the

company are appointed. The Academy Trust company accounts are published through Companies House and through the Charities Commission, thus subject to the Companies Act 2006 and Charities Act 2011, and some statutory education law.

The Academy Trust becomes an entity responsible for the management of the school(s), what previously was the duty of the local government or governing body, for example, providing strategic direction, managing admissions, employing staff (pay and conditions), managing pensions, managing performance of the headteacher and carrying out fiduciary duties (legal and financial responsibility). Thus, academisation establishes a significant difference in accountability to state-maintained schools. Individual state-maintained schools remain accountable to the local authority whom have the legal right to remove the governing body if the school underperforms. Academisation means that the governing body no longer has any power (unless delegated) as it is the Academy Trust that has the contractual relationship with the Secretary of State through the Funding Agreement. Ball (2007:117) describes this as a ''break' from the roles, structures and relationships of accountability of a state education system'. This change has caused a shift of accountability out of the hands of the local community of the school to the Academy Trust.

Hence, following a similar path of the emerging system diversification and public-private sector partnership programmes of Grant Maintained schools, Specialist Schools, City Technology Colleges, Charter Schools and Free Schools, academisation encourages direct engagement of private sector agents in the management of schools, achieving what no previous government had. By 2010 there were 203 open academies, paving the way to the Academies Act 2010 enabling all schools to become an academy. Under the newly elected

Coalition government (Conservative-Liberal Democrats), the academies programme was more ambitiously accelerated to reach 1,300 open academies by September 2011.

The Characterisation of Academisation

Academisation allowed for rapid development of a range of models of education as well as a range of management organisation models. Sponsored academisation allowed for the conversion of existing failing schools and Converter academisation allowed for the conversion of existing high performing schools. Academisation also allowed for the opening of new schools as Free Schools, University Technical Colleges and Studio Schools.

The use of the term *'sponsored'* refers solely to those failing schools that are converted to an academy. It is used as a general term. The academisation of a failing school may or may not involve *'sponsorship'* by an individual or business sector partner. This is an important feature of the academy programme that could easily be misunderstood and it is important to emphasise this before discussing the '*sponsorship*' elements of the programme.

Initially through the New Labour years, many schools were forced to have a private sector take-over thrust upon them because of their failings (as *'sponsored'* academies). The government sought high net worth individuals and businesses from a range of sectors as *'sponsors'* to establish the management organisations and take over the schools. The National Audit Office (NAO 2010: 15) describes the benefits of such management

> *"Sponsors are intended to bring benefits such as commercial or educational expertise*
>
> *and a clear ethos, and a number of staff, parents and governors we spoke to ascribed*

their academies' business-like practices, positive values or renewed focus on
educational improvement to the sponsor's influence."

Sponsors led the implementation of business values and practices combined with corporate, entrepreneurial and philanthropic influence in schools as a means of school improvement. Engaging a private sector sponsor in the programme was considered superior, lauded as a smarter, more strategic and financially sustainable method than those currently without such engagement. Private sector sponsors engaged directly within the English education system and took on influential roles as members, directors and trustees, and school governors, as well as becoming major financial donors (Ball et al., 2012).

Roberts and King (1991) describe such sponsors as *'public entrepreneurs'* who *'from outside the formal positions of government introduce, translate and help implement new ideas into public practice'*. Private sector agents have been increasingly engaged strategically on central government social policy committees (Ball and Junemann, 2012) thus participating in the development and evaluation of social policy (Ball, 2007) and operationally in the delivery of service contracts (Chitty, 2009), as well as adopting governance roles (Ball and Junemann, 2012), management roles (Ferguson, 2000) and developing public-private partnerships (Robertson et al, 2012). They are considered to be able to mobilise public opinion (Cobb and Elder, 1981), broker and advocate policy innovation both within and outside the policy process (Petchey et al, 2008) and enhance the likelihood of the adoption and implementation of new policy (Oborn et al, 2011). The most significant body of work regarding the notion of policy entrepreneurs is drawn from Kingdon's (1995) concept of *'policy windows'*. This describes how *'policy windows'* open up when policy problems arise, and policy intervention

is the way to solve them. The role of the policy entrepreneur becomes the means to *'hook solutions to problems, proposals to political momentum and political events to policy problems'* (Kingdon, 1995:182).

Critics were concerned about sponsor motivations (Sandel, 2012), the legitimacy of the governance structure, conflicts of interest, conflicting roles and responsibilities of members, trustees (directors), CEO's and governing bodies in acting in the best interests of the public as tax payers and recipients of the service. Thus, potentially tainting structural and agency relationships between the Academy Trust and society, and distorting social values (Sandel, 2012).

Many argued that academisation is simply a general ruse for privatising the state education system, and the government's objective to use the academy programme as a means of raising educational outcomes for all is a disguise for the further *'marketisation'* of education. Whitty and Power (2000) explain that

> *'Recent reforms have sought to dismantle centralized bureaucracies and create in their place devolved systems of schooling with increased emphasis on parental choice and competition between increasingly diversified types of school. These reforms are often seen to be leading to an increasing 'marketization' and 'privatization' of education.'*
> (Whitty and Power 2000: 93).

McGoey concurs that the diversification of schooling creates opportunities for private management organisations to exploit the system. *'Making money off of the backs of children is hardly a new phenomenon. But what is new today is the legal exploitation of public education in order to earn profits out of government cash'* (McGoey, 2015: 114).

Academies have been dogged by many financial scandals. In the case of some of the sponsored academies, in March 2010, the National Audit Office (NAO, 2010) reported that 58% of the Academies that were pledged up to £2million endowment funding from sponsors between 2007-08 and 2009-10 never received a penny. In total, 89% never received all the money that was pledged. These were schools in areas of greatest need; disadvantaged communities with mass educational underachievement. In the same time period, a £51.8million black hole became evident between the pledged and received capital support for new school buildings (NAO 2010: 16). The NAO deemed the Department for Education (the Department) as *"unsuccessful in enforcing payment schedules and collecting older debts from sponsors."* (NAO 2010:16). The evidence at the time suggested that sponsors were not incentivised to pay. Rather than enforce the financial commitment, in response, the Department for Education moved forward to remove the need for any financial contributions from sponsors in September 2009 for schools opening in the academic year of 2010-11. This created opportunities for any organisation to step forward to run an English academy, regardless of financial commitment. This was a significant milestone influencing the scale and scope of academisation to come.

Many schools have undergone academisation out of choice. The introduction of the notion of *'converter'* academies led to massive expansion of the programme by enabling high performing schools to convert, retaining their governors as trustees, without the need of a sponsor to take over the management. In the case of *'converter'* high achieving schools, there is greater perceived autonomy because there has not been a *'sponsor'* imposed on them because of their failings. However, the notion of a converter suggests a significant departure

from any business influence. Some schools have simply transferred the governing body of the school as trustees of a single academy trust where the existing headteacher and Chair of Governors have become trustees, which suggests greater control over management and retained autonomy by education professionals. Others have joined a multi-academy trust of their choice also suggesting some prior association or consideration of retained autonomy by education professionals rather than business.

After the 2010 general election (6 May 2010), Michael Gove became the Secretary of State for Education under the Coalition Government. He had held the position of Shadow Secretary of State for Children, Schools and families opposite Ed Balls (Labour) since 2007. On 18 June 2010 and following parliamentary questions on 21 June 2010, Michael Gove confirmed that the 2010 Academies Bill *'created the provision for the creation of Free Schools.'* (Michael Gove, 2010). The initial £50 million funding for the programme was *'reallocated'* from the *'low-priority IT projects'* budget (Michael Gove, 21 June 2010), which was commonly known as the Harnessing Technology Fund. The Free School Programme is academisation in another guise and was presented as is an enabler of additional school places to meet demand in areas of growing need and introducing greater choice for parents. The National Audit Office reports that *'the Department plans to open 500 new free schools between May 2015 and September 2020 bringing the total number to 883. It expects these 500 schools to provide 270,000 places.'*

The introduction of Free Schools created a new dynamic set of political, economic and socio-cultural tensions because of the types of individuals and organisations that were encouraged to engage in the programme including parents who were being encouraged to form Academy

Trusts. Public and professional opinions generated positive and negative views of the capabilities of parents to manage schools. However, the Free School model enabled new businesses and high net worth individuals to establish Academy Trusts for new Free Schools rather than taking over failing schools or having to contribute significant sums of financial assistance. This was a significant incentive to those who were willing to open new schools without the added challenges of working with a predecessor school with inherent local issues.

This period of policy change was characterised by pendulum swings in public opinion and economic ideology because at the same time, University Technical Colleges (UTC) and Studio Schools were also introduced and operated under the Free School model. Many sponsors of Sponsored Academies also engaged in the both the University Technical College and Studio School programmes because it provided a new avenue to expand existing business ideology with new schools.

University Technical Colleges specialise in industrial sector subjects such as engineering, media and health. Both academic and technical qualifications are offered. The curriculum is designed by sponsoring and partners from employers, universities and Further Education (FE) Colleges. UTCs are for 14 to 19 years olds. Studio Schools are small schools that provide a project-based curriculum with a mix of academic and professional qualifications. Employer partners provide work experience and opportunities for students to participate in work-based learning. Studio Schools are for secondary aged young people. Both operate within Academy Trusts as part of a multi-academy trust or as a single academy trust.

The University Technical Colleges and Studio Schools programme reverted to the original reform of the education system in-line with political views on globalisation and economic development as economic productivity and employability of the individual becomes the focus. Education becomes less about developing a well-rounded individual and more about skills development, entrepreneurialism and added economic value. Enabling the individual to compete in a global marketplace and be responsible for themselves (Robertson, 2000: 187; Peters, 1994) means less dependency upon the government social welfare. The University Technical College and Studio School (academies) movement resembles this, as well as the recent introduction of T Levels (technical qualification levels) in October 2017. Where these schools are governed and managed by businesses, this creates opportunities for them to *'produce human capital for competitiveness in the global economy'* (Hatcher, 2003: 4). As a result, the education system becomes re-balanced to meet the needs of the economy and the responsibility of the individual shifts from society as a whole to the individual. Society's expectations are refocused, and fewer expect society to be the provider of education once again.

The development of new schools was lauded as a means of creating additional school places within the system. However, evenly distributed school places is skewed due to population concentrations and social mobility. Employment opportunities and knowledge capability is also not evenly distributed due to the historically located industrial landscape. Again, complex and dynamic social, economic and environmental factors determine the concentration of need for school places and types of schools required. In some areas the school population numbers fall, and others significantly increase, and national and global industrial requirements also vary, creating regional and local diversification across the country. In

response to the growth in numbers of children needing a school place and the impact of changing industry needs, policy makers have choices over introducing new models to meet these requirements.

Ball (2015) argues against such a strategy and claims that it creates a more stratified system where diversification creates unevenly distributed societal layers through both constraining and enabling access to schooling and accessibility within schooling. Access to schools is currently determined by the admission policy which is often based on local catchment, selection or non-selection, and accessibility internally within the school depends upon how the school is managed and funded (central government, local government, private companies) to determine what education is available.

Historically, local education authorities operated within longstanding regional geographical boundaries. These defined school catchment areas. Under the University Technical College and Studio School models, school places were offered to young people living beyond local boundaries and students were recruited from much wider areas. Experimentally, this set a new precedent for offering school places, beyond traditional boarders, to all those who wished to attend the school based on aptitude rather than locality.

The introduction of Free Schools, UTCs and Studio Schools in 2011 was Michael Gove's flagship policy. He expressed that *'Innovation, diversity and flexibility are at the heart of the free schools policy. We want the dynamism that characterises the best independent schools to help drive up standards in the state sector.' (Michael Gove, 15 Nov 2010)* Drawing upon

previous research and implementation of the Swedish Free School model, Michael Gove stated that

'All the academic evidence from Sweden shows that more free schools mean higher standards. All schools improve when the number of free schools increases. A second study found that in a given municipality, the higher the proportion of free schools, the more standards rise all round. The evidence not only from Swedish free schools but from American charter schools shows that such schools help to close the gap between the poorest and the wealthiest children.' (Michael Gove, 21 June 2010)

Michael Gove also draws significantly upon research from the American Charter School Programme for example

'In New York, charter schools, including the Knowledge is Power Program charter schools, have closed the attainment gap between children from African-American and white backgrounds, and that the Harlem Children's Zone, an inspirational project led by Roland Fryer, has ensured that the gap in attainment between the very poorest ghetto children and white children in New York has been closed successfully. For those who argue that charter schools, academies or free schools cream, skim and select only the most aspirational or talented, the work of Caroline Hoxby and other academics proves that such schools recruit the very poorest children and then ensure that they go to the very best universities. That is an inspirational model that I hope to see established here.' (Michael Gove, 21 June 2010)

A feature of the original concept of the Swedish model of Free School was that schools could be located in buildings that were not new builds. This feature became increasingly attractive to English politicians because this allowed them to open as many new Free Schools as quickly as possible and as cheaply as possible. Many Free Schools and Studio Schools opened in existing buildings. Others opened in existing buildings until they were re-located to refurbished properties or new builds.

Michael Gove stated that

'If we examine what has happened in Sweden, for example, we see that many new schools have opened in libraries, disused university buildings and observatories. They are model buildings, but I am sure we all agree that the most important thing about education is the quality of teaching and learning.' (Michael Gove, 21 June 2010)

The Education and Inspections Act 2006, as amended by the Education Act 2011, set out the requirement for establishing new schools; the local government must seek proposals to establish an academised school (namely a Free School). This announcement created the public perception that academisation was the default position. However, through the judicial review of the decision-making process of Richmond Borough Council in 2012, the judgement concluded that a proposal to open new Voluntary Aided Schools (faith schools) was permissible. Other types of schools were permissible under the Act and agreeable to the then Secretary of State, Michael Gove. This ambiguity may have been intentional in the original Act drafting and enabled an experienced faith sponsor to establish several new faith schools and to later convert these to academies to take advantage of the benefits that this model brings. This became a means of retaining 100% selection based on faith (if admissions are

oversubscribed) rather than 50% that would have been permissible if academisation had been initially undertaken, as well as shifting from 10% contribution to capital costs required as Voluntary Aided Schools to 0% required after conversion. Favourability is in question, however, as government has previously looked to long-standing faith-run schools as examples of successful faith-public partnership working (religious groups and central government) and evidence of successful non-profit provision and management of education where higher performance has been achieved (Pugh et al, 2006). Approximately one third of schools in England are designated as having a faith character (HoC, 2018) and *'on average, perform better than non-faith schools'* (HoC, 2018:13).

Academisation has continued to be the political default position in so far as the 2016 Educational Excellence Everywhere white paper, presented by the Conservative (under the Conservative-DUP agreement) government, which set out that every school would become academised by 2020 (DfE, 2016). This would complete the process of removing all schools from local government control by 2022. The whole-scale academisation announcement caused significant public, union and educational community back-lash and the intention has since been removed but replaced with no alternative for maintained schools, as local authorities are still expected to no longer maintain schools from 2022.

Over time, the Funding Agreement has been varied to enable the introduction of restrictions or incentives across a range of policy issues, however, contract deviations have to be agreed by both parties or overridden by statute for example relating to SEND (Children's and Families Act 2014) and exclusions (School Discipline Regulations, 2012). This has resulted in

longitudinal variation across single academy trust and multiple academy trust agreements, as well as contractual supplements.

Internal Structures

Quasi-privatised relationships are assumed to be an improvement on the homogeneity often associated with monopolistic public service provision. The Conservative government (Conservative-Liberal Democrats) mantra for the public education system for the period 2010 to 2015 was *'to create a more autonomous and diverse school system that offers parents' choice and concentrates on improving standards' (DfE, 2015).* The rhetoric focused on *'giving schools greater freedoms'* (Gove, 2011) creating *'an autonomous, self-improving, self-supporting school system consisting mainly of Academies'.* (NAO 2012: Fig 15).

Backed by evidence from around the world for example, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2010) stated: *'the creation of more autonomous schools will lead to innovations in curriculum, instruction and governance, which in turn will improve outcomes.'* Wößmann and Fuchs (2004) found that *'test scores are higher when schools manage their own budgets and recruit and select their own teachers.'* Chubb and Moe (1988) concur that higher levels of school effectiveness can be achieved through changes in school governance structures as part of the diversification or quasi-marketisation of schooling. Hindriks et al (2010) examined the Flemish education system in Belgium and conclude that *'we find strong indications that operational school autonomy is associated with high educational performance if appropriate accountability systems are active.'* Hanushek et

al (2011) analysed PISA data and conclude: *'autonomy reforms improve student achievement in developed countries.'* However, in the case of academisation within England, the term *'school autonomy'* is loaded with significant complexity because of the degree of control of the Academy Trust has to enable and constrain the academised school(s).

On the one hand, academisation creates a system of Academy Trusts as managing organisations that are entirely new legal entities in a myriad of forms and of time-specific contracting relationships (through the Funding Agreement) with the Secretary of State for Education. Autonomy exists in the form of freedoms from local government control, some statutory policies and operational freedoms such that Academy Trusts can manage themselves (Ball, 2003; 2013; Bradley and Taylor, 2009; Glatter, 2012). For example, it is the responsibility of the Academy Trust to determine the length of the school day and year, who is employed to plan, teach and assess the curriculum, what teachers' pay and conditions are, and manage admissions. Thus, meaning that academised schools do not have to deliver the national curriculum or appoint qualified teachers, for example. On the other hand, because the blueprint is no longer fully designed by central or local government, autonomy is bound by the contractual relationship and the interpretation of the contract by the Academy Trust and the Secretary of State for Education.

Autonomy held by a multi-academy trust suggests greater complexity, particularly where there are large numbers of academised schools operating under one group of members/trustees and a range of devolved responsibilities through multiple layers of governance. Large multi-academy trusts are often referred to as *'chains'* to describe local, regional or national groups of academies operating under one management organisation.

Thus, suggesting homogeneity in ethos, curriculum design, as well as governance (Chapman and Salokangas, 2012). The governance structure of the multi-academy trust will determine the individual school's autonomy, which is either constrained or enabled by the hierarchy of the interpretation of the contract. Other terms such as '*umbrella trust*' and '*collaborative partnerships*' are used to describe the myriad of additional informal and formal contractual structures entered into between a group of academised schools (single academy trusts) or between single academy trusts and multi-academy trusts. These relationships are formed on the basis of shared governance, shared services and collaboration, for example, which in turn define the academised schools' autonomy.

Academisation autonomy creates tensions within public accountability, and monitoring problems to ensure efficient oversight and assurance to sustain public accountability. Eroding the quality of education which is often referred to as '*quality shading*' (Tooley, 2007). Public scrutiny has increased as the significance and number of these organisations has increased. Much of which mirrors the private sector for example, governance and conflicts of interests have been questioned. Protecting the public interest has been paramount and concerns have been raised as to the legitimacy and effectiveness of governing boards, for example.

By September 2012, over 2,000 academies were open. The autonomy of Academy Trusts and the capacity of the Secretary of State to oversee academisation was questionable. The Royal Society of Arts (2012) commissioned a report into the central monitoring and control system and subsequently described it as '*not a rational or sustainable system*' (2012: 21). Robert Hill, the author of the publication describes the situation '*Central government has muddied the*

waters by itself taking on a substantial middle tier role. Such has been central government's distrust of and frustration with the performance of local government that it has in effect become a local authority in its own right.' (Hill, 2012: 20).

Sir Michael Wilshaw, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector for schools, gave evidence to the House of Commons Education Select Committee in 2012

> *'We could have a situation where Whitehall is controlling an increasing number of independent and autonomous schools, and finding it very difficult to do so ... There needs to be some sort of intermediary layer that finds out what is happening on the ground and intervenes before it is too late. But when failure does take place, who is going to broker support? Who is going to intervene at the right time? Who is going to approach the successful school and a successful head or an academy chain to come in, in support?'*

In 2014, a National Schools Commissioner, a group of regional schools' commissioners and a group of Headteacher Boards were put in place. With over 4,000 Academies open at this time, this provided the *'middle tier'* (Hill, 2012) of management that was required to provide oversight. The Conservative (under the Conservative-DUP agreement) government in the 2016 white paper has somewhat changed the *'autonomy'* rhetoric to *'supported autonomy'* (DfE, 2016) because

'greater autonomy on its own will not lead to excellence everywhere. It isn't enough to set school leaders free if they can't access the resources and expertise, they need to make the most of that freedom…..We must therefore take a keen interest in whether autonomous leaders are successful. Those that achieve great outcomes for children should be encouraged and enabled to extend their reach and to keep raising their game. Those that do not can be challenged and given access to support to improve, or turned around by stronger providers.'

Academy Trusts remain void of strict inspection regimes, but the individual schools are not. The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), introduced under the Education Act 1992, Ofsted, is the regulatory control of schools and directly monitors the education practices of academised schools; however, Ofsted does not inspect the workings of the Academy Trust. *"Ofsted is not able to inspect academy sponsors or multi-academy trusts so there is no independent source of information about the quality of their work."* (NAO 2014:10). Schools operate within strictly regulated parameters of standardised testing, inspections and incentives designed by the centre (Mathias et al, 2017; Ball and Junemann, 2012; Olmedo, 2014; Wilkins, 2012). The tensions are obvious in examples of practice where academised schools can opt out of the National Curriculum, appoint unqualified teachers or set performance related pay, however, they remain measured on global and national curriculum and examination standards of accountability, and are controlled by the Academy Trust.

This internal structure oversight remains in place and has adapted to changes within the programme where Academy Trust mergers and strategic expansion, and the expansion of

techniques beyond the business sector expertise in developing effective Academy Trusts has occurred. It is beyond the scope of this research to explore the effectiveness of the oversight, however, it is acknowledged that in the following discussion about academisation evolution that the present day practices are somewhat influenced by the decisions made by the middle tier.

Academisation Evolution

With each successive government, system production and reproduction occurs. The dynamic process of signification, domination and legitimisation (Giddens 1984) is produced and reproduced.   The development of a diverse English education marketplace has become legitimsed as an outcome of the development and influence of neo-liberal and Third-Way governmentality (Hogan, Sellar, and Lingard 2014) creating a new vast *'heterarchical structure'* (Newman, 2001). System-wide structural changes are therefore, most powerfully expressed in narratives of marketisation, diversification, competition and choice, and agency changes are most powerfully expressed in narratives of autonomy, private sector financing, innovation and efficiency savings, and self-interest. Although ultimate accountability rests within central government under the Secretary of State in the Department for Education, as in a traditional hierarchical structure, the new heterarchical structures are legitimised because of the increasing role of private sector agents within education policy development, policy enactment, governance and micro-level operational delivery. This is assumed to be an improvement on the homogeneity often associated with monopolistic public service provision.   The force of domination is evident through these changes in power-based

relationships and the control of resources (material and human).

Academisation has fashioned a new legitimised public-private system socio-culture with a new space for a wide range of sector agents with knowledge and expertise across many disciplines. The unexposed discourse within this newly formed heterarchical structure and relational governance is a key feature of the following chapters of this research where agent knowledge and reflexivity are explored in greater detail.

Academisation in 2021

The National Statistics (2020/2021) show that out of 24,413 schools in England, there are 8.912 million pupils of school age. The DfE (2021) show that 9,752 schools are now open as academies in September 2021. National Statistics and DfE indicate discrepancies, however, the DfE equate academies to be 45.1% of all English schools. The majority are secondary schools at 79.4% and 38.1% of primary schools (DfE 2021). There has been an increase of 229 new schools opening between December 2020 and July 2021 and greater academisation with an increase of 3% of primary schools and 1% of secondary schools between 2020 and 2021.

Data published by the Department of Education in September 2021, shows the types and numbers of academies open. Out of the 9,752 open academies in September 2021, 2,510 academies were classified as sponsored (originating from failing schools) and 6,563 as converters (originating from high achieving schools). The remaining 679 are completely new schools with no predecessor. The numbers of academies are given in table 2 below.

Table 2, p102: Summary of Open Academies (2021)

Academies Summary (July 2021)	
Type of Academy	**July 2021**
Sponsored (conversion of existing failing schools)	2,510
Converter (conversion of existing high performing schools)	6,563
Free Schools (new schools)	610
University Technical Colleges (new schools)	48
Studio Schools (new schools)	21
TOTAL	**9,752**

Source: Department for Education, 1 July 2021

A key feature of academisation today is the type and number of Academy Trusts engaged in academisation. These maybe classified as Single Academy Trusts and Multi Academy Trusts. Sponsors can be both party to Single Academy Trusts and Multi Academy Trusts. Data from July 2021 showed 1,104 Sponsors listed by the Department of Education (DfE 2021), although there were 2,586 Academy Trusts, under 15 classifications. It is important to not confuse the terms sponsors with sponsored. Sponsors are individuals and organisations engaged in Academy Trusts. Sponsored academies are those schools converted due to failures. There is a mix of organisations from varying backgrounds in education (independent school, further education, universities, education business), faith communities, the voluntary and charity sector, private individuals, philanthropic or endowment trusts and corporate business. The

breakdown of classifications of organisations engaged in academisation is given in table 3 below.

Table 3, p103: Summary of Classifications of Academy Trusts (2021)

	Overall Classifications of Academy Trusts (out of 1,104 records open as of July 2021)	
	Type of Organisation	**Number of Organisations**
1	Academy Converter (high achieving schools)	786
2	Diocese/Archdiocese	83
3	Charitable Sector	69
4	F E Sector	42
5	Other	17
6	Education Business	17
7	Free School	13
8	Business Sector	14
9	Special School	11
10	University	10
11	Independent School	5
12	Government Organisation (MOD, NHS)	2
13	PRU	1
14	Six Form Centre	1
15	Prospective Academy Converter	33
	Total	**1,104**

Before academisation was introduced, 150 English Local Education Authorities (out of 333 Local Authorities) managed maintained schools compared to 2,564 (DfE, 2021) Academy Trusts today as show in table 4. Appreciating that Local Education Authorities still remain managing those state schools not academised, this is a 1609% increase in management organisations of schools since the year 2000. These sponsors act in varying ways across the 2,564 Academy Trusts. The size of these management organisations varies ranging from 74 schools to just one.

Table 4, p104: Summary of Numbers of Academy Trusts (2021)

Overall numbers of Academy Trusts (July 2021) and the number of academized schools they manage				
Trust Size (number of academised schools)	% Trusts	Trusts	Total number of academised schools	% Academies
1	53.2%	1365	1365	14%
2	9.6%	247	494	5.1%
3-5	17.7%	449	1725	17.74%
6-10	11.2%	295	2227	22.8%
11-20	5.6%	153	2163	22.2%
21-30	1.2%	32	817	8.4%
31-40	0.5%	14	487	5.0%
41+	0.3%	9	474	4.9%
Total	100%	2,564	9,752	100%

Source: Department for Education, September 2021.

The Academy Trusts managing over 31 schools are given in the table below.

Table 5, p105/106: Names of Academy Trusts (largest 22 Academy Trusts in operation (2021)

Academy Trust Names of those Managing Academised Schools (July 2021)			
	Sponsor Name	Number of academised schools	Categorisation Type
1	United Learning Trust (Parent company United Church Schools Foundation)	76	Charitable Sector
2	REACH2 Academy Trust	60	Academy Converter
3	Academies Enterprise Trust	58	Charitable Sector
4	OASIS Community Learning	52	Charitable Sector
5	Delta Academies Trust	51	Charitable Sector
6	HARRIS Federation	50	Charitable Sector
7	The Kemnal Academies Trust	45	Charitable Sector
8	GLF Schools	41	Academy Converter
9	Diocese of Oxford	40	Diocese/Archdiocese
10	Ormiston Academies Trust	40	Charitable Sector
11	The Diocese of Ely Multi-Academy Trust	39	Diocese/Archdiocese
12	ARK Schools	38	Charitable Sector
13	Greenwood Academies Trust	36	Charitable Sector

14	The Diocese of Norwich Education and Academies Trust	36	Diocese/Archdiocese
15	Outwood Grange Academies Trust	36	Academy Converter
16	PlymouthCAST	35	Diocese/Archdiocese
17	David Ross Education Trust	34	Charitable Sector
18	Diocese of Bath and Wells Multi Academy Trust	34	Diocese/Archdiocese
19	Diocese of London	34	Diocese/Archdiocese
20	Diocese of Peterborough	33	Diocese/Archdiocese
21	Hamwic Education Trust	33	Academy Converter
22	The White Horse Federation	32	Academy Converter

Source: Department of Education, 8 January 2021.

There is evidence of significant expansion of specific classifications of Academy Trusts including religious-public partnerships. For example, The Diocese of Ely Multi-Academy Trust has increased from 27 open schools in July 2017 to 35 in January 2020 and 39 in December 2020. In July 2017, the United Learning Trust (Parent company of the United Church Schools Foundation) managed 44 schools. In December 2020, this has increased to 74 schools. This is the largest Academy Trust in the country. The present data illustrates a significant structural shift both externally and internally, where businesses are not the majority representation in the largest 22 Academy Trusts, which raises the question; to what extent is academisation delivering Blair's and Gidden's original intent? Only 12 organisations categorised as from within the business sector remain operating open academised schools in

2020. There no organisations categorised as from the Business Sector within the list of the 22

largest Academy Trusts as shown in table 6.

The Academy Trusts categorised as Business Sector are given in the table below.

Table 6, p107/108: Business Sector Categorised Academy Trusts (2021)

Academy Trust Names of those Managing Academised Schools (July 2021)						
	Sponsor Name	Categorisation Type	Open in December 2010	Open in December 2017	Open in December 2020	Open in July 2021
1	The Co-operative Academies Trust	Business Sector	2	14	24	26
2	Dixons Academy Trust	Business Sector	2	9	12	12
3	City of London Academies Trust	Business Sector	3	8	10	10
4	Victorious Academies Trust (Carillion)	Business Sector	0	2	6	7
5	Furness Education Trust	Business Sector	1	4	4	4
6	Co-operative Education East Academy Trust	Business Sector	0	3	3	3

7	Frank Field Education Trust	Business Sector	0	0	2	3
8	JCB	Business Sector	0	1	1	1
9	UBS	Business Sector	1	1	1	1
10	Northumbrian Water	Business Sector	1	1	1	1
11	King's Cross Academy Trust	Business Sector	0	1	1	1
12	The David Nieper Education Trust	Business Sector	0	1	1	1
13	Samworth Brothers	Business Sector	1	1	0	0
14	Interserve Academies Trust Limited	Business Sector	1	1	0	0

Source: Department of Education, 1 July 2021.

Academy Trusts have expanded beyond traditional local education boundaries. The National Audit Office (2018), reported that there were considerable geographical variations in the location of Academy Trusts and their academies for example, '*242 sponsored academies were more than 50 miles from their sponsor'* (NAO, 2018:11). However, only *'5% in the North West of London and South-Central England were 50 miles from their sponsor'* (NAO, 2018:11). Academy Trust monopolisation of geographical regions is now a risk to also achieving the original intensions of academisation. Diversification within regions is being pressured by

monopolistic behaviour such that other providers and the local education authority are squeezed out (Tooley, 2007).

The table below provides examples of the geographical distribution of three of the largest Academy Trusts that do not have a religious denomination. They operate in multiple areas to varying density and at considerable distances from their head offices. This raises questions as to the capability of the Academy Trust to provide effective support or interventions, understanding of the community needs and how they organise themselves within the local area as show in table 7.

Table 7, p109/1010: Geographical Reach of Academy Trusts (2021)

Academy Trust Names and Geographical Reach of those Managing Academised Schools (July 2021)			
	Sponsor Name and Head Office Address	Government Office Region	Open in December 2020
1	Reach2 Academy Trust	South East	12
	Burton Upon Trent, DE13 9TQ	London	11
		East of England	20
		West Midlands	17
2	Academies Enterprise Trust	South East	7
	London, NW1 1BU	South West	7
		London	7

		East of England	12
		East Midlands	3
		West Midlands	9
		North East	3
		Yorkshire and the Humber	10
3	OASIS Community Learning Trust	South East	5
	London SE1 7HS	South West	9
		London	12
		West Midlands	8
		Yorkshire and the Humber	9
		North West	9

Source: Department of Education, 8 January 2021.

Conclusion

Setting out the contextual structure within this chapter shows a series of policies within time-space bound phases that present symbolic or physical markers, as well as the co-presence of agents with visible communication, and the use of reflexivity within the flow of interaction (Giddens, 1984:282) between policymakers and practitioners.

Similar policy aims repeat in the production and reproduction of policies over the time period. However, this is not a linear process because of the agency changes, political and economic influences, and there is an element of cyclical development within and across phases. Illuminating such concrete aspects of patterns of policy and practice, enables judgements regarding which parts of evidence and information relate to academisation and which warrant closer inspection of agency.

Any analysis of the longitudinal change in individual Academy Trusts or groups of types is beyond the scope of this research. However, this contextual evidence provided illustrates a starting point for understanding the scope and complexity of policy and practice currently evident within academisation. Within the proceeding chapter, the discussion advances to develop greater understanding of agency in the spirit of the original essence of academisation; philanthrocapitalising.

CHAPTER 3

The Action Realm: Academisation Agency

Introduction

Drawing upon the structural context, academisation agency is formed through the Learning and Skills Act 2000 and the Academies Act 2010, which has created a new public sector contracting framework *'Funding Agreement'* (December 2020 v5) for passing down the requirements of policy, and for the delivery of academisation established between the Secretary of State for Education (principal) and an Academy Trust (agent). This new structure is established and implemented by the Secretary of State for Education, their advisors and department officers, and is assumed to lead all agents to achieve social change through new re-designed routine practices enabled and constrained within the new system structure of contractual relations. Thus, in this new public-private contracting arrangement, academisation agency is formed by agency derived from both the public and private sectors.

Private sector engagement in forming academisation agency includes non-public organisations such as private businesses, charities, individuals, and religious organisations. These are non-democratically appointed by self or other, driven by individual and organisational mission and motivation. Therefore, both public and private relations constitute academisation agency and originate from a myriad of political, economic and social perspectives, and religious, charitable and philanthropic priorities, with blended individual and organisational mission and motivation. This presents unique characteristics of agency in

the context of academisation that includes diverse stakeholder perspectives, intentions and resources (material and human) to bring about social change. Thus, providing a rich source of evidence to explore philanthrocapitalising within academisation agency.

Exploration of academisation agency is set against a backdrop of different sides of a wider societal debate regarding resolutions to social problems with consensus theories (e.g. functionalism - Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, 1924, 1935, 1952) on one side and conflict theories (e.g. structuralism – Marxism, Nadel, 1957) on the other. Following a conflict theory model, academisation is presented as a radical whole-scale model of social change brought about by central government. Social change through public-private relations becomes the aim of academisation agency from this ontological perspective; public-private relations are a better means of resolving social issues than what was there before. Thus, placing emphasis on society inherently consisting of inequalities, oppression and power relationships such that large-scale social change is necessary to resolve these issues.

Consensus theorists may argue that academisation agency brings is a sense of belonging to society through engaging wide groups of community stakeholders, therefore, any problems occurring in society, societal consensus forces will resolve these. It is interesting to keep these opposing perspectives in-mind as this research explores academisation agency to illuminate the most salient concepts in narrowing down the characteristics of academisation agency, and the practices of individuals, that enable and constrain large-scale social change.

Drawing together a range of agency perspectives, alongside Structuration Theory, provides key elements that will also assist in defining theoretical perspectives, methodological practice and process in advance of defining a sample, deciding upon the size and establishing the scope of sample homogeneity for analysis. This provides the theoretical basis for exploring how academisation agency is identified and how individuals and collectives are defined, in order to reach a viewpoint about the pervasiveness of political, economic, and social values, and interest of organisational mission and motivation in the pursuit of social change.

Similarly, to the previous chapter, academisation agency will be conceptualised independently to structure as a mechanistic approach for in-depth exploration of agency and examples of agency formation, production and reproduction by the interplay of agency and structure. This discussion focuses on two important phases of agency: philanthrocapitalising and commissioning. This is represented within the adapted model of Sequential Model of Institutionalisation (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). Figure 5 illustrates these two phases highlighting the structure and agency pressures upon the system and the tension between autonomy and democracy.

Figure 5, p115: A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)

A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy Adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)
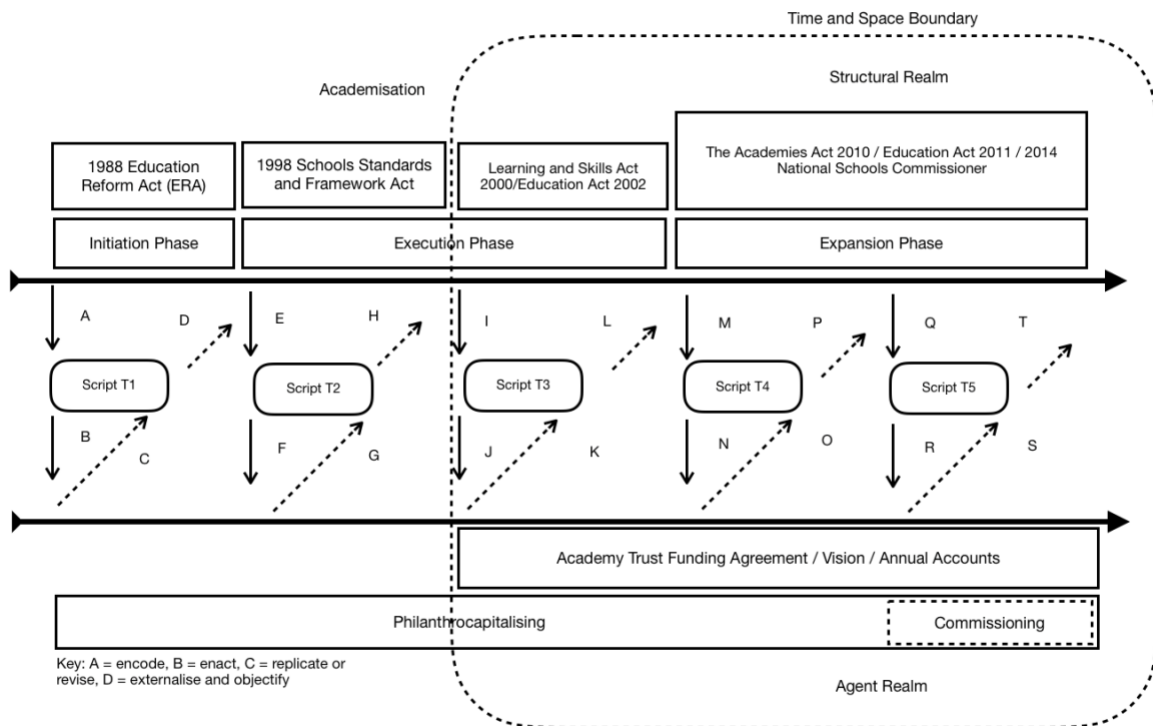
Academisation Literature

Academisation has featured as a popular research topic within academic education-led publications such as the Journal of Education Policy, Journal of Educational Studies, Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, Management in Education, British Educational Research Journal, International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education and International Studies in Sociology of Education covering a wide range of topics from initiation, development and expansion. Exploration of academisation structure and agency includes policy discourse (e.g. Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012; Rayner et al, 2018; Gleeson, 2011; Hattie, 2015; West, 2015; Whitty and Power, 2000), resistance to academisation policy (e.g. Hatcher and Jones, 2006;

Hatcher, 2011; Stevenson, 2016), academisation as marketisation of the schooling system (e.g Bradley and Taylor, 2009; Hill, 2012; Sahlgren, 2013; Adnett and Davies, 2003; Meyland-Smith and Evans, 2009; Lupton, 2011), international comparisons of academisation (e.g. Elwick, 2018; Elwick and McAleavy, 2015;), governance in academisation (e.g. Ball and Junnemann, 2012; Salokangas and Chapman, 2014; Wilkins, 2015; West, 2015; Simkins, 2015), private sector, third sector and philanthropic participation (e.g. Robertson et al., 2012; Ball, 2007, 2012,Thompson et al., 2016; Hogan et al., 2016; Lubienski et al., 2016; Olmedo, 2014; Winnett, 2005; Hatcher, 2006; Ball and Junnemann, 2012; Exley and Ball, 2011; Gunter, 2012; Gunter and McGinity, 2014; Lingard et al., 2017; Lupton, 2011; Wilkins, 2012; Salokangas and Chapman, 2014) and policy performance effectiveness (e.g. Sims et al., 2015; Meyland-Smith and Evans, 2009; Hutchings et al., 2014; Worth, 2014; Martin and Dunlop, 2018) . This literature extends into system redesign as a product of major societal upheaval (e.g. Buras, 2015; Miron et al, 2015; Gunter et al, 2016) and long-term neoliberal modernisation processes that create and exploit ruptures in public-service provision as a coherent system of school, curriculum and workforce management (e.g. Ball, 2013; Ravitch, 2010; Seppanen et al, 2015; Gunter et al, 2016; Bradley and Taylor, 2009; Glatter, 2012).

Other scholarly literature relates to academisation agency focusing on the process of academisation within schools and the development of Academy Trusts, which starts from the school or Secretary of State's consideration of conversion (forced or willingly) to the day of opening of the academy. These studies are often set within the context of the enactment of policy change on a local level (e.g. Rayner et al., 2018; Ball et al., 2012) and the mobilisation of interest of local stakeholders (e.g. Warren et al., 2011).

These are localised agency studies that often focus on Academy Trusts that have their origins within the predecessor schools (e.g. Keddie, 2017), the education sector or the charitable sector (e.g. Keddie, 2017). Other localised agency studies are plentiful in regards to the agency of local implementation of academisation policy after conversion (forced or willingly) and organisational practice (e.g. Woods, 2011), for example, leadership (e.g. Gibb, 2016; Keddie, 2016; Higham and Ealey, 2013; Courtney, 2015a; Courtney and Gunter, 2015), challenges for local democracy (e.g. Smith and Abbott, 2014; Woods and Simkins, 2014), developing social capital (e.g. Gamarnikow and Green, 2007), the curriculum, standards (e.g. Bates, 2013) and assessment (e.g. Hardy,2019), learning and welfare of students (e.g. Ball et al., 2012 ; Ko and Sammons, 2013), teacher evaluation (e.g. Barzano and Grimaldi, 2013), teachers' professional development (e.g. Leonard and Roberts, 2016), geographical and demographical factors across localities for example, inner London (e.g. Baars et al, 2014), outer London (e.g. Keddie, 2017).

Although this is an extensive body of literature, the researcher's view is that this literature presents a narrow perspective of academisation agency and does not appreciate the role and nature of academisation in the production and reproduction of societal change. The focus of previous research draws back to an educational performance perspective and the reason for this is explained by Robert Hill (2012: 10) because

> *'The holy grail for policymakers, politicians and education leaders is, therefore, how to*
>
> *get all schools to match the performance of the best: simultaneously raising standards*

for all while narrowing gaps in attainment between the affluent and deprived. It's a

massive challenge.'

The researcher acknowledges the importance of improved performance of both pupil educational attainment and teacher capability. However, part of the original intention for the re-design of the education system through academisation aimed to create systemic social change to meet economic and globalisation challenges, which aimed for a broader perspective of social change based on meeting industry needs, employability skills and developing pupils for a global workplace. Thus, the emphasis of current academisation literature is rooted in an agency perspective and skewed towards understanding how to improve educational attainment. Today, what this means is that social change through academisation remains embedded within the realm of narrow educational standards and performance agency, versus wider social change agency. The gap in the literature resides in the exploration of key elements of academisation structure and agency in relation to broader social issues.

Going beyond this partial view, a broader perspective of structure and agency can be achieved, and such an approach is supported by Stiles (2001) and Roberts et al. (2005). Gaining a more realistic view of organisations and their contextual position-practices requires a multiparadigm approach (Hirsch et al, 1987) and one that goes beyond the discourse of cause and effect of variables (Yusoff and Alhaji, 2012). Proponents of the multiparadigm approach put the role of individual agency central to broader societal structures, which is more pervasive throughout social science literature (Giddens 1984, Beland, 2005). The local context is deemed to have a more significant influence on the interplay between structure and agency,

which create restrictions and openings for those involved, and to direct agency behaviour (Giddens 1994; Beland, 2005).

The political and economic language of the structural context and agency practices within this research may not sit comfortably with academics and frontline agents whom navigate the day-to-day school environment. Thus, it is important to explore the discourse of agency within academisation from wider perspectives. At the outset, this research enables greater understanding of the nuances of academisation agency that could be overlooked by a range of narrower and less challenging perspectives.

This discussion does not debate the legitimisation of academisation that has already taken place within over 38% of all English state schools now managed by Academy Trusts, nor the philosophical view about whether public versus private service delivery is the right or wrong approach. Thus, academisation as a concept is not for philosophical debate within this research.

Agency through Structuration Theory

Giddens' (1984:50) view of agency is important to consider in this part of discussion and is twofold. Firstly, he opens the debate about '*ontological security'* because he describes the basic human need that leads agents to adhere to rules, which is referred to as operating conventions and routines. *'Reflexive monitoring of action'* develops from the *'rationalisation of action'* where agents *'maintain a continuing 'theoretical understanding' of the grounds of*

their activity' (Giddens, 1984:5). *'Where routine prevails, the rationalisation of conduct readily conjoins the basic security system of the actor to the conventions that exist are drawn upon in interaction as mutual knowledge'* (Giddens, 1984:220). Thus, the desire to maintain routine behaviour is primarily embedded within practical consciousness. *'Ontological security'* may become a problem of agency for academisation where those resources (human and material) have been transposed from a historical system of rules into a new system, specifically where the new system involves a radical re-design of ontology and pedagogy.

However, Giddens' (1984:14) view of agency is also voluntarist and suggests that agency is *'the capacity to make a difference'* and agents *'have the possibility of doing otherwise'* (1989:258). Giddens' agency relations are not viewed as deterministic because agents are knowledgeable and reflexive (responding to their environment), and they have capacity to choose how they act.

Giddens (1984:9) suggests

> *'agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently'*

Thus, maintaining or modifying structures through actions in the process of production and reproduction of social change. However, although individuals are knowledgeable, purposeful, responsible and self-monitoring, and driven by internal reflexive monitoring, rationalisation and motivations, Giddens (1984) acknowledges that they do not have entire preference over their actions in some situations and that their capability is therefore restricted. However,

Bratton et al., (2007) surmises that *'individual choices are seen partially constrained, but they remain choices nonetheless'.*

Thus, Giddens guides this research in its' understanding of formal constraints (structures as formal configurations) and the control of action, as well as what people actually do (structures as patterned regularities and processes of interaction), which provides both the opportunity to explain constraints on individual action and depict the capability of agents to avoid constraints and to modify systems. Here lies the potential for deliberate strategic choice and opportunity, even when faced with established constraining structure and agency. Whittington (1992: 695) concludes that *'Giddens' substantive work projects a world that possesses structure but is neither monolithic nor so determined as to preclude deliberate and effective action'.* Adopting the view of Giddens emphasises the transformative capacity of human agency in the process of social change to alter the course of events. This research acknowledges the debate of altruism versus self-interest by accepting that altruism and self-interest exist in some form in the actions of the agent and that these are not acted upon alone. Through a structuration lens, this chapter considers the agent foremost with the focus on agents who can act in the interests of the principal in engaging within the structural context to deliver a contract and act stewardly in doing so, alongside acting in self-interest and consciously motivated to act differently, whether altruistically or in self-interest. Thus, illustrating the duality of structure in the production and reproduction of social change.

Secondly, Giddens explores formal constraints (structures as formal configurations) and the control of action, as well as what people actually do (structures as patterned regularities and processes of interaction), which provides both the opportunity to explain constraints on

individual action and depict the capability of agents to avoid constraints and to modify systems. This highlights the challenge for the principal to ensure that their policy interests are met whilst enabling and constraining agency. In traditional Agency Theory terms, an agent acting differently or in self-interest is interpreted as a problem. However, the following discussion explores how altruism, difference and self-interest, as a dynamic feature within academisation, and can be of benefit to both principal and agent, and is enabled and constrained in the process of social change.

By focusing upon Structuration Theory; signification (social interactions), domination (resources) and legitimisation (social norms) the complexity of academisation agency and social change agency can be unravelled, and both structure and agency can be considered together. Using structuration to drive the analysis means studying how social systems are produced and reproduced through structure and agency, and where opportunities are found for agents to '*act differently*' (Giddens, 1984:25). This highlights agency and structural characteristics that enable and constrain agents, and the agency response to these, in the process of production and reproduction of the system, and in the pursuit of social change.

Giddens' Structuration Theory, as a framework for understanding agency, enables the generation of nuanced insight into the interplay with system agency communication, power and sanctions as well as agent knowledge, reflexivity and motivation in the process of doing otherwise. Often we focus on the obvious. This research seeks to illuminate the less obvious. Giddens (1984) argues that Structuration Theory is '*sensitive to the complex skills which actors have in co-ordinating the contexts of their day-to-day behaviour*' (Giddens, 1984:285). This ontological perspective drives the notion that structure and agency produce and reproduce

social structures over time and space. By flipping the dimensions of the duality of structure (Giddens, 1984) as shown in the figure below, any imbalance in the overemphasis of structure can be readdressed (Coad et al, 2014) and agency is refocused for exploration. From Giddens' perspective, social behaviours, action and interaction is explored through the dimensions of communication, exercise of power and sanctions. This provides a framework for identifying agents within the contextual structure and enables judgements to be made about time and space bound agency within context.

Figure 6, p123: Modes and Modalities of Structure and Agency, The Dimensions of the Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984)

The Dimensions of the Duality of Structure
Giddens (1984) adapted by Caod et al, (2014: 145)
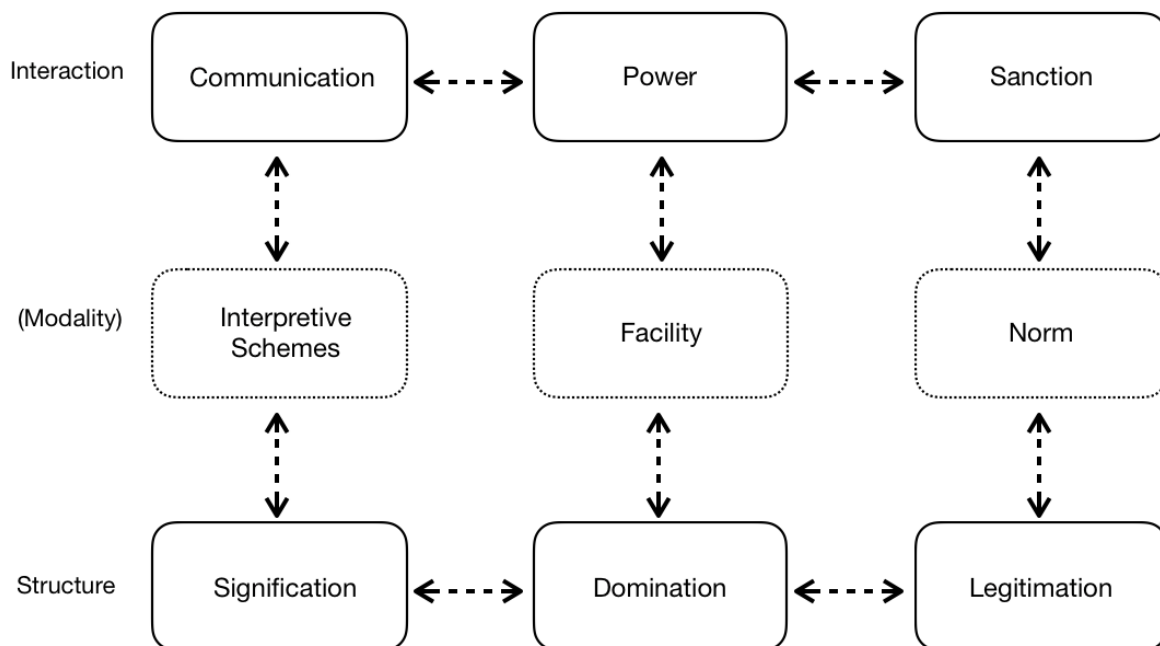
Academisation agency provides rich evidence of communication between individuals and amongst collectives, and power in relationships and sanctions used to monitor and control within the structure. Although Giddens' ontology of agency is contested by many critics

because of its naivety and generality (Jarzabkowski, 2008), this framework underpins the proposed methodology for qualitative sampling of agents for deeper exploration into their positions and practices. This involves a process of identifying who the agents are, what they are doing, why they are doing what they do and when they do it.

Academisation Policy

Traditionally, the English education system has been characterised by nationalised routine practices of central and local governments organising schools; recruiting teachers, developing the curriculum, and managing attendance and school improvement. History suggests that central and local government have been blighted by social change implementation failure because of problems of structure and agency (Friedman, 1955; Chubb and Moe, 1990). Amongst the literature on agency within public policy making (Oborn et al, 2011), scholars suggest that this failure occurs because politicians or other social groups are conditioned and controlled by the institutional structures created by governments or opposition parties (Immergut, 1998). Thus, an alternative approach that is not as conditioned or controlled by institutional structures may provide greater success. The original implementation of academisation was considered radical education reform because no other central policy has ever presented a new modified routine, public-private management of schools at scale or opportunities for deviation from the routine that could be effective for system agents to scale up at speed.

Academisation agency drives the desire to diminish the *'polycentric hierarchical'* (Ball, 2009) role of local government and create greater autonomy at service delivery level. Establishing

a new *'distributed hierarchical'* (Ball, 2009) model of multiple school management organisations has led to a complete re-design of the routine, establishing schools under new management; out of local government control, out of the hands of school governors and into the hands of individuals and non-public organisations (Academies Commission, 2013:9).

Changing the traditional landscape of local government management of schools and nationalised model of education, to a new model of academisation management has introduced greater variation in routine and non-routine practices and opportunities to 'act differently' (Giddens 1984:25). However, how academisation agency interacts with non-academisation agency (those remaining within local government control and independent sector) is beyond the scope of this research and is for future research consideration.

Drawing sponsors, leaders, governors and teaching staff into academisation from non-educational backgrounds is a key feature of the programme, but little is documented about this involvement and their practices. Documenting positions and practices, and involvement of the private sector in the evolution of the programme provides the opportunity to analyse academisation agency. The participation of the private sector in academisation has been dogged by scandals and anti-academy perspectives, including from such organisations as the Anti-Academy Alliance. Some of which was outlined in chapter 2. Thus, this discussion supplements the previous chapter, to broaden understanding beyond what predominately focuses on the structural context of introducing and implementing policy. This extends thinking about how to qualify agency in advance of developing a conceptualisation of philanthrocapitalising.

The Academy Trust is registered as a charity with exempt charity status, which makes the trust exempt from primary regulation by the Charity Commission. The primary regulator is the Secretary of State for Education. The Academy Trust is formed by Trust Members who appoint Trust Directors to form an appropriate governance structure for the strategic and operational management of the Trust and academised schools contracted within the Academy Trust. This model of education management creates new routine actions, relations and interactions between the Secretary of State, Academy Trust Members and Directors, and school leaders through a new contract. Thus, this contractual relation defines the purpose of agents performing routine action on behalf of the principle and defines the structural-agency enablers and constraints of such action to deliver the anticipated outcomes.

The Trust Members and Directors of an exempt charity are required to perform the same general duties as those of other charities, which include acting reasonably and prudently in all matters relating to the charity. Within the general duties, there is an agreement to adopt the routine practices of the model Memorandum Articles of Association and Funding Agreement. Thus, there is a key assumption that academisation agency is attributed to charitable practices, which would suggest agents routinely acting in the interest of the principal, the Secretary of State for Education and in a stewardly manner.

Stewardship Theory is drawn from a tradition of psychological theorising (Etzioni, 1975; Argyris, 1964; McGregor, 1960; Herzberg, 1966; McClelland, 1961) and reflects the socio-psychological models of man, which is very different to economic models of man as defined by Agency Thoery. These are two entirely different assumptions of the nature of people. However, it is precarious to think that agency theory is right, and stewardship theory is wrong

(Donaldson and Davis, 1991), but it can be difficult to comprehend a theory from outside the economic paradigm (Kuhn, 1970).

Stewardship Theory uses the term *'steward'* instead of agent and assumes that the steward's interests are in fact aligned with the principal's and that they will act as stewards of those interests (Donaldson and Davis, 1989; 1991; Le Breton-Miller and Miller, 2009; Le Breton-Miller et al, 2011). The model of man assumption within stewardship theory is such that stewardship behaviour has a higher utility than self-serving behaviours and when given a choice, the steward chooses the interests of the organisation above their own even if the interests of the principal and steward are not entirely aligned. As cooperation is given a higher value than defection, this behaviour is considered rational. Davis et al., (1997) describe that the likelihood of stewardship behaviours increases where principal-steward relationships develop over time, fostering trust and respect, and because the strength of feelings increase, the steward strives to serve the principal for the long-term. The power that the principal has over the steward derives from the steward's identification with the principal (French and Raven, 1959). The personal power perspective within stewardship theory suggests that power and influence develop through interpersonal relationships over time rather than on a hierarchical position within the organisation.

Traditionally, Stewardship Theory has been studied from an organisation-employee perspective where the organisation is the principal and the employee (manager) is the steward. In theory, both principal and steward work together in partnership, collectively and pro-organisationally (Davis et al, 1997). Research from over the last 10 years has focused on the principal-steward relationship where both share a common goal in the pursuit of social

and communal welfare (Hernandez, 2012). The contract between the two is described as a social contract that *'represents a moral commitment and binds both parties to work toward a common goal'* (Hernandez, 2012), which leads the steward to feel a sense of duty and induced compliance (Etzoni, 1975). Therefore, stewardship is defined as *'the extent to which an individual willingly subjugated his or her personal interests to act in protection of others' long-term welfare'* (Hernandez, 2012:174).

Key psychological elements critical to choosing stewardship include intrinsic motivation, high levels of identification and personal power, which influence behavioural outcomes for the benefit of the principal (Davis et al., 1997; Eddleston et al., 2012; Zahra et al,. 2008). Understanding the social psychology of behaviour is fundamental when applying stewardship theory to understanding the actions of the steward. A steward's collectivist behaviour has higher utility than self-serving individualist behaviour, which means that the steward will be focused on attaining the objectives of others (Davis et al., 1997).

Organisational studies show that managers are intrinsically motivated and satisfied through the need to achieve, performing challenging work, exercising responsibility and authority, and gaining recognition from peer groups, which goes beyond financial incentives or governance control (McClelland, 1961; Herzberg et al., 1959). These studies argue that this is a significant difference to the view of managerial motivation of agency theory and therefore, problems don't arise from motivation within the act of stewardship. However, organisational studies of stewardship have shown problems arising through variances of performance of stewards which would indicate that in the absence of motivational factors, other factors influence

performance. Situational structure has been identified as a key differential factor (Donaldson, 1985).

Stewardship Theory assumes individuals are driven by intrinsic motivation which is aligned to the interest of others to find satisfaction from within themselves and their work. This *'reflects the positive potential of human nature'* (Ryan and Deci, 2000: 70). Cerasoli et al., (2014) demonstrate that positive work outcomes such as higher performance levels, are driven by intrinsic motivation.   Greater work engagement and citizenship behaviours within organisations are also commonly derived from intrinsic motivation (Rich et al., 2010), showing that gaining higher rewards that emerge from within oneself and from the work itself leads individuals to act as stewards of organisations (Davis et al., 1997). Furthermore, intrinsic motivation results in prosocial behaviours for example, expend effort to protect and promote the welfare of others, which can also enhance the performance of others (Grant, 2008).

Intrinsic motivation related to serving the interest of others has also been shown to be a motivating factor of social entrepreneurship and source of personal utility (Miller et al., 2012). This presents a choice that the steward does not deviate from and even when the principal and steward's interests are not aligned, the steward chooses cooperation rather than to defect.   A steward will not substitute or trade cooperative behaviours for self-serving behaviours. However, as the steward acts pro-organisationally, the benefits and gains come from the success of the organisation, which could be sales growth or profitability, therefore, that in turn maximises the utility of the steward.

Where the principal-agent relationship is aligned, both principal and agent can work co-operatively, therefore control mechanisms become collaborative and the agent becomes a steward of the principal's interests. Stewardship theory also assumes that where the principal-agent relationship is not aligned, both principal and agent can work co-operatively because the agent is assumed to be a steward in the interest of others rather than acting in self-interest. Therefore, the principal's interests are maximised by shared incumbency of the role of board chair and CEO, for example.

For many scholars, Stewardship Theory offers an alternative perspective where both the principal's and the steward's utilities are maximised (Smallman, 2004) because organisational success will mean that joint goals are met, and multiple parties' interests are met through increasing organisational wealth (Davis et al., 1997). In organisations where the there are multiple owners because of the financial requirements of ownership, each potentially acting upon self-interest to maximise their individual interest, the steward is motivated to make decisions on behalf of the group to satisfy the interests of the group. It is assumed that collectively, the pursuit of successful organisational performance satisfies the competing interests of multiple stakeholders.

It is important to consider Agency Theory at this stage to explain some of the variances. Traditionally, Agency Theory has been the dominant paradigm with self-interest at the fore. Agency theorists whose primary language is described as economic, define agency as a relationship between a principal and an agent formed by a contract or agreement (written or unwritten), for the purpose of the agent performing action on behalf of the principal (Easterbrook and Fischel, 1996). The meaning of the principal-agent relationship focuses

narrowly on hierarchical power and the delegation of management responsibilities between shareholders as the principal and the executives as the agents (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Scholars have considered a myriad of agency relationships across micro, meso and macro-level economic and social contexts for example, between employer and employee, buyers and sellers, and between owners and society (Block, 2010) in the context of both commercial and family owned business contexts. However, commonly within the economics literature, Agency Theory is discussed as owner-employee relations and the consequences of the divergence of the employee's goals and risk preferences, and information asymmetry from that of the owner (Fama and Jensen, 1983).

Jensen and Meckling (1976), define an agency relationship as

> *'..a contract under which one or more persons (the principal(s)) engage another person (the agent) to perform some service on their behalf which involves delegating some decision making authority to the agent. If both parties to the relationship are utility maximizers there is good reason to believe that the agent will not always act in the best interests of the principal. The principal can limit divergences from his interest by establishing appropriate incentives for the agent and by incurring monitoring costs designed to limit the aberrant activities, of the agent...... it is generally impossible for the principal or the agent at zero cost to ensure that the agent will make optimal decisions from the principal's viewpoint.'* (Jensen and Meckling, 1976: 308).

This has inherent assumptions about conflicting and controlling agent behaviour due to problems of agency where misalignment occurs. When an agent is contracted to manage organisations on behalf of the principal, the unit of interest becomes the contractual relationship and the agency problems that arise relating to the conflict of goals between the principal and the agent, and where the pursuit of the agent's self-interest dominates (Pfeffer, 1981), for example. The contract is expressed in terms such that *'as an agent of the principals, an executive is morally responsible to maximise shareholder utility'* (Davis et al, 1997: 22). An executive manager's acceptance to do this is based upon the individual's perception of opportunity to maximise their own utility and the possibility of gaining more utility than through other opportunities. Thus, *'If the utility functions of self-serving agents and principals coincide, there is no agency problem; both agents and principals enjoy increases in their individual utility'* (Davis et al, 1997: 22). However, Agency Theory is rooted within the economics model of man which focuses on a rational agent, although bounded by rationality (limited in knowledge and capability to act), who seeks to maximise individual utility (Jensen and Meckling, 1976). Thus agency theory is dominated by a single view of human nature, which is individualistic and inherently self-interested. Thus, the underlying assumption that human beings have conflicted interests is led by self-interest and the inability to put the interest of others before their own (Daily et al., 2003), leading to problems of agency.

Agency Theory assumes that who the principal and agent is are clearly defined. In complex organisational or social structures for example, public-private system structures, there is ambiguity over who the principals and agents are. Are the principals tax-payers or policy-makers, are they service users, or the founders of organisations or its beneficiaries or members? Equally, who are the agents? Are they the trustees, directors or chief executive

officer, the senior leadership team, or a local governing body, parents or children? Whether an organisation operates under company law and or charity law, the fiduciary duty to the principal exists. For example, the trustees of a charity are responsible for the distribution of the funds and resources donated to the charity in accordance with the charity's mission as set out in the articles of association, trust deed or mission statement (Harris, 1994). It is the trustee's role to ensure that management and staff deliver the charity's objectives. Charity law sets out that trustees should not financially benefit from the organisation, therefore, trustees should not be employees and have no personal interest to avoid conflicts of interest.

Agency Theory assumes that the principal can clearly define their utility. However, this is not always the case. In reality, contracts are difficult to fully specify. In principal-agent relationships where there is ambiguity over what the principal defines as their full extent of utility, enforcement and problems of agency become more complex. In public-private contracting, government contracts with a provider where they are paid for services subject to them meeting specific requirements. Contracting through competitive tendering with private providers has been used in an attempt to reduce costs and increase performance. However, to avoid private sector exploitation where contracts are not fully specified, governments have looked to the not-for-profit sector to increase their role within public sector service delivery (Pugh et al., 2006). In a perfect contracting relationship, the constitution of the provider whether not-for-profit or for-profit, is irrelevant. It is the delivery of the contract directly as per required that is important. However, often it is assumed that state provision has weaknesses, thus being the reason for contracting, and therefore *'governments cannot fully describe and anticipate what they want and they are unable to formulate efficient regulations or enforce them'* (Pugh et al, 2006:21). This means that in public-private relationships, the

ownership structure of the provider does become of significant importance because the residual control of and decision-making power on what is not specified within the contract rests within their gift (Hart, 2003). Shleifer (1998:137) explains that *'choice of public versus private provision depends upon how different ownership patterns affect the incentives to deliver…non-contactible quality, as well as the cost of such delivery'*. Shleifer (1998) concludes that governments can achieve social objectives more effectively through the contracting with private providers where the understanding of what is not written in the contract is more greatly appreciated.

Philanthrocapitalism

The implementation of the academisation programme has been based upon the government engaging with private (non-public) sector partners and has dependent upon whom could make deliberate strategic choices, have the capacity to act differently, have the social capital to build an effective Academy Trust (human and financial resources) and be able to create opportunities for new social norms, to become an effective sponsor. These individuals were expected to contribute £2 million pounds towards the building of their academy, thus capable of making financial contributions towards the endeavour.

At the time of developing his views on philanthrocapitalism, Bishop observes that *'the funding crisis in the government and the non-profit sectors had increased the need for the philanthrocapitalist. There may be a greater willingness to partner and to go along with some of the philanthrocapitalists' ideas from these sectors which have traditionally been quite hostile'* (Bishop 2008; 2013:476). Academisation assumes that philanthropic and business

principles can be successfully combined in the delivery of state education. This generates a dynamic system that is infused with philanthropy and capitalist ideology delivering public services in a public-private agency relation.

Although the period pre-implementation is likely to reveal additional understanding about contract formation, the government's initial approach to businesses and individuals, or visa versa (the selection of the agent pre-contract, any use of search and verification of an agent's attitude, ability and competencies, or financial standing) is beyond the scope of this research. Exploration of activities such as lobbying and canvasing is for future research consideration also. However, what this research acknowledges is that communication between public and private sector agents takes place in a range of forms and such activity or connections are a feature within the characteristics of academisation agency. Thus, the position-practice of organisations and individuals is acknowledged without debating the initial engagement processes being examined in detail.

Those private sector individuals and organisations who were first engaged in academisation included a range of self-made entrepreneurs, active entrepreneurs-philanthropists, charities and companies, for example:

- Sir Harry Djanogly (Djanogly City Academy, Nottingham, opened 2003), commonly known as a textile manufacturer and philanthropist;

- Sir Alec Reed (Alec Reed Academy, Ealing, opened 2003), commonly known for personnel recruitment and philanthropist;

- Lord Phillip Charles Harris of Peckham (Harris Academy Peckham, Peckham, opened 2003), commonly known as a flooring retailer and philanthropist;

- Sir Rocco Forte (Landau Forte College, Derby, opened 2006), commonly known as a hotelier and philanthropist;

- Sir Jack Petchey (The Petchey Academy, Hackney, opened 2006), commonly known for motor trading and philanthropist;

- ARK (ARK Bulkington Danes, Hammersmith, opened 2006), commonly known as an international charity with Trustee Lord Stanley Fink (hedge fund manager); and

- Haberdashers' Company (Haberdashers' Aske's Knights Academy, Lewisham, opened 2005) commonly known as one of great twelve Livery Companies of the City of London.

Supporters of public-private relationships argue that social and business principles can be successfully combined to tackle societal needs where government or others may not have previously succeeded or be able to sustain success in the future. Combining the values of public good and the tools of capitalism anchors social change in a juxta-position between the economic and social marketplace giving rise to new models of financing, resourcing, organisational innovation and competition. The formation of public-private relations to deliver public services supports a wider argument against relying on market forces to deliver solutions to social problems (Edwards, 2010; Livingstone, 2013; McGoey, 2015; Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009). However, competition, consumerism, profits and business principles that exist in the market-world may filter into the social-world with dire consequences, for example, inciting non-profit groups to compete over resources, funding, efficiencies and impact.

Collins (2001) argues that

> 'we must reject the idea – well intentioned, but dead wrong – that the primary path to greatness in the social sectors is to become "more like a business". Most businesses –

like most of anything else in life – fall somewhere between mediocre and good. Few are great. When you compare great companies with good ones, many widely practiced business norms turn out to correlate with mediocrity, not greatness. So, then why would we want to import the practices of mediocrity into the social sectors?' (Collins, 2001: 1).

Assuming that Collins'(2001) fears were a legitimate concern, this would explain central government's approach to private sector individuals and organisations with proven business acumen and economic success. The organisations and individuals initially engaged within academisation form the starting point for understanding the concept of *'philanthrocapitalism'* (Bishop, 2006) as *'entrepreneurial philanthropists and business leaders'* (Bishop, 2006) whom engage in private philanthropy and have a professional *'capitalist'* background where they have been engaged in private business endeavours to generate philanthropic funds. In The Economist in February 2006, Michael Bishop, English Economist, defined philanthrocapitalism as *'not just the application of modern business techniques to giving but also the effort by a new generation of entrepreneurial philanthropists and business leaders to drive social and environmental progress by changing how business and government operate'* (Bishop, 2006). Wilson (2014) describes philanthrocapitalism as a *'fantasy machine'* because the complexities of entrenched social change are not easily understood and therefore not easily undone. This view acknowledges that social problems often need a multi-disciplinary strategy and that philanthrocapitalism is not the single solution. However, Bishop argues that philanthrocapitalism is not a replacement for traditional third sector charity, philanthropy, grant-making or government spending on public services, but is an evolution of philanthropy that focuses on impact, investment, leverage and strategy, and works alongside traditional

methods to tackle problems of societal need (Bishop, 2013). Philanthropy fused with business practices is emerging as the new approach for driving innovation within many sectors and is being led by entrepreneurs in Britain. This redefinition of philanthropy introduces commercial principles as a means of giving leverage to philanthropic contributions, introducing for-profit skills and motivation, and impact investing for social return, which is driving the greater development of the social economy.

Bishop (2013) is optimistic that Philanthrocapitalism is entrepreneurship for the public good because it can tackle societal problems where other organisations are unable to or it is too risky. It regards government as unable to have the power, resources or priorities to change all of the inequalities it faces. Philanthrocapitalists decide what they want to fund, what strategy they deploy and who they partner with, and many are driven by social change strategies mirroring their own experiences of running businesses (or those of their families) in creating their fortunes. However, Linsey McGoey explains *'Entrepreneurs face market pressures that force their businesses to either evolve or go under. Philanthropists don't face the same pressures, and this is both an advantage and a danger for them'* (McGoey, 2015: 102). McGoey explains that *'Unpopular governments face the wrath of voters. Publicly listed companies face stock devaluations. Philanthropic foundations face far fewer external checks on their operations'* (McGoey, 2015: 102). However, the Charity Commission rules and regulations govern philanthropic financial transactions with the imposition of penalties, where required. In the case of academisation, the Secretary of State for Education is the primary regulator.

Philanthrocapitalism is purported to be *'led by the world's wealth creators'* (Bishop and Green, 2006) who have self-made their wealth through entrepreneurial endeavours and as such, philanthrocapitalists can use their wealth more creatively than government because they are not controlled by democratic society. However, philanthrocapitalist's wealth may originate from various sources (inherited, entrepreneurial) and giving provides philanthropist's the opportunity to reduce their tax payments, as well as the rewards of other intensions. Therefore, philanthropic decisions cannot be based on the assumption that the philanthropic financial contribution is more effectively used for public good other than for the tax break.

Philanthrocapitalism is not a new phenomenon (McGoey, 2015) because the history of philanthropy is fused with business approaches and focuses on driving innovation and tackling high risk economic, social, cultural and environmental issues of national and global significance, which goes beyond charitable giving for the elevation of the poor. In many scenarios, societies' tolerance of philanthropy has been fundamental to global development (Irvin, 2008). Many donations today in Britain are concentrated on causes such as medical research (CAF, 2014, 2016), children and young people (CAF, 2014), hospitals and hospices (CAF, 2014) and higher education (CAF, 2015). Over recent years, these sectors have experienced the greatest cuts in government spending and those organisations affected have been encouraged to look to new models of funding and resource management, which has included philanthropy. Austerity and constantly evolving fiscal, political and societal norms mean philanthropy has been changing in Britain. Demands on government spending are high, particularly in health, education, defense and welfare. Throughout the 20th century the state was viewed as the only means of solving social problems, which meant taxes became higher to fund the swelling public purse. However, there are limits to how much income can be

generated through taxation to pay for public services; balancing taxation and regulation in order to maintain a stable and growing economy, as well as providing public services that meet the needs of the changing population. Global threats, terrorism, climate change, immigration and disease for example, add additional pressures to local problems. Boundaries of civic society are also changed by governments and economic pressures are pushing more autonomy and business-like social investing.

Philanthrocapitalism as an entrepreneurial approach is considered a key motivator and driver of innovation, stimulator of new markets and methods, and creator of new goods and services to benefit society. However, Edwards (2008: 8) recognises that *'The increasing concentration of wealth and power among Philanthrocapitalists is unhealthy for democracy. It's time for more accountability'*. Thus, philanthrocapitalism has the potential to lack transparency and accountability, cause the erosion of government support for public services and pose a threat to democracy and social system structure. These views underpin the uneasy relationship of combining philanthropy and capitalism and public services, and the risks of being positioned in a juxta-position between economic and social ideologies.

Self-interest and altruism are the cornerstone of ethical debates on human behaviour (Shaver, 1999), and within philanthropy and business ethics (Hemingway and Maclagan, 2004; Kaler, 2000), and critics frequently cite self-interest as philanthropy's disguise (Osteen, 2002:1) and needs to be controlled. Relationships driven by selfish and selfless motives have been extensively debated (Batson, 2014; Cialdini, 1991; Piliavin and Charng, 1990) and the classical author who is most cited on this issue is Scottish moral philosopher and economist Adam Smith. Gertrude Himmelfarb (1995:160) explains

'the charge now is that philanthropy is all too often a self-serving. Exercise on the part of philanthropists at the expense of those whom they are ostensibly helping. Philanthropy stands condemned, not only as ineffectual, but as hypocritical and self-aggrandising. In place of 'the love of mankind', philanthropy is now identified with the love of self. It is seen as an occasion for social climbing, for joining committees and attending charity balls in the company of the rich and famous. Or as an opportunity to cultivate business and professional associations. Or as a way of enhancing one's self-esteem and self- approbation by basking in the esteem and approbation of others. Or as a method of exercising power over those in no position to challenge it. Or as a means (a relatively painless means) of atoning for a sense of guilt, perhaps for riches unethically acquired. Or as a passport to heaven, a record of good works and virtues to offset bad works and vices. Or (the most recent addition to this bill of indictment) as a form of 'voyeurism'' Himmelfarb (1995:160).

Thalos (1997:287), suggests that strategic deliberate choice stems from self-interest and that *'rational decision makers are autonomous entities - answering only to their own beliefs and desires'*, affirming that self-interest is the most significant moral hazard of agency.   What this means is that the principal deploys mechanisms to monitor and control the contract to reduce the costs of agency problems, because *'given the opportunity, agents will rationally maximise their own utility at the expense of their principals'* (Davis et al, 1997: 22). However, Agency Theory does not specify complete control of the agent and does not assume that all decisions by the agent will result in increased utility for the principal. The theory suggests that through control, the agent will strive to attain outcomes favourable for the principal, which minimises

agency losses. The agency losses to the principal are measured against the returns that would be achieved if the principal exercised direct control (Jensen and Meckling, 1976).

Commissioning

In a new public-private arrangement, tensions arise when routine and non-routine agency begins to manifest in a range of ways that challenge expectations of central government (political) and societal expectations. This can be in a perceived negative or positive way. When agents act differently or in their own self-interests rather than those interests of the principal (Daily et al., 2003), agents are perceived to be difficult to control. Therefore, many scholars argue that the development of internal and external mechanisms of control are necessary. Internal control mechanisms are favoured (Walsh and Seward, 1990) with two mechanisms dominating the literature, firstly, control mechanisms such as governance structures (Demestz and Lehn, 1985) and secondly, incentives such as financial incentive schemes (Eisenhardt 1989). Collectively, these restrict levels of deception by the agent. However, Davis et al., (1997) explain that *'if the internal control mechanisms suggested by agency theorists fail, more expensive, external control mechanisms (e.g., acquisitions, divestitures, and ownership amendments) will emerge'.*

In 2012, Sir Michael Wilshaw, then HM Chief Inspector, Ofsted answered questions at the Education Committee regarding the 2012 Ofsted Annual Report. Sir Michael Wilshaw commented in response to Mr Graham Stewart's (Chair) question (Question 5)

'It is really important that the Department thinks very carefully about governance arrangements and makes sure they have the right governors in place and the right leaders in place, because leadership is even more important in an academy because they have to know how to handle autonomy and freedom in a way that perhaps an LEA's headteacher does not have to do.'

Sir Michael Wilshaw commented further in response to Mr Graham Stewart's (Chair) comment about the consideration of tier of control between the secretary of State and academies (Question 7)

'If there are going to be more academies and more independent, autonomous schools both in the primary and secondary sector - that is likely to happen - we need to think about how we are going to manage underperformance. Who is going to do it? Is it going to be the Secretary of State and his officials at the centre or is it going to be another form of intermediary organisation? It seems to me that, if we do not think about this one carefully, we could have a situation where Whitehall is controlling an increasing number of independent and autonomous schools, and finding it very difficult to do so.'

Mr Graham Stewart's (Chair) retort (Question 9)

'Or perhaps Whitehall is responsible for an increasing number of autonomous schools. It is not actually controlling them of course, because it does not have the power to do so… There needs to be some sort of intermediary layer that finds out what is happening on the ground and intervenes before it is too late. But when failure does take place, who is going to broker support? Who is going to intervene at the right time? Who is

going to approach the successful school and a successful head or an academy chain to come in, in support?"

In 2012, Sir Michael Wilshaw, then HM Chief Inspector, Ofsted answered questions at the Education Committee regarding the Ofsted Annual Report. Mr Graham Stewart (Chair) enquired (Question 17)

'In business, yes, you want autonomy for your budgets, but it is also an earned autonomy, not a blanket assumption that autonomy in all cases, with accountability, is good. There are people for whom it is not suitable, for whom you have supervised, highly managed, structured systems until they prove themselves able. Is there a danger that we think that autonomy when given to great leaders of course helps them improve, but that we could give it to people for whom it is simply inappropriate? We might give autonomous status to school leaders who are not in a position to exploit it but are more likely to fail than succeed.'

Sir Michael Wilshaw responded

'That is the danger of the system and, as I said, we have seen academies fail because they have appointed the wrong leader and they have got the wrong sponsor and governance, so there are dangers in that system. I am simply saying that we need some response to underperformance and failure when that happens.'

Jon Coles, the former Director General for School Standards in the DfE and now the chief executive of the United Church Schools Trust and United Learning Trust, said in his speech to 2012 The Academies Show.

'There is no way that the current model of accountability can be the long term equilibrium. With half of secondary schools and some primaries having academy status … we can easily foresee a time when that 1,800 could be 18,000 as academy status becomes the norm nationally. Now, if there's one thing I know about my former colleagues in the Department, it's that they love a challenge. So, I don't deny that they would give the task of holding to account and intervening in 18,000 schools a pretty good go. But in the end, that isn't a sensible job to give anyone. There is no sensible way for a national organisation – however well-intentioned or resourced – to take responsibility for intervening in every school facing problems – let alone for getting ahead of those problems and catching them before they become crises.' Jon Coles (16 May 2012)

In response to the ongoing debate about controlling academisation agency, in 2014, the National Schools Commissioner and eight Regional Schools Commissioners (RSCs) were appointed as Department for Education civil servants to approve new academies and intervene to address underperformance and by 2015, this included deciding upon who would convert and who would sponsor. The Education and Adoptions Act 2016, via the RSCs, enabled the Secretary of State to intervene in maintained schools and academies. Thus, this is a significant shift in policy from a self-managing system to a system of agency control. Academy Trusts are no longer able to dictate which school they engage with without conforming to protocols and procedures as required by the Regional Schools Commissioners.

In 2021, the National Schools Commissioner has responsibility for:

- *holding the RSCs to account for their responsibilities across academies, free schools and school improvement and ensuring consistency in decision-making*

- *developing and sharing the best multi-academy trust (MAT) improvement strategies with RSCs and educational leaders across the country that result in improvements in educational standards and outcomes for all children*

- *supporting and challenging MATs so that they are sustainable and strong, and facilitating regional teams to share best practice and learn from one another*

- *advising ministers as they shape the future development of the academies and free schools programme, and any other areas of schools policy, as requested*

- *overseeing and identifying improvements in the delivery of services to schools, for example, application processes and systems*

- *monitoring the growth of sponsors across the 8 RSC regions and making sure that the best practice of our strongest sponsors informs RSCs' decision-making*

- *encouraging and nurturing potential new sponsors from our best schools, universities and community partnerships, and explaining the benefits of academy status*

In 2021, the RSCs roles and responsibilities are detailed as

- *intervening in academies that Ofsted has judged inadequate*

- *intervening in academies where governance is inadequate*

- *deciding on applications from local-authority-maintained schools to convert to academy status*

- *intervening in maintained schools judged to be inadequate by Ofsted by providing them with support from a strong sponsor*

- *encouraging and deciding on applications from sponsors to operate in a region*

- *taking action to improve poorly performing sponsors*

- *advising on proposals for new free schools*

- *advising on whether to cancel, defer or enter into funding agreements with free school projects*

- *deciding on applications to make significant changes to academies and free schools*

- *taking decisions on the creation and growth of multi-academy trusts*

- *offering support to maintained schools and academies judged to require improvement by Ofsted*

- *deciding on the transfer of an academy from one trust to another*

The National Schools Commissioner and RSCs have been afforded significant powers over academisation agency and this control mechanism provides little transparency, democratic accountability or public or parliamentary scrutiny. The introduction of this control mechanism enables a conceptual shift in academisation agency from philanthrocapitalising to commissioning. Specific constraints are introduced such as constraining national distribution of schools across an Academy Trust into a regional model. This may be at odds with the

Academy Trust business model and use of business techniques to organise resources and achieve economies of scale. It is assumed that curtailing business practices into a controlled and monitored mechanism, that this will produce a more effective system. However, this is a distinct shift in the strategic and operational organisation of the system. This is illustrated within the further adaptation of the Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997) and provides a mechanism for organising agency in this period.

In summary, the introduction of the National Schools Commissioner and RSCs provides a time and space bound context for the exploration of academisation agency; commissioning, which can be defined differently to what came before; philanthrocapitalising. For the purpose of this research, philanthrocapitalising will not be considered in isolation of commissioning because those engaging in philantrocapitalising are likely to be engaging in commissioning if they remain engaged in the programme.

Conclusion

Similarly to the previous chapter, setting out a broad spectrum perspective of agency within this chapter has enabled the exploration of time-bound phases that present symbolic or physical markers, as well as identify agents with roles and responsibilities in policy and practice both within philanthrocapitalising and commissioning.

Problems of agency and the commissioning response to controlling them proceeds along a well-trodden theoretical path that plays out through an agency *'economic'* perspective. In the

process of production and reproduction of social systems, it is interesting to explore this dynamic relationship of enabling and constraining social change, and where the opportunities are for philahtrocapitalists to act differently under a significantly controlled structure. This raises questions of whether structuration is possible within a deterministic structure.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology and Methods

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the reasoning for the selection and implementation of a qualitative methodology and associated methods. The application of qualitative methodology is done so on the basis that this enables the exploration of complex subjective lived experiences within context rather than quantifying a phenomenon. This phenomenological approach seeks to understand philanthrocapitalising from the perspective of those experiencing it within the context of academisation. Through interpretivism, social realities are treated as *'the symbolic world of meanings and interpretations'* (Blake, 2000: 116), which offers a different perspective to assuming something already exists to be interpreted. This research assumes that reality is formed of multiple realities from the co-evolution of structure and agency, through institutional and agency change over time and space, through policy and practice, and as such, reveals the idiosyncrasies of these realities. This research does not seek to test theory, measure realities or make comparisons to develop population-wide generalisations, which would be associated with a quantitative research approach.

The theoretical basis for this research does not provide a clear methodological approach. Giddens (1984) openly discusses the limitations of Structuration Theory and explains that *'structuration theory is not intended as a method of research or even a methodological approach'* (Giddens, 1989: 296). Without a clear methodological approach underpinned by

the theoretical lens, the researcher explains the complexities of developing a relevant approach to answering the research questions from a structural (policy) and agency (practice) perspective. Throughout the discussion, the key decisions and the critical thinking processes will be made transparent to reflect the ontological, epistemological and empirical development.

Research Strategy

In the pursuit of developing a research strategy that can provide a framework for organising the collection and analysis of the data through the theoretical lens of Structuration Theory, the researcher has considered three methodological aspects to establish a reliable account of structure and agency. Firstly, structure and agency data is collected and analysed independently and interdependently. Secondly, because structuration involves a process, static and dynamic data is collected and analysed independently and interdependently. Thirdly, both sets of data and the analysis are considered together and bounded within context in the final interpretation of the data.

The researcher selects a case study research strategy as an appropriate strategy to apply to this study because this copes with the exploration of a phenomenon situated within a real-life context (Yin, 2003) where there is an evolving emerging theory (Eisenhardt, 1989; Hartley, 1994) involving complex behaviours and processes. Case study research is one of the frequently adopted qualitative methods in organisational studies (Eisenhardt, 1989) and is often considered the *'most interesting'* (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007) with the most impact (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Regardless of the lack of an accepted template for writing (Bansal and Corley, 2012) or definition of quality case study research (Gioia et al., 2012), within this study, the application of case study research is shaped by the research questions and the types of cases available that are relevant to meet the research objectives.

The research objectives and questions facilitate the achievement of the aim:

(Q1)   Analysing the nature of philanthrocapitalising – What is involved in philanthrocapitalising?

(Q2)   Identifying practices of philanthrocapitalising – How can philanthrocapitalising be accomplished?

(Q3)   Analysing the contribution of philanthrocapitalising – What unique contribution does philanthrocapitalising make?

Studying philanthrocapitalising in the context of academisation using case study research means that there is the opportunity to collect and analyse different kinds of data, such as government documents at institutional level, Academy Trust documents at organisational level and Academy Trust Member/Trustees lived experiences at agency level, which provides a rich multi-level and in-depth collection of evidence for the basis of analysis. Case study research copes with multiple variables embedded within the specific context and uses multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2003). Through collecting both primary and secondary data on multiple levels, advantages of this approach include the integration of both perceptual and objective data (De Massis and Kotlar, 2014), enhanced data credibility (Patton, 1990) and mitigated bias (Kotler and De Massis, 2013). The convergence of multiple sources of data is particularly important in this research because structural and agency issues, as well as

philanthropic and business issues, are considered to be inseparable. Data sources are triangulated, so that post hoc rationalisation is avoided and validity maintained (De Massis et al., 2013).

There is an argument for cross-case study research which is highlighted in case study literature, which recommends widening case research to across multiple organisations for greater understanding of similarities and differences. To some extent this case study research integrates multiple cases at organisational and agency level, however, this is not for the purpose of comparing and contrasting cases. Thus, within this research, one government case and 86 Academy Trust cases provide secondary data for analysis, alongside two Academy Trust Member/Trustee cases providing primary data for analysis.

Sampling Strategy

Sampling is a key element of qualitative research strategy design because the extent to which the sampling strategy is defined has implications for the research coherence, transparency, impact and reliability. By adopting a case study research approach, it is important to start by defining the sample population, explaining the sample framework and the process of identifying the final cases for data collection and analysis.

The structural level case selected for data collection and analysis is the UK government Department for Education. This case provides the secondary data to explain the academisation policy context. A summary of the government documentation associated with academisation is included to show the numbers of pages collected for analysis and

specific details relating to the case as listed within table 8. Government documentation collected from 2000 to 2021 includes legislation such as the Learning and Skills Act 2000, Education act 2002, The Academies Act 2011 and documented evidence from the Department of Education website regarding the National Schools Commissioner (2014). Government contractual and guidance documentation collected from 2000 to 2021 includes withdrawn versions, revisions and current versions of the Funding Agreement (both Single Academy Trust and Multi-Academy Trust), the Academies Financial Handbook, the Academies Sponsor lists, the Open Academies lists. Secondary sources provide data for analysis and interpretation of the contextual boundaries of time and space, and the enablers and constraints of policy in law and governance. The government secondary data sources given in table 8 relate to the structural context including legislation documentation.

Table 8, p162: Government Secondary Source Legislation Data (2021)

Government Data Secondary Source	Pages of Current Documents
Learning and Skills Act 2000	130
Education Act 2002	312
The Academies Act 2010	44
Education Act 2011	153
National Commissioner 2014	6
Total Pages	**645**

The government secondary data sources given in table 9 relate to the structural context including Academy Trust contractual and guidance documentation. These sources provide data for analysis and interpretation of policy and practice which is passed down to organisations (Academy Trusts) and individuals (Academy Trust Members/Trustees).

Table 9, p163: Government Secondary Source Policy Data (2021)

Government Data Secondary Source	Pages of Current Documents
Master Academy and Free School Funding Agreement December 2020 Version 5	47
Mainstream Master Funding Agreement: Supplementary December 2020 Version 7	70
Master Single Funding Agreement December 2020 Version 8	102
Memorandum of Understanding Articles of Understanding June 2021	55
Church of England Articles of Association January 2019	46
Mixed Multi Academy Trusts July 2013	3
Total Pages	**323**

A sample population of the Academy Trusts were identified as being open in May 2019 (Department for Education Open Academy list, 2019). The Academy Trusts provide both organisational level and agency level data for collection and analysis. Multiple cases provide the data to explain the academisation practice context and the implementation of policy. The sample population excludes organisation from the research including all local authority managed schools, independent schools (fee paying) and any other types of educational establishment operating outside academisation.

With over 2,000 Academy Trusts registered in England in 2019 in the sample population (the totality of persons or organisations from which the cases are selected), it is not the purpose of this qualitative case research study to focus on representing the large number of Academy Trusts and Members/Trustees within this population. A small number of organisational cases are selected on the basis of their interesting experiences and unique perspectives which provide the most opportunity to learn from, rather than representativeness (Stake, 1994).

This research is not intentionally designed to draw upon nomothetic assessment traditions which focus on the inter-unit of analysis to enable comparison of the data on organisational practices.

The categorization records of Academy Trusts are reported by government as show in table 10 to provide data including the type, size, growth rates, reach and geographical location of schools, for example.

Table 10, p164: Academy Trust Secondary Source Organisational Data (2021)

Numbers of records of Academy Trusts (July 2021)	Estimated:
Academy Sponsor Lists	2,260 records
Academy Trusts	2,564 records
Open Academy Lists	9,752 records
Total Number of Records	**14,576**

With the lack of a defined case study sampling framework within this field of study, the researcher draws upon Weber's pioneering *'ideal-types'* to identify an appropriate case study sample from the population. Webber considers the concept of creating hypothetical typologies as a method for interpretive analysis. His refinement of the practice of political scientists and historians gave rise to a new method of analytical constructs of social reality. *'Ideal types are heuristic devices, they fulfil their logical purpose when they lead to* a *more precise understanding of components of society, help to clarify characteristics and significance'* (Weber cited in Eldridge 1970:227). Fulcher and Scott (2003:41) concur that *'Ideal types are conceptual models that help us to understand the real world... they are*

analytical devices that are constructed by social scientists in order to understand the more complex reality that actually exists'. Thus, in drawing together pre-determined categorisation of Academy Trusts there lies the beginning of a framework for developing an inclusion and exclusion model to determine the types of cases of interest.

Based on the presupposed assumptions of philanthrocapitalising, the application of business techniques, and changing the way business and government operate, the researcher developed a filtering type for selecting the Academy Trusts. A filter was applied to identify those Academy Trusts where philanthrocapitalising would be most likely occurring. Thus, an ideal type of Academy Trust for philanthrocpaitalising is developed which is situated within the charitable, education and business sector classifications. Out of over 2,000 Academy Trust records, 100 cases were identified. Excluded Academy Trusts reside within classifications with sponsors originating from organisations such as a Diocese or Archdiocese, an Independent School, a government organisation, a Further Education institution or University, or a school or other. These Academy Trusts are assumed to not carry out philanthrocapitalising due to the nature of their organisational aims and objectives for example, through religion.

Case study documentation collected from 2000 to 2019 also includes the withdrawn versions, revisions and current versions of the Academy Trust Vision, Academy Trust Memorandum of Understanding, Academy Trust Annual Accounts (as submitted to Companies House). The Academy Trust secondary data sources given in table 11 relate to the organisational documents including Academy Trust agreements and organisational operations. These sources (as shown in table 11) provide data for the analysis of Academy Trust financial details,

vision and mission statements, organisational and staffing structures and annual details of the organisational operations. These provide self-reported statements by the Academy Trust Members / Trustees.

Table 11, p166 Selected Sample of Academy Trust by Classification (2021)

Overall Classifications of Academy Trusts (2019)			
Type of Cases	**Number of Cases**	**Types of Documents**	**Number of pages (approx.)**
Charitable Sector	69	Academy Trust Funding Agreement Memorandum of Understanding Articles of Association Annual Accounts (2000 to 2020 where applicable)	10,350 pages for 2021 (Averaging 50 pages per document, 3 documents per Academy Trust) Where 10 years of accounts was available, this would add an additional 500 pages per case. Over 34,500 pages. Totally 44,850 pages
Education Business	17	Academy Trust Funding Agreement Memorandum of Understanding Articles of Association Annual Accounts (2000 to 2020 where applicable)	2,550 pages (Averaging 50 pages per document, 3 documents per Academy Trust) Where 10 years of accounts was available, this would add an additional 500 pages per case. Over 8,500 pages Totalling 11,050 pages
Business Sector	14	Academy Trust Funding Agreement Memorandum of Understanding Articles of Association Annual Accounts (2000 to 2020 where applicable)	2,100 pages (Averaging 50 pages per document, 3 documents per Academy Trust) Where 10 years of accounts was available, this would add an additional 500 pages per case. Over 7,000 pages Totalling 9,100 pages
	100	**Total Pages**	**65,000**

Due consideration is given to the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the Academy Trusts. Within this reduced sample, homogeneity is drawn from the context were the identified Academy Trusts are operating within academisation. Thus, the sample is highly homogeneous; the reliability of the findings is valid and transparent providing a credible and coherent rationale. However, there are variances between Academy Trust organisational structures because some are managed and operated as a group within a Multi-Academy Trust or through a Single Academy Trust. The Academy Trust is established as an exempt charity and the Academy Trust is the legal entity that enters into the contractual relationship with the Secretary of State through the Funding Agreement. There are some additional variances in the contractual arrangements, which are historical and dependent upon the opening date. Nevertheless, these variances do not impact on statutory obligations that all Academy Trusts follow. This does not materially change the contracting arrangements in relation to the specific areas of research within this study for example, the adoption of the contractual obligations. Thus, both single and multi-academy organisational types are included within the 100 cases because Academy Trusts including those operating both models or one or the other.

A more heterogeneous sample population would have provided more scope to achieve more widely generalisable conclusions because any commonality found across a more diverse sample would indicate that the evidence is not solely confined within that particular sample or context. This approach would have required alternative theoretical analysis modes such as variation sampling of grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Heterogeneous samples present a range of challenges when analysing the findings because the sheer diversity of the data dilutes the likelihood of meaningful cross-case themes. Thus, the researcher discounts

the use of a heterogeneous sample on the basis that homogeneity of the sample provides a better opportunity for in-depth analysis. Generalisability remains contextualised because of the sampling strategy. Therefore, generalisations outside of this are made cautiously as the sample may not necessarily reflect the broader population.

Random sampling was disregarded for the approach to the agency level data collection on the basis that the Academy Trust Member/Trustee cases for study need to offer valuable perspectives on the phenomena (Mason, 2002; Trost, 1986). A theoretical sampling approach was undertaken on the basis of a priori theoretical understanding of philanthrocaptialising. This approach would enable the presence of selected participants for interview who were considered to be involved in philanthrocapitalising within academisation. This approach to selection provides a sampling framework for the collection of the primary data which underpins the development of the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the identification of Academy Trust Trustees. Only cases meeting the criteria are considered for the study.

Drawing back upon Webber's *'ideal types'*, the researcher developed a set of the inclusion and exclusion criteria from the assumption that Academy Trust Trustees most likely to be philanthrocapitalising. This criterion is drawn from the nature of philanthrocapitalising in that Academy Trust Trustees motivation and capability for social change stems from a set of characteristics such as position and access to resources (human and material). Thus, the inclusion and exclusion criterion are based upon classifications such as holding an 'elite title' (MBE, CBE, OBE, Sir, Lord, Dame, Lady etc), 'British' citizenship, their position held as a 'Member and/or Trustee (Director), 'personal financial donations' and 'business associations', for example.

A full list of the case inclusion criteria is as follows:

- **Elite Title**

Academy Trust Members/Trustees identified as holding *'elite titles'* such as MBE, CBE, OBE, Sir, Lord, Lady and Dame are assumed to have a degree of power, influence and resources at their disposal.

- **Citizenship**

All cases were identified as British.

- ***'Active'* Status and Position**

The status of the Academy Trust indicated whether they were actively participating within academisation at the time of the research. Those that were active had an active board of members - Member or Trustee/Director within the Academy Trust (voluntary position of governance).

- **Financial Donations**

Personal financial donations were identifiable within records published via Companies House relating to the Academy Trust and Members/Trustees. These donations are recognised as one-off lump sum payments, endowment funds, reoccurring donations. This also includes in-kind donations of time, expertise or governance roles.

- **Business Associations**

Evidence of declarations of interests and business associations.

- **Age and Gender**

Academy Trust of diverse ages and genders.

- **Academy Trust Name**

Academy Trusts carry the name of the individuals or a name significant to the individual for example, deceased family relation, thus making these instantly recognisable.

By applying the specified inclusion criteria, this delineates the cases for secondary and primary data collection and analysis. By defining these boundaries, clear lines are drawn around the sample population for study which provides an important theoretical role in the analysis and interpretation process. Filtering using the inclusion criteria produced over 50 individuals of interest to this study. However, the researcher acknowledges that bounding the sample does so at the exclusion of other cases that could provide other important and significant data.

Although the process of including and excluding cases based on the criteria is straightforward, the process of identifying and filtering cases has some weaknesses. Confirming the cases is firstly reliant upon the Department of Education (DfE) documenting an up to date and consistent categorisation of Academy Trusts and their Members/Trustees. It also relies on information to be publicly available in published documents on Academy Trust websites or via the Academy Trust office. Where a full suite of documents could not be obtained, these cases were excluded.

Academy Trusts meeting the criteria were mostly found to be listed within the charitable sector, business sector and education business categories. However, business orientated Academy Trusts were often categorised as the charitable sector, so there is variation over how Academy Trust align their objectives with DfE classifications. Business sector categorised Academy Trusts are also established by a mix of individuals and organisations and over time, difficult to distinguish the premise of philanthrocapitalising based on an individual, not an organisation or representative of an organisation. The organisation through representation of an employee would be classified as corporate philanthropy where an individual represents

and acts on behalf of a wider organisation, not themselves. These exclusions were specifically made to ensure that the experiences conveyed by the cases selected for interview were theirs alone. Secondly, the reliability of information published within the Academy Trust Annual Accounts is dependent upon the Company Secretary and their administration providing full and up to date details about members and disclosing activities. These documents are retrospectively published for example, the August 2017-2018 accounts are published in May 2019. Thus, this information is out of date on the publication date and has to be cross-referenced with company filling history published on Companies House for any termination dates of Members/Trustees. These limitations of the sampling strategy will be reflected upon within the recommendations for future research to illustrate ways in which other cases could shape and influence alternative perspectives.

From the possible 50 Academy Trust Member/Trustee cases selected for detailed exploration through interviews, the researcher was unsuccessful with all approaches made to Academy Members/Trustees via contacts without prior relations. This is described by Allen (2003: 2) as the *'relational effect of social interaction'*, which results in the *'closing off'* (Keating, 1993) of access to those unknown. It is likely that the correspondence would be intercepted by a *'gatekeeper'* (Dexter, 2006; Hunter, 1993) and access blocked before reaching the person it was intended for. Here lies a critical understanding of the complexities in gaining access to elites, which is recognised as challenging (Mikecz, 2012; Ostrander, 1993). Power relations and building trust can be very difficult to navigate (Thuesen, 2011: Welch et al, 2002), particularly where no prior relation exists. Previous studies involving elite interviewing draw attention to the essential use of institutional affiliation, personal connections, and endorsement to participate (Welch et al., 2002; Ostrander, 1995).

Personal and professional relationships are the cornerstone of social capital (Burt 1997), which were leveraged in the process of gaining access to Academy Member/Trustees and navigating the gatekeepers. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) define social capital as *'the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network'* (1998: 243). Using social capital provided clear entry points directly into the sample through direct contacts of Academy Trust Member/Trustees known to the researcher. These are described as strong ties. This strategy involved the researcher mining established vertical and proximity networks. Social capital also provided indirect entry points through wider personal and professional networks. These are described as weak ties and involves the researcher mining horizonal networks.

Alongside social capital, the empirical evidence gained from documents published at Companies House enabled an in-depth network map to be developed centred upon the researcher and their direct and indirect network of contacts. This was defined by the multiple directorships within Academy Trusts, businesses and charities working alongside other individuals identified within the initial sample. Within the Annual Reports, employees of Academy Trusts could also be identified. These employees were network mapped to their current and previous employments within Academy Trusts and aligned to their employment profiles listed on the LinkedIn professional network and biographies available on Academy Trust websites. Past and present employments could be mapped to the researcher's previous employment and professional networks. Thus, providing strong ties (1st level connection –

previous work colleagues) and weak ties (2nd or 3rd level connection – colleagues of previous work colleagues) for obtaining contacts for Academy Members/Trustees. These were mapped before the approaches were made to participants in order to provide a framework for requesting referrals. Hence, achieving the maximum possible sample size drawing upon strong and weak ties.

Access to primary data was solely dependent the researcher's knowledge of the social context being investigated and gaining access to Academy Trust Trutees. Thus, to gain the agency perspective first-hand, the research had a critical dependency on leveraging social capital and the network mapping technique to gain access to a sufficient number of participants to deliver the depth and breadth needed. Scholars frequently debate the question of choice and numbers required to achieve such depth and breadth (Mears, 2009; Creswell, 2013; Miles et al., 2013; Seidman, 2013). Faugier and Sargent (1997) advocate starting with a small number of contacts who trust the researcher. Nevertheless, both social capital and the networking technique provide appropriate flexible means for adding more participants. Mason (2010) maintains that the guiding principle for sample size in qualitative studies should be the concept of *'saturation'*. The researcher should satisfy themselves that the primary data collected alongside the secondary data provides learning and understanding of the phenomenon sufficiently to create new knowledge.

Sampling bias is an important consideration when using social capital and the networking technique as the potential for bias is high where the referrals are passed from a network of contacts of similar perspectives (Lopes et al., 1996). In order to limit this bias, the researcher

actively pursued different participant genders, age and experience to provide as broad a perspective as necessary.

Those who did not meet the inclusion criteria for inclusion were selectively turned down. This assisted the researcher in avoiding participant *'self-selection bias'* (Costigan and Cox, 2001). Turning down participants was a difficult process because of the time and effort taken by connections to obtain the contacts and effectively *'letting-down'* trusted connections was difficult. This required a high-level of professionalism and diplomacy so not to affect the researcher's social capital in the long-term. Thus, the sample developed in an organic manner as the social capital and snowballing technique played out over the research period.

Through the process of establishing which Academy Trust Members/Trustees would engage with the researcher and excluding those who would, but were let-down, two Academy Trust Members/Trustees were conveniently sampled to provide their experiences through semi-structured interviews. Participants can be sampled from the chosen population on the basis of a range of sampling methods such as theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), randomly, conveniently, purposively, statistical sampling, diverse sampling. Organic sampling (Mason, 2002) refers to a researcher's skill of monitoring and being responsive to the practical realities of collecting in-depth data. Challenges may not be entirely predictable from the outset. For example, recruitment maybe difficult which leads to a smaller sample size or expands more rapidly beyond the initially anticipated size. Other research considerations may need to be factored in such as funding, time, resources, which increase or decrease over the data collection

The two Academy Trust Member/Trustees selected for primary data collection through interviewing cases were provided anonymity. Primary data was collected during May and September 2019. See Table 12.

Table 12, p175: Selected Sample of Academy Trust Members/Trustees (2021)

Cases	Numbers	Gender
Case 1	1	Male
Case 2	1	Female
Total Cases	**2**	

Often, flexibility on sample size is required (Glaser, 1978) particularly where analysis is being carried out simultaneously. This approach enables real-time collection and analysis to enable the researcher to make judgements as to whether further data collection is required (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Thus, sample size may be increased or diversified if the researcher realised that a particular person/group have been omitted whom should be added to enhance the validity of the findings (Silverman, 2011).   There may also come a point where the research reaches *'theoretical saturation'* (Corbin and Strauss, 2015) where further data does not deliver additional benefit.

In preparation for interviewing participants, the researcher undertook desktop research to develop a deeper knowledge and understanding of the participant's personal and professional biography. This was aligned to the initial theoretical understanding. A full profile of each participant was developed using secondary data analysis of publicly available documents including information published by the Department of Education, the National Audit Office (NAO), the Education Select Committee, the Public Accounts Committee,

Companies House and the Charities Commission. These sources were used to build profiles about their practices of engaging within the Academy Programme and Academy Trusts. A wider reaching search online yielded additional information from secondary sources including personal and professional websites, media reports and media interviews, press releases, social media and professional videos, which provided additional insight into the participant's wider experience beyond the education system and within philanthropy, leadership and business.

Information from Companies House confirmed the citizenship of the individuals as British and their associated elite title. Based on the individual being *'active'*, it was assumed that they were living. The Annual Accounts (from inception to date) provided positional data where the named individual was registered as a Member of an Academy Trust and/or registered as a Trustee (or Director) of an Academy Trust. Leadership associations were more difficult to identify as these were linked to government think tanks, public policy committees and other policy affiliations. Financial giving transactions were provided within the Annual Accounts as well as within online media for associated press coverage of such donations. Related party transactions were identifiable within the Annual Accounts, but, other business associations were more complex to reveal and required examination of their participation in other professional associations. Due to a series of high-profile public-political scandals, several participants were initially excluded on the basis that they were likely to be no longer holding leadership positions within Academy Trusts during the research period.

Methods for Data Collection

Data collection methods deployed are:

- Temporal Bracketing Data of Time and Space

- Semi-Structured Interviews

These data collection methods will be explained within this section.

Temporal Bracketing Data of Time and Space

Structuration of academisation requires a process method of dealing with the passing of time and space. The key methods assumption regarding temporal bracketing is such that it has key anchor points specified by phases within contextual time and space. Capturing key elements of processes can be a challenge because they can involve ambiguously bounded multi-layering of units of analysis involving thoughts, experiences and meaning, and although events are the primary focus, these may not be easily identifiable, in a linear sequence or narrow trend, for example (Langley, 1999).

Langley (1999) describes how mutual influences of structure and agency are challenging to capture and analyse simultaneously, thus temporally '*bracketing*' as a process method means a more efficient and effective approach. Barley and Tolbert, (1997) argue that bracketing can create easily identifiable time and space boundaries that lead to change within another, facilitating the analysis of structuration across time and space. Collecting fine-grained data from within processes themselves; why and how events play out, and within temporal brackets of time and space, aims to explore deeper from the ground upwards (Mintzberg,

1979; Bower, 1997; Pettigrew, 1992; Van de Ven, 1992). However, caution is acknowledged

in the use of bracketing as this method risks overlooking processes a continuous flow beyond

the bracketed time frame (Jones, 1997).

For the purpose of this research, the time and space boundary centres around the period

from 2000 to 2021 and provides the focus for data collection and analysis. Data collection is

situated within the designated time and space boundary as illustrated within figure 7.

Secondary and primary data collection centres of government policy and practice, and the

practice within the three *'scripts'* during this period.

Figure 7, p169: A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)

A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy Adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)
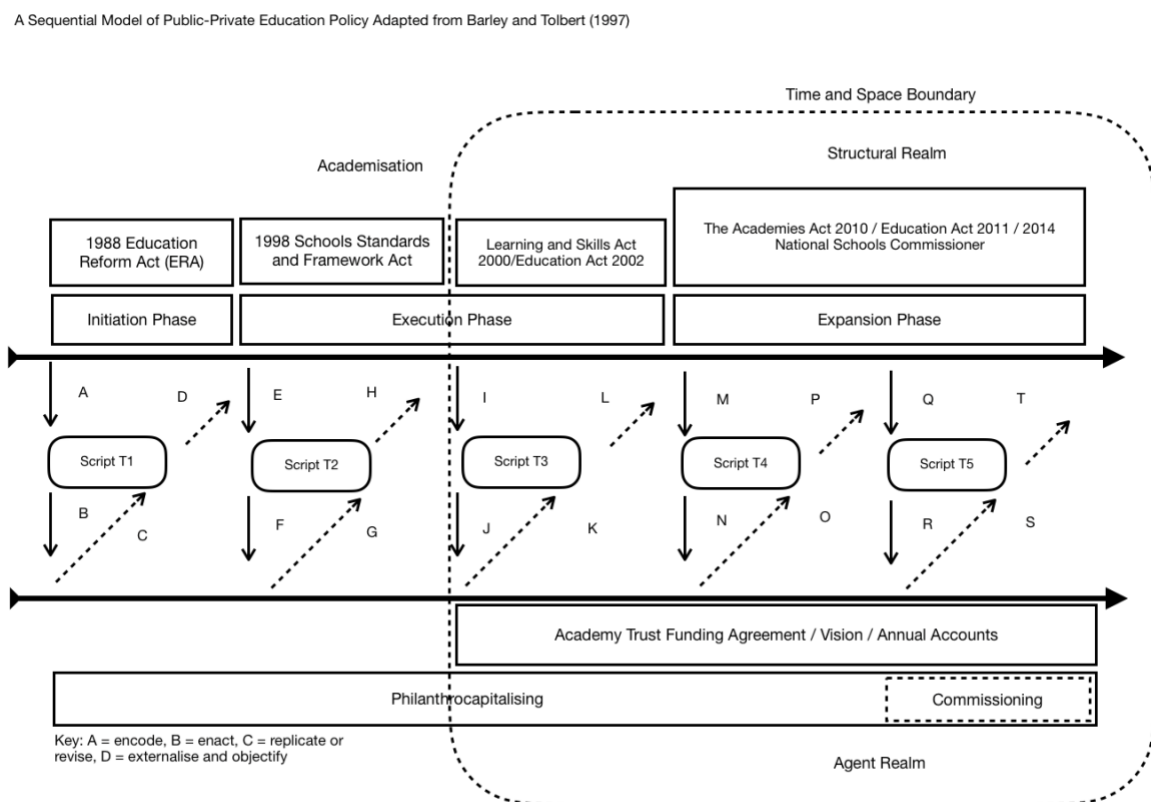
Case study research drawing upon boundary-work has been popular within higher education research and has recently been applied within the academy programme (Papanastasiou, 2017) to examine how academy principals and private sponsors collaborate within the programme. Boundary-work in this context demonstrates the *'fluid and socially constructed nature of epistemic communities and, in the case of academies, how categories such as 'education' and 'business' are constantly being defined and redefined during the enactment of policy'* (Papanastasiou, 2017:97). Case study research highlights the nature of collaboration, drawing, negotiating and contesting boundaries in the principal-sponsor relationship suggesting that it is based on *'business and management logics'* (Papanastasiou, 2017:95) and illustrates *'how sponsors do not only limit the agency of principals but also how principles can willingly give up their agency to sponsors'* (Papanastasiou, 2017:97), which can be contextually variable (Chapman, 2013). This nuance adds to existing boundary-work literature by challenging the perspective that boundaries create agency problems (Abbott, 1988; Glieryn, 1983) and that boundary-crossing is a temporary state occurring in order to negotiate (Suchman, 1993), as principals demonstrated that they changed their views (educationalist) entirely to align with the sponsors (business) (Papanastasiou, 2017:95). Although, there were some agency tensions that were more difficult to overcome that were perceived to be derived from differing *'cultures'* and *'mind-sets'* within *'public-private'* or *'education-business'* divides (Papanastasiou, 2017:95).

Semi-Structured Interviews

Within qualitative research, semi-structured interviews are a dominant feature within the social sciences and are widely accepted methods of collection (Bradford and Cullen, 2012).

Eisenhardt and Graebner, (2007) state that interviews are predominating sources of primary data collection in case study research as they are targeted and an efficient means of data collection. The structure of the semi-structured interviews conducted through this research, enabled the addressing of specific topics whilst enabling responses from individual perspectives (Choack, 2011); to raise issues pertinent to them. Thus, allowing flexibility within the approach to enable other relevant themes to be explored as the responses developed (Choak, 2011; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The flow of the conversation also aids in the exploration of how these experiences can be informed by interactions, assumptions and influences from wider society (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Patton (2002; 89) explains *'there is a very practical side to qualitative (research) methods that simply involves asking open-ended questions of people… in real-world settings…'*.

Capturing subjective viewpoints (Flick, 2009), as told through semi-structured interviews, enable the telling of real-life stories and experiences that are anchored in time and space. These are illustrations of their *'lifeworlds'* (Atwood and Storlorow, 1984), the human agency perspective of the *'lived experiences'* (Bodgan and Taylor, 1975) and in-depth accounts of the *'situated'* or *'local'* knowledge. This knowledge is *'the very mundane, yet expert understanding of and practical reasoning about local conditions derived from lived experience'* as explained by Yanow (2004: S12) (emphasis in original) (cf. Bourdieu, 1998). Capturing this data is crucial in understanding the structure and agency, philanthrocapitalising and processes of change. This data enables the consideration of both structure and agency in the interpretation; interdependently and independently, providing the opportunity to widen the exploration within context.

Despite how effective semi-structured interviews can be, response bias and dependencies are acknowledged within this research because the interview responses are dependent upon the memory recall of the interviewee from a twenty-year period, which may be inaccurate (Golden, 1992) and distorted (Nutt, 1986), which can result in hindsight bias and attributional bias (Huber and Power, 1985). However, these accounts will be collated with the secondary data to ensure that there is full exploration of what their experiences are as well as how these relate to what exists within policy and practice from the period (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Thus, this research strategy conforms to an abductive reasoning strategy (Shutz, 1963) and approaches the interviews through a strategy of reading the transcripts, re-reading, dialogue with the interviewee regarding the themes that emerge, relating back to the research questions and settling on shared understanding of the interpretation of the transcripts. This aids the collection of in-depth and nuanced qualitative data (Denscombe, 2010; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012) at each stage of the exploratory and explanatory process. The interview schedule addresses specific topics, however it is designed to enable a *'flow of conversation'* (Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Choak, 2011) and allow relevant themes to expand (Choak, 2011).

Interviewing Elites

Creating an environment in which the participants can adequately express their views and opinions is the next important step to ensure quality data is collected. The power balance favours the participant rather than the researcher. Thus, within the participant information pack, the semi-structured interview questions were set out. Transparency of the questions

provided an important means of developing trust from the outset showing the participant that there was no hidden agenda. Several participants required a pre-interview telephone conversation to establish the credentials of the researcher and to understand more about why the research was being undertaken. Although, the conversation with the participants did take different shapes and forms once the conversation had begun, sharing the initial structure put them at ease. The questions were carefully worded and structured as open questions and conversation starters. Focusing on the elite's background and experiences enabled them to talk about themselves and create a sense of appreciation between the participant and researcher (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002). The use of the term *'conversation'* instead of *'interview'* was subtly changed to create the perception that any discussion would be to have an intellectual dialogue with the idea that they may also learn something from the researcher about up to date academic and policy literature. This would be different to the routine or journalistic interview style they may be used to (Goldstein, 2002), and to create a space for reflection.

The type of questions and their design can affect the way the participant responds to them (Healey and Rawlinson, 1993). With researcher responses focused on 'why' and 'how' rather than 'what' to obtain clarification of meaning throughout.

For example, the initial questions were:

Q1: How has your personal experience of being involved in the Academy programme evolved over time with regards to your philanthropy, leadership and business interests?

Q2: How has your experience of the structure of the Academy programme (e.g., the Funding Agreement, company law, charity law) enabled and/or constrained your philanthropy, leadership and business interests?

Q3: How have the interactions with multiple stakeholders (e.g., government, school stakeholders and philanthropic/business peers) enabled and/or constrained your philanthropy, leadership and business interests?

Semi-structured interviews were carried out between May and September 2019 at the convenience of the participant. The semi-structured format of the interviews enabled flexibility for exploring key points in more detail (Patton, 2015; Yin, 2013), introduce new ideas (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016; Mikecz, 2012) and be led by both the researcher and the participant conversation. The participants had the opportunity to respond to the questions and follow-up questions about experiences shared (Crang and Cook, 2007). The interviews led into conversations about philanthrocapitalism either directly or indirectly through the dialogue about philanthropic contributions (human and financial), using business techniques applied to their giving, and changing how business and government operate. Social change was also discussed and reflected upon in their reasoning for undertaking the Member/Trustee role. The participant information provided advised that any questions they did not wish to answer could remain unanswered. Although the elite individuals were considered highly educated, the interview questions were addressed in plain language rather than using academic terminology. However, participants held academic and professional qualifications and wished to use technical vocabulary that they were familiar with.

By using a face-to-face semi-structured interview model, time and space was created in order to observe participants' non-verbal cues. These observations were aided as the interviews were voice recorded, which enabled the research to focus on the conversation rather than being distracted by note taking. After each interview, the recording of the interview was transcribed. It was assumed that elites were familiar with research conventions (Goldstein, 2002) and would not object to this practice.

All interviews took place at the participant's place of work, which provided uninterrupted time, familiar surroundings and limited distraction for the participant. Sin (2003) explains how the interview location can reveal additional information about the self-identity, organisational-identity and social-identity of the participant. This can also shape the information collected and influence the dynamics between the researcher and participant (Nelson, 1999; Dowling et al, 2016: Sin, 2003). Consideration is given to the circumstantial influences during the interview (Hester and Francis, 1994) and by holding the interviews within the participants usual working environment, incidental insights were gained regarding their character, ethos and organisational priorities. Field notes of observations made within the environment prove useful in interpreting interview data.

Although the social policy context is male dominated, both men and women participants were interviewed for this research. The age of participants ranged from late sixties to early seventies. The length of the interviews varied depending upon availability and location. The average length of the interviews was one hour and a half. Stephens (2007) observed elite interviews to last around one and a half hours. Thus, conforming to general expectations for

this type of research. Many conveyed the sense that they were involved in education as national importance and were willing to share their views.

All elite interviewees participating within this research occupy high-level positions within philanthropy, leadership and business, and have financial assets. A degree of sensitivity towards their identities and information shared was required throughout as this could have affected what was discussed during the interview. The university research ethical approval process provided a framework for considering key issues and the participant information and consent form responded to those issues such as identifying the risks to the participant, respecting their anonymity and protecting their data. Elites are skilled in establishing boundaries and are likely to have marked those self-defined boundaries before the interviewing commences. All participants were reminded that they could withdraw from the research at any point and refrain from answering any question. In all transcription, write-up and analysis, the participants remained anonymous and were presented such that they were unidentifiable.

The researcher observes that studies of philanthrocapitalism have an underdeveloped conceptualisation of structure and agency in the process of social change, and very few empirical studies of philanthrocapitalism exist in this manner. The researcher also observes a lack of focus upon individual's or collectives of philanthrocapitalists. Perhaps, because as a research subject, this opens up an individual's privacy to public scrutiny. This research does not set out to impugn the motivations of philanthrocapitalists, as their contributions are assumed to be in good faith. Giddens (1984:14) argues that agency is *'the capacity to make*

a difference' thus, it is important to understand the practices that they engage in to bring about social change.

Studying Academy Members/Trustees, who may or may not identify as philanthrocapitalists, in the context of academisation is very challenging as there are many practical, as well as psychological barriers to gaining access to them. Subordinates are usually more accessible. Academy Members/Trustees are busy and often protected people, particularly if they are currently actively engaged in their philanthropic, leadership and business endeavours. Fears that public exposure to what the Members/Trustees may consider private, and in some cases anonymous practices, will bring privacy and security issues to them and their families are real barriers to research (Breeze and Lloyd, 2013). Academy Members/Trustees are not obliged to explain their actions, therefore any impression that such research would bring criticism of their character or moral judgements could potentially put them off.

Within this study, interviewing Academy Members/Trustees is regarded as the same as interviewing *'elite'* members of society. Amongst the literature relating to interviewing elite individuals or groups, a variety of definitions are proposed. Although, it is acknowledged that they are not neatly defined as a homogeneous group. Generally, the term elite refers to *'a group in society considered to be superior because of the power, talent, privileges etc of its members'* (Hornby et al., 1983:280) as well as those whom possess authority (Sabot, 1999; Cochrane, 1998), expert knowledge (Parry, 1998, Morris, 2009), prestige (McDowell, 1998; England, 2002), close proximity to power (Lilleker, 2003) or the control of resources (Oinas, 1999). Zuckerman (1972:160) suggests a hierarchy of elites with *'ultra-elites'* being those whom are *'the most highly placed members of an elite'* (Zuckerman (1972:160). Lower level

elites are those whom have '*the ability to exert influence*' using *'social networks, social capital and strategic position within social structures'* (Harvey, 2011:433). The philanthrocapitalists interviewed for this study are recognised to be elite as they all hold associated elite titles such as Lord, Lady, Sir, Dame, CBE, MBE and OBE as acknowledgement of their status and contribution to British industry and society.

Interviewing elites is considered an essential part of this research because *'neither past events and the feelings of people involved in them nor how they interpret their behaviour can be observed'* (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016; Patton, 2015). This is often because of a range of key issues associated with interviewing elites that are highlighted in the qualitative research literature (see Cochrane, 1998; Desmond, 2004; Duke, 2002; Harvey, 2011; Hertz & Hunter, 1993; Hertz and Imber, 1995; Mikecz, 2012; Morris, 2009; Neal & Mclaughlin, 2009; Richards, 1996; Smith, 2006; Stephens, 2007; Welch et al, 2002). Access to elites is often protected from intrusion (Cochrane, 1998; Desmond, 2004; Hunter 1993) using gatekeepers and barriers to resist scrutiny (Duke, 2002; Hertz and Imber, 1995; Mikecz, 2012). Control is also exerted over what information is given and used (Smith, 2006; Welch et al, 2006) with many '*practiced in fielding questions and more tightly bound to organisational policies*' (Welch et al., 2002:615) and others tightly controlling the *'official line'* being communicated (Duke, 2002:46). However, Ostrander (1995:143) explains that elites are *'used to being in charge, and they are used to having others defer to them. They are also used to being asked what they think and having what they think matter in other people's lives.'*

Literature across the social sciences suggests that studies involving elite persons or groups are intrinsically different. Previous interviewing literature has relied on the structuralism view of power for the assumption that *'powerful people'* can be clearly identified and that power will be transferred to the interviewing context because it is associated with the person being interviewed. Interviewing *'up'* presents a concept of power relations that suggest that the elite persons or group are more powerful than the position of the researcher (Smith, 2006, Desmond, 2004). Many scholars argue that the methodological literature is lacking in understanding about interviewing those with power and authority (Bradshaw, 2001; Hertz and Imber, 1995; Ostrander, 1995; Kezar, 2003; hal, 1997; Parry, 1998; Hughes and Cormode, 1999). However, many scholars argue that the notion of power is conflated and relies on outdated notions of the *'powerful'* and *'power-less'*. England (2002: 200) argues that *'interviewing elites does not raise different sorts of issues than for researchers studying less powerful groups'*.

Methods for Data Analysis

Data collections analysis methods deployed are:

- Thematic Analysis

- Practice Theory Analysis

These data analysis methods will be explained within this section.

Thematic Analysis

From a realist and constructivist paradigm perspective, thematic analysis is selected by the researcher as the most appropriate approach to analysing the qualitative data collected through this study. It provides a process for identifying themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013) in the ways people give meaning to their lived experiences and social constructs, and the ways in which these meanings are made in context. The process of thematic data analysis is explained by Marshall and Rossman (1999) as a six-stage process defined by these tasks:

- Organising data

- Generating categories or themes

- Coding the data

- Testing emergent understanding of the data

- Searching for alternative explanations of the data

- Write-up the data analysis

This process is an enabler

'...bringing order, structure and interpretation to the mass of collected data. ... It is the search for general statements about relationships among categories of data ... it is the search among data to identify content.' (Marshall and Rossman, 1999: 150).

Through organising the data, the researcher makes three key considerations. Firstly, the differing merits of an inductive or theoretical thematic analysis approach based on predetermined themes or those evolving from the analysis. Secondly, the researcher

considers the scope of the analysis of the themes in the process of theorising the data for example, providing a rich description in relation to the entire data set or a detailed account of a particular theme or group of themes, either approach may overlook other important or significant themes. Thirdly, the researcher considers the level of analysis required in relation to describing and interpreting the data for example, the semantic and latent levels of analysis. By taking a systematic approach to reflecting upon the analytical implications at the outset, the researcher brings attention to the rigour, epistemological and theoretical position.

The process of generating themes is derived by the researcher's theoretical interest underpinning this study, which drives a more explicitly analytical approach to the data analysis because there is a pre-existing set of theoretical assumptions rather than an inductive approach where little analytic preconceptions prevail. The approach adopted is aligned to theoretical thematic analysis which provides a means of identifying specific aspects of the data with the aim of reflecting the importance or significance of themes that relate to the research questions. Thus, the aim of the research is to analyse the data relating specifically to what is involved in philanthrocapitalising, how philanthrocapitalising can be accomplished and what unique contribution philanthrocapitalising makes in the context of academisation for social change.

Philanthrocapitalising is assumed to involve motivation and capability to act otherwise. Derived from Giddens' (1984) view of *'ontological security'* (following routines), the capability to *'act differently'* out of the routine, and with motivation to do so exists alongside routines

that are not considered to be motivated, thus, demonstrating that the themes of motivation and capability are predetermined themes.

Additionally, presupposed themes for how philanthrocapitalising is accomplished are derived from the definition of philanthrocapitalism which draws upon the application of business techniques within private giving practices and driving social change by changing how business and government operate (Bishop, 2006). Thus, demonstrating that key techniques themes relating to philanthrocapitalising.

From a contextualist perspective, analysis of secondary data sources (government policy documentation and Academy Trust organisational data) using thematical analysis relating to the presupposed theme of social change provides the means of identifying meaning within the context and understanding how the context influences that meaning of the lived experience. The meaning of language used within the structural context provides important and significant understanding of the situation and wider societal perspectives in which to unravel the meaning constructed by the agent. Thus, this approach to thematically analysing primary and secondary data together provides opportunities for the semantic and latent levels of analysis to be developed interdependently.

The identification of the themes in the data is not mechanistic nor a quantified measure of relevance to convince the reader of the reporting of the truth; theme relevance is not dependent upon frequency of instances. There are no hard-and-fast rules applied to the prevalence of themes in the analysis nor the number of associated themes that develop from the specific features within the framework. Thus, there remains flexibility within the

approach so not to overlook other important or significant themes because the data will not be coded within an *'epistemological vacuum'* (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Adopting the theoretical thematic analysis approach has implications for the coding of the presupposed themes. Firstly, differing and similar aspects of data are identified as categories. Categories fall under a theme that provide the overarching structure to the data analysis. Within each theme there are several related categories. Coding the data involves a process of applying a category to each aspect of relevance and identification of examples to be used within the write-up and conclusions.

Due to the issues of confidentiality and anonymity of the elite persons participating in semi-structured interviews, the testing of emergent understandings follows a supplementary analysis process because each participant requests to be consulted on the analysis to ensure that the presentation of their responses was a clear representation and interpretation of their meaning. Within this process, both researcher and participant attempt to minimise the weight of bias in the researcher interpretation or the participant's manipulation of the interpretation to control the write-up.   As constructs emerge, the researcher seeks out data to challenge the presupposed categories and themes as well as seek alternative explanations (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Thus, through a structured process of transcribing, reading, analysis, sharing interpretations with participants, re-reading, revisiting the research questions, and interpreting the data to consider what a worthy theme is provides rigour to the analysis and interpretation of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Practice Analysis

Adopting a process-practice approach enables the analysis of the sequence of practices to explain what things happen and how things change over time (Van de Ven, 1992), which scholars (Jones, 1997; Rose, 2000; Pozzenbon and Pinsonneault, 2005) deem most appropriate when applying Structuration Theory.

As Archer (1982: 455) describes *'for any theorist, except the holist, social structure is ultimately a human product, but for any theorist, except advocates of psychologism, this product in turn shapes individuals and influences their interaction'*. Thus, the challenge accepted within this research is to develop a robust theoretical account that appreciates the simultaneous nature of structure and agency constituting and shaping society as a process-practice, not a product. Thus, this process-practice perspective provides the basis for the examination of how social change can be achieved through social practices, or in a series of practices, within a process as embodiment of structure and agency. As Giddens (1984: 25) argues, this provides the opportunity to study the structural properties (structure and agency) of social systems, which are the medium and outcome of the practices they recursively form.

The history of sociological theory shows successive theoretical developments in either structure or agency, with a move to a new perspective in the sixties towards a more united approach. The 'morphogenetic approach' emerged within general systems theory, most notably from Walter Buckley (1968) and *'structuration'* (Giddens, 1979) emerged from within semiotic studies and hermeneutics. Both derived from evidence of observable patterns of practice, both routine and non-routine. As Archer (1982: 456) describes *'both acknowledge*

that social practice is ineluctably shaped by the unacknowledged conditions of action and generates unintended consequences which form the context of subsequent interaction.' Where structuration differs and is relevant to this study of intended and unintended consequences, Dowding (2008:29) interprets Giddens work as converting three dualisms into three dualities. *'(a) free will and determinism, (b) subject (people) and object (society) and, (c) static from dynamic analysis'.*

As this research is set within a highly complex social policy context and sensitive public-private relations, it is important to acknowledge that the grounded methodological underpinnings are also drawn from interpretative policy analysis (IPA) due to the nature of meanings that are attached to social policies by agents (Yanow, 2000). However, it is not the intention of this research to assess the effectiveness of social policy, but, to explore how and what social policy means (Yanow, 1996) to those involved in the policy process. *'Policy as practice'* research has also fashioned an approach to understanding the nature of policy-making, policy-enactment and policy-work (Colebatch, 2006; Clarke, 2012), which requires scrutinizing *'specific configurations of action, norms and knowledge'* (Freeman et al, 2011: 128). Giddens' (1984) argues that interdependent structural and agency contextual understanding should be taken seriously, and that practice is the means through which structure and agency can be understood, so that the social worlds of those participating can be fully examined. Thus, it is this analytical observation that has led the researcher to identifying the need to empirically investigate the structuration of academisation within the context of education policy in the production and reproduction of social change.

Following the central tenants of Structuration Theory as Giddens (1984: 285) explains the approach towards structure and agency is to *'be sensitive to the complex skills which actors have in co-ordinating the contexts of their day-to-day behaviour'* as well as *'be sensitive to the time-space constitution of social life'* (Giddens, 1984:286).

The analytical procedures used in capturing routine and non-routine practices within specific timeframes (fine-grained and broad ranging temporal bracketing) and interpreting the complexities of narrative and biographical data using qualitative content analysis [thematic analysis], will be presented. The combination of purposive strategies selected for this research draws on lessons learnt from previous empirical applications of Structuration Theory and aims to use grounded theory field study (Maznevski, and Chudoba, 2000) and temporal bracketing (Barley and Tolbert, 1997) as a means to identify when and how philanthrocapitalising occurs, combined with the agents' narratives explaining why, as recommended by Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005).

Giddens' (1984) also points out that the researcher needs to acquaint themselves with the meaning that is given to the social life of those studied in order to be able to interpret it, and further, has to acknowledge the intentionality behind the predictability – or deviation therefrom – in the social life of those studied. This is reinforced by Yanow (2014), who describes how interpretive research is multi-layered involving several layers of interpretation carried out by the participant and researcher. This includes the participant interpreting their context, and structural and agency interactions, and the researcher interpreting the observations and discourse with the participant.

Practice as Embodiment of Structure and Agency

Practice is not merely related to agent's individual or collective action. As Giddens suggests, practice embodies inseparable structure and agency and therefore, it is not the purpose of this research to give primacy to either. Clarke's (2012) research into policy 'work' illustrates the need to analyse practice in relation to all situated practices involved in 'work' to achieve a wider understanding of the complexity of transformation. However, this perspective remains narrowly focused on what the agents do. Thus, there is a need to understand the role of structure within practice as Giddens (1984) explains *'Structure is embedded within practice, or in a series of practices, in which it is recursively implicated'* (Giddens, 1984). Giddens (1984) warns against using categorisation as a method of interpretation, however, this has since been a popular method for post-structuralist human geographers. Moore (2008) explains in his study of scalar practices of agents in hierarchical governance, that the concept of '*category of practice'* derives from where agents use categories of scale *'not just to interpret spatial politics, but to frame and define, and thereby constitute and organize, social life'* (Moore, 2008: 218). When interpreting the actions of agents, it is argued that categorisation enables the dissolution of traditional boundaries between structure and agency (Wagenaar and Cook, 2003). Hence, 'practice' is understood to reflect the inseparable nature of structure and agency as an epistemological concept, how structure and agency is deployed by agents and how structure and agency influences actions and interactions. Defining practice in these terms enables this research to interpret routine and non-routine practices, intentional and/or unintentional, from the perspective of the agent in relation to the modes of structure (Giddens, 1984).

Ethical and Data Considerations

All Academy Trust Member/Trustee cases involved in the semi-structured interviews are bound by ethical codes of practice and confidentiality agreements. All individual's names have been removed and organisation's names will not be mentioned.

All Academy Trust cases where evidence is included from publicly available secondary sources are named within this study.

Research Bias

Various tools were required to avoid the bias both from the researcher and the participant. Acknowledging the possible modes of response bias in answering the interview questions, the researcher tried to remedy any limitations by immediately after the interview, referring to previous literature to check responses against those validated by previous studies and contextual documentary evidence (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011; Mason, 2002; Prior, 2004; Gibson and Brown, 2009; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016).

Both primary and secondary data collection and analysis proved to be a dynamic and interactive process that involved a nexus of complex structure and agency properties. Using qualitative content analysis, units elucidated from the particiants' descriptions of events were thematically grouped. Upon selections of the relevant sentences, each content theme was analysed (Neuendorf, 2002; Strauss, 1987), achieving the collection of themes and their codification. To avoid misclassification, clear definitions were made of the various patterns

of practices used (definitions provided) (Lin and Chang, 2000). As coding is a subjective matter, it is necessary that all coders agree on the coding criteria (Pare, 2004). Thus, coding was carried out by the researcher and moderated by the primary and secondary supervisors in order to establish independent analysis. The final results were presented upon agreement.

Researcher bias is an important factor to consider in the interpretation of data. The researcher and participant exist in different social worlds reflected by their gender, age and ethnicity for example (Hastrup, 1992), which can impact the lived experiences that they record and are able to interpret (England, 1994). Additional researcher bias may play a part where the researcher allows their own experience to infiltrate the lens of interpretation and cannot adequately separate this from the experience of another. At the time of the interviews, the researcher could have been considered an '*outsider*' having not worked in the education system for several years. However, previously to that the researcher had worked within Local Authorities, corporate business, education consultancy organisations, Academy Trusts and with philanthropists. Thus, gaining an '*insider*' perspective, accumulating broad personal experience and maintaining a professional network in the field. As social capital played a significant role in gaining access to the participants, as advocated by previous studies (see Welch et al., 2002; Ostrander, 1995), the use of previous experience and connections was helpful to establish the researcher in the mind of the elite and achieve recognition of trust quickly. The use of '*positional elasticity*' enabled the position as researcher to be overlapped with prior experience to reduce the gap (but not eliminate) with the participant (Moss, 1995). The use and knowledge of contextual language was also important to reflect the knowledge and experience of the researcher within during the pre-interview and

interview conversations, as well as during analysis. Informal conversations helped provide better understanding of the questions I was asking. However, this information was not used in the data analysis. The philanthrocapitalists being interviewed have experience in leading discussions and being authoritative speakers on the matters being discussed. Many had long histories and vast experience within the sector. Thus, highlighting the importance of the researcher and participant to 'speak the same language'. However, this was carefully self-managed during the interviews and during moderation of analysis to ensure that the participant's meaning was elicited and meaning was not implied by the researcher.

After analysing the interview data, a detailed view of philanthropy, leadership and business emerged. The mixture of properties of structure and agency revealed similarities and differences among the experiences of participants. The dynamic interactions between structure and agency were highly complex. The details of the findings are provided within the later chapters.

The interview data presented within the later chapters of this thesis has been selected because it best illustrates the most salient and relevant discussion. It is also representative of the wider dataset and where there were distinct opposing views, these have been acknowledged.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis and Discussion

Introduction

Within this analysis and discussion chapter, the researcher aims to present the findings as a means of creating new knowledge within the bounds of the research questions. The overarching problem that this research aims to overcome is to provide a means of explaining what is involved in philanthrocapitalising, how it can be accomplished and what unique contribution it makes in creating social change. Thus, the analysis and discussion will address the gap in knowledge about the phenomenon.

Importantly, there are three key features of this chapter; the structural realm, the agency realm and the interface between the two. The interface between agency and the structure illustrates the process of structuration (production and reproduction of social systems). Throughout the discussion within the thesis, structure and agency have been conceptualised independently and interdependently as a means of providing in-depth analysis of their separate importance and the duality. The participants' accounts form the third part of the analysis independently and interdependently to structure and agency. Thus, the sequence of analysis and discussion of the following chapter is no different. Separation is not ontological; it is a mechanism for analysis.

The analysis and discussion presented within this chapter creates new knowledge from the instantiation of private lived experiences alongside secondary source analysis. The intension

of this discussion is not to validate publicly available secondary sources nor to present a wholly representative conceptualisation of philanthrocapitalising for mass generalisation, it is intended to construct knowledge through the duality of structure within the context of academisation. Thus, the collective analysis of government legislation, policies and guidance together with contracts and the lived experience provides a holistic view of analysis assumptions. Using a single case (the government) at institutional level, 86 cases (Academy Trusts) at organisational level and two cases (Academy Trust Members) at agency level provides a rich multi-level and in-depth collection of evidence for the basis of analysis and interpretation.

Secondary source analysis spans twenty-one years from 2000 to 2021 and covers withdrawn versions, revisions and current versions. Primary sources span memory recall from 2000 to 2019. There are inherent challenges of considering the evidence available. Thus, validity and reliability will be discussed throughout to explain assumptions and perspectives.

In transforming the findings into knowledge, it is acknowledged that this discussion explicitly recognises the influence of the pre-knowledge of the context by the researcher. Choices are made in the organisation of the presentation of the findings, what to include and exclude, where the emphasis is focused and the significance. However, the intersection of multiple perspectives (Corbin and Strauss, 2015) aligned to Giddens' (1984) theoretically accepted models will assist in ensuring the findings are interpreted appropriately.

Structural Perspectives

Explaining the 'Structural Context' illustrated patterns in time and space where policy changes from 2000 to 2021 originate from similar 'scripts' (Barley and Taylor, 1997), for example ministerial or political officer changes, political ideological shifts and policy diversification. These scripts are bounded for analysis and placed within each bracket to signify a process of change that can be identified by structural contextual changes. The first bracket of time and space is bounded by 'The Execution Phase script three'. The second bracket is bounded by 'The Expansion Phase' which includes two scripts 'script four' and 'script five' within the sequential model of public-private policy adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997). These phases and scripts are shown in Figure 8.

A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy Adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)
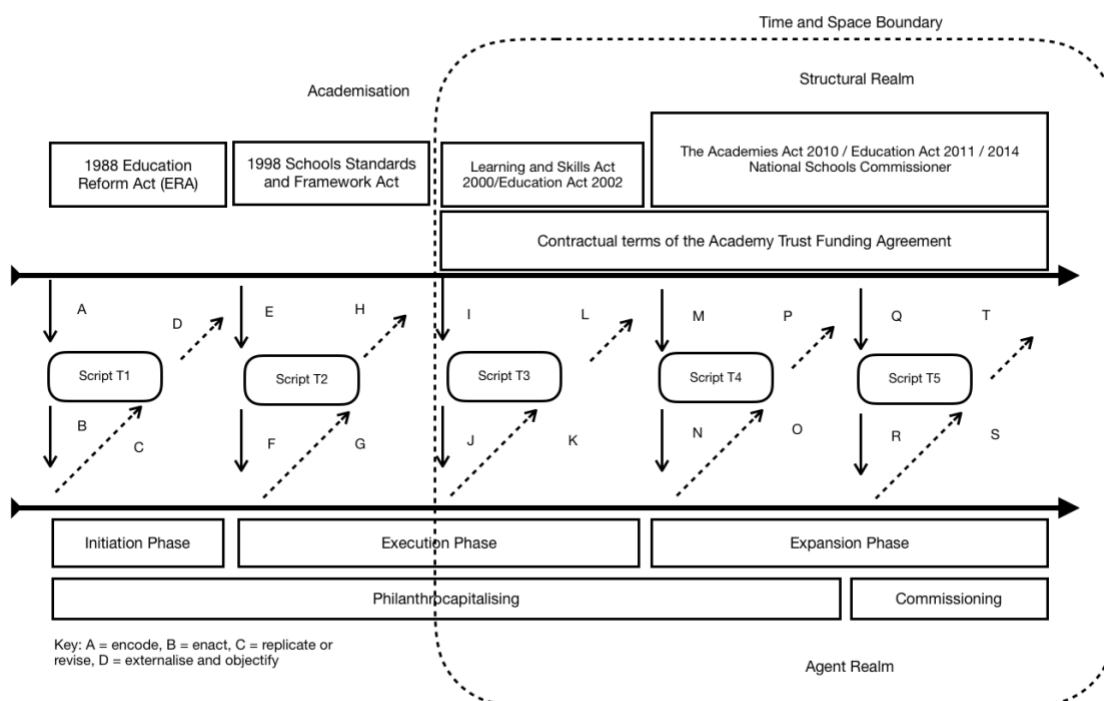
Figure 8, p192: A Sequential Model of Public-Private Education Policy adapted from Barley and Tolbert (1997)

Each script represents structure and agency as a means of identifying the actions, interactions and relations of individuals, as proxy and as a collective. Within the Execution Phase, the single act of engaging with academisation as a means of social change is interpreted as a deviation from the routine. Setting up an Academy Trust is an act with the intension to move a school out of local authority control, or to set-up a new school within the system of academisation that the government have orchestrated as a means of social change. Acting within a new system under a new legal contract in a new public-private arrangement is a deviation from the routine. To operate within the routine is for the school to remain within the current nationalised democratic system.

The policy provision for academisation in the year 2000 enabled the development of Academy Trusts. By engaging in academisation and the passing down of the legal requirements of state education, the Funding Agreement mechanism enables and constrains practices such that it details the *'Objects'* upon which the contract between the institution (The Secretary of State for Education) and the organisation (Academy Trust) is based upon. Academy Trusts are exempt charities with the primary regulator as The Secretary of State for Education. Thus, agreements are made directly with The Secretary of State for Education and the Academy Trust. Within script three, the setting of contractual agreements is important to analyse because these document the inherent requirements of the organisation and are legally binding once agreed and signed, and set the precedence for the organisational vision, ethos, curriculum and wider endeavours, as the mission of the Academy Trust Members.

The Execution Phase

The *'Execution Phase'* is characterised by the script covering the implementation of policy change, philanthrocapitalising within the Academy Trust, and the opening of academies with sponsor financial resources. In this phase the English education system is changed significantly because the system has accepted the model of public-private principal-agent contracts whether forced or willingly. Member Case one explains the tensions of this period.

> *"The whole academy concept was a controversial piece of legislation, to be quite honest. The introduction of an academy made very direct statements, which some local authorities and some parents clearly found unpalatable. Effectively, government were saying 'Your school is underperforming; therefore, you can't run it so we're going to find a sponsor to take over in your place'." (Member Case One)*

The action of the sponsor, enabled by the structure, drives a subsequent structural change in facilitating the opening of academies and legitimising the policy. Without the sponsors engaged in the programme, the government would not have succeeded. Although this discussion is not to impugn the motivations of the sponsors, it is noted that with few of the original sponsors still engaged, their intensions are questionable. The script involves reflection on the legislation, financial contributions, and personal motivations, at both structure and agency level. Within this script the routine element would be characterised by not engaging in the enactment of the policy, thus maintaining the status quo of the state educational system. To engage as a sponsor is assumed to be the deviation from the routine creating social change that creates the system change to include academisation.

The Execution Phase script is characterised by the reflection on the introduction and implementation of academisation policy, engagement of the sponsor, the actions, interactions and relations in starting-up the Academy Trust and the mechanism for social change deviation. The Execution Phase accounts for when the *'longue duree'* (Braudel, 1958) is broken within the English education system and the shift in who is accountable for it and how it is accomplished.

The Funding Agreement states the following, which is aligned to the Memorandum Articles of Association, for adoption by each Academy Trust.

> *'To the extent that it is compatible with the Academy Trust fulfilling its charitable purpose of advancing education in the United Kingdom for the public benefit, the Academy Trust must ensure that each of its Academies is at the heart of its community, promoting community cohesion and sharing facilities with other schools and/or other educational institutions and the wider community.'* (Clause 1.14, Master Funding Agreement, DfE, 2020)

Through this agreement, Academy Trusts should fulfil their charitable endeavours. However, there are opportunities for direct personalisation of the agreement. These are reflected within the Academy Trust '*Objects*' (DfE, 2016). The Memorandum Articles of Association set out the Academy Trust's educational objects for use by mainstream, special, 16-19, alternative provision academies and free schools, and studio schools reflect this requirement. The following is the Multi Academy Trust example.

4. *The Academy Trust's objects ("**the Objects**") are specifically restricted to the following:*

   a. *[to advance for the public benefit education in the United Kingdom, in particular but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, by establishing, maintaining, carrying on, managing and developing schools offering a broad and balanced curriculum ("**the mainstream Academies**") or educational institutions which are principally concerned with providing full-time or part-time education for children of compulsory school age who, by reason of illness, exclusion from school or otherwise, may not for any period receive suitable education unless alternative provision is made for them ("the **alternative provision Academies**") or 16 to 19 Academies offering a curriculum appropriate to the needs of its students ("the **16 to 19 Academies**") or schools specially organised to make special educational provision for pupils with Special Educational Needs ("the **Special Academies**")] (DfE, Academy Articles of Association, 2021: 7)*

Many Academy Trusts have straightforwardly adopted the Model Memorandum Articles of Association and this would be considered a routine practice of academisation. Those that have made a conscious decision to deviate from the model are interpreted as engaging in a deviation from the routine. Although the phrase *'restricted'* (DfE, 2016) is used to preface the requirements, *'the objects'* (DfE, 2016) are ambiguous and provide opportunities for enabling interpretation and adaption by the Academy Trust. Some Academy Trusts have taken the opportunity to modify theirs to align with their own specific preferences and personalisation.

This analysis illustrates that there are several types of personalisation which occurs. This is the first observation that structure enables and constrains, and that the agency response in the process of production and reproduction of social change has the opportunity to act differently. This act of difference may suggest that there is an opportunity to make fundamental change to the way government operates because this has the potential for significant collectives within a category or even for all Academy Trusts to act differently, should they wish to.

Examples of greater private (non-public) sector influence on government can be observed, and variations have been agreed with the Secretary of State for Education, beyond the basic requirements of the Academy Trust objects by allowing individual personalisation through which they have established an adapted strategic mission. Contractual freedom and autonomy allow for variation to include an individuals' personal and professional motivations or those of a collective or an organisation. Ambiguity within the model Memorandum Articles and the Funding Agreement allow for interpretation of the routine practices and provide '*policy windows'* (Kingdon, 1995) of opportunity for non-routine practices.

Ormiston Academies Trust is categorised as from the charitable sector, a multi-academy trust, and has adopted the model object with deviation from the routine. Ormiston Academies Trust is the tenth largest Academy Trust with 40 schools across five English regions, serving over 30,000 children. Serving Member, Peter Murray, OBE, is the founding chairman of the Ormiston Trust who established the trust in memory of his sister, Fiona Ormiston Murry who tragically died before starting her own family. As a chartered surveyor (commercial investment) and background in journalism, he currently focuses on philanthropy within

community regeneration (Murray, 2021). The Ormiston Academies Trust adapted objects have greater focus on community welfare.

> '*a. to advance for the public benefit education in the United Kingdom, in particular but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing by establishing, maintaining, carrying on, managing and developing schools offering a broad and balanced curriculum ("the Academies"); offering a broad curriculum with a strong emphasis on, but in no way limited to either one, or a combination of the specialism(s) specified in the Relevant Funding Agreements; and*
>
> *b. to provide facilities for recreational and other leisure time occupation for the community at large in the interests of social welfare and with the object of improving the conditions of life of the said community*.' (Ormiston Academies Trust, Articles of Association, 2021)

The deviation from the routine in the example of Ormiston Academies Trust is interpreted as being motivated by a personal endeavour in memory of a family member. The capability for change originates from the human resources within the family to support this endeavour, and through personal and professional business endeavours.

Due to the nature of structuration, the motivation of action is identified by Giddens (1984) as '*potential for action rather than to the mode in which action is chronically carried on by the agent. Motives tend to have a direct purchase on action only in relatively unusual circumstances, situations which in some way break with the routine…much of our day-to-day*

conduct is not directly motivated…' (Giddens, 1984: 6). Thus, the *'deviation from routine'*

represents *'conscious'* motivations. See figure 9.

Figure 9, p200: The Process of Reflexivity, Stratification Model (Giddens, 1984)

Stratification Model
Giddens (1984)

Reflective monitoring of
action

Unacknowledged
conditions of
action

Rationalisation of action

Unintended
consequences
of action

Motivation of action
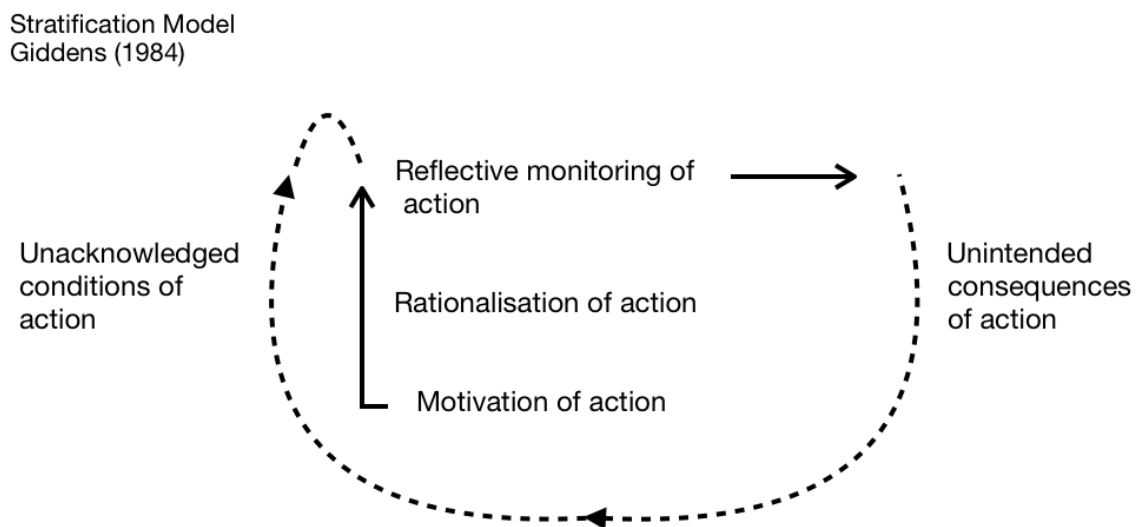
The Alec Reed Academy is another example of conscious motivation being applied to deviate

from the routine. The Alec Reed Academy is categorised as from the charitable sector, a single

academy trust with one all-through school, has adopted the deviation from the routine

focusing upon enterprise and sport.

> *'a. to advance for the public benefit education in the United Kingdom, in particular but*
>
> *without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing by establishing, maintaining,*
>
> *carrying on, managing and developing schools offering a broad and balanced*
>
> *curriculum with a strong emphasis on, but in no way limited to enterprise and sport*
>
> *("the Academy").'* (The West London Academy Articles of Association, 2002)

Sir Alec Reed, CBE, founding sponsor, was an active member between 2002 and 2007. He founded the recruitment services company REED in the 1960s, which has since established a global presence. Sir Alec Reed is a philanthropist and founder of multiple globally operating charities. Sir Alec Reed, CBE, self-reports in a publicly available interview that he was motivated by changes to his personal health.

> *'When I became really active was once I'd floated my company (1986)..the real break-through came from a bit of bad luck really, and the bad luck was that I got cancer. My wife knew exactly what had caused it, it was a new, newish ten years, subsidiary I'd started, a chain of drug stores….her cure was to sell them.'* (Reed, 2010).

As the founder of The Big Give in 2007, Sir Alec Reed, CBE, has given away millions of pounds of his own finances to a wide range of charities. The deviation from the routine in the example of The Alec Reed Academy reflects personal motivation to inspire the next generation into business and his commitment to the locality in which he grew up in. The Academy Trust has not expanded into other areas. It remains situated within the same locality it was established in through creating an all-through school.

This evidence from a range of examples, rather than drawing upon findings from any one case study, provides the basis of reflections to illustrate a range of written company objects; their similarities and differences. Thus, demonstrating the adoption of the national routine objects and the potential for deviation of routine objects from charitable, philanthropic, educational, social and economic missions to enable and constrain social change. Deviation from the

routine is motivated. This interaction between structure and agency in the process of the structuration of academisation takes place within script three of the bounded time and space of the Execution Phase.

There are two key themes highlighted within script three that are derived from the secondary data belonging to the 86 Academy Trusts which provide a strong basis for identifying structuration within academisation. Thus, philanthrocapitalising within academisation for social change involves the adoption of academisation strategic national routine practices under the core objects and where consciously motivated as represented by the personalisation of academisation policy:

1) Adoption of the strategic national routine 'Objects' enable and constrain strategic academisation agency routine practices; and enable and constrain strategic non-routine practices.

2) Adoption of 'Objects' that are personalised to the Academy Trust enable and constrain strategic academisation agency routine practices. Personalisation originates from a range of personal and professional motivations for example, health, community regeneration and legacy building, or simply having financial resources to give away. These motivations are idiosyncratic to the individual and their life-mission.

The Academy Trust strategic objects are passed down in the flow from the structural level to the agency level to form the operational arrangements where the Academy Trust becomes operationally responsible for setting the governance structure, managing admissions, deciding upon the length of school day and year, employing staff (pay and conditions), managing pensions, managing performance of the headteacher and carrying out fiduciary duties (legal

and financial responsibilities), for example. Autonomy and personalisation gifted to them by the agreement enables freedoms to vary staff salaries and terms and conditions, for example. Academisation also allows for new models of curriculum because academised schools do not have to deliver the national curriculum, or appoint qualified teachers, for example. Thus, there are two key themes highlighted in the interpretation that are derived from the secondary data belonging to the 86 Academy Trusts which provide a strong basis for considering the operational variance in academisation agency under the objects.

1) Adoption of operational routine practices are enabled and constrained by the model and personalised 'Objects' adopted.

2) Adoption of operational practices that deviate from the routine are enabled and constrained by the model and personalised 'Objects' adopted.

These examples highlight the potential diversity of unique characteristics of academisation agency including varying stakeholder perspectives, intentions and resources (material and human), and the pervasiveness of social and philanthropic values alongside economic priorities and self-interest of organisational mission, and personal motivation. Considering the sectors engaged in academisation, this presents a wide scope of religious, charitable, philanthropic, educational, social and economic missions to enable and constrain social change.

When individuals spoke about the Execution Phase, they described the political and business challenges of being involved within a public-private contracting relationship. This drew attention to the differences between the nature of an individual or organisation and the structure. Giddens' Stratification Model (1984) is applied to demonstrate the analytical

process for organising the *'lived experience'* of those agents present within the process. This provides a framework for analysing structural and agency within this context. Thus, each script is formed of structure and agency that is represented by reflective monitoring of action, rationalisation of action, motivation of action, unintended consequences of action and unacknowledged conditions of action. As illustrated within Giddens' (1984) Dimensions of the Duality of Structure, the script findings focus on the process of modifying the system through the actions, interactions and relations through the phases. The modes and modalities are illustrated throughout. See figure 10 below.

Figure 10, p204: Modes and Modalities of Structure and Agency, The Dimensions of the Duality of Structure (Giddens, 1984)

The Dimensions of the Duality of Structure
Giddens (1984)
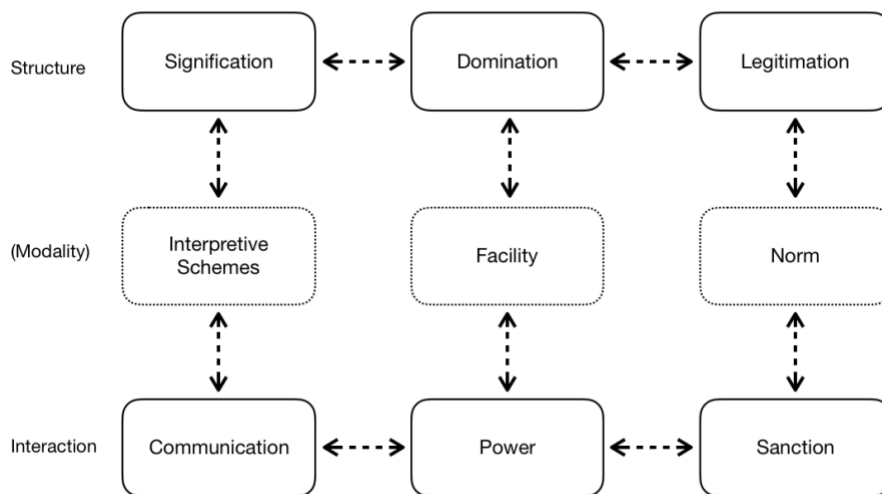
Academy Trust Case one explains the challenge of the potential conflicts between politics, business and education during the Execution Phase. The decision to engage in academisation

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is one that is enabled and constrained by the political context in which structural dominance and agency power play a critical role.

> *"The cultures and values of these two worlds (business and politics) are totally different and incompatible. The political world is totally short-term, and the players all know that at some time that they will lose, wither their power or their post, or both. If you enter their world as a non-political person, you need to be aware that under the rules of their game, anything goes."* *(Member Case one, 2019)*

Member Case two concurs that short-termism within the institution is a structural concern and is a challenge to navigate due to the turn-over of resources. The lack of perceived and actual support within the system may enable and constrain deviation from the routine.

> *'One of the relational issues is that there is no stability within the system. Relationships cannot be built quickly enough. So, you are constantly spending any amount of resource building relationships. But, you start forming relations with one person and then they move on.'* *(Member Case two, 2019)*

However, within philanthrocapitalising, this affords the opportunity to make decisions about practices and the structure enables autonomy. Thus, this is reflected in the choices that the individual has.

'What I was very clear about was that I was not prepared for the Department of Education to give me a school or to direct me. I wanted to work in the areas and Local Authorities that I felt I could work with. (Member Case two, 2019)

Thus, reinforcing the perspective that social change ought to be a personal and professional motivation because of the nature of autonomy afforded the Academy Trust in a short-term focused system. The dilemma is the balance between deviation from the routine and *'going it alone'* or following the routine and '*following the crowd'*, which may bring greater stability and validity of practices over the long term.

Philanthrocapitalising in the Execution Phase, where business practices are deployed, is enabled and constrained by the interaction of politics, business and education. The understanding of the *'game'* to an extent reflects the power enablers and constraints between structure and agency which stems from the structural dominance to effect social change. However, stakeholders have views derived from their personal and professional motivations as to why they have engaged within academisation and their purpose within the political-business-education relationship.

Member Case one explains their agency power in the relationship due to the opportunity they seek in fulfilling their personal and professional ambitions for engaging in academisation. This also highlights possible tensions arising within these relations.

"Becoming a sponsor is not a short-term commitment. In one sense, it is the responsibility that can go on forever. A student's education affects their entire life and the lives of their families." (Member Case one, 2019)

This sentiment is shared by Member Case two.

"Everybody who comes in (government level) seems to think they've got the answer. Well the answer is in the soil, in the roots, in the growth of a community itself." (Member Case two, 2019)

Both cases reflect upon the legitimisation of academisation and construct a narrative around the means of navigating the wider societal perspective, projecting a motivation for community cohesion and purpose for rationalising why they are involved. However, there is a sense of knowing better to achieve this and a sense of knowing what's right, more so than the political dominance. Thus, there is a key theme highlighted in the interpretation. The positioning of the Academy Trust within the community enables and constrains agency to effect social change.

"It has always been my vision for our academies to be seen as community assets and drivers of community regeneration." (Member Case one, 2019)

"I saw what I was doing was not just simply about education, but it was about regeneration of a community and improving life chances. I think that social change was very central." (Member Case one, 2019)

Member Case one describes the consequences of ineffective positioning and the challenge of resistance to change.

> *"In one area the opposition was irritating and very frustrating, delaying us for almost two years. We gave the town a clear message that we were there to stay and had no intention of throwing in the towel, as several other sponsors had done in other towns because of the hostility they faced." (Member Case one, 2019)*

The unintended consequence of structural dominance that the government displays creates resistance within communities, which is at odds with the sponsor's approach about their positioning within the community for social change and community regeneration. Member Case two describes positioning within the community in relation to the desire to embed the community within the Academy Trust decision making process. However, working in partnership with stakeholders is challenging during the formative stages of the political-business-education relationships.

> *"I didn't want the Trust to be a Local Authority. I didn't want a split between the centre and the school. So, the schools would drive where the Trust goes. But, most of our school leaders were so badly damaged from a system that operated differently, it has been extremely difficult to make the shift as there is a lack of trust and tacit knowledge about how Trusts run." (Member Case one, 2019)*

Member Case one explains that community positioning in the development of community assets has formed a key part of decisions for financial investment and the development of tangible assets.

"What attracted me to the scheme at the time was that my £2 million unlocked £40 million. So, from the point of view of impact and also longevity, the assets that you create move into a trust that you can have a long-term interest in." (Member Case one, 2019)

"I wanted to be involved in 'real things' that changed lives in an ongoing, sustainable way." (Member Case one, 2019)

Community positioning also extends into economic expansion through supporting and developing business creation. The importance of philanthrocapitalising beyond a community legacy in-situ, is highlighted by the approach to community regeneration.

'I decided to go for entrepreneurship, because I wanted the students to be in a position not to wait for a job, but to have the desire to create a job, through starting a business, I just believed our school would open up their young minds to such possibilities.' (Member Case one, 2019)

"A large part of this change will come from business start-ups creating local employment." (Member Case one, 2019)

"From one of our academies, we have started almost fifty businesses over the last eight years." (Member Case one, 2019)

During the set-up and establishment of the Academy Trust, both Member Cases describe their business approaches to drawing upon networks and social capital to mobilise human and financial resources. They describe the experience of establishing individuals and groups who had the shared motivation and necessary skills to support them in the strategic and operational delivery of the Academy Trust.

"I managed to find very supportive like-minded people who could help me (legal, finance, estates, HR, governance, publicity etc). I collected people around me who were very generous in their time and prepared to work for a small amount." (Member Case two, 2019)

"I managed to beg and borrow free office accommodation for the first six months off another colleague who was extremely supportive, and six months extended to a year because things became so difficult."(Member Case two, 2019)

"Much of my thinking was applied to the way that I built my business and was the mind-set we all had working as a team at all levels in growing the business and successfully competing in the marketplace." (Member Case one, 2019)

Expansion Phase

As practice is embedded within wider social contexts, the more academisation becomes the norm. The 'Expansion Phase' script is characterised by the normalisation of academisation within the system and wider society. The actions, interactions and relations in expanding the Academy Trust and associated opportunities for the mechanism for deviation from the routine. Initially within the Expansion Phase 'Script four' is characterised by philanthrocapitalising practices of applying business techniques to giving for example, economies of scale (increasing numbers of schools within Academy Trusts) and partnering (businesses) to change the way business operates.

What makes the reflective process so important is the recognition of the journey and experience in the early phase of establishing academisation. The Member/Trustee case reflection on how the policy and organisational structure was developed and how it changes over time, and how they as agents respond to constraints and enablers. The reflection provides insights into the opportunity for deviation from the routine, but there being a presence of doubt or lack of motivation, for example.

> *'What I would have done is centralised all the back-office services so all the finance all the purchasing, recruitment and HR. Because that's what I did in my business and my background skill. But, to move things in a structure where initially they were freestanding trusts, we didn't have the opportunity at the beginning. That was probably both because of circumstances and probably, I wasn't bold enough, maybe I should have been bolder.' (Member Case one, 2019).*

'State schools need to be run more efficiently. The cost of back-office services such as finance, HR, and IT support must be reduced to make more funding available for front-line teaching. A shared services structure would avoid massive duplication and make huge savings.' (Member Case one, 2019).

Member Case one recognises that a deviation from the routine through the use of business techniques would bring about successful business objectives for efficiency, economies of scale and power through collective purchasing. This business strategy would also be applied to growth and development of the Academy Trust. However, there is a sense of recognition of time and space that underpin hindsight and drive strategy forward within this Execution Phase where time and space provides opportunity for restructuring, where for expansion or contraction.

'I want somebody to help me to get economies of scale and bulk. I would build clusters around each area. We are on the cusp of that.' (Member Case one)

The Expansion Phase is a very active phase when Academy Trusts are expanding and the deviation from the routine within the earlier Execution Phase is becoming normalised in practice. There is a wider ranging array of business practices that become evident. For example, business partners are sought, and social capital is leveraged. Member Case one (2019) explains that

'We are encouraging potential employers to work more closely with our schools to help with this. This would also assist employers tracking talented students earlier in the recruitment process.' (Member Case one, 2019)

'I believe it is time for employers to stop complaining and to get more involved within schools to help change this.' (Member Case one, 2019)

Member Cases are critical of the government during this phase. Whilst Academy Trusts are focused on restructuring and reorganising their schools and systems to achieve more efficient and effective business practices changes within the structure developed with the introduction of a plethora of new initiatives for example, Free Schools, University Technical Colleges and Studio schools. Driven in part by Academy Trusts, who had to take on underperforming schools at the beginning of academisation and were demonstrating transformation through new schools at a greater pace.

'What did emerge was the idea that you didn't necessarily have to take over an existing school, but you could set up a new school. This is where the Free School thing started. What I've learned with our new school for example, is that you go through all the same application processes. But, you can recruit all the teachers as new. Then you have no baggage and no history. You can create your own history in many ways and the transformation journey that you can go on is a lot faster.' (Member Case one, 2019)

Although this was a deviation from the routine; academising new schools instead of existing schools, this created a series of intended and unintended consequences.

'And by the way, 'we're now going to have any school that can become an Academy and we are introducing Free Schools, Studio Schools and UTCs, and let's see what happens'. They set these schools up knowing that some will fail. That's not the world I went into. I think it is a very dangerous thing to do with a young person's education. So, with successive changes in government, this has not been a very pleasant journey.' (Member Case one, 2019)

'So, we had the ridiculous thing in one area of our schools where they've given us £18 million to transform the school. Then within one and a half years they agreed to a Free School being positioned near to us because they couldn't find any other accommodation. So, all of a sudden there was direct competition and we lost out probably about 15 to 20 students a year, which then affects our stability. So, this is crazy politics and crazy policy.' (Member Case one, 2019)

'Competition is difficult to navigate, because the rules are not evident.' (Member Case two, 2019)

The later part of the Expansion Phase is characterised by 'Script five' which is a period of structural control and monitoring of Academy Trusts. The introduction of the National Schools Commissioner and team of Regional Schools Commissioners began the process of structurally controlling the development of academisation on multiple levels including controlling the

geographical spread of Academy Trusts, the expansion and contraction of Academy Trusts, and business functions (publishing executive pay), for example.

'If I put my business brain on rather than my emotional or philanthropic hat on, the obvious model that you would want is one or two secondary schools with four or five primary school feeders. The frustrating thing is that I cannot organise that. If this was a business I would go in and acquire those assets. But, even now after 13-14 years of this, I cannot get control over my primary school feeders because the areas I'm in don't want to release them. They're not failing in the terms of Ofsted, because if they were then you could make it compulsory, but, even if they became available then it is not a given fact that we would be the chosen sponsor. (Member Case one, 2019)

'Even with the Regional Schools Commissioners, they seem to have their own groupings and their own management structure, this does not enable me to have a working model which would make us far more effective in the way we run.'(Member Case one, 2019)

'How do the RSCs/HTBs form their views of Trusts? Because they've somehow got As, Bs, Cs etc. I have no idea whether we are A, B, C or whatever. I think these boards operate 'in camera' grades of their (MAT) capacity and quality are not made to public or the information given to Multi Academy Trusts.' (Member Case two, 2019)

Both cases assert a change from philanthrocapitalising to commissioning. Commissioning defines the interactions within script five and subsequent phases over time and space beyond this research. Commissioning is distinctly different in the way that structure and agency are

controlled. Deviation from the routine is minimised because of the controls affixed to any action; that it is applied for and pre-approved.

Conclusion

In summary, academisation policy and practice post-2014 reflects a system, that constrains autonomy and applies discriminatory practices through a non-democratic process, which is led geographically by a controlling authority and not market forces. Thus, academisation has shifted considerably along a trajectory from philanthrocapitalising to a commissioning model of social change. Academisation becomes a modified national model where deviation from the routine is normalised, but within controlled boundaries and by ever growing selected Academy Trusts. Philanthrocapitalising takes place as the best attempt to succeed within the system, however the intended and unintended consequences of structure and agency create a falsely enabled system that is constrained by multiple competing forces that supress structuration.

Member Case two expresses their frustration at the situation.

> *'I'm driven by anger over a system that doesn't work.' (Member case two, 2019)*

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Introduction

Within this concluding chapter, the researcher aims to present the findings in summary answers to the research questions as a means of presenting a *'Framework for Philanthrocapitalising'*. This summary concludes the documentary analysis and interview responses in order to illustrate the key points within the complex duality of policy and practice and structuration of academisation. The themes presented within the summary have been ontologically separated to provide a practically interpreted perspective at policy and practice level. The overarching problem that this research aims to overcome is to provide a means of explaining what is involved in philanthrocapitalising, how it can be accomplished and what unique contribution it makes in creating social change.

From this empirical study, population generalisations to influence academisation policy and practice should be used with caution. The policy and practice conclusions made from this study are contextually driven and should be generalised and applied with caution. This is also true about generalising the adoption of philanthrocapitalising practices within other contexts. Philanthrocapitalism remains a contested concept and although the definition as proposed by Bishop (2006) underpins philanthrocapitalising within this study, it may differ in other contexts.

However, this study argues for the use of a specific concept of philanthrocapitalism. In so doing, the idea of philanthrocapitalism is situated in a central role in the institutional-market mix where public and private value overlap. We then see the importance of defining public and private values by the financial, human or physical resources that are gained through structuration for greater social change.

Agents can *'intervene in the world or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs'* (Giddens, 1984;14). In an institutional-market mix, the lived experience of the agent is inherently fused with contrasting levels of autonomy and dependence as a factor of their motivation, capability and capacity to act or not (Stone, 2005). This is also intertwined with their motivation, capability and capacity to carry out routine and non-routine practices as a means of producing and reproducing social systems. This is underpinned by their financial slack and positional influence.

Figure 11 as given below, illustrates the Framework for Philanthrocapitalising situated within a non-linear spherical cyclical model of interactions amongst the contextual structure and agency, modalities, ontological security and motivation. The sphere is visualised as constantly spinning and moving along through time and space. The routine and non-routine practices oscillate (backwards and forwards) within the script (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). When static in one moment in time, it provides a snapshot to explore structuration. When the framework is out of balance, where the market or institution bears more weight than one another, this impacts upon the practices that create social change.

Figure 11. Author's own Framework of Philanthrocapitalising.
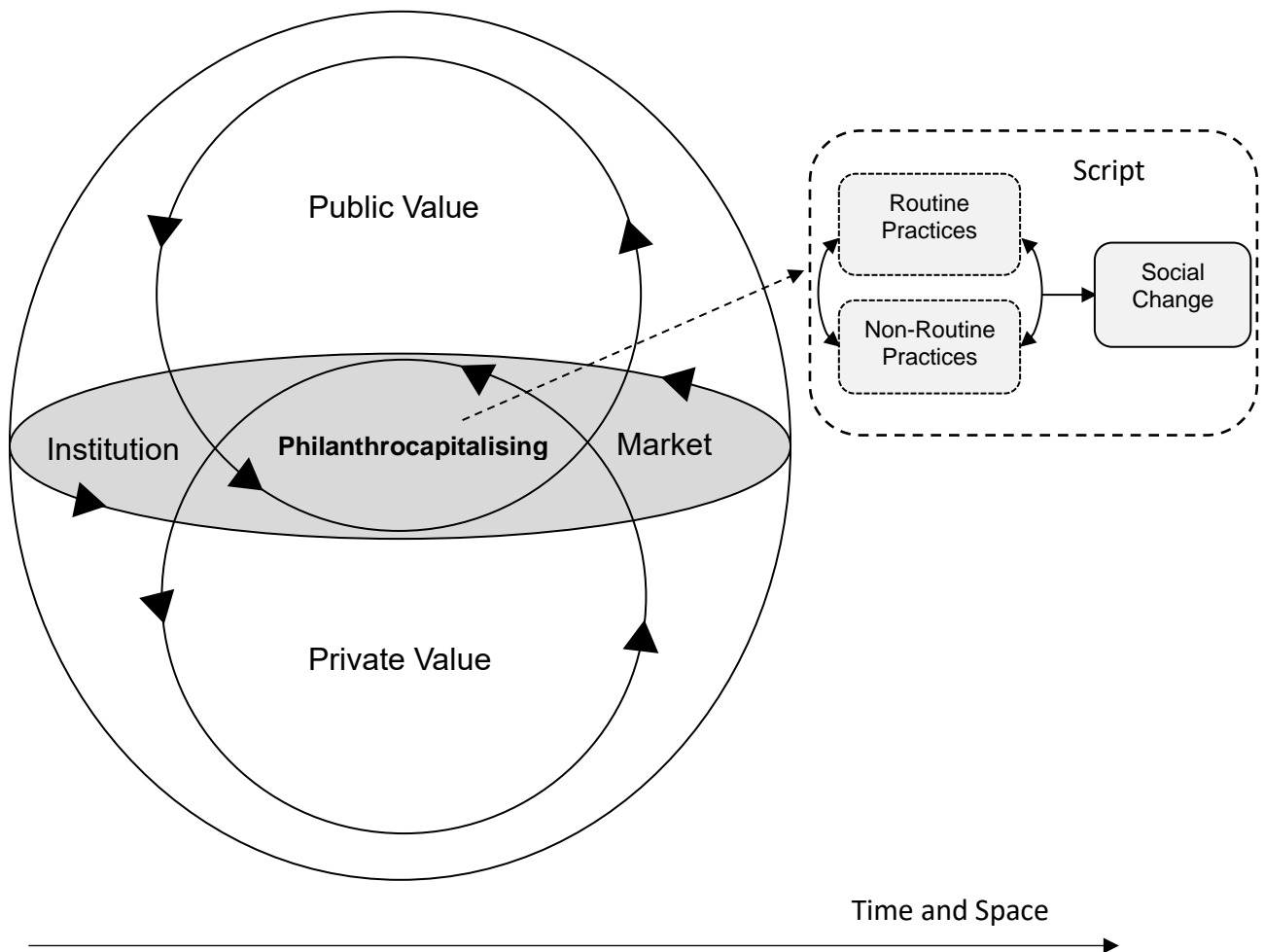
A key reflection from developing the framework as shown in figure 11, is that the use of

Structuration Theory as illustrated within this model shows that academisation was

established as a routine practice that was defined by policy to create social change. Social

change occurred within the routine practice as well as within the non-routine practice. Thus,

only the empirical evidence can illustrate the examples of both when applied in context and

whether it is the role of philanthrocapitalising to act within the routine or out of the routine

to change policy and practice in the pursuit of social change.

The strength of the cycle of structuration revolves around the neoliberal ideology and thus, is constrained and enabled by politics, economics and social agendas. Overlaying Barley and Tolbert's (1997) concept of '*scripts*' and '*time and space*', there is a visual appreciation of the sense of movement and dialogue over time. This should not be perceived as ridged linear model.

Meeting the Research Aim

Drawing upon the framework and conclusions drawn, the following explains how the research aim was met.

The research objectives and questions facilitate the achievement of the research aim:

(1) Analysing the nature of philanthrocapitalising – What is involved in philanthrocapitalising?

(2) Identifying practices of philanthrocapitalising – How can philanthrocapitalising be accomplished?

(3) Analysing the contribution of philanthrocapitalising – What unique contribution does philanthrocapitalising make?

Concluding the nature of philanthrocapitalising – What is involved in philanthrocapitalising?

Due to the nature of the theoretical lens for this research, the concluded key themes are derived from Giddens' (1984) view of *'ontological security'*, thus following routines, the

capability to *'act differently'* out of the routine, and motivation, where routines are not considered to be motivated, thus, change is motivated. Therefore, in the application of our theoretical understanding of philanthrocapitalism and structuration, the conclusion focuses on two features involved in philanthrocapitalising:

- Motivation to act differently. Motivation of action to deviate from the routine is discursive and conscious. Routine behaviour is primarily embedded within the practical consciousness and not specifically motivated.

- Capability to act differently. Capability is defined as the capacity to act otherwise involving power and resources (material and/or human).

Understanding the practices of philanthrocapitalising – How can philanthrocapitalising be accomplished?

In the conclusion of the findings of how philanthrocapitalising can be accomplished, the evidence supports the definition of philanthrocapitalism as proposed by Bishop (2006) in that philanthrocapitalising as the practice of philanthrocapitalism, there are three key features. Firstly, the application of business techniques to giving, and secondly, changing the way business operate and thirdly, changing the way government operate. This research finds an additional factor in the definition, which is *'to change the way communities operate'*. The following provides a summary of the defining factors.

Application of business approaches to giving

In summary, philanthrocapitalising at a policy level involves philanthropic giving and the application of business approaches to this giving. Business approaches are focused upon a key theme, which is to maximise the financial investment and financial leveraging.

Philanthrocapitalising at practice level is accomplished by leveraging public and private sector spending. Techniques such as match funding, fundraising and in-kind contributions for non-monetary contributions.

Changing the business operate

In summary, philanthrocapitalising at a policy level involves changing the way businesses operate. Business approaches are focused upon three key themes. These are firstly, economies of scale, secondly, operating in the marketplace, and thirdly, economic positioning.

This is evident in practice:

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by restructuring organisations to achieve economies of scale to increase efficiency of back-office operations. Techniques such as sharing staff resources across multiple schools for example, accounting, HR, and technology support.

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by approaches such as partnering, pitching, marketing and competing

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by approaches to engaging business both organisations and sector wide.

Changing the way government operate

In summary, philanthrocapitalising at a policy level involves changing the way government operates. Changing government is focused upon two key themes. These are firstly, legal contracting, and secondly, political positioning.

This is evident in practice:

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by approaches to legal contracting including adopting personalisation within contracts.

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by approaches to political positioning including holding influential governance positions.

Changing the way communities operate

In summary, philanthrocapitalising at a policy level involves changing the way communities operate. Community approaches are focused upon three key themes. These are firstly,

community asset development, secondly, community wealth generation, and thirdly, community legacy regeneration.

This is evident in practice:

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by leveraging financial resources to invest in community asset development for example, buildings and facilities.

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by approaches such as supporting entrepreneurship and investing in business start-ups financially and through social capital.

- Philanthrocapitalising at a practice level is accomplished by approaches to the relentless pursuit of provision for community improvement from the cradle to the grave.

Concluding the contribution of philanthrocapitalising – What unique contribution does philanthrocapitalising make?

Philanthrocapitalising makes a unique contribution to creating social change through applying business techniques to giving to change the way business, communities and government operate. This definition of philanthrocapitalising offers an enhanced definition to that proposed for philanthrocapitalism by Bishop (2006). This includes the additional proposition

that philanthrocapitalising has the capability to change communities through developing assets, business start-ups and community provisions. Thus, philanthrocapitalising is unique in the strategic and operational approach which it deploys in the pursuit of social change. This research offers this definition as a means of creating new knowledge.

Implications Of These Conclusions

Reflections on Applying Structuration

Researching structuration, philanthrocapitalism and academisation was a demanding proposition to set out with, but one that was most rewarding. Consideration is given here on how well structuration stood the test of use in this context and the implications for future researchers embarking on such a complex journey of discovery. The academic reward was in the opportunity to contribute empirical evidence to a contested field of philanthrocapitalism research using a novel methodological and theoretical lens. Setting the research in a politicised context of public-private dynamics and engaging elite practitioners added to the exhilarating prospect of developing new knowledge.

Applying a Structuration Theory perspective to understanding structure and agency in a public-private contracting context proved to be successful to the extent that structuration could be identified at various points in time; changes in institutional policies, changes to policy implementation, changes of public-private practice and of private practice. This enabled the researcher to identify structuration through analysing structures; education policy and public-private contracts, and agency; policymaking decisions and private sector practice. Re-thinking

structure and agency through structuration - in a duality, and not a linear top-down or bottom-up process or one having primacy over another - was an important ontological dilemma to tackle from the outset. Any researcher exploring Structuration Theory to understand structure and agency within processes and systems, gains useful insight into the recursive nature of the production and reproduction process through the duality. Grasping Giddens' (1984) definition of structure early on in this research was critical to understanding the duality *'what gives form and shape to social life, but is not itself the form and shape. Structure only exists in and through the activities of human agents' (1984:256)*. Thus, focusing on structuration within academisation was an effective means of highlighting where the possibilities are for social change.

Generality and abstraction is a key criticism of Structuration Theory, however, this provides the researcher the opportunity to journey down a path that can cope with the expected and unexpected. Following the expected in a refined manner risks overlooking the opportunity to see the unexpected because the theoretical lens is too narrow. Gidden's optimistic belief that agents can create change is empowering, and for most agents working and living in routines, institutional social change is not within the scope of their daily lives. But, Structuration Theory enables the researcher to consider the idea that it could be possible that anyone can be motivated in various forms to act differently, out of the routine, and to disrupt the status quo. With the elite making decisions to become involved in academisation, this was a significant non-routine practice that could be identified through this theoretical lens, regardless as to whether it would bring positive or negative change, it is change, nonetheless.

Although this research considers how the elite can create social change, it leaves an open question as to whether anyone can if they were motivated and capable to do so. This research did not set out to impugn anyone's motivation, however, it has been effective in highlighting some of the motivations that drive structuration in this context, both personal and professional motives. Thus, this research identified that motivation played a key role in structuration, as proposed by Giddens (1984).

With combined motivation and capability, the elite's actions create social change at institutional level – signing the academisation contract confirmed this change. The simple act of private sector agents becoming involved in changing the national education system through academisation, who were motivated and acted out of the routine, is illustrative of structuration. Structuration is also evident as agents implement policy and make changes at a local level. The contractual agreement between the Secretary of State for Education and the Academy Trust (Members) can be amended to reflect the motivations and practices of individual Academy Trusts. It is not consistently adopted without amendments. Thus, the institution provides opportunities for structuration at a local level but opening the door for recursive change to contracts at an institutional level, if more wide scale adaptions are adopted across all contracts. This would be a future research opportunity, but the *'policy window'* (Kingdon, 1995) is open.

For a longitudinal study, time and space becomes more of a significant factor by means of revealing key events, decisions, announcements of policy change, for example. The production and reproduction of academisation, and therefore, structuration becomes more evident over time. For example, the introduction of commissioning in 2014 was a policy

decision to control the size, constitution, geographical reach and behaviours of the Academy Trusts. This occurred because policy is evaluated for effectiveness and changed based on political and social appetites at the time. As time passes, more happens. More things can go right, and more things can go wrong. As agency responses are evidenced over time, this provides more empirical evidence to explain structural and agency interactions and changes.

Initial insights were gained through this study where the researcher was able to identify Academy Trust Members in influential political positions and whom had positions on political boards of influence for academisation. However, these were not included in this research because of the sensitive nature of political data which would have detracted from the purpose of this study. This information is dogged by scandals played out in the public arena and time would have been consumed by Freedom of Information requests more akin to investigative journalism than academic research. Access to any participants involved in such political activity would be highly sensitive and a rare occurrence. The extent to which philanthrocapitalists participate in an institutional position, influences policy and changes policy, is reserved for future research. Only the most intrepid explorer would venture down this path, but a path to be considered nonetheless.

Reflections on Conceptualising Philanthrocapitalising

Philanthrocapitalism is based upon an ideology that supports neoliberalism and the cases included within this study illustrate how this ideology transcends into policy and practice. Philanthrocapitalising retains value beyond the ideological because empirical evidence shows that philanthrocapitalists can dictate what market-orientated reform is made a reality (Hursh,

2017). Ideas have become coherent institutional policies and practices of establishing public-private contracts, torqueing public policy and public spending towards private sector preferences. Using gifts to influence the torqueing of public policy towards private preferences is argued as changing the way government operate. Member Case One (2019) described how *'my £2 million unlocked £40 million'*, where government resources were directed to the endeavour of the Academy Trust. This is argued as a case for changing how government operate and also how the funding was allocated at both institutional and local level. However, from the lived experience of the philanthrocapitalist, changing the way government operates creates ideological divisions and practical divisions which is evident in the recursive dialogue by the philanthrocapitalist about how challenging it is to manoeuvre public policy and communities to achieve their objectives.

In the educational context of this research, there is evidence of philanthrocapitalists using business techniques applied to giving through developing methods for achieving economies of scale and restructuring operations. There is also evidence of the embodiment of entrepreneurship, student business development and business partnering within curriculum models with the intension of changing the way businesses operate. Leveraging financial assets to build community premises and extend facilities is also physical evidence of outcomes. The modality (rules and resources to act) as a factor of structuration underpins the argument made in this study that philanthrocapitalising results in tangible outcomes and is embodied in practice of the everyday lives of philanthrocapitalists, thus transcending the ideology.

Researching the philanthrocapitalist practices of the elite is a rare and fascinating opportunity: the practices they use, their influence, the structuring of organisations, funding mechanisms, managing outcomes and expanding them. Focusing on philanthrocapitalising within this study has provided concrete examples of how opportunities within policy and practice provide greater flexibility for change than first imaginable – if you just know how to do it! Knowing that you can act differently (Giddens, 1984) is the most important aspect of personal and professional development that any researcher could grasp in the pursuit of using their new knowledge to greater societal impact. Thus, if a researcher is looking for inspiration about how to create social change, and a way to understand the complexities involved, structuration is a theoretical perspective that would open up the possibility and philanthrocapitalising gives the practical knowhow for where to start. There lie the opportunities for exploration across other public-private contracts to evaluate similar practice for example, within the health and energy sectors.

Although, the pursuit of the philanthrocapitalist may be to leverage government resources for their own agenda, building their own public legacy is a new key feature of philanthrocapitalism, highlighted by this research. Changing the way government operate may not be the end game. But, to be working within a government funded programme could be the means to the end. Perceived failures of the public system and lack of community-based employment opportunities are key drivers of change at a local level, however, this research argues that philanthrocapitalising is not confined to local level change because of the nature of many Academy Trusts operating an a local, regional and national geographical basis. Influencing on a greater national level is an opportunity created by scale.

The constraints and enablers act as force to regulate the value of philanthrocapitalising beyond the ideology. As policy is torqued towards autonomy, it is wrenched back towards commissioning. The reactive nature of structuration is visible in the shifts back and forth within academisation overtime as the appetite for social change is flexed. Thus, philanthrocapitalising is a practical strategy for social change, however, it will only achieve what it can within the opportunities it is promised.

Should the conclusions be used for influencing academisation policy, consideration of policy enablers and constraints is necessary. Academisation policy enables personalisation at contractual, organisational and practice levels. Business expertise forms a key tool in the practical changes at all levels. It is the motivation and capability of the individual or organisation to harness those enablers. On the one hand this autonomy creates a system of geographical discriminatory differences and a stratum of inequality for children and young people, and on the other this creates change, choice and opportunity because of the differentiated objectives of the Academy Trusts. The opportunity for policy to be adapted may have been the intension of government, with the foresight of creating a system that is market driven through each Academy Trust being differentiate by the choice to adopt or personalize objectives. However, this creates a system that where deviation from the routine is normalised and creates thousands of marketplace management organisations that replace the nationalised model of English education in the pursuit of social change.

The post-interview process with elites is time consuming. Bell (2002) is an experienced elite interviewer and explains that *'it takes me two hours of transcription for every half hour of interview'*. For the novice elite interviewer, it takes a lot longer. Transcribing the interview

is not merely putting words on the page. Using open-ended questions requires the interviewer to probe, follow-up and keep the conversation flowing, and if the participant allows more time, then the number of words gathered can be extensive. Although the interview questions were structured in a logical order, the conversation can shift backwards and forwards, revisiting what was said before and how points might link together. *'Consciously or subconsciously, we're always looking for certain things in an interview answer and our follow-up questions reflect this.'* (Bell, 2002:681). If the researcher is to dance along with the elite's scripted line, as well as to probe deeper, the approval of the transcription also needs careful choreography to synthesise with the analysis process. This process is made more difficult if the participant journeys along a timeline, for them it may be an easier method to recall events and actions, but for the researcher there will be an added complexity of analysis to consider how time and space playout across the thematic coding.

Elite interviewing literature is predominately focused upon the sampling, interview techniques and the process of coding. There is a lack of literature reflecting the post-interview process regarding the continuation of interactions with the elite participant after the interview. For this research, interacting with the elite participants post-interview was a key task, as important as the initial engagement pre-interview. After transcribing the interview, the transcripts were shared with the participants as a means of them amending, adding to and removing anything that they did not wish to be included within the study. The aim was to reach a concluded set of quotes that were agreeable with the participant, representative of their thoughts and their views, and relevant to the study. The participants duly made amendments and corrected anything that they said in the interview that could be misrepresented.

The next part of the process involved the exploration of a possible coding structure to represent the quotes. This was proposed to the participants by means of grouping the quotes under a series of themes relevant to the study. This interaction evolved into creating a timeline, ordering the narrative of the story, and identifying key acts over time. Where the conversation had moved back and forth, the quotes were re-grouped, and order provided to the discussion. The suggested themes were also amended in an iterative process to achieve an agreeable set of themes and quotes aligned to each time and space.

Processing one interview took several weeks to complete. However, once direct access had been achieved through the interview process, the nature of the interactions was efficiently delivered via email or over the telephone. The researcher's challenge was to turn around the amendments in quick succession following a discussion or request for change. The participant's challenge was to dedicate time to read extensive amounts of quotes and to amend, where require. This was not a process carried out solely by the researcher in academic isolation, it became an interactive and iterative process between the researcher and the participant.

The second interview came in quick succession to the first. The theoretical themes and experience gained from the flow of the conversation in the first interview provided a scaffolding for the subsequent interview. The quotes and themes established became a reference point for the second. However, the researcher ran the risk of overlooking key information, if the analysis had been led in a specific direction due to the nature of the influence of the first participant. To reduce the risks of influencing outcomes, the researcher

referred back to the secondary analysis and theoretical themes that were to be expected as outcomes.

Once the second interview, transcription and iterative process to reach agreement on the quotes and themes for inclusion within the study had been concluded, the outcomes fed back into the analysis process. Synthesis of the themes and timelines enabled corroboration with the secondary data and theoretical perspectives. Running the interviews in quick succession enabled the researcher to reach agreement with both participants - a set of quotes and relevant themes for inclusion within the final analysis and discussion.

Closely guarded secrets are a challenge to elicit from within elite interviews including those about policymaking (Ball and Olmenda, 2011), directing education policy (Klees, 2017) and prioritising business values and objectives (Hursh, 2017). Criticisms of neoliberalism ideology including reinforcing the capitalism system (Brown, 2012) are argued by many critics (Allen and Bull, 2015) and whether the philanthrocapitalist courts controversy or not, the publication of the conversation is still carefully managed (Welch, 2006). The most difficult insights to be captured are those that implicate wider political influence or position. Unless the researcher knows the full historical profile of the elite participant, it would be difficult to engage in this level of conversation within an interview. This reinforces the need for thorough processing of the transcript to ensure that whatever was captured within the interview was available for use within the study. Thus, the greatest challenge for the researcher is to avoid an elite participant retracting their interview transcript due to the negligence of interactions during the post-interview period. Being able to use every word of relevance from the interview is critical in being able to present the empirical evidence. It is also good ethical

practice to share the transcripts and analysis with the elite participants even though they remain anonymous.

Recommendations for Future Research

Is there a difference between Academy Trusts who are practicing philanthcapitalising and those who are not? A comparative study of Academy Trusts across a range of classifications would explore whether philanthrocapitalising was involved in social change amongst other categories of Academy Trusts and the nature of any differences between different types of Academy Trusts and their practices. With many of the largest Academy Trusts in 2021 originating from religious backgrounds, there are potential challenges within the system as to whether the differing nature of motivations and capability drive social change. The business-driven Academy Trusts have not experienced the same scale or speed of growth compared to other categories of Academy Trusts from other sectors. The research presented within this study was not comparative. Thus, extending the exploration into the other classifications such as religious, business and education providers, would begin to provide greater understanding of philanthrocapitalising across the whole academised system.

What impact does philanthrocapitalising have on outcomes for children and young people within academisation? A network analysis study of the inputs and outputs of philanthrocapitalising in regards to outcomes for young people would consider the alignment of practices with outcomes. This study briefly explains some of the ways that philanthrocapitalising changes the way business operate. There is an assumption that philanthrocapitalising creates social change for the betterment of children and young people

for example, businesses will recruit students into positions through changing how business operates. A future study of what business practices take place, and the successes and failures of student opportunities and outcomes would provide an understanding of the impact of philanthrocapitalising upon children and young people within academisation. This could also lead to a comparative study to compare outcomes of those practicing philanthrocapitalism and those who do not.

Both future areas for research would enable a deeper understanding of the enablers and constraints within academisation structure and agency. From a structuration perspective, these would develop greater understanding of the wider comparisons and networks of interfaces between policy and practice where social change takes place.

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