

English Further Education Policy up to  
1993:  
the changing roles of central and local  
government and local Further Education  
consequences

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MPhil

2012

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's  
requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy

2012

Coventry University  
in association with the  
University of Worcester

## **ABSTRACT**

Local authorities were involved in Further Education (FE) from 1889 to 1993, but it was not until 1944 that LEAs were obliged to provide facilities for FE. This study considered economic, political and social factors when examining changes in the roles of central and local government and other policy changes. Such factors included national economic policies, recessions, two World Wars, and changes in dominant political views. Policy changes and local implementation were examined by analysing contemporary national and local documents. The Local Education Authority (LEA) chosen for investigation in this study was Worcestershire which, after the reorganisation of local government in 1974, joined Herefordshire and the County Borough of Worcester to become the County of Hereford and Worcester. The Worcestershire FE College selected was Redditch College, which merged with North Worcestershire College in 1988 to form North East Worcestershire College.

Changes in the relationship between central and local government were brought about by legislation and from 1964 by the introduction of agencies, such as the Manpower Services Commission. These agencies were established as one way of increasing the number of skilled workers. However, they also reduced the LEAs' control of FE, because they had to approve some FE college courses and provided funding. The advent of the Audit Commission in the mid-1980s further reduced the LEAs' control of the FE sector and ensured LEAs focused more closely on efficiency measures than they had previously. Legislation in 1968 and 1988 reduced the proportion of governors who could be LEA representatives. The movement away from local control exercised by elected politicians meant that central government had greater control over the implementation of FE policy. From the 1980s the Conservative Government's policy included developing a quasi-market in FE, while from the mid-1980s a new business discourse was found in both national and local FE documents.

Since the 1860s governments have frequently regarded an inadequately skilled workforce as the reason for Britain becoming less economically competitive. One solution offered was raising the school leaving age, so that more pupils would be able to benefit from a scientific or technical education. It took from 1918 to 1972 for the school leaving age to be raised from 14 to 16. Compulsory part-time day courses for school leavers until they were 18 were proposed in 1918, and also recommended in 1943 and 1959, but they did not materialise. With the constant decline of manufacturing, fewer unskilled jobs and the increased complexity of skills required, the 2008 Education and Skills Act planned that by 2015 16 and 17 year olds would have to undertake some form of education or training until they are 18. The analysis in this study suggested some of the problems that might be encountered. While there was government exhortation for a more qualified workforce, there was less enthusiasm for making it compulsory that FE lecturers should have a teaching qualification. Some explanations were offered for this state of affairs until 2001.

**In memory of my mother, Renée Dorothy Hart, who always encouraged and supported my educational ventures.**

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## **GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ALF</b>	Average Level of Funding
<b>ATCDE</b>	Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education
<b>ATI</b>	Association of Technical Institutions
<b>ATTI</b>	Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions
<b>BEC</b>	Business Education Council
<b>CBI</b>	Confederation of British Industries
<b>CCCS</b>	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
<b>CEF</b>	College Employers Forum
<b>CGLI</b>	City and Guilds of London Institute
<b>CIPFA</b>	Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy
<b>DES</b>	Department of Education and Science
<b>EEC</b>	European Economic Community
<b>ETS</b>	Employment Training Scheme
<b>FE</b>	Further Education
<b>fte</b>	full-time equivalent
<b>FEFC</b>	Further Education Funding Council
<b>GCE</b>	General Certificate of Education
<b>HMI</b>	Her Majesty's Inspectorate/ Inspector
<b>HNC/D</b>	Higher National Certificate/Diploma
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>ITB</b>	Industrial Training Board
<b>LEA</b>	Local Education Authority
<b>MSC</b>	Manpower Services Commission
<b>NACEIC</b>	National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce
<b>NAFE</b>	Non-advanced Further Education
<b>NATFHE</b>	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education
<b>NCVQ</b>	National Council for Vocational Qualifications
<b>NEW College</b>	North East Worcestershire College
<b>NJC</b>	National Joint Council
<b>NUT</b>	National Union of Teachers
<b>NVQ</b>	National Vocational Qualification
<b>ONC/D</b>	Ordinary National Certificate/Diploma

**RAC** Regional Advisory Council  
**SSR** staff-student ratio  
**TEC** Technician Education Council  
**TECs** Training and Enterprise Councils  
**TOPS** Training Opportunities Scheme  
**TUC** Trades Union Congress  
**TVEI** Technical and Vocational Education Initiative  
**WEA** Workers' Education Association  
**WMAC** West Midlands Advisory Council  
**YOP** Youth Opportunity Programme  
**YTS** Youth Training Scheme

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Lesley Hirons for giving me the confidence to become a research student.

My tutors Kate Macdonald, Frank Crompton, and Anton Polan for their support and guidance.

The staff at Worcestershire Record Office for their patience.

Ex-colleagues at North East Worcestershire College for providing additional college and union documents.

My husband, Ian, for his encouragement and understanding.



## INTRODUCTION

This study was about the history of the post-compulsory, non-advanced educational area of Further Education (FE) provision and policy, except when the development of advanced courses in FE colleges had an impact on non-advanced FE provision. Similarly, changes in the provision of schools were included when they had implications for FE. The primary aim of this study was to assess the changing roles of central and local government and the consequences for local provision of English Further Education. The secondary aim was to critique and analyse changes in English non-advanced FE policy and related local implementation. Brian Simon challenged the orthodox liberal-evolutionary accounts of gradual educational progress that such historians represented.<sup>1</sup> Simon said that

the historical record clearly shows that there is nothing inevitable about educational advance. Far from progress being linear, advances are more often met by setbacks, by new crises, by ideological and political struggles of all kinds.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the reasons given for the many changes in FE, and the apparent demise of other intended, or actual, innovations were examined. This study's primary objective, therefore, was to review and analyse changes in English FE policy, namely changes related to the roles of central and local government, the raising of the school leaving age, compulsory part-time education for school leavers, inclusion of general studies in the FE curricula, and increased provision for the training of technical teachers. National documents selected for analysis included Acts, White Papers, Reports, Cabinet papers, and *The Times*.

The Local Education Authority (LEA) chosen for investigation in this study was Worcestershire which, after the reorganisation of local government in 1974, joined Herefordshire and the County Borough of Worcester to become the County of Hereford and Worcester. The Worcestershire FE College selected was Redditch College, which merged with North Worcestershire College in 1988 to form North East Worcestershire College (NEW College). Thus the secondary objective was to evaluate the process of local implementation of changes in national FE policy by analysing, for example,

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<sup>1</sup> McCulloch, G. (1995) 'Speaking Volumes: Studies in the History of Education', *The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 8 September, 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell. Dr. Lawrence was a writer, lecturer and researcher on educational issues.

Further Education Sub-Committee minutes of Worcestershire and the County of Hereford and Worcester, and the Governors' minutes of Redditch College, as well as local newspapers, college prospectuses and internal documents of the colleges.

When clarification was needed, Education Committee minutes were also examined. No copies of the Redditch College Governors' minutes from 1970 were found in the Worcestershire Record Office. This was probably because of the changes brought about by the 1968 Education (No. 2) Act.<sup>3</sup> This Act applied to Colleges of Education and Colleges of FE, the governing bodies of which would cease to be sub-committees of the Education Committee.<sup>4</sup> This meant that the minutes of governing bodies would not automatically be deposited at the Record Offices. The minutes of the NEW College Governors from 1988 to 1993 were also not found. Some idea of NEW College's policy implementation was gained, as the researcher was given several documents saved by lecturers who had been at the college. Secondary sources included both books and articles written when the event occurred and in later years.

Another problem encountered in this study was that it was not always obvious that policy had been implemented. It was not evident, for example, that the Worcestershire LEA had produced a booklet giving information about FE courses in Worcestershire, even though it said it would do so. Additionally, not all known acts of implementation were documented in the minutes of the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee and the Redditch College Governors. There was no mention in local FE documents that Worcestershire LEA had moved Redditch College's HNC and ONC courses in Production Engineering, as well as the General Course in Engineering, to North Worcestershire College in 1967. This information was given, because several lecturers teaching at that time confirmed what West had said in his history of Redditch College.<sup>5</sup> This suggested that local FE documents did not provide enough evidence of local implementation of FE policy, although publications, such as *Education* and local newspapers, as well as informal contact with past and present lecturers to some extent added and confirmed further data. This study was undertaken by an ex-lecturer at

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<sup>3</sup> 1968 Education (No. 2) Act (c. 37).

<sup>4</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, July 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>5</sup> West, H. (1973) 'A History of Redditch College'; held in Redditch Public Library.

Redditch College and NEW College. This arrangement had the advantage of providing national and local background knowledge, so that discussion of FE developments in national and local documents was explained more clearly and with understanding. Observations of events at Redditch College from 1970 to 1988, and at NEW College from 1988 to 1999, also provided insights, but so too did staff members' accounts of Redditch College in the 1950s and 1960s that were also used in this study.

Local studies provided a crucial means of understanding the actual implementation of FE policy although there was no 'typical' technical college. The nature of any FE college was determined not only by local industrial needs but also by the policy of the LEA.<sup>6</sup> In the nineteenth century Redditch firms were manufacturing needles, fish hooks and metal springs, and some of these firms were still producing goods in the 1950s and 1960s. There were also firms that had developed in the early twentieth century, such as Royal Enfield Cycle Company manufacturing motorcycles and the BSA Cycle Company that later diversified. Redditch was designated as a New Town in 1964, and the accompanying changes in Redditch's economy and demography contributed to Redditch College's expansion. The extent to which these characteristics were taken into account when national FE policy was implemented gave some indication of the nature of the FE college's autonomy. The County of Hereford and Worcester was unique in the sense, that it was the only LEA to introduce local Conditions of Service for its teaching staff, rather than adhere to contracts negotiated nationally. This occurred in 1988, after which new and promoted lecturers had to sign the new LEA contract, sometimes known as the 'Gold Book' contract, and initially suggested that LEAs had greater autonomy than first thought. These LEA and FE college changes were worth bearing in mind when considering central government's role in the provision of FE.

### **Continuity**

In the second half of the nineteenth century British industry became less competitive, so that national education documents in both the late nineteenth century and in the twentieth century focused on this factor in promoting the development of technical

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<sup>6</sup> Venables, E. (1967) *The Young Worker at College – A Study of a Local Tech.* London, Faber and Faber.

education. Thus, the 1881 Royal Commission on Technical Education,<sup>7</sup> the 1961 White Paper *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*<sup>8</sup> and the *Managing Colleges Efficiently* report of 1987,<sup>9</sup> all included the assumption that FE would enable an increase in the number of skilled workers and therefore contribute to Britain's economic growth. There were references to technical education in countries competing with Britain, and these became more frequent from 1943. Appendix 1 demonstrates that from 1941 to 1991 there were numerous official documents concerned with the economic purpose of FE.

### **Changes in the roles of central and local government**

Until the late nineteenth century, it was considered that education, like other forms of social policy, was best undertaken locally. This meant technical education was dependent on local benefactors before it could receive small grants from central government. County Councils, including Worcestershire County Council, were created in 1888, and in the following year they were allowed to raise a penny rate to supply or aid technical education. With the help of grants from Worcestershire County Council, the Redditch Technical School was built and opened in 1900. The Board of Education, the first single central education authority in England and Wales, was established in 1900, but it had less power and status than a Ministry. The 1902 Education Act permitted LEAs to provide technical education, but they were not compelled to do so. This was the state of affairs until 1944, so that provision of technical education varied. Another consequence was evident in the inter-war years. Despite a high unemployment rate in the 1920s and 1930s in some regions, there was still a shortage of skilled manpower as technical institutions did not have adequate facilities to meet demand. With the restrictions in public expenditure, LEAs could save money by spending less on technical education which they were still not obliged to provide. Bailey described the period from 1900 to 1940 as a period of consolidation and stasis for technical and

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<sup>7</sup> Harvey, C. & J. Press (1986) 'William Morris and the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-84', in *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 7.1 (Autumn 1986): p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Ministry of Education. (1961) *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, Cmnd 1254. London, HMSO.

<sup>9</sup> Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office. (1987) *Managing Colleges Efficiently*. London, HMSO.

further education as these decades did not see a continuation of the expansion of the 1890s.<sup>10</sup>

The 1944 Education Act replaced the Board of Education with the Ministry of Education, and made it the legal duty of LEAs to provide facilities for FE. In 1951 there was a heavy deficit in the balance of payments and a reduction of five per cent in the planned expenditure of LEAs. Despite the lack of resources for appropriate FE accommodation, there was an increase in the number of FE students. By the mid-1950s Redditch College, for example, had students overflowing into five annexes in the town,<sup>11</sup> while some courses were prevented from opening because suitable rooms and workshops were not available.<sup>12</sup> However, from 1956 there was a five-year programme for the further expansion of technical colleges exempt from cuts, delays and postponements of any kind, as the government felt that that it was necessary for the country's economic prosperity.<sup>13</sup> Thus work on Redditch College's new college buildings started in 1958.

The expansion of FE provision in the 1950s continued in the 1960s. The 1964 Industrial Training Act led to the creation of Industrial Training Boards (ITBs) that recommended FE courses. The ITBs, rather than LEAs, had to approve the FE college's provision of the relevant courses, so that the LEAs' control of FE was reduced. The ITBs encouraged greater use of block release and day release courses, as it had already been demonstrated that evening class students were less likely to successfully complete a course. Such courses also had consequences for FE colleges as many apprentices now took first year off-the-job courses on a full-time basis for 48 weeks a year, so that a change in the organisation of the college year was necessary. This occurred in the Engineering Department at Redditch College, so that there was an increased need for staffing over the normal holiday periods between terms.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) 'Further Education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 54-74.

<sup>11</sup> Worcestershire County Council Education Committee file on Redditch College of Further Education 1951-1971; held at Worcester Record Office.

<sup>12</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1956; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>13</sup> *The Times*, 1 March 1956.

<sup>14</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, Appendix D, October 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

Central government also accepted recommendations concerning changes in the curriculum of vocational courses and the mode of attendance to ensure more students successfully completed courses. Implementation involved putting this policy into practice and was left to examination bodies and college departments. However, Redditch College, like other FE colleges, could not offer new courses nor appoint new staff before the LEA gave their permission. In 1970 Adrian Bristow, principal of a FE college at that time, described the ‘tremendous expansion’ of FE since 1944, and portrayed FE in 1970 as in ‘a state of flux’, with rapid changes in courses, curricula, and examinations.<sup>15</sup>

The 1968 Education (No. 2) Act meant that the FE college’s governing body ceased to be a sub-committee of the LEA’s Education Committee, and instead it became a statutory body exercising power in its own right, while the DES Circular 7/70 stated that LEA members would now form less than half of the governing body. By 1974 Redditch College had 17 governors and only 5 were LEA representatives. These measures enabled colleges of education and FE colleges with a substantial proportion of advanced work to have greater academic freedom despite the LEAs and, therefore, were intended to reduce the LEAs’ control of FE. However, these changes affected all FE colleges, and it was now the Principal, under arrangements made by the Governors after consultation with the Academic Board, who had a general responsibility for the appointment of members of the teaching staff.

The 1973 Employment and Training Act established the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), which was accountable to the Secretary of State for Employment. Although the ITBs were phased out, the LEAs still had less direct control over the running of some courses, such as the Youth Opportunity Programme, as the MSC was responsible for them. The MSC had to approve the provision of such courses before institutions offered them, and from 1984 about a quarter of the money spent on non-advanced FE was directed to the MSC, rather than to the LEAs. As the MSC bypassed the DES and the LEAs, it was able to provide courses for the unemployed more quickly. However, in 1988 the MSC was replaced by the Training Agency within the

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<sup>15</sup> Bristow, A. (1970) *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. London, HMSO, pp. 143, 144.

Department of Employment. <sup>16</sup> The Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), created after 1988, also reduced the LEAs' control of FE, as the Department of Employment provided them with funding for training schemes aimed at the unemployed.

The Audit Commission was established in 1983 and further reduced the LEAs' control of the FE sector by ensuring that the LEAs focused more closely on efficiency measures than they had in previous decades. The Commission and the Department of Education and Science (DES) also devised performance indicators to measure the FE colleges' outcomes, and after 1993 it was these outcomes that determined a college's funding. In 1988 Hereford and Worcester LEA merged two FE colleges to form NEW College and issued its own FE lecturers' Conditions of Service, and justified these changes by referring to the Audit Commission's search for efficiency.

From the mid-1980s FE colleges had a greater variety of courses as there were more full-time courses and a growth in the number of GCE O' and A' level students, as well as schemes for unemployed school leavers and adults. National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) were also introduced at this time, and were based on explicit definitions of occupationally specific competencies. Thus Lucas concluded that by the late 1980s FE colleges 'had acquired a much more diverse mission than their traditional focus on vocational education and training which characterised their beginning and post-1944 development'. <sup>17</sup> Lucas also observed that one political aim of central government during the late 1980s and early 1990s was 'to undermine the power and influence of the LEAs'. This aim was underpinned by the belief that the introduction of markets and competition would improve provision'. <sup>18</sup> From the 1980s this belief of Conservative Governments brought about a distinct change in the dominant view of FE that promoted the need for quasi-market forces to reproduce the conditions of the private sector, and thus to create a more efficient and effective FE service.

The Education Reform Act of 1988 also reduced the power of LEAs as FE college governing bodies became responsible for the general direction of colleges, and most of

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<sup>16</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

<sup>17</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.

the financial responsibility for college expenditure was transferred from the LEAs to the governing bodies of FE colleges. At least fifty per cent of the governors now had to represent employers, and no more than twenty per cent could be LEA appointees. By 1989 NEW College, for example, had a total of 19 governors of whom 4 were LEA representatives and 10 were representatives of industry and commerce. From 1993, after a century of involvement with FE, LEAs no longer had responsibility for FE colleges. This did not mean FE colleges could operate as individual businesses as the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) was responsible for funding and inspecting FE colleges.

### **Other changes**

The 1918 Education Act raised the school leaving to 14 without exceptions, and to 15 at a later date. It was also proposed that school leavers, again at a later date, would have to attend part-time day continuation schools until they were 18. However, the economic difficulties of the inter-war years meant neither goal was achieved. Evening continuation classes continued in Redditch and elsewhere, but they were neither compulsory nor free. The 1944 Education Act raised the school leaving age to 15, and to 16 at a later date, while County Colleges, similar to part-time day continuation schools, would be established in the future. Implementation of the 1944 Act was hampered by the shortage of teachers, the beginning of the expansion of pupil numbers, and the constraints of a fragile economy. Nevertheless, in 1947 the school leaving was raised to 15.

Despite the recommendations of the 1959 Crowther Report, *15 to 18*,<sup>19</sup> the Conservative Government decided that County Colleges should not be buildings separated from technical colleges. This was not a surprising reaction as new technical colleges and extensions were being built at that time. There were a few voluntary County College courses such as the one that started at Bromsgrove College in 1960. The government considered the raising of the school leaving age to 16 was a greater priority than County Colleges, but the school leaving age was not raised until 1972. By this time the number of school leavers had fallen and additional resources had finally

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<sup>19</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.



been made available. The Crowther Report not only recommended raising the school leaving age and establishing County Colleges, it also advocated the inclusion of Liberal Studies in the curricula of County Colleges and FE colleges.

The Crowther Report and the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*,<sup>20</sup> suggested that Liberal Studies should be included in technical studies and be concerned with the development of human and spiritual values. Circular 323, *Liberal Education in Technical Colleges*, referred to the importance of free enquiry in a liberal education.<sup>21</sup> All three documents recommended at least a wider treatment of technical subjects as it was more difficult for part-time students to follow a broad curriculum. At Redditch College the Student Union was particularly important for part-time students as it played a key role in developing interests through societies and social activities.<sup>22</sup> However, in the 1960s greater emphasis was put on English or Communication Studies to improve progress in technical subjects and at work, and in 1975 the MSC claimed that employers and employees preferred more vocationally-oriented courses. From the mid-1970s courses were being developed that included assessment of key skills such as communication, numeracy and IT skills, rather than Liberal Studies.

Up to 1944, the full-time training of technical teachers did not exist in Britain. The 1944 McNair Report, *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, argued that the qualities needed for teaching in technical colleges included an ability to teach rather than instruct. It also recommended that both in-service and one year pre-service FE teacher training courses should be developed.<sup>23</sup> Thus in 1946 and 1947 technical teachers' colleges were established in Bolton, London and Huddersfield, while the fourth one was opened in Wolverhampton in 1961. The 1957 Willis Jackson Report estimated 11,000 full-time teachers and 40,000 part-time teachers were in FE, yet only 300 places were available in the three FE teacher training colleges at that time, and no universities ran technical teachers' courses. Despite later reports advising an increase in the number of technical teachers with initial teacher training qualifications, such qualifications were not made compulsory for FE lecturers. In the 1950s and 1960s it was thought the need for an

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<sup>20</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*. London, HMSO

<sup>21</sup> Bailey, B & Unwin, L. (2008) Fostering 'habits of reflection, independent study and free inquiry': an analysis of the short-lived phenomenon of General/Liberal Studies in English vocational education and training. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 60, no. 1, March 2008, pp. 61-74.

<sup>22</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, March 1959, held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>23</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*.

additional qualification would reduce the number of FE lecturers at a time when FE provision was expanding. There was, however, an increase in the proportion of FE lecturers in England and Wales who gained teaching qualifications, from 42.66% in 1975 to 56.12% in 1990.<sup>24</sup> In the 1990s there were several universities offering teacher training courses including those that absorbed the four original technical teachers' colleges. From 2001 all FE lecturers had to have an initial teacher training qualification or be working towards one.

Appendix 2 summarises in chronological order key events and documents related to FE and notes changes in government and the state of the British economy. Chapter 1 examines the beginnings of technical education in the nineteenth century and the factors that encouraged the government from 1889 to allow local authorities to use a proportion of the rates to develop technical education. The remaining chapters continue to analyse the changing relationship between central and local government and the consequences for local provision of FE. Economic, political and social factors are also considered when examining other changes in FE policy and their local implementation. Chapter 7 continues the analysis not only up to 1993 when LEAs were no longer responsible for FE, but also for a few years afterwards. Thus the initial effects of the end of the relationship between central and local government are assessed.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

## **Chapter 1            The development of Technical Instruction before 1900**

This chapter is about the roles of national and local government in the nineteenth century in the development of technical instruction with local examples being taken from Redditch. Despite the rapid increase in industrial production in the nineteenth century there was little formal technical instruction, and provision depended on local benefactors and initiatives. It was not until 1888 that the Local Government Act <sup>1</sup> created County Councils including that of Worcestershire, when Redditch had already become famous for its manufacture of needles. By 1843 Redditch and the surrounding district had a dozen manufacturers of needles and approximately 3,000 workers were involved in needle making. The most famous name in needle making was probably Milward, whose needles had an international market. The skills of needle making and fishhook making were similar, so it was not surprising that the manufacture of fishhooks also developed in Redditch. Samuel Allcock & Co. was a prominent firm in the making of fishhooks and other fishing tackle not only in Britain, but also by the end of the nineteenth century in the world. Spring making was the third major industry in Redditch in the nineteenth century, with the largest firm making springs being Herbert Terry & Sons who came to specialise in springs and presswork.

In the 1840s the population of Redditch quickly increased when the new large mills were powered by steam and not water. In 1859 the railway line was extended from Barnt Green to Redditch, so that deliveries to and from the town were made easier. Clearly, the developing expertise and fame of the Redditch firms attracted workers from the West Midlands, and this contributed to the expansion of the town. <sup>2</sup> In the early 1800s it was needlemakers in other districts, finding that they could no longer compete with those in the Redditch area, who migrated to the town. For example, in 1808 the needlemakers of Chester, and from 1830 those of Long Crendon in Buckinghamshire, moved to Redditch. <sup>3</sup> In 1801 the population of Redditch was estimated at just over a thousand, but by 1841 it had grown to 3,314, by 1871 it was 6,737, and by 1901 13,493.

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<sup>1</sup> The 1888 Local Government Act (c. 41).

<sup>2</sup> Land, N. (1985) *The History of Redditch and the Locality*. Studley, K. A. F. Brewin Books. Neville Land was Head of Humanities at Bridley Moor High School, Redditch.

<sup>3</sup> Rollins, J. G. (1984) *A History of Redditch*. Chichester, Phillimore. John Rollins was a retired municipal engineer and acknowledged as an expert on needle making in Redditch.

The forerunners of institutions for technical education were the Mechanics' Institutes, and the Literary and Scientific Institutes. Hole, writing in 1853, suggested that one of the aims of the first founders of Mechanics' Institutes was 'to impart instruction to workmen in those rules and principles which lie at the basis of the arts they practise'.<sup>4</sup> In 1800, George Birkbeck, then Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry at Anderson's Institution in Glasgow, had begun classes for workmen and artisans who wished to learn the scientific principles underlying their trades. Following his move to London other institutions were established throughout the country including Birmingham in 1825 when the mechanics' institute idea was widespread in the country. By 1850 there were 610 institutes in England and Wales, with a membership of more than half a million.<sup>5</sup>

However, James Hole, Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes for many years, criticised Mechanics' Institutes for failing to attract artisans and to impart scientific instruction. Not only did the lack of a basic education prove a hindrance to their continuing success, directors of some Institutes catered for the majority of the Institutes' subscribers whose principal aim was amusement and this guided their selection of library books and lectures. Argles echoed this by saying that often the institutes had been taken over by the clerical and middle classes and that their libraries were unrealistic, consisting in the main of out-of-date works of philosophy, science and theology. Turner gave the example of the Mechanics' Institute in Stourbridge which was founded in 1836.<sup>6</sup> The Institute

was widely supported by the Church, the Nobility and the surrounding Gentry. It conceived its purpose as the training of the labouring classes in proper respect for their station and acceptance of economic laws of *laissez-faire* industry. It had much middle-class support but understandably few working-class members.

In some areas, such as Liverpool, further education was evidently organised on a class basis. The Royal Institution, concerned mainly with spreading knowledge of useful

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<sup>4</sup> Hole, J. (1970) *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutions*, London, Frank Cass & Company, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans. Michael Argles was Assistant Librarian at the University of Lancaster.

<sup>6</sup> Turner, C. M. (1968) 'Political, religious, and occupational support in the early Mechanics' Institutes', *The Vocational Aspect of Education* (Spring 1968) Vol. XX No. 45, p. 69. Turner was at St. Paul's College of Education, Rugby in 1968.

mechanical inventions, was favoured by the upper classes, whereas the middle classes were more likely to support the Literary, Scientific and Commercial Institution, and the respectable working class were found at the Mechanics' Institution.<sup>7</sup> However, Turner's study suggested that it was difficult to generalise and that 'in any Mechanics' Institute there could be support from all political, religious and occupational classes'.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore without the guidance of central government and a national framework the beginnings of technical education were unplanned, sometimes initiated by chance meetings as well as depending on the generosity of benefactors. Thus it was not until 1850 that a Literary and Scientific Institute was opened in Redditch. The idea for a Literary and Scientific Institute came from Mr. Barker, whose former London employer had encouraged education for his employees and had provided them with a library and reading room. Barker was employed as head clerk at Messrs. H Milward and Sons, needle makers, and suggested to his employers that similar facilities might be provided. Henry Milward met with those who had already supported the development of National Schools including another needlemaker, Charles Bartleet, the Rev. Fessey, Lady Harriet Windsor and her husband, the Hon. Robert Clive. The Library and Reading Room were first housed on the second floor above the shop of William Hemings, the printer and stationer.<sup>9 10 11</sup> The working man's ticket was issued at four shillings a year, or one shilling and sixpence per quarter, and entitled admission to the Working Man's Reading Room, use of the Library and admission to back seats at lectures.<sup>12</sup>

Hole's criticisms of books held in Institutes' libraries could also have been aimed at the Redditch Institute's library, as only a small proportion of books were about science or art. For example, in 1897 only 8.3% of the 1,917 works were classified as science and art.<sup>13 14</sup> Although Redditch did not have a Mechanics' Institute, Such suggested that

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<sup>7</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>8</sup> Turner, C. M. (1968) 'Political, religious, and occupational support in the early Mechanics' Institutes', *The Vocational Aspect of Education* (Spring 1968) Vol. XX No. 45, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Such, P. R. (1974) *The History of the Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute 1850-1930*; held in Redditch Public Library.

<sup>10</sup> Kelly, E. R. (ed) (1876) *Post Office Directory of Worcestershire*

<sup>11</sup> Bradford, A. (2005) *Old Redditch Voices*. Redditch, Hunt End Books. Anne Bradford has written several Redditch local history books including some based on oral history.

<sup>12</sup> Heming, W. T. (1853) *Rules of the Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute*; held in Redditch Public Library. Heming founded the *Redditch Indicator*.

<sup>13</sup> Heming, W. T. (1859) *Catalogue of the Library*; held in Redditch Public Library.

the Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute came to rely upon many of the principles of the Mechanics' Institute.<sup>15</sup> He may have come to this conclusion because actual classes began in 1859 when a 'night school' first opened in the National Schools. The first examinations, in 1862, were in arithmetic and grammar, but by 1868 there were also science classes.<sup>16</sup> In 1872 the School of Art opened on Unicorn Hill and remained there for fourteen years. In 1886 purpose-built premises for the School of Art, the Institute and its library were opened in the centre of Redditch and were paid for by grants from the government, voluntary subscriptions and donations.<sup>17</sup>

A Committee of the Privy Council was appointed in 1839 to supervise the distribution of certain Government grants in the education field. The members of the Committee were the Lord President of the Council, the Secretaries of State, the First Lord of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. From 1857 a Vice President was appointed who took responsibility for policy. Michael Argles pointed out that the main agency of technical education during the years after the 1851 Great Exhibition was the Department of Science and Art, based in South Kensington in London. Until 1857 the Department was still under the Board of Trade, but in that year it became part of the new Education Department. The object of the Department of Science and Art was the encouragement of the teaching of the applied sciences, achieved by means of museums, schools, public examinations, payment of grants by results, and the preparation of scientific examples.<sup>18</sup> Harvey and Press<sup>19</sup> stated that the main objective of the Art Division was the promotion of elementary instruction in drawing and modelling; special instruction in the knowledge and practice of ornamental art; and importantly the practical application of such knowledge to the improvement of manufacturers. By 1873 there were 120 Schools of Art spread across the UK. To obtain grant assistance from the Department of Science and Art an institution had already to be endowed by a patron

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<sup>14</sup> Page, H. (1898) History of the Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute; held in Redditch Public Library. Page was the Institute's Honorary Secretary; the history first appeared in the *Redditch Indicator* in 1886.

<sup>15</sup> Such, P. R. (1974) The History of the Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute 1850-1930; held in Redditch Public Library.

<sup>16</sup> Bradford, A. (2005) *Old RedditchVoices*. Redditch, Hunt End Books.

<sup>17</sup> The Needle District Almanack and Trade Directory 1888; held in Redditch Public Library.

<sup>18</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey, C. & Press, J. (1986) 'William Morris and the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-84', in *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 7.1 (Autumn 1986): pp. 31-44. Charles Harvey was an economic and business historian in various business schools including those of Bristol and Strathclyde Universities.

or a charitable trust. From 1852 payment was by results, although by the 1890s there was a system of payment by inspection.<sup>20</sup>

The Society of Arts, established in 1754, did not become 'Royal' until 1908. However, the main and important work of this Society for education did not begin until 1856, when it was one of the first bodies to start the system of examinations that became more common and important in the last half of the nineteenth century. These examinations were intended for artisans and craftsmen, who entered through their mechanics' institute or similar body. Many of the subjects offered for examination were the same as those of the Science and Art Department, but in 1873 the Society entered the more applied field with examinations aimed at specific industries or trades. This work was handed over six years later to the City and Guilds of London Institute.<sup>21</sup>

Another key initiative contributing to a national system for technical education was taken by a committee of the City of London Livery Companies in 1876, resulting in the creation of the City and Guilds of London Institute (CGLI), when it was resolved that the attention of the Livery Companies be directed to the promotion of technical education throughout the country, with the view of educating young artisans and others in the scientific and artistic branches of their trades. 'The City and Guilds did for technical and trade training what the Science and Art Department had done for the more theoretical subjects.'<sup>22</sup> The CGLI founded in 1881 the first English technical college at Finsbury in London. The Acting Principal was Philip Magnus, who had been appointed as Organising Director and Secretary of the City and Guilds of London Institute in 1880 and took over the Institute's technical examination programme. In 1881 he became a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Education. In 1892 he created a national scheme for the training and certification of metalwork, woodwork and domestic science teachers, as well as insisting on a Register of Teachers maintained by the

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<sup>20</sup> Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (1990) 'Introduction: Technical Education, the state and the labour market.' In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press. Penny Summerfield was Senior Lecturer in the Social History of Education at Lancaster University. Eric Evans was Professor of Social History at Lancaster University.

<sup>21</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16

Institute.<sup>23</sup> Magnus organised a new type of instruction at Finsbury College, based on adequate laboratories and workshops, both by day and in the evening. Subjects were Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Technical Chemistry, and Applied Art. There were also Trade classes that included purely vocational, skill-based subjects such as cabinet-making, plumbing and brickwork.<sup>24</sup>

The Royal Commission on Technical Education, sometimes known as The Samuelson Commission, was set up in 1881 with the following terms of reference:

to inquire into the Instruction of the Industrial Classes of certain Foreign Countries in technical and other subjects for the purpose of comparison with that of the corresponding classes in this Country; and into the influence of such instruction on manufacturing and other industries at home and abroad.<sup>25</sup>

The Royal Commission on Technical Education was one of several which examined the state of Britain's education system in the course of the nineteenth century. The Royal Commissions were a response to rising concern over international competition and the apparent superiority of French, German and American scientific and technical training. Much concern was expressed about training in the applied sciences, the lack of educational opportunities for artists and designers, and the standards of industrial design. Harvey and Press gave the example of the 1867 Paris Exhibition that provided evidence of the growing success of Britain's rivals since the 1851 Great Exhibition. They also suggested that it was hardly surprising that Britain's growth should have lagged behind those of newer industrialised countries, as Britain failed to re-capitalise its industry.<sup>26</sup> However, sometimes there was a link between the lack of new capital and the state of English technical education. After the Paris Exhibition of 1867, the government set up a select committee to examine the situation. One source of evidence was Alfred Field, a Birmingham manufacturer, who pointed out that even in the manufacture of rifles the machine from which the first Enfield rifle was made had to be imported from America, and put this down to a complete absence of technical education

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<sup>23</sup> Foden, F.E. (1962) 'Sir Philip Magnus and the City and Guilds of London Institute', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 14: 29, pp. 102-116. In 1951 Frank Foden, was Lecturer in charge of Liberal Studies at Ilkeston Technical Institute. In the 1980s and 1990s he wrote several books on 19<sup>th</sup> century technical education for the Leeds University continuing education series.

<sup>24</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>25</sup> Cited in Harvey, C. & J. Press (1986) 'William Morris and the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-84', in *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 7.1 (Autumn 1986): p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*



in Great Britain.<sup>27</sup> In the early 1890s a similar complaint was made by the Redditch needle producers, as the needlemakers who had left Redditch to found a needle-making firm in Germany, found Germany provided a better technical education, so that their expertise was becoming superior to that in Redditch. When Redditch manufacturers had to buy the latest needle-making machines from Germany, they began to see the necessity for a Technical School.<sup>28</sup>

Despite its findings, the 1881 Royal Commission was hostile to the suggestion that ‘the cost of the further development of technical instruction’ should be ‘borne by the State’, and argued that local funds should be sought to finance a substantial increase in provision. However, the Commission did stress the need to improve primary and secondary education as the pre-requisite to a sound system of scientific and technical instruction.<sup>29</sup> There had already been some steps to improve the provision of elementary education. When WE Forster, Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education, introduced the Elementary Education Bill in the House of Commons in 1870, he said, “We must not delay. Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education.” He added that if workers were left unskilled they would ‘become over-matched in the competition of the world’.<sup>30</sup>

The 1870 Elementary Education Act<sup>31</sup> meant that where voluntary facilities were inadequate school boards were elected to build and maintain new elementary schools by means of rates, government grants and fees. Compulsory attendance from the age of 5 to 10 was a local matter and enforceable by bye-laws, whereas from 1880 compulsory attendance was insisted on for 5- to 10-year-olds. Some notion of efficiency existed as Inspectors were appointed by central government to ensure state money was not wasted. In 1891 elementary schools were made free of charge, and in 1893 the Elementary

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<sup>27</sup> Armytage, W. H. G. (1950) ‘J. F. D. Donnelly: Pioneer in vocational education’, *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 2: 4, pp. 6-21. Armytage was lecturer in Education, University of Sheffield.

<sup>28</sup> Bradford, A. (2005) *Old Redditch Voices*. Redditch, Hunt End Books.

<sup>29</sup> Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen, pp. 124-125. J. Stuart Maclure was the *TES* Editor in 1979.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>31</sup> 1870 Elementary Education Act (c. 75).

Education (School Attendance) Act raised the minimum leaving age to 11.<sup>32</sup> Nicola Sheldon stated that proposals to extend the years of compulsory schooling had always attracted loud and influential opposition, so that the result had been governmental caution. Thus in 1899 the school-leaving age was raised to 13, but, half-time working was allowed to continue at age 12 and the seasonal needs of agriculture were accommodated.<sup>33</sup> In 1875 the sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science urged that older children in elementary schools should have more science teaching. This increase should not be just for working class children as ‘considering the increasing importance of Science to the Material Interests of the Country, we cannot but regard its almost total exclusion from the training of the upper and middle classes as little less than national misfortune’.<sup>34</sup>

Redditch did have elementary schools before 1870 thanks to voluntary contributions. Lady Harriet Windsor, younger sister of the sixth Earl of Plymouth, inherited her brother’s estate in 1819 and together with her husband, the Hon. Robert Clive, moved to Hewell Grange on the outskirts of Redditch. Lady Harriet took an interest in the life of the town, and was appalled by the amount of lawlessness, her solution being to provide land and money for the building of churches, schools and Sunday Schools. One such school was in Tardebigge with a building being converted in 1819 and rebuilt in 1843. The deed of Lady Harriet’s initial gift stated that the school should accept poor children and that it should be in unison with the Church of England’s National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Public subscriptions paid for its building and it became a school during the week and also acted as a Sunday School. The premises were too small by 1840 and in 1846 thanks to a contribution of the Windsor-Clive family a new school was opened. There was often rivalry between the non-conformists, the Church of England and the Roman Catholics. In 1844 Rev. G. F. Fessey, vicar of St. Stephen’s, wrote to the National Society, saying that the Wesleyans, a powerful sect in Redditch, were using every means to anticipate the National Society in the establishment of a school. Fessey’s new National school, St. Stephen’s, on ground given by Lady Harriet and her husband, was opened in 1846.

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<sup>32</sup> 1893 Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act (c. 51).

<sup>33</sup> Sheldon, N. (2009) ‘Tackling truancy’. Available from <http://www.historyandpolicy.org> [Accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2011.] Nicola Sheldon was a post-doctoral Research Fellow of St Hilda’s College, Oxford, where she specialised in historical research into policies on school attendance.

<sup>34</sup> Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen, p. 110.

More schools followed as St. Luke's School was built in 1850, a Wesleyan school was erected in 1859, and in 1868 a Roman Catholic School was opened.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the needle masters tried to provide some kind of schooling. For example, from 1863 until 1870 Mr. Bartleet and his wife hired a hall and turned it into a school with free attendance resulting in 149 pupils. Bartleet subscribed to other schools and was a governor of both St. Stephen's and St. George's National Schools. There were several new schools after 1870, as a Wesleyan school was opened in 1871, a Baptist school arrived in 1876, and St George's School was built in 1883 on land given by the Windsor-Clives.<sup>36</sup> After the 1870 Elementary Education Act two Board Schools were opened, one in Bridge Street and the other in Crabbs Cross, each school run by a Board of Governors elected by ratepayers.<sup>37</sup>

The 1888 Local Government Act<sup>38</sup> created County Councils and made possible the Technical Instruction Act of 1889.<sup>39</sup> Local authorities were enabled to raise a penny rate to supply or aid technical education, but the curricula of these classes were subject to the approval of the Science and Art Department. The 1889 Act also established technical instruction committees or boards working under the aegis of the Department of Science and Art in South Kensington. The 1890 Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act meant that a tax on the sale of beer and spirits, often known as 'whisky money', was allocated to local authorities either to relieve the rates or to subsidise technical education in technical colleges and schools.<sup>40</sup> Most authorities chose the former, but gradually the amount used for technical instruction increased.<sup>41 42</sup>

In 1890 Worcestershire County Council received more than £7,000 from the Inland Revenue with the suggestion that part of it might be used to aid technical education. In 1891 the County Council gave £300 to the electoral divisions of Feckenham, Redditch

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<sup>35</sup> Bradford, A. (2005) *Old Redditch Voices*. Redditch, Hunt End Books.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Land, N. (1985) *The History of Redditch and the Locality*. Studley, K. A. F. Brewin Books.

<sup>38</sup> 1888 Local Government Act (c. 41).

<sup>39</sup> 1889 Technical Instruction Act (c. 76).

<sup>40</sup> 1890 Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act (c.60)

<sup>41</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>42</sup> Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) 'Introduction: Technical Education, the state and the labour market.' In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

West and Redditch East for the purpose of technical education. The first Technical Education Committee was formed from the Committees of the Institute and the School of Art and three members from the Local Board. The freehold of the Primitive Methodist Chapel in Adelaide Street was bought for £2,000 and this building housed the first Technical School in Redditch. Technical Schools catered for those who had left school, whereas Junior Technical Schools were for pupils up to 14 years old. The school was opened in 1892 with 137 students, and subjects taught were English, woodcarving, elementary hygiene, carpentry, household and artisan cooking. The rooms soon became insufficient and additional rooms elsewhere had to be used. By 1896 the Committee decided that the Adelaide Street building was inadequate, and discussed the possibility of building a new Technical School. With the help of grants from Worcestershire County Council a site in Easemore Road was purchased. In 1900 a Technical Education Committee Report stated that that a laboratory was added to the new school.<sup>43</sup>

By 1898 all the county councils and county borough councils in England had adopted the 1889 Technical Instruction Act, and 160 local authorities were raising rates. They were also spending money on buildings and capital equipment, derived from loans, Science and Art Department grants, donations and subscriptions.<sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> In 1899 the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the educational sections of the Charity Commission, were merged into a new Board of Education, and the South Kensington building, the previous location of the Science and Art Department, housed its secondary and technological branch.<sup>46</sup>

Although the 1889 Technical Instruction Act ruled out the teaching of a trade, in practice technical education meant a combination of the teaching of general principles with some manual instruction.<sup>47</sup> The ‘most fundamental definitional problem concerning technical education’ was ‘the relative importance within it of theory and

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<sup>43</sup> Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute Minutes 1850-1928; held in Redditch Public Library.

<sup>44</sup> Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) ‘Introduction: Technical Education, the state and the labour market.’ In: Summerfield, P. & E. Evans (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press

<sup>45</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> 1889 Technical Instruction Act (c. 76).

practice'.<sup>48</sup> There were problems of how to conceptualise the teaching of technical subjects, whether as 'training' or 'education'. Employers, Craft Guilds and trade unionists usually agreed that practice should occur in the place of employment. These groups wished 'for their own reasons to maintain control of the transmission of skills'.<sup>49</sup> Argles explained that trade instruction 'would have been against the beliefs of many employers and employees, both of whom feared that industrial secrets and craft 'mysteries' would be divulged to the world at large'.<sup>50</sup> Such opposition was experienced by J. F. D. Donnelly, who joined the Department of Science and Art in 1859. He also became a member of the council of the Society of Arts, and in 1871 he proposed that the Society should offer a system of technological examinations. Donnelly's scheme was opposed by many manufacturers, who feared that if their workmen were to meet in technological classes, their own trade secrets would be jeopardised. Donnelly himself travelled to many of the large towns in the North and East of England, but set it on record that, far from assisting his scheme, these manufacturers would do all they could to stop it. Donnelly warned subsequent Royal Commissions which sat to inquire into the deficiencies of technical training, that nothing would ever be accomplished unless the enthusiastic co-operation of the employers was obtained.<sup>51</sup>

Thus the roots of technical education can be traced back to the nineteenth century. While many Mechanics' Institutes and Literary and Scientific Institutes did not focus completely on the needs of the artisans, they sometimes managed to provide technical instruction and the opportunity to pass examinations. For example, evening classes started in Redditch in 1859 and from the 1860s examinations were taken. The beginnings of a national framework appeared with the establishment of the Department of Science and Art in the 1850s, the work of the Society of Arts from the mid-nineteenth century, and the establishment of the City and Guilds of London Institute in the 1870s. The Department of Science and Art encouraged the spread of technical

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<sup>48</sup> Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) 'Introduction: Technical Education, the state and the labour market.' In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans, p. 22.

<sup>51</sup> Armytage, W. H. G. (1950) 'J. F. D. Donnelly: Pioneer in vocational education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 2: 4, pp. 6-21

education by awarding grants, but only when technical institutions had already received some voluntary funding locally. The Department as well as the Society of Arts and the City and Guilds of London Institute provided national systems of examinations. The Royal Commission on Technical Education of 1881 was one of several Royal Commissions concerned about international economic competition and the state of Britain's education system, although after 1870 Board Schools were established in areas without schools. The 1881 Commission argued that additional funds for technical instruction should be obtained locally. The 1889 Technical Instruction Act enabled local authorities to use part of the rates for the provision of technical education, although the Department of Science and Art had to approve the curricula of classes. A year later the 'whisky money' meant local authorities had additional funds which could be used for technical education, so that Worcestershire County Council was able to pass the money on to areas such as Redditch which opened its first Technical School. Concern about the appropriate balance in classes between theory and practice continued into the twentieth century, as did reports comparing the economic progress and technical education in England with those of other countries. Until 1944 central government continued to see its role as enabling LEAs to provide technical education rather than insisting that it was the LEAs' responsibility to do so.

A popular explanation of English backwardness in scientific and technical education is the cultural critique which focuses on the anti-industrial culture of the Victorian political élite and the landed classes from which they mostly came. They were suspicious of industry and commerce, and uninterested in science and technology. However, while these traits were predominant among the landed classes, they did not constitute the dominant view of Victorian England, but were a reaction to the dominant values of individualism, enterprise and laissez-faire liberalism. The delayed development of scientific and technical education in England was due to the responses of entrepreneurs who failed to secure adequate reforms in technical education. Britain's early industrialisation had occurred without direct state intervention and in its early stages developed successfully within a laissez-faire framework, so state intervention was thought unnecessary for developing technical skills. Manufacturers also thought that such intervention would endanger trade secrets. Another factor was the resistance to state involvement in education of any sort. Andy Green maintained that the doctrine of laissez-faire, as first advocated by Adam Smith in the eighteenth century, became the

fundamental tenet of nineteenth century liberalism, permeating the culture and values of all sections of society. This view was still held in the 1850s, as evidenced by the popularity of Samuel Smiles's *Self Help*.<sup>52</sup>

From the 1870s there was a general change in attitude towards the general role of the state. Green argued that the economic challenge of Germany and the USA, as well as the depression, suggested the need for more state action in education to maintain Britain's economic supremacy.<sup>53</sup> Summerfield and Evans asserted that the depression in agriculture was real enough, but the depression in the industrial sector was more in the minds of businessmen. However, they agreed with Green that there was greater concern with the quality of technical education, when British manufacturers were finding it difficult to fight off German and American competition.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, even the 1884 Samuelson Report stated that the development of technical instruction should not be borne by the State, and argued that local funds should finance an increase in provision. Most forms of social policy at that time were developed locally with a permissive national framework, and were subordinate to charitable activity and individual initiative, and most MPs believed that social questions were best tackled locally. Thus educational reform in the nineteenth century was based on the principle that the state might subsidise, but would not direct, provision.<sup>55</sup> After 1889, rates and 'whisky money' made public funds available for local technical institutions and technical and scientific classes within schools. These developments reflected a small change from *laissez-faire* prompted by the knowledge that Britain's main industrial competitors were developing general and technical education systems.

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<sup>52</sup> Green, A. (2005) 'Technical Education and state formation in nineteenth-century England and France.' In: McCulloch, G. (ed.) (2005) *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in History of Education*. London, Routledge. Andy Green is a Professor in the Department of International and Lifelong Learning in the Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (1990) 'Introduction: Technical Education, the state and the labour market', in Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 2                    The emergence of Further Education from 1900 to 1943

While developments in technical education in the late nineteenth century reflected a small change in government interest and action, schools and technical institutions were experiencing an administrative confusion. The 1895 Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, the Bryce Report, had recommended the creation of a unified central authority, and the 1899 Board of Education Act established the Board of Education.<sup>1</sup> However, the Bryce Report had recommended a Minister of Education rather than a President of the Board of Education:

That in order to constitute an efficient and satisfactory Central Authority there must be a Minister of Education, the Head of a Department, responsible to Parliament with a seat in the Cabinet, a Minister who, as Sir William Hart-Dyke said, would be a Secretary of State. On this matter witnesses of all orders ... were agreed.<sup>2</sup>

One possible explanation for the choice of a Board of Education was that Education was deemed to be only as important as the Board of Agriculture or the Board of Trade.<sup>3</sup>

The Bryce Report also concluded it was difficult to deal with the problems of secondary education separately from those of education as a whole.

But there is one feature in this growing concern of the State with education which must not be here overlooked. The growth has not been either continuous or coherent; i.e. it does not represent a series of logical or even connected sequences. Each one of the agencies ... was called into being, not merely independently of the others, but with little or no regard to their existence.<sup>4</sup>

This muddle was described by Edward Brennan as ‘a welter of overlapping schools and authorities with corresponding confusion in the central administration in London’. Board schools received support both from government grants and from the rates, while voluntary schools received only grants. Some School Boards, running higher-grade schools which were really secondary schools in disguise, were aided by the rates but

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<sup>1</sup> The 1899 Board of Education Act (c. 33).

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Aldrich, R. (2000) ‘From Board of Education to Department for Education and Employment’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 32: 1, pp. 8-22. Richard Aldrich is Professor of Education at the Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen, p. 142.



also received grants from the Science and Art Department. Secondary schools, dependent upon endowments and fees, were governed by independent bodies or private proprietors, while technical education could receive support from the County and County Borough Councils if the councils so wished.<sup>5</sup>

Much of the opposition to the 1902 Education Bill revolved around the voluntary schools. After 1870 the Nonconformists had handed over their schools to the new school boards, whereas Anglican and Roman Catholic schools continued, and the Bill proposed that church schools would be maintained through the rates. One third of managers of such schools were to be LEA appointees, so these representatives did not form a majority. This aspect of the Bill was opposed by many Nonconformists including several Liberal organisations, which also opposed the Bill because it would destroy the principle of direct local representative control that existed with School Boards. Thus in October 1902 there were several demonstrations to protest against the Bill. One such meeting was held in Manchester where it was estimated that 20,000 people took part. It was organised by the Free (Nonconformist) Churches and different political organizations, and a final resolution included objections to the transfer of the cost of sectarian schools to the ratepayers while leaving the controlling voice in their management in Church of England hands.<sup>6</sup> However, Paul Sharp, Senior Lecturer and Chair of the School of Education at the University of Leeds in 2002, thought that voluntary schools gave up a substantial measure of independence as the LEA had control of the secular curriculum, a say in teacher appointments and dismissals and powers of inspection. Any issues arising between LEAs and voluntary school managers were determined by the Board of Education, whereas LEAs had no specific duties in relation to post-elementary education.<sup>7</sup>

Those who endorsed the Bill included Mr. Skewes, a M.P. who gave *The Times* an economic justification by saying:

You must permit me to add that you cannot be acquainted with the Bill itself if you do not see that three-fourths of it is devoted to improving the secondary and technical education of the country, whilst preserving and strengthening the elementary schools, which must

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<sup>5</sup> Brennan, E. J. T. (1961) 'Sidney Webb and the London Technical Education Board', *The Vocational Aspect*, 13: 27, 146-171, p. 148. Brennan was a lecturer at Bournemouth Municipal College of Art.

<sup>6</sup> *The Times*, 13 October, 1902.

<sup>7</sup> Sharp, P. (2002) 'Central and local government.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutFalmer, pp. 54-74.

provide the basis of the higher education. The crying need of the time is for this country to meet German and American competition by such means as the Bill provides.<sup>8</sup>

The Conservative Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour<sup>9</sup> in his speech to the House of Commons stressed that a successful technical education could only do its work well when that work was ‘based on a sound general secondary education’, and that was ‘the belief and experience of every nation in Europe’. Balfour added that in many cases School Boards filled a vacuum by trespassing on the territories of secondary education, but only secondary schools could adequately prepare children ‘for the work of life or for higher grades of education’.<sup>10</sup>

The 1902 Education Act abolished school boards and technical instruction committees, so that LEAs were responsible for schools including the development of secondary schools.<sup>11</sup> The LEAs appointed education committees responsible for schools, technical institutions, and higher education not taking place in universities. Educational priorities were seen to be the establishment of the dual system of voluntary and maintained elementary schools and the growth of secondary schools.<sup>12</sup> With their increased responsibilities for secondary education after 1902, local authorities began to establish trade or technical schools designed for artisan or industrial occupations or for domestic service. Thus some pupils staying on beyond the compulsory age of thirteen attended these establishments, while other such pupils stayed in general education in continuation schools or classes. In any local authority, all these might exist alongside technical or commercial schools or colleges.<sup>13</sup>

Part of the 1902 Act stated that

‘the LEAs shall consider the educational needs of their area and take steps as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary (including the training of teachers) and to promote the general coordination of all forms of education’.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *The Times*, 13 October, 1902.

<sup>9</sup> The President of the Board of Education was Lord Londonderry and thus could not speak in the House of Commons.

<sup>10</sup> *Hansard*, HC 24 March, 1902.

<sup>11</sup> 1902 Education Act (c. 42)

<sup>12</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) ‘Further Education.’ In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 54-74. Bill Bailey is at the University of Greenwich

<sup>13</sup> Pratt, J. (2000) ‘The Emergence of the Colleges.’ In: Smithers, A. & Robinson, P. (eds.) (2000) *Further Education Re-formed*. London, Falmer Press. John Pratt was Director of the Centre for Institutional Studies at the University of East London.

<sup>14</sup> 1902 Education Act (c. 42).

The use of the words ‘consider’ and ‘take steps as seem to them desirable’ gave rise to LEAs exercising different degrees of discretion and differing interpretations when implementing the Act and this was certainly true for technical education institutions. As the provision of education other than elementary was a permissive power not a duty, it was not surprising that the extent to which LEAs supported technical education varied. Another factor discouraging development was the Board of Education’s lack of contributions towards the cost of new buildings for technical education, which therefore all fell on local rates. However, after 1918 such costs were borne equally by the central and local authorities.<sup>15</sup> In 1904 the costs of providing a secondary school as well as a technical school in Redditch were reduced by Worcestershire County Council opening the Redditch Secondary School for Boys and Girls in the Technical School, and it was not until 1932 that the Secondary School moved to a larger site.<sup>16</sup>

In 1904, 200 technical teachers formed the London-based Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes (ATTI).<sup>17</sup> A representative meeting of teachers engaged in London polytechnics, technical institutes, and schools of art was held in London to promote an association of technical teachers for the advancement of technical education generally, interchange of ideas on methods of teaching, and the safeguarding of professional interests. While in the first instance it was to be formed for the county of London, it was hoped that ultimately that it would become national, as institutions in Manchester and the West Riding of Yorkshire had expressed willingness to join such an association. It was moved, seconded and approved that the following resolution be passed: ‘That this meeting hereby decides to form an association of science, technological, and art teachers engaged in the London polytechnics, technical institutes, and schools of art, such association to comprise both permanent staff and evening teachers, other than those engaged in purely secondary work’.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the Association’s influence did soon spread outside London, with large branches forming in West Yorkshire, West Lancashire and East Lancashire, and in 1906 replaced ‘Institutes’ in its name with

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<sup>15</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>16</sup> Redditch Secondary Education Committee Minutes 1904-1937; held in Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>17</sup> It was soon renamed the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions.

<sup>18</sup> *The Times*, 24 October 1904.

'Institutions'. It continued to grow and become more professional, so that in 1922 it appointed a secretary, and in 1923 rented its first London office.<sup>19</sup>

In 1906 the chairman of the East Lancashire branch of the ATTI described the object of the Association as first of all educational, and secondly social. Members desired to promote education, in its best sense, the idea being not to attempt to force up teachers' salaries or to squeeze down hours, but to take a lead in initiating reforms with regard to syllabuses and examinations and to suggest to the various examining and governing bodies the best conduct of these matters to the improvement of the technical education of the country. However, at the 1921 annual conference Professor Knox, President of the ATTI, acknowledged that technical teachers had always had a very difficult role to play in the educational world. They were suspected on the one hand by the organised workers' associations as being merely the instruments for training better profit-earning machines, and on the other hand they were sneered at by the highbrow academic as the purveyors of soiled goods.<sup>20</sup>

The ATTI supported the growth of secondary technical schools, a prominent theme in discussions leading to the formation of the Association. At annual meetings speakers regretted the official emphasis on secondary and university institutions which assumed superiority of literary forms of education as these were a preserve of the elite. In order to create a more modern system of education the Association discussed in 1909 a policy paper proposing four types of school beyond the primary stage: Secondary Technical, Secondary Commercial (both 13-17) Schools, Day Trade Schools, and Secondary Schools as they were then.<sup>21</sup> At its annual meeting in 1910, ATTI members discussed the imminent publication by the Board of Education of new Regulations for the full range of work covered by the Board's Technical Branch. Documents of the Technical Branch Officers and Inspectors revealed a wish to substitute a simpler means of determining central government grants. The proposed Regulations covered the wide-ranging area of work falling outside the secondary schools and universities, forming

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<sup>19</sup> NATFHE (2004) 'NATFHE 100 years on', a supplement for NATFHE members in October 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Horn, C. A. & Horn, P. L. R. (1983) 'The ATTI and its Policies: 1904-1914', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, Volume 7, Issue 1 Spring 1983, pp. 8-22.

<sup>21</sup> Bailey, B. (1990) 'Technical education and secondary schooling, 1905-1945.' In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

what the Board was beginning to refer to as 'Further Education' including vocational courses (technical instruction) and non-vocational courses (disinterested studies for making for wise living and good citizenship). However, these proposals were never formally adopted or fully implemented, perhaps because after 1918 and subsequent economies the scheme was deemed too expensive. In 1913 the Board issued a set of Regulations for Junior Technical Schools which were to prepare ex-elementary pupils for specific occupations or trades through courses of more than two or three years' duration.<sup>22</sup> The ATTI's recommendations that different types of secondary schools should be provided and the Technical Branch's recommendation that technical education should not only be vocational but also prepare students for citizenship were suggestions that appeared in various forms in the following decades. The Association's committee of enquiry into technical education in 1925 led to government advisory committees on industrial education.<sup>23</sup>

The Association of Technical Institutions (ATI) was formed a few years earlier than the ATTI as representatives of twenty-seven institutions attended the inaugural meeting in 1894 at the Society of Arts, London. The aims of the Association were:

- (a) To provide a medium for the interchange of ideas among its members.
- (b) To influence, by combined action where desirable, Parliament, County Councils, and other bodies concerned in promoting technical education.
- (c) To promote the efficient organisation and management of technical institutions, facilitate concordant action among governing bodies, and aid the development of technical education throughout the United Kingdom.<sup>24</sup>

The ATI had many connections including Philip Magnus who was a guest speaker at their annual dinner in 1904. Magnus said that technical or professional education must necessarily be supplementary to elementary and secondary education. They were all prepared to admit that secondary education's organisation and method was not altogether satisfactory. The success of higher technical instruction depended very largely upon the character of the teaching which was given in elementary schools. The

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> NATFHE (2004) 'NATFHE 100 years on', a supplement for NATFHE members in October 2004.

<sup>24</sup> Haslegrave, H.L. (1950) 'History of the association of technical institutions, 1893-1919', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 2: 5, pp. 202- 210. Haslegrave worked at Leicester College of Technology and Commerce.

teachers in the institutions represented by the ATI were unanimous in saying that their efforts to impart sound technical instruction were impeded by the fact that the material on which they had to work was imperfect; that young men came to their schools without adequate elementary instruction. The teachers in the elementary schools were not to blame; the fault lay in the system. Another speaker said the efficiency of higher elementary and secondary education depended on an increase in funds from local and central authorities.<sup>25</sup>

The ATI influenced the Board of Education on several occasions, for example, a deputation went to the Board of Education in 1911, and was effective in obtaining some modification in the proposed regulations for technical schools. The theme of liberal education ran through many of the Presidential addresses. In 1905, and again in 1906, the President referred to deficiencies on the humanistic side of education, and the Association also agreed there should be continuation classes for young people after leaving the day schools. In October 1916 an ATI meeting supported Fisher's Education Bill and passed a resolution asking the Government to prevent any children leaving school before the age of 14, and to compel employers to release young workers for six to eight hours per week up to the age of 17. A paper on 'The Training of Teachers for Technical Institutions and Day Continuation Schools' was read in 1918, which stressed the need for lectures on psychology and class management, framed in relation to the special branches of work to be undertaken, and suggested the training be given by evening, Saturday afternoon and holiday classes at technical institutions.<sup>26</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century there was no institution or qualification for training technical teachers. Technical teachers were recruited from the best students who had taken the courses. Between the two world wars there were some sandwich and part-time courses provided by LEAs and accredited by awarding bodies such as City and Guilds. However, most FE teachers were part-time, with only a small core of full-time staff. Up to 1944, the full-time training of teachers of technical subjects did not exist in Britain.<sup>27</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s, the ATI continued its appeal for a wider curriculum in technical

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<sup>25</sup> *The Times*, January 29, 1904.

<sup>26</sup> Haslegrave, H. L. (1950) 'History of the association of technical institutions, 1893-1919', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 2: 5, pp. 202- 210.

<sup>27</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

education, and in 1937 the Association published a Report on Education for Citizenship in Technical Institutions.<sup>28</sup>

An article in the *Manchester Guardian* in October 1925 by Richard Tawney explained the two schools of thought evident in a North of England Education Conference concerning the education of fourteen-year-olds. Both sides were concerned that 80 per cent of fourteen-year-olds were allowed to take up full-time employment that was disastrous to the young person's physique, intelligence and character. There was agreement that the remedy lay in extending education from fourteen to eighteen, but disagreement about the best form of provision. In 1917 H. A. L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, was one of those who favoured part-time continuative education, while others, such as Tawney, argued for full-time post-primary education from eleven to fifteen and eventually to sixteen. Between 1911 and 1920 the number of pupils in secondary schools doubled, and the economic situation in the 1920s with persistent juvenile unemployment meant extended full-time education became more widely accepted. Others followed the thinking of Michael Sadler (1907), the Board of Education's Consultative Committee in 1909, and the Lewis Committee (1917) and this view was reflected in the 1918 Education Act with its clauses concerning Day Continuation Schools.<sup>29</sup>

Sadler had worked for the Board of Education but resigned in 1903 and became a part-time Professor at Manchester University. While there he edited *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere* as well as contributing an introduction and nine papers.<sup>30</sup> He was also a member of the Board of Education's Consultative Committee in 1909 which published a Report recommending for those leaving elementary school compulsory attendance at evening classes, and where possible the release of young workers during the day. In 1917 the Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, the Lewis Report, recommended compulsory attendance at day

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<sup>28</sup> Haslegrave, H.L. (1951) 'History of the association of Technical Institutions, 1919-1950', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 3: 6, pp. 78 - 85.

<sup>29</sup> Bailey, B. (1990) 'Technical education and secondary schooling, 1905-1945.' In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

<sup>30</sup> Pickering, O. S. (1982) *Sir Michael Sadler: a bibliography of his published works*. Leeds, University of Leeds. Oliver Pickering worked in the library of the University of Leeds.

continuation schools and viewed the adolescent as primarily the workman and citizen in training.<sup>31</sup>

Argles stated that firms became more interested in technical education after the foundation of the Federation of British Industries in 1916, which became a political, economic and educational pressure group.<sup>32</sup> However, in 1918 Tawney argued that, unlike some employers, the Federation's Memorandum on Education aimed at intimidating the Government into abandoning the central element in its educational programme.<sup>33</sup> Although the Memorandum assured the public that the Federation yearned for an improvement of the education system, it could not support the Education Bill's proposal that all young people from fourteen should attend a continuation school. According to Tawney, it objected to the 1918 Education Bill on the grounds that 'unlimited supplies of juvenile labour' were 'indispensable to industry' even though this would amount to only eight hours a week.<sup>34</sup> In its Memorandum the Federation asked for more time 'until ... the labour market has adjusted itself to the new conditions'.<sup>35</sup> Fisher had already borne that in mind by October 1917 as he told a group of teachers that a

general system of full-time education up to 16 years of age was not practicable, as the great industrial centres, which so largely depended on boy labour must be considered. The new Bill was so drafted as to make a liberal allowance of time within which industry might adjust itself to the proposed continuation classes.<sup>36</sup>

The Memorandum also warned against the dangers of excessive education, advising

that in selecting children for higher education, care should be taken to avoid creating, as was done, for example, in India, a large class of persons *whose education is unsuitable for the employment which they enter*.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) 'Further Education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer.

<sup>32</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>33</sup> Tawney, R. H., (1966) 'Keep the Workers' Children in their Place.' In: Hinden, R. (ed.) (1966) *The Radical Tradition: twelve essays on politics, education and literature by R. H. Tawney*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>36</sup> *The Times*, October 22, 1917.

<sup>37</sup> Tawney, R. H., (1966) 'Keep the Workers' Children in their Place.' In: Hinden, R. (ed.) (1966) *The Radical Tradition: twelve essays on politics, education and literature by R. H. Tawney*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, p. 52. Richard Tawney was Professor of Economic History at the University of London from 1931 to 1949. Some of his numerous achievements are indicated in this chapter.



A similar idea was put forward by Fisher, when as President of the Board of Education he introduced the Education Bill in the House of Commons. Referring to the ‘more reflecting members’ of the ‘industrial army’, he said:

They do not want education only in order that they may become better technical workmen and earn higher wages. They do not want it in order that they may rise out their own class, always a vulgar ambition, they want it because they know that in the treasures of the mind they can find an aid to good citizenship, a source of pure enjoyment and a refuge from the necessary hardships of a life spent in the midst of clanging machinery in our hideous cities of toil.<sup>38</sup>

Thus not much had changed since 1862, when Robert Lowe, head of the Education Department, pushed through the Revised Code governing grants paid to elementary schools in 1862 and said:

‘We do not profess to give these children an education that will raise them above their station and business in life; that is not our object, but to give them an education that may fit them for that business.’<sup>39</sup>

Fisher’s notion of ‘vulgar ambition’ was not so very different from Lowe’s idea that education should not allow children to rise ‘above their station’.

Fisher also said in his 1917 speech when referring to continuation schools, ‘We assume that education should be the education of the whole man, spiritually, intellectually, and physically’, thus using similar words to those in the 1944 Education Act describing the ‘duty of the LEA for every area to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community’.<sup>40</sup> This notion of the intrinsic value of education was evident in the work of the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA). The University Extension Movement originated in Cambridge in 1873 and resulted in the provision of lecture courses in various towns and cities. It was stimulated by a desire to educate those who benefitted from the extension of the franchise, but it was soon realised that these lectures were not reaching the working class. The university lecturers were difficult to understand and there was little opportunity for extended study. In 1903 at Oxford a conference of representatives of Co-operative Societies, trade unions and university bodies founded what was later called the Workers’

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<sup>38</sup> Cited in Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen, p. 174.

<sup>39</sup> Cited in Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (1990) ‘Introduction: Technical Education, the state and the labour market.’ In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> 1944 Education Act (c.31), section 7.

Educational Association (WEA), which held tutorial classes of no more than thirty students. The first tutorial classes were led by Tawney who taught economic history to groups of WEA students at Longton in the Potteries and Rochdale in Lancashire.<sup>41</sup> By 1913 there were over 3,200 students including some from Redditch, as in 1912 the WEA formed an industrial history class in Redditch which took place in a room in the Technical School.<sup>42</sup> In 1953 Tawney commented on the increase in educational facilities which he welcomed. He referred particularly to section 42 of the 1944 Education Act<sup>43</sup> ‘which imposed on Local Education Authorities the obligation to make provision, after consultation with universities and Educational Associations, for the education of adults, opened a new era’.<sup>44</sup>

The Education Act of 1918<sup>45</sup> reformed the grant system on a basis which ensured that not less than fifty per cent of the cost of education was met from central government funds, and abolished all exemptions from the leaving age of 14. Important clauses concerned continued part-time day education and provision for raising the school leaving age to 15 at a later date:

It shall be the duty of the local education authority ... to establish and maintain, or secure the establishment and maintenance under their control and direction, of a sufficient supply of continuation schools in which suitable courses of study, instruction and physical training are provided without payment of fees for all young persons resident in their area who are, under this Act, under an obligation to attend such schools.<sup>46</sup>

The 1918 Education Act<sup>47</sup> stipulated compulsory part-time day continuation schools for 320 hours a year for young people of fourteen to eighteen, but financial stringencies during the inter-war years meant such schools were not made compulsory.<sup>48</sup> Sheldon thought that the plan for continuation schools came to nothing in the face of a coalition

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<sup>41</sup> Deacon, B. (1989) ‘An Idea Moves West: the Days Before 1919.’ In: G. McCallum (ed.) (1989) *A story of adult education in Cornwall: 70 years of the W.E.A.* St. Ives, Weavers Press Publishing. Bernard Deacon taught WEA classes in Cornwall.

<sup>42</sup> Redditch Higher Education Board Minutes 1912; held in Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>43</sup> 1944 Education Act (c. 31).

<sup>44</sup> Tawney, R. H., (1966) ‘The WEA and Adult Education.’ In: Hinden, R. (ed.) (1966) *The Radical Tradition: twelve essays on politics, education and literature by R. H. Tawney.* Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, p. 95.

<sup>45</sup> The 1918 Education Act (c. 39).

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. section 3, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> 1918 Education Act (c. 39).

<sup>48</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851.* London, Longmans.

of apathy from employers, working-class parents and young people themselves.<sup>49</sup> However, this part of the 1918 Act was ‘repealed’ by Board of Education circulars as LEAs were not permitted to spend the money necessary to carry out their schemes. By the early 1930s there was another clampdown on expenditure.<sup>50</sup> Fisher’s original intention was that a large part of the additional funding for Higher Education should come from the Exchequer, and this proposal was accepted by the War Cabinet on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1917:<sup>51</sup>

The Government feels that if these developments are to be secured within a reasonable time a large part of the burden must be borne by the Exchequer. I am not in position to give you a figure, but I am authorised to state that, in the view of the Cabinet, the development of Higher Education contemplated under the Bill should be as liberally subsidised by the Treasury as is compatible with giving to the Local Education Authorities, upon whom it will devolve to administer the Act, an interest in its prudent and economic administration.<sup>52</sup>

The phrase ‘an interest in its prudent and economic administration’ was an early example of government intention to ensure that resources were not wasted.

Evening schools had already been established in the late nineteenth century, as it was assumed that under the 1870 Elementary Education Act there was nothing to prevent school boards providing evening schools, but there was a narrow curriculum. After the 1893 the age limit was extended from eighteen to twenty one, the curriculum could include nearly all forms of further education, and the schools were renamed evening continuation schools. In 1907 the possibility of evening continuation classes was discussed by the Redditch Technical Instruction Sub-Committee. It was recommended that there should be one school for males on Mondays and Wednesdays and one school for females on Tuesdays and Thursdays. All students would study reading and English Literature, writing and composition. The male students would also take arithmetic, geography and history, whereas the female students would take needlework, hygiene and home management. The classes opened on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1907, and were held in

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<sup>49</sup> Sheldon, N. (2009) ‘Tackling truancy’. Available from <http://www.historyandpolicy.org> [Accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2011.]

<sup>50</sup> Sharp, P. (2002) ‘Central and local government.’ In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutFalmer, pp. 54-74.

<sup>51</sup> In this context ‘Higher Education’ referred to post-elementary education.

<sup>52</sup> Cabinet papers: Minutes of a meeting of the War Cabinet, 9 September 1917. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/23/4> [Accessed 5th November 2010.]

St. Stephen's National School. Although some people may have been deterred by the fees which were one shilling and payable in advance, sixty-six males and thirty-nine females enrolled.<sup>53</sup>

Fisher was concerned about the supply of teachers and concluded that one way to attract new entrants was to make teaching more financially attractive. In 1919 a committee on which LEAs and the National Union of Teachers (NUT) were equally represented was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham. In 1921 the Board of Education approved the Burnham Committee's recommended three standard scales to meet conditions in different parts of the country and a special scale for teachers in the London district. Two other Burnham Committees dealt with the salaries of teachers in grammar schools and technical institutions, with ATTI represented on the latter.<sup>54</sup> Teachers' pay was affected by the depression, as in 1931 a government committee proposed a twenty per cent cut in salaries. This led to one of ATTI's first collective actions when it lobbied alongside other teacher associations. At this stage ATTI rejected not only strike action but also the press campaign that the NUT was running. The actual pay cut was ten per cent, but income tax was also increased.<sup>55</sup>

Although heavy regional unemployment remained a serious problem between the wars, the period as a whole was characterized by a respectable rate of economic growth. Unemployment was particularly concentrated among the unskilled, so that in June 1931 some 30.5 per cent of all unskilled workers were unemployed compared with about 14.4 per cent of skilled and semi-skilled labour. Shortages of skilled manpower were not restricted to the South and the Midlands for a feature of the labour situation in the depressed regions was that alongside a large overall surplus of labour were acute shortages of particular types of skilled labour. While the demand for technical education increased, restraint in public spending meant technical institutions were deprived of resources to do their job effectively. Thoms concluded that the lack of satisfactory accommodation meant that the disadvantages of converted premises and other makeshift arrangements reduced efficiency and represented a cost to the system.

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<sup>53</sup> Redditch Technical Instruction Sub-Committee Minutes 1907-1942; held in Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>54</sup> Curtis, S. J. & Boulton, M. E. A. (1970) *An Introductory History of English Education since 1800*. Cambridge, University Tutorial Press. Curtis and Boulton were at the University of Leeds.

<sup>55</sup> NATFHE (2004) 'NATFHE 100 years on', a supplement for NATFHE members in October 2004.

However, sometimes the construction of a technical college was financed by charitable activity, rather than by the local authority, while some business leaders of national repute were personally involved in course innovation and development.<sup>56</sup> The Board of Education had already voiced its concern after its survey in 1926, as there were numerous examples of unsuitable buildings and lack of equipment.<sup>57</sup> Even in 1920 the ATI President had noted the impossibility of erecting quickly the additional buildings necessary for continuation schools and the increased provision of technical education. In the first half of the 1920s the ATI Council's main attention was devoted to meeting the pressure to reduce expenditure on technical education, and to co-ordinating education and industry more effectively, so that the expanding needs of industry could be met adequately despite no increase in educational expenditure.<sup>58</sup> However, this state of affairs during the depression was not entirely surprising, when many LEAs were trying to save money and it was still not mandatory for LEAs to provide technical education.

Some companies, such as Rowntree at York and Cadbury at Birmingham, had started their own continuation schools before the 1918 Education Act. The Bournville Day Continuation School had been set up by Cadbury Brothers immediately before the First World War and depended for its continued existence on the Cadbury connection. The school was run by Birmingham LEA, but took place in Cadbury's own buildings and the overwhelming bulk of students at the School came from Cadbury. From 1927 all young Cadbury employees between the ages of 14 and 18 had to spend one whole day a week in compulsory attendance at the Bournville Day Continuation School, and wages were paid in full for the day's attendance.<sup>59</sup>

Examination systems were also developed in the early twentieth century. The Board of Education continued to stimulate the growth of regional examining unions, such as the

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<sup>56</sup> Thoms, D. W. (1976) 'Technical education and labour supply in England between the wars: Some non-quantitative observations on costs and benefits', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 28: 70, pp. 73-84. Thoms worked at Lancaster Polytechnic.

<sup>57</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>58</sup> Haslegrave, H.L.(1951) 'History of the Association of Technical Institutions, 1919-1950', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 3: 6, pp. 71- 85.

<sup>59</sup> Bull, H. W. (1984) 'Industrial Education at Cadbury in the 1930s', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, Volume XXXVI, No. 94, pp. 59-62. Bull was at Gloucestershire College of Arts and Technology, Cheltenham.

East Midland Educational Union in 1911, drafting syllabuses, setting and marking examinations adapted to local industrial circumstances.<sup>60</sup> An important development after 1918 was the establishment of the National Certificate (for part-time students) and National Diploma (for full-time students) schemes. The Board of Education had become seriously dissatisfied with the examination system in existence, especially for part-time technical students, so in 1920 it initiated discussions with the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. The result was National Certificates issued jointly following successful completion of agreed courses by students in all parts of the country, although syllabuses were flexible enough to allow for the varying needs of different localities.<sup>61</sup> Other schemes followed with Certificates and Diplomas as joint awards of the Board of Education and various professional bodies. By 1925 there were National Certificates in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Chemistry, and Naval Architecture, and by 1945 these had been joined by those in Building, Textiles, Commerce, and Civil and Production Engineering. The examinations were set and marked by the schools and colleges and moderated by external examiners. Normally Ordinary National Diplomas took three years and Higher National two years.<sup>62</sup> A distinction was usually preserved between the more 'advanced' type of student who was coached for the Ordinary National Certificate (ONC), and the more 'practical' type who aimed at the City and Guilds Certificate. Foden claimed that no satisfactory principles of selection were recognised, with the result that many students found their studies distressing and failed the ONC examinations. Foden also questioned the practice of exempting Certificate holders from equivalent parts of the professional examinations of, for example, the Mechanical Engineers and the Electrical Engineers, whereas various commercial bodies allowed none.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>61</sup> Foden, F.E.(1951) 'The National Certificate', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 3: 6, pp. 38-46.

<sup>62</sup> Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen.

<sup>63</sup> Foden, F.E.(1951) 'The National Certificate', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 3: 6, pp. 38-46.

When Redditch Technical School was inspected during the session 1938-1939, the school was already recognised as a contributory school for ONCs in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, and Commerce.<sup>64</sup> However, during the Second World War the lack of adequate resources continued to be a problem, so that in 1941 the Board of Education did not recognise the School for the third year of the ONC in Mechanical Engineering, as it was not possible to obtain the appropriate machines. Fortunately, arrangements were made for the ONC students to obtain experience on certain machine tools in local factories, so that in 1942 eleven students enrolled on the third year part of the course.<sup>65</sup> The approach of these employers was very different to that of many employers fifty years earlier who did not want courses to be involved with practical work; the war proved a catalyst for many changes in attitudes. Ernest Bevin, the Minister of Labour, had already said that there was a need for an increase in the number of skilled workers and the expansion of training, and that he preferred persuasion to legislation. There did appear to him to be a lack of appreciation in industry generally of the enormous need for a rapid expansion of training to meet the requirements of the expanding programme of munitions production and the maintenance of a satisfactory export position. He added that the enemy had paid special attention to this problem, and British employers had already been informed that the additional cost of training would be met by the Government.<sup>66</sup>

In 1940 the Board of Education pointed out that there must be some uncertainty in its Estimates owing to the conflicting tendencies of economies and rising costs. Local authorities were expected to slightly reduce their expenditure on secondary education, whereas there would be a drop of nearly half a million pounds since 1938 in the estimated expenditure for technical education. There had been, and would be, strict limitation of capital expenditure on building.<sup>67</sup> It was also announced in 1940 by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education that education should receive the attention of an all-party committee of the House of Commons.<sup>68</sup> In 1940 Winston

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<sup>64</sup> Redditch Technical Instruction Sub-Committee Minutes 1907-1942; held in Worcestershire Record Office. West, H. (1973) 'A History of Redditch College'; held in Redditch Public Library. Harry West was a lecturer in Engineering at Redditch College in 1973.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> *The Times*, 9 Aug 1940.

<sup>67</sup> *The Times*, 29 Feb 1940

<sup>68</sup> *The Times*, 6 March 1940

Churchill became Prime Minister of a Coalition Government and from 1941 Richard (Rab) Butler was the President of the Board of Education.

In 1943, a statement on the relations between industry and education was published over the names of forty-five well-known educationists and industrialists. Britain could emerge from the war with hope of advancement in wealth and welfare, if British industry was able to produce efficiently and cheaply a wide range of goods for consumption overseas as well as at home. Cheap labour, measured in terms of low wages, was no solution; it was the productivity of labour in relation to earnings which mattered. The vital factors in Britain were the quality of the labour and the attitude towards production of the individuals who comprised the labour force, at all levels and in all grades. The quality of boys and girls, both as producers and as citizens, to the highest possible point was an imperative national obligation and demanded a great extension of the public provision for education; and a changed attitude of educationists to industry and of industrialists to education. No brains or skill should be wasted by premature termination of the educational process or, after entry to industry, by denial of adequate opportunities for higher education. The signatories assumed that after the war the leaving age would be at least fifteen, without statutory exemptions, and were agreed that the leaving age should be raised to sixteen as soon as it was practicable. However, they held strongly the view that to improve the quality of education up to the age of fifteen and to make provision for continued part-time education beyond that age was at least of equal importance.<sup>69</sup>

In September 1940 Tawney perceived possibilities that might lead to the creation of a universal system of secondary education, embracing schools varying in educational type and methods, but equal in quality.<sup>70</sup> He may have come to this conclusion after discussions with William Beveridge, a friend since their days at Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1909 Tawney married Beveridge's sister, Jeanette. In 1940 Beveridge became an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Labour, and he was put in charge of an inter-departmental inquiry into the coordination of the social services. The report arising from this inquiry became known as the Beveridge Report, with its emphasis on

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<sup>69</sup> *The Times*, 4 Feb 1943.

<sup>70</sup> McCulloch, G. (2002) 'Secondary education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer. Gary McCulloch was Professor of Education at the University of Sheffield.



Government intervention in both economic and social matters. Beveridge's 1942 Report, *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, revised the social security system completely, and established the need for policies of full employment and a national health service.<sup>71</sup> His scheme promised to conquer the evils of want, ignorance, squalor, disease and idleness and informed the 1943 document *Educational Reconstruction* which thought it would be 'possible to fit schemes for educational reform into the general picture of social reconstruction'.<sup>72</sup> The 1943 White Paper stated that the encouragement and provision of opportunity to develop children's capacities and interests were essential if the best was to be made of the nation's youth.

The Government's purpose was

to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are. The new educational opportunities must not, therefore, be of a single pattern. It is just as important to achieve diversity as it is to ensure equality of educational opportunity.<sup>73</sup>

The 1943 White Paper argued that to delay its measures would be 'to ignore the broad measure of agreement' which existed 'among educational, teaching and administrative bodies upon the wide field covered'.<sup>74</sup> No examples of such bodies were given, but they may have included the forty-five well-known educationists and industrialists who signed the statement on the relations between industry and education. There were also those who were members of the Committees responsible for the Hadow and Spens Reports on the future of secondary schools.

The Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, *The Education of the Adolescent*, the Hadow Report, recommended the raising of the minimum school leaving age to fifteen and the institution of secondary education for all children, to follow consecutively on six years of primary education. Education in a modern secondary school might have a practical and realistic bias. The Hadow Committee included Tawney and was established in 1924 when there was a Labour Government. The Report was published in 1926 when there was a Conservative Government that did

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<sup>71</sup> Liberal Democrat History Group: Biography of Sir William Beveridge. Available from <http://www.liberalhistory.org.uk> [Accessed 12<sup>th</sup> November 2010.]

<sup>72</sup> Board of Education. (1943) *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmnd 6548. London, HMSO, para. 5

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 1

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 9.

not consider the raising of the school leaving age a priority. The Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Secondary Education, the Spens Report, was published in 1938. It repeated the psychological evidence found in the Hadow Report and summarised the consensus of opinion at the time about the validity and usefulness of intelligence tests. It recommended the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen.<sup>75</sup> It also proposed that there should not only be the two forms of secondary school, grammar and modern that the Hadow Report had recommended, but also that technical high schools should be regarded as providing secondary education. The Report added that the inequalities and differences that existed between the older and newer forms of secondary schools should be addressed, so that ‘parity of status’ could be achieved between them.<sup>76</sup> The Spens Report recommended a number of the junior technical schools to be raised to secondary status, and that a new leaving certificate for secondary technical schools should have parity with the School Certificate of the grammar schools. The Spens Committee had no doubt that the Technical High Schools would be housed in Technical Colleges, and the Board of Education said it would consider the proposal. However, the Committee’s suggestion that there should be free secondary education for all children was rejected by the Parliamentary Secretary and the principal officers of the Board of Education on the grounds of cost. When in 1940, in their evacuated quarters in Bournemouth, the officers turned their attention to planning educational developments by returning to the Spens Report. Its recommendation that there should be secondary education for all, with grammar, technical and modern schools formed the basis of the Green Book’s proposal’s for discussion.<sup>77</sup>

The 1943 White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction* stated that there was nothing to be said in favour of a system which subjected children at the age of 11 to the strain of a competitive examination on which not only their future schooling but their future careers might depend. In the future, children at the age of about 11 should be classified,

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<sup>75</sup> Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen.

<sup>76</sup> McCulloch, G. (2002) ‘Secondary education’. In: R. Aldrich. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 31-53.

<sup>77</sup> Bailey, B. (1990) ‘Technical education and secondary schooling, 1905-1945’. In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

not on the results of a competitive test, but on assessment of their individual aptitudes, largely by such means as school records, supplemented, if necessary, by intelligence tests, due regard being had to their parents' wishes and the careers they have in mind. At the age of 13, or even later, there would be facilities for transfer to a different type of education if the original choice proved to be unsuitable. The main types of secondary schools proposed were grammar, modern and technical, and no fees would be charged in any such school maintained by a local authority. It was intended that the raising of the school-leaving age to 15, without exemptions, should be brought into effect as soon as possible after the war, and provision made for a further extension to 16 at a later date.<sup>78</sup> However, Butler, when he addressed the annual general meeting of the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools in 1944, said that it would be nonsense to abolish examinations at eleven. The aim should be to establish a system of testing the capabilities of young people which avoided the artificiality of some of the existing intelligence tests.<sup>79</sup>

The implications of the tripartite system of secondary education were described in detail in the 1943 Report of the Committee of the Secondary Schools Examination Council on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools, the Norwood Report. In order to cater for special interests and aptitudes three rough groupings were identified. Pupils who were interested in learning for its own sake were best suited to the academic curriculum of the grammar school. There were those whose interests and abilities lay in applied science or art who should be catered for in technical schools. Pupils who dealt more easily with concrete things than with ideas would be suited for the modern schools.<sup>80</sup> Transfer from primary to secondary stage should take place, according to capacity and attainment, between the ages of 10 plus and 12 plus. Differentiation for types of secondary education should depend upon the judgment of the teachers in the primary school, supplemented if desired by intelligence and other tests.<sup>81</sup> However, the

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> *The Times*, 7 January 1944.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> *The Times*, 26 July 1943.

Norwood Committee argued that children's minds were shaped by culture and class, and that they should have education appropriate to their social position.<sup>82</sup>

It was envisaged that a technical college would play a significant role in its community by offering all the facilities to promote 'all kinds of activities, recreative and cultural', so that 'both boys and girls alike may bring to fruition the character and capacities with which they are endowed'<sup>83</sup> The 1943 document, *Educational Reconstruction*, declared that more students could attain greater levels of achievement, and made clear that the provision of technical education, with its low standards of buildings and equipment, was inadequate. Thus the White Paper declared that Britain's 'place of pre-eminence in world manufacture and world markets' had 'long been fading'. More and more in the future would 'it be necessary to rely on the capacity, adaptability and the quality of our industrial and commercial personnel', so government intervention was necessary.<sup>84</sup> Technical education had not 'made that advance which the needs of a highly industrialised community demand' and compared with what could be seen in other countries that were Britain's economic competitors, there was 'little cause for satisfaction'.<sup>85</sup> Butler gave detailed examples when addressing the annual convention of the Yorkshire Council for Further Education in Leeds by referring to the school leaving age and compulsory continuation classes. Immediately before the war most of the English-speaking countries had a higher leaving age than 14. In 43 out of 48 States of the United States the age was 16 or over. In Canada and South Africa the age varied between 15 and 16. Some form of continued education, generally of a vocational character, was compulsory before the war in Austria, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and Switzerland.<sup>86</sup> The LEAs were able to provide FE at that time but technical education was deemed inadequate, so a duty would be placed on 'Education Authorities to provide adequate facilities for technical, commercial and art education, both full-time and part-time'.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Daunton, M. (2007) *Wealth and Welfare: An Economic and Social History of Britain 1851-1951*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. Martin Daunton was Professor of Economic History at the University of Cambridge.

<sup>83</sup> Board of Education. (1943) *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmnd 6548. London, HMSO, para. 76.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 68.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 79.

<sup>86</sup> *The Times*, 15 May 1943.

<sup>87</sup> Board of Education. (1943) *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmnd 6548. London, HMSO, para. 80.

The 1943 White Paper revealed regret that that the day continuation schools outlined in the 1918 Education Act had not materialised, because if they had operated, ‘many of the problems of the adolescent would largely have been solved’. Thousands of young people were left without the supervision and help they needed during the most critical years in the formation of character and the training of mind and body. The LEAs were required to submit a plan showing the provision for young people’s colleges in their area. These colleges were to be centres providing FE for young people who were not full-time students at school or in any other educational institution. Thus compulsory part-time day attendance in working hours, equivalent to one day a week, was to be required at some future date for those who had left education before the age of 18 years.<sup>88</sup> Although Butler has often been described as the architect of the 1944 Education Act, it was the senior Board officials in Bournemouth who reached decisions about the future shape of the school system before Butler arrived at the Board in 1941. Butler’s role was one of protecting and implementing departmental policies.<sup>89</sup> Thus by November 1943 Butler had concluded a tour of consultations, in which he had discussed with representatives of LEAs, teachers' organisations, industry and churches the proposals in the White Paper on educational reconstruction, proposals which he presented to Parliament in the form of an Education Bill.<sup>90</sup>

In the inter-war years educational organisations such as the ATTI and the ATI emerged and became significant pressure groups. There was an increase in the number of examination bodies with the development of regional examining unions and the establishment of Ordinary National Certificates and Diplomas. Throughout this period various reports argued for a curriculum in continuation schools and technical education that prepared young people for citizenship and the development of the whole person. In 1917 the Federation of British Industries and the President of the Board of Education recommended that people should receive an education appropriate for their class, whereas the 1943 the White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction*, was concerned with ensuring equality of educational opportunity and recommended a universal secondary

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., para. 65.

<sup>89</sup> Jeffereys, K. (1984) R. A. Butler, the Board of Education and the 1944 Education Act, *History*, Volume 69, Issue 227, pp. 415-431, January 1984. Kevin Jeffereys was at the University of London.

<sup>90</sup> *The Times*, 13 November 1944.

school system without fees. The 1902 Education Act <sup>91</sup> made LEAs responsible for elementary and secondary schools with the latter including junior technical schools, so that the LEAs gained considerable experience of owning, providing and administering schools. <sup>92</sup> The decades following the 1902 Education Act did not see a continuation of the expansion of technical and further education of the 1890s. The new local authorities needed time to adjust to their new responsibilities for schools and colleges, and educational priorities were establishing elementary schools and the growth of secondary schools on the grammar school model. <sup>93</sup> As LEAs' only statutory duty was to provide elementary education, the extent of technical education varied. At the turn of the twentieth century there was no institution or qualification for training technical teachers. Technical teachers were recruited from the best students who had taken the courses. Between the two world wars there were some sandwich and part-time courses provided by LEAs and accredited by awarding bodies such as City and Guilds. However, most FE teachers were part-time, with only a small core of full-time staff. Up to 1944, the full-time training of teachers of technical subjects did not exist in Britain. <sup>94</sup>

The raising of the school leaving age to fifteen and the establishment of compulsory part-time day continuation schools recommended by the 1918 Education Act did not materialise, due to the economic difficulties brought by two world wars and a depression. In the years between 1902 and 1944 the Board of Education was considered less important than a Ministry and was concerned more with overseeing and monitoring rather than with control and direction. <sup>95</sup> Cuts in public expenditure meant that the Board of Education's role also became that of ensuring that the LEAs' expenditure was kept within Treasury allocations. <sup>96</sup> In 1934 the Board's survey of technical education revealed the patchy and underdeveloped state of technical education. To bring accommodation to an acceptable level, 320 projects for new

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<sup>91</sup> 1902 Education Act (c. 42).

<sup>92</sup> Aldrich, R. (2000) 'From Board of Education to Department for Education and Employment', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 32: 1, pp. 8-22.

<sup>93</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) 'Further Education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 54-74.

<sup>94</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>95</sup> Aldrich, R. (2000) 'From Board of Education to Department for Education and Employment', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 32: 1, pp. 8-22.

<sup>96</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) 'Further Education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 54-74.

colleges and extensions were required. However, by September 1939 progress had been made on only twenty projects. As LEAs had to meet fifty per cent of the cost and technical education was not mandatory, it was not surprising that LEAs were unwilling to add to their financial commitments. The combination of economic difficulties and the government's and employers' adherence to the principles of laissez-faire and voluntarism with regard to technical education meant there was no national system of FE. Most employees, if they were fortunate enough to find a course still had to attend classes in the evening after the day's work, often in unpleasant surroundings.<sup>97</sup> The 1943 White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction*, referred to the low standard of buildings for technical education and the government's conclusion that the decline of Britain's economic competitiveness was the result of an insufficiently skilled workforce and the inadequate provision of technical education.<sup>98</sup> The next chapter includes an examination of the 1944 Education Act, its implementation, the new role of central government and the expansion of FE in the 1950s.

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Board of Education (1943) *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmnd 6548. London, HMSO.

The Second World War with its ‘semi-siege conditions’ and system of national planning accustomed the country to the idea of a controlled economy, while the ‘common suffering’ produced an idealism that expressed itself in the Beveridge Report and the return of a Labour Government.<sup>1</sup> For much of the period from 1945 to 1951 the Labour Government’s basic education policy was concerned with implementing the 1944 Education Act which Labour had been heavily involved in shaping. Remembering the period from 1918 to 1921, Tawney predicted in 1943 that whatever Government was in power, it would do what it must do, and would have difficulty enough to do that.<sup>2</sup> This chapter is concerned particularly with those aspects of the Act that influenced the development of technical and further education. Such factors included the role of the Minister of Education, the duty of the LEAs, the attempt to ensure equality of educational opportunity, provision of secondary education,<sup>3</sup> the raising of the school leaving age, and plans for County Colleges. Regional Advisory Councils also played a part in the development of FE including the training of technical teachers. Implementation of the 1944 Education Act was subject to the constraints of a post-war economy, while the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, can be considered as a review of the post-war development of FE as well as containing recommendations for the future.

It was assumed that welfare state legislation would be backed up by an economic policy designed to create jobs and avoid unemployment. In 1944 a White Paper on *Employment Policy* foresaw no problem of general unemployment immediately after the end of the war. The danger was that excess demand would bring on an inflationary boom similar to that after 1918, so that there would be the kind of slump that had raised unemployment to over twenty per cent in 1920. The coalition government during the Second World War was committed to a high and stable level of employment as a

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<sup>1</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Fieldhouse, R. (1994) ‘The Labour Government’s further education policy 1945-51’, *History of Education*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 287-299. Fieldhouse worked at the University of Exeter.

<sup>3</sup> Although the tripartite system of secondary education was not mentioned in the 1944 Education Act, education policy referred to this system including the establishment of secondary technical schools.



primary aim.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the 1950s and 1960s governments pursued Keynesian approaches to the management of the economy. In 1936 Keynes had argued in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* that by using the fiscal policy tools of taxation and public spending, growth and full employment could be maintained without the risk of inflation.<sup>5</sup>

From 1945 to 1951 there was full employment accompanied by increased real incomes, and increased welfare spending, but there were also shortages of labour, equipment and raw materials. By 1947 Britain had an enormous balance of payments deficit, and received a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and more financial aid from the USA.<sup>6</sup> The growth of primary and secondary schools was hindered by a shortage in the early years of men and materials in the building industry, when the replacement of war-damaged buildings was necessary. There were also movements of population due to slum clearance and the rapid increases in population in some areas. The post-war 'bulge', the unforeseen increase in the birth rate, occurred, while the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen years was implemented in 1947 and added to the problem of the increasing school population.<sup>7</sup> Thus implementation of the 1944 Education Act was hampered by the shortage of teachers, the beginning of the expansion of pupil numbers, and the constraints of a fragile economy.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the economic difficulties, in September 1945 Ellen Wilkinson, the Minister of Education, announced that the school leaving age would be raised to fifteen and that reform would be introduced on April 1, 1947, and that no attempt would be made to postpone it beyond that date. The effect of raising the school leaving age in April 1947 would not be felt in the schools until September, 1948, by which time, if strenuous efforts were made, the necessary teachers and buildings would be ready. The

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<sup>4</sup> Cairncross, A. (1995) *The British Economy since 1945*. Oxford, Blackwell. Alec Cairncross was Professor of Applied Economics at the University of Glasgow until 1961, held many advisory posts and published numerous books and articles.

<sup>5</sup> Cox, A. & Sanderson J. (1997) 'The Political Economy of Britain since 1939.' In Cox, A, Lee, S. & Sanderson J. (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Britain*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar. Andrew Cox and Joe Sanderson were at the Business School, University of Birmingham. Simon Lee was Lecturer in Politics at the University of Hull.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor, G. & Saunders, J. B. (1971) *The New Law of Education*. London, Butterworths. George Taylor and John Saunders were barristers.

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell. Ian Lawrence was a writer, lecturer and researcher on educational issues.

emergency training scheme which provided a one-year course would produce the required number of teachers by the middle of 1948. Only building of a temporary character was contemplated during the next two years, and much of the accommodation required to meet the demands created by raising the school leaving age would have to take the form of prefabricated huts.<sup>9</sup> In 1947 there had been some suggestion that the raising of the school leaving age should be postponed, but Wilkinson in a memorandum for a cabinet meeting stated that the Minister of Works had assured her that the phased programme of hut building would be completed on time, and that with the additional students being trained there would be an adequate number of teachers. Even a short postponement would be particularly unfortunate since it would deprive 150,000 children of a whole year of education, the very children who had had their education seriously interrupted by the war. Wilkinson added another compelling argument.

Educational reform has always been in the forefront of the Party's social programme and even a limited postponement of the first effective step to implement the 1944 Act would inevitably call in to question the Government's intentions with regard to social reform. The raising of the age at a date not later than that provided for in the Act is commonly regarded as a test of the Government's sincerity.<sup>10</sup>

Although dependence on financial aid under the Marshall Plan greatly limited the Government's action and forced it to cut back on social programmes such as housing, health and education, Wilkinson was able to announce an increase in capital expenditure for the education building programme of 1947. However, Fieldhouse argued that it was nothing like enough to ensure adequate building to cope with the raised school leaving age and the post-war baby boom.<sup>11</sup>

In August 1945 Wilkinson became the first Labour Minister of Education, as the 1944 Education Act<sup>12</sup> established the Ministry of Education which replaced the Board of Education. This change has been interpreted as symbolising a change in status reflecting the importance of education, with the Minister being given greater powers and the Ministry given a larger budget. In 1964 the functions of the Minister of

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<sup>9</sup> *The Times*, 29 September 1945

<sup>10</sup> 1947 Memorandum by the Minister of Education, entitled 'Economic Survey for 1947'. Proposed Postponement of the Raising of the School Leaving Age'. For Cabinet meeting 15th January, 1947. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/16> [Accessed 5th November 2010.]

<sup>11</sup> Fieldhouse, R. (1994) 'The Labour Government's further education policy 1945-51', *History of Education*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 287-299. Fieldhouse worked at the University of Exeter.

<sup>12</sup> 1944 Education Act (c. 31).

Education and the Minister for Science and Technology were transferred to the Secretary of State for Education and Science, and the two Ministries were merged to form the Department of Education and Science (DES). Taylor and Saunders argued that these changes reduced the control of local authorities.

There is little doubt that the alterations of 1944 and 1964 in the title of the Minister have added to the prestige of the office as well as guaranteeing a place in the Cabinet for its holder; there is no question that the far-reaching powers conferred on him in 1944 have effectively increased his control and have at the same time lessened the autonomy of local authorities. If he cares to exercise his powers, he can assume almost complete control over the national educational system.<sup>13</sup>

The extensive ministerial powers these changes conferred were rarely exerted, but Taylor and Saunders claimed that the frequent publication of circulars and administrative memoranda were an effective way of exercising this control.<sup>14</sup> For example, DES Circular 7/70, which provided guidance on implementing the 1968 Education (No. 2) Act, stated that the new Articles of Government for FE colleges required the prior approval of the Secretary of State.

Initially, the 1944 Education Bill did not propose the establishment of a Ministry of Education, as Butler announced that the Minister would retain his traditional title of President but would lose the assistance of a Board which had never met. The absurdity of this proposal, highlighted by an MP's riposte that Butler would become the President of no Board of Education, eventually forced the government to concede. Sir Griffith Williams, Deputy Secretary to the new ministry, from 1946 to 1953, later argued that the change of name made little difference. The Minister was charged with the duty

to promote the education of the people of England and Wales in charge of and the development of institutions devoted to that education and progressive establishment purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area.<sup>15</sup>

The reality of the post-war situation was that in the first ten years of the Ministry there were five Ministers and three Permanent Secretaries. Aldrich described the status of the new Ministry as reaching rock bottom in 1951, when the Minister of Education, Florence Horsburgh, was excluded from Churchill's Cabinet.<sup>16</sup> This point was noticed

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<sup>13</sup> Taylor, G. & Saunders, J. B. (1971) *The New Law of Education*. London, Butterworths, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> The 1944 Education Act (c. 31), para. 1.

by *The Times* when it commented that the task of a Minister of Education was never easy when public spending had to be cut. However, Horsburgh's difficulties would be increased by her exclusion from the Cabinet, and it was bound to be taken as some measure of the value set by the new Government on education.<sup>17</sup>

Whereas the 1943 White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction*, wanted to give children a better start in life and a fuller measure of education and opportunity, the 1944 Education Act focused on ensuring that free, compulsory secondary schools were sufficient in number, character, and equipment 'to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities, and aptitudes'.<sup>18</sup> Greater equality of opportunity, which really meant equality of competition, was the goal. Wilkinson had fought her own way up from elementary school to university, and believed in the existing system. However, George Tomlinson, who succeeded her as Minister of Education in 1947, and who had only received an elementary education, aimed to remove handicaps, particularly financial ones, which deprived young people of the opportunity of a secondary school.<sup>19</sup> Although in 1947 the Ministry of Education recommended a broad programme of formal and informal adult education, there was no mention of literacy or what would now be called adult basic education despite the Services' extensive experience of illiteracy during the war.<sup>20</sup>

The new Ministry of Education was anxious to promote the tripartite system of secondary education based on grammar, technical and modern schools. From 1945 to 1964 both Labour and Conservative Governments preferred this approach, the latter not wishing to consider the possibility of comprehensive schools. Nevertheless, the chief inspector for secondary schools noted privately in September 1945 that there was already a widespread view that the division in the Norwood Report of children into three categories was theoretical and artificial, and that if it was translated into bricks, mortar and regulations, it would have anything but a happy social effect. The Ministry

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<sup>16</sup> Aldrich, R. (2000) 'From Board of Education to Department for Education and Employment', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 32: 1, pp. 8-22.

<sup>17</sup> *The Times*, 5 November 1951.

<sup>18</sup> The 1944 Education Act (c. 31), para. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Fieldhouse, R. (1994) 'The Labour Government's further education policy 1945-51', *History of Education*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 287-299.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

did not issue detailed instructions to show how different schools should be provided for different types of pupil, but it did specify that grammar and technical provision together should constitute about 20 to 25 per cent of the age range. In practice, provision for secondary schools was much less than anticipated, so that in many areas a bipartite system of grammar and modern schools developed. The obvious differences between the kind of provision offered by the grammar schools and that of the modern schools placed increasing pressure on the prime instrument of selection, the eleven plus examination.<sup>21</sup> This outcome was not the intention of the 1943 White Paper that said children at the age of 11 should not be subjected to the strain of a competitive examination on which their future schooling and future careers might depend.<sup>22</sup>

In the first four of its new series of pamphlets, issued in 1945, the Ministry declared that there was without any doubt ample scope for a very substantial increase in the provision made for secondary schools broadly described as technical. In its ninth pamphlet, issued in 1947, the Ministry was still saying that secondary technical school provision would develop substantially. The proposals of authorities on the provision of secondary technical education displayed considerable variation in the amounts contemplated. Some authorities appeared to avoid the issue by such devices as leaving detailed distributions to be worked out as time went on and experience accumulated; others made proposals in general terms and did not translate them into figures.<sup>23</sup> In 1949 Howard Costigan, of Palatine School, Blackpool, discovered at an examination board meeting that the real principle determining the nature of the recommendation was not revealed aptitude but simply position in a general order of merit. The highest-placed pupils were recommended for the grammar schools, the second best for the secondary technical schools and the residue was then automatically drafted to the modern schools. This order-of-merit basis had been given to parents as advice on the right way to differentiate between the new types of secondary school.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the problem for parents was centred on the parity of esteem between the secondary technical schools and the secondary grammar schools. Parents were likely to ask themselves whether the

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<sup>21</sup> McCulloch, G. (2002) 'Secondary education'. In: R. Aldrich. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 31-53.

<sup>22</sup> Board of Education. (1943) *Educational Reconstruction*, Cmnd 6548. London, HMSO, para. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Jenkinson, A.J. (1949) 'The slow progress of secondary technical education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 1: 3, pp. 296-302. Jenkinson was at the School of Education, University of Manchester.

<sup>24</sup> Costigan, Howard A. (1949) 'Recruitment to the secondary technical schools', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 1: 2, pp.183-188.

secondary technical school pupil had the opportunity to obtain a certificate of recognised standard for technical purposes which was on a par with that obtainable by his grammar school counterpart. The Spens Report had already recommended a new leaving certificate for secondary technical schools that would have parity with the School Certificate of the grammar schools.<sup>25</sup> The General Certificate of Education (GCE) appeared to be the answer as in 1951 it replaced the School and Higher School Certificates and was designed to testify to a degree of mastery in the subjects taken.<sup>26</sup> However, there were still only a small number of secondary technical schools, so the ATTI withdrew their interest in such schools and focused increasingly on institutions of post-school education and training that provided higher categories of work in the Burnham classification.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s Redditch was still known for its nineteenth century industries: needles, fish hooks and metal springs. There were also firms that had developed in the twentieth century, such as Royal Enfield Cycle Company manufacturing motorcycles, the BSA Cycle Company, and High Duty Alloys specialising in light alloy castings and forgings for the aircraft industry. Redditch was one of the few towns in which a secondary technical school was found, as in 1948 the Redditch Secondary Technical School was established. This school selected students from the Secondary Modern School and other schools at the age of 13 plus, with entry in September following a selection examination in March. Although the school was called a secondary technical school, pupils started such schools when they were eleven, and therefore in practice this school was a junior technical school. Evening work of the Redditch Technical School already included Junior Technical and Commercial courses. The new school provided a full-time two-year course in Engineering Principles for boys and in Commerce subjects for boys and girls.<sup>28</sup> Worcestershire Education Committee had also referred to the Junior Technical School when examining use of rooms in Redditch for FE.<sup>29</sup> The

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<sup>25</sup> Rose, A. (1949) 'School leaving certificates and the selection of pupils for secondary technical schools', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, pp. 1: 2, 173-182. Rose was at Bolton Training College.

<sup>26</sup> *The Times*, 8 September 1952.

<sup>27</sup> Bailey, B. (1990) 'Technical education and secondary schooling, 1905-1945'. In: Summerfield, P. & Evans, E. (eds.) (1990) *Technical education and the state since 1850: historical and contemporary perspectives*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

<sup>28</sup> West, H. (1973) *A History of Redditch College*; held at Redditch Public Library. Redditch Technical School Prospectus 1952; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>29</sup> Worcestershire County Council Education Committee file on Redditch College of Further Education 1951-1971; held in Worcester Record Office.

Spens Committee had recommended that the Technical High Schools be housed in Technical Colleges and this was what happened in Redditch. Its classes were held in the Technical School, renamed Redditch College of Further Education in 1953, and sometimes pupils of the Secondary Technical School were drawn from as far afield as Droitwich and Bidford-on-Avon. In September 1953 the Assistant Director of Education met the Redditch County High School Governors and outlined the proposed development of the High School as a five-form entry Grammar/Technical School.<sup>30</sup>

In 1955 the County Education Committee did not favour a cessation of admissions to the Secondary Technical School in that year, so the transfer to the County High School nearby, was done in two stages, in 1956 and 1957.<sup>31</sup> The High School's new Technical Block was completed by September 1956, and classes in the new Department of Technical Subjects included engineering, technical drawing and metal work.<sup>32</sup> Thus the decision to transfer pupils to the grammar school was made before the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, which noted that many technical schools still selected at thirteen plus, whereas they should all take pupils at eleven plus.<sup>33</sup> No reason was given in the minutes of the Worcestershire Education Committee or the Redditch County Governors' for this development.

The 1944 Education Act also stated that at some future date there would be Young People's Colleges, later called County Colleges. County Colleges were to be

centres approved by the Minister for providing for young persons who are not in full-time attendance at any school or other educational institution such as further education including physical practical and vocational training, as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship.<sup>34</sup>

The 1943 White Paper *Educational Reconstruction* and the 1944 Education Act regarded County Colleges as a way of providing a broad education for school leavers, but the 1944 Act gave no specific date for the establishment of County Colleges, although LEAs had to provide a plan. Wilkinson was firmly committed to the

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<sup>30</sup> Redditch County High School Governors' minutes, September 1953; held in Worcester Record Office.

<sup>31</sup> Worcestershire County Council Education Committee file on Redditch College of Further Education 1951-1971; held in Worcester Record Office.

<sup>32</sup> Redditch County High School Governors' minutes, September 1956, May 1958.

<sup>33</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>34</sup> The 1944 Education Act (c. 31), para. 43.

development of County Colleges and personally gave them priority over raising the school leaving age to sixteen, even against the advice of Labour Party stalwarts such as Tawney. However, LEAs were facing a heavy building programme for primary and secondary education, and in 1946 the Association of Education Committees was anxious that County Colleges should not become isolated from other provision for the under-eighteens, but take place within local colleges of FE. In 1948 Tomlinson agreed with the Further Education Central Advisory Council that colleges should help young workers to find enjoyment and satisfaction in work, and look after their physical, social, and moral welfare. Although in 1949 the Ministry was encouraging LEAs to go ahead with County Colleges on a voluntary basis, LEAs were often reluctant because they were so pressed with work on the schools.<sup>35</sup>

In 1951 the Worcestershire LEA had prepared a plan for County Colleges, but in 1955 the Ministry of Education wanted a few amendments made to the scheme and plan for County Colleges as it was now out of date in some respects.<sup>36</sup> It was amended in the same year, the LEA having considered the general relationship between County Colleges and technical institutes. It was impossible to lay down as a principle of national application that either technical institutes should be separate from County Colleges or that they should be combined with them. In Worcestershire the balance of advantage appeared to lay with combination, as a large proportion of technical students were between the ages of 15 and 18 and it was thought better that their vocational studies should be incorporated in the general curriculum of the County College than there should be segregation. In a combined institution the two elements, vocational and non-vocational, could be intermingled to the benefit of the students as a whole, and with 'economy of provision'. So far as Worcestershire generally was concerned, it was proposed to establish district colleges of further education, incorporating all existing and proposed technical, commercial and art instruction, together with all statutory County College requirements.<sup>37</sup> In the same year the Minister of Education, Sir David Eccles, proposed to defer consideration of the County College Plan until nearer the time

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<sup>35</sup> Fieldhouse, R. (1994) 'The Labour Government's further education policy 1945-51', *History of Education*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 287-299.

<sup>36</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1955; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>37</sup> Worcestershire LEA. (1955) Scheme of Further Education and Plan for County Colleges; held in Worcestershire Record Office.



when County College attendance became compulsory.<sup>38</sup>

The 1944 Education Act was an important step for FE as it was now the legal duty of LEAs to provide facilities for FE:

Subject as hereinafter provided, it shall be the duty of every local education authority to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say :

- (a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age ; and
- (b) leisure-time occupation, in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.<sup>39</sup>

In March 1945 a joint memorandum by the Minister of Labour and National Service, the Secretary of State for Scotland, and the Minister of Education declared that it was estimated that the Technical, Commercial and Arts Colleges and Schools would be able to provide accommodation to meet any demands for further education and training likely to be made on them in the first two years after the end of the war.<sup>40</sup> In December 1945 *The Times* seemed less certain as it noted that of the 150 major technical institutions in the country barely a dozen were housed in up-to-date buildings and sufficiently provided with modern equipment. Of the other 6,000 or so buildings in which technical education was carried on hardly any were designed for the purpose and few contained any suitable apparatus at all. Under-staffing was general, there was too large a proportion of part-time to full-time teachers, and no national scheme for the recruitment and training of teachers existed. However, improved salary scales for teachers in technical institutions had recently been approved and made mandatory by the Minister of Education, and it was hoped that these would attract men and women with higher qualifications to the profession. An emergency training college for technical teachers was to open in the following year, but more such training establishments of a permanent nature were needed.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1955; held in Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>39</sup> The 1944 Education Act (c. 31), para. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Cabinet papers: Minutes of a meeting of the War Cabinet, 2 March 1945. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/66/62/33> [Accessed 5th November 2010.]

<sup>41</sup> *The Times*, 17 December 1945.

In 1947 the probable effects of the 1944 Act were summarised in the Ministry of Education's booklet, *Further education: the scope and content of its opportunities under the Education Act, 1944*. It described FE in the past as parochial, while development had been sporadic and had varied according to the locality concerned. The Ministry acknowledged that the most striking features of FE were still the dominance of evening classes and the use of unsuitable and ill-equipped premises.<sup>42</sup> Local authorities had to submit FE schemes to the Minister by March 1948, but five years later there were still six LEAs that had failed to submit their schemes.<sup>43</sup> However, this did not seem to matter, as none received official approval for implementation. The worsening economic situation from 1947, and the competition for scarce building and other resources, undermined the comprehensive plan for post-school education. The Ministry and LEAs were allocating resources to rebuilding war-damaged school premises and providing accommodation to meet the demands of raising the school age to fifteen. Thus FE remained very much as it was before the war. However, there were more full-time and part-time day students in the 1950s.<sup>44</sup> Despite many difficulties there was an eighty per cent increase in student hours from 1947 to 1956.<sup>45</sup>

Up to 1944, the full-time training of teachers of technical subjects did not exist in Britain. The 1944 McNair Report, *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, expressed the view that subject expertise and vocational experience were not in themselves a qualification for teaching, so that the general quality of technical teaching was dull, with no effort being made to use new methods. The qualities needed for teaching in technical colleges were a sound general education, a high standard of subject, skill, or craft knowledge, and the ability to teach rather than instruct. The McNair Report recommended that FE teacher training should be mainly in-service, but that one year pre-service courses should also be developed.<sup>46</sup> With the impetus of the McNair Report and the 1944 Education Act, which made FE provision the legal duty of LEAs, the 1945 Ministry of

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<sup>42</sup> Argles, M. (1964) *South Kensington to Robbins: An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851*. London, Longmans.

<sup>43</sup> Fieldhouse, R. (1994) 'The Labour Government's further education policy 1945-51', *History of Education*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 287-299.

<sup>44</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) 'Further Education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer, pp. 54-74.

<sup>45</sup> Fieldhouse, R. (1994) 'The Labour Government's further education policy 1945-51', *History of Education*, 1994, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 287-299.

<sup>46</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. Lucas was Director of Post-Compulsory Teacher Education at the Institute of Education, University of London.

Education Circular 55 proposed the arrangement of full-time courses of training for technical teachers. Shortly afterwards Manchester's Regional Advisory Council was asked by the Ministry to explore the possibility of setting up a permanent training college for technical teachers in its area, as during 1945 it had sponsored a part-time course for technical teachers. Thus Bolton College was established early in 1946. In the same year a second college, Garnett College, was set up in London, and in 1947 a third college was established in Huddersfield. A proposal, in 1953, to close one of the colleges and concentrate the student-teachers coming forward in the other two colleges had to be strenuously resisted. There was a slow development in technical teacher training as there were inadequate grants to students giving up their jobs in industry for teacher-training, and such training was not compulsory for entry into technical college teaching. It was surprising that there was no technical teachers' college at that time in the West Midlands which contained Birmingham and a densely industrialised conurbation. This was a conclusion held by both the West Midlands Regional Advisory Council and the 1957 Willis Jackson Report, *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*.<sup>47</sup> The Willis Jackson Report revealed that there were an estimated 11,000 full-time teachers and 40,000 part-time technical teachers. Only 300 places were available in the three FE teacher training colleges at the time, with universities exclusively concerned with training teachers for primary and secondary schools.<sup>48</sup> Wolverhampton Technical Teachers' College was established in 1961.

After the publication of the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, the Federation of British Industries submitted a memorandum to Eccles, the Minister of Education, saying that the technical teacher training colleges had an essential contribution to make. However, the conditions prevailing for the attraction of men and women into these colleges left much to be desired. Presumably, the Federation was referring to the loss of earnings of those taking a one-year full-time course at one of the technical teacher training colleges.<sup>49</sup> Mr. A. K. Brown, the President of the ATTI, referred to the White Paper on technical education, and warned delegates at the ATTI's annual conference that all future plans and hopes depended on the adequate staffing of colleges, schools,

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<sup>47</sup> Williams, J.H. (1962) 'The Wolverhampton training college for technical teachers', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 14: 28, pp. 3-7. Williams was at Wolverhampton and Staffordshire College of Technology.

<sup>48</sup> Ministry of Education. (1957) *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*. London, HMSO.

<sup>49</sup> *The Times*, 7 June 1956.

and institutions. Present salaries and conditions of service in technical colleges were not sufficiently attractive to recruit the large number of additional teachers required.<sup>50</sup>

Regional Advisory Councils (RACs) not only played a role in the development of technical teacher training courses. As far back as 1925 the growth of technical colleges was leading to unnecessary duplication of courses in the highly industrialised regions. This was particularly true in Yorkshire where, on the advice of the Board of Education, a RAC, representative of both educational and industrial interests, was established.<sup>51</sup> A few other RACs were established before 1947 including the RAC for the West Midlands (WMAC) from 1935.<sup>52</sup> In post-war conditions co-ordination was still desirable, and by 1947 nine RACs had been set up to cover the whole of England.<sup>53</sup> The RACs brought education and industry together to find out the needs of young workers and advise on the provision of FE required. Much had been done by the RACs to establish good relations between industry and the colleges and to stimulate sound development. The RACs would play an even greater part in the future if courses, especially advanced courses, were to be organised on 'a strong and efficient basis' and if adequate facilities were to be provided 'with reasonable economy in buildings and teaching staff'.<sup>54</sup>

Associated with these Councils were Regional Academic Boards for ensuring close co-operation between the universities and technical colleges in the provision of advanced courses. At the centre was the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce (NACEIC), which was largely representative of the regions and advised the Minister on national policy.<sup>55</sup> A typical Regional Advisory Council (RAC) consisted of about 90 members, over a third of which were representatives of constituent LEAs, usually Directors of Education and County Education Officers. Universities in the region had about ten representatives and polytechnics (from 1964) and major FE

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<sup>50</sup> *The Times*, 21 May 1956.

<sup>51</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO.

<sup>52</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. Leonard Cantor was Professor of Education at Loughborough University of Technology; Roberts was Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of Keele.

<sup>53</sup> The RACs were the Yorkshire Council for Further Education, and the Northern, East Midland, East Anglian, London and the Home Counties, Southern, South-Western, West Midland, and North-Western RACs.

<sup>54</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO, para. 40.

<sup>55</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO.

establishments perhaps twenty. Industry and commerce, both employers and employees, were 'strongly represented', while the views of the Department of Education and Science (DES) were made known by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs). Cantor and Roberts concluded that, by its composition, the Council represented the dominant interests which shaped the provision of FE within the region.<sup>56</sup>

The Conservative Government, replacing the Labour one in 1951, still faced economic difficulties. In the 1950s there was an unprecedented rate of economic growth, making it necessary for government intervention in the economy.<sup>57</sup> Eccles, the Minister of Education, explained that since 1945 Governments had tried at the same time to maintain full employment, stable prices and a satisfactory balance of payments, knowing that they could not have full employment without the other two. The growth of incomes had been greater than the growth of national productivity. The result was deterioration in the balance of payments and a stimulus to inflation. This was why teachers could not have the pay increase they had asked for.<sup>58</sup> Even by 1961 cuts in public expenditure meant there were still some all age schools for the five to fifteen year olds. Although the standard of living had significantly increased, in comparison with other European countries Britain's rate of economic growth since the war had been too slow. The pressure on the balance of payments had meant that investment had not taken place at a comparable rate with other countries. The maintenance of troops overseas also put added strain on the balance of payments, as foreign exchange was needed to pay the troops. In the late 1950s the pressure on the balance of payments had also required periodic deflationary measures. This policy became known as the 'stop-go' policy.<sup>59</sup>

The outbreak of war in Korea in June 1950 led the USA and Britain to concentrate on rearmament on a large scale which drove up the price of primary commodities, and created physical shortages in Britain. The focus on rearmament also diverted British export activities, so, for example, fewer cars were exported. The result was a heavy

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<sup>56</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>57</sup> Cox, A. & Sanderson J. (1997) 'The Political Economy of Britain since 1939.' In Cox, A, Lee, S. & Sanderson J. (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Britain*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

<sup>58</sup> *TES*, 8 September 1961.

<sup>59</sup> Skuse, A. (1970) *Government Intervention and Industrial Policy*. London, Heinemann Educational Books. Allen Skuse was Head of Economics at Haberdashers' Aske's Boys' School, Hatcham.

deficit in the balance of payments.<sup>60</sup> In December 1951, Sir John Maud, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, addressed a conference of Worcestershire County Council members. He referred to the letter which the Minister of Education, Horsbrugh, had sent to LEAs asking them to aim at a reduction of five per cent in their planned expenditure on main grant services in the next financial year. Remarking that economy should not be confused with parsimony, he said it was not intended that there should be any reduction in the standards of teaching. One area the Minister of Education wanted LEAs to examine closely was their own administrative expenses.<sup>61</sup> Later that month, the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented a paper in a Cabinet meeting outlining cuts in public expenditure as ‘proposals for remedying the economic situation’. Cuts in education spending included a five per cent reduction of LEA expenditure, and a reduction in the school building programme over the next seven years. The new Conservative Cabinet gave provisional approval to savings on education, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked to give further consideration, in consultation with the Minister of Education, to delay by one year the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen.<sup>62</sup> However, it was not until the early 1970s that the school leaving age was raised to sixteen. Surprisingly, there were no explicit references to these cuts in the Worcestershire Education Committee minutes.

Insufficient resources for FE were highlighted by the 1955 Ministry of Education Circular 281 that stressed the importance of gifts of equipment to technical colleges. The Circular suggested firms would respond even more generously to the needs of colleges if these were brought more specifically to their notice. Firms could be reminded of the practical advantages accruing to themselves from gifts or loans in this connection. The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee agreed that the Circular should be brought to the notice of all governing bodies and that it should be left to the governors’ discretion which firms were approached for gifts or loans.<sup>63</sup> Two years earlier the Principal of the Redditch School of Art, with the help of two of his staff, had shown initiative in building a pottery kiln during the summer holiday in order to meet the

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<sup>60</sup> Cairncross, A. (1995) *The British Economy since 1945*. Oxford, Blackwell.

<sup>61</sup> *The Times*, 10 December 1951.

<sup>62</sup> Cabinet papers: Minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet, 20 December 1951. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/128/23> [Accessed 5th November 2010.]

<sup>63</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, January 1955; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

school's growing needs. The kiln was erected at a local brick works with the co-operation of the owner. The FE Sub-Committee noted that the School of Art was an interesting example of how a small institution which suffered severe handicaps in its premises had been prepared to help itself at no cost to the authority.<sup>64</sup>

Lack of resources for accommodation was also a problem. The School of Art was in the same premises that it had first occupied with the Redditch Literary and Scientific Institute in 1886. In 1955 the Redditch School of Art was described as a small establishment which had been housed for many years in cramped and unsatisfactory premises on the first floor of the Redditch Public Library.<sup>65</sup> By 1961 the School of Art became a department of Redditch College, but remained in the same premises, as the college already had insufficient rooms. The College of FE was still based in the Technical School building in Easemore Road that had been opened in 1901. By the 1957-8 session there were 1,269 college students, and even though the Junior Technical School had departed, students overflowed into five annexes in the town.<sup>66</sup> Redditch College's review of the academic year from 1955 to 1956 stated that some courses were prevented from opening because suitable rooms and workshops were not available.<sup>67</sup> When HMIs inspected Redditch College in March 1957, they described the college as doing some very good work in spite of accommodation difficulties.<sup>68</sup> Clearly, Redditch College needed a new building, but the Ministry of Education had already omitted Redditch College from its FE building programme for 1956-7.<sup>69</sup> This omission was not due to cuts in expenditure, but even more urgent claims from other FE colleges. In Worcestershire, for example, new colleges were being built in Kidderminster and Stourbridge in 1955.<sup>70</sup> In March 1956 *The Times* noted that the five-year programme for the further expansion of technical colleges would cost nearly £100 million.

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<sup>64</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1953; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>65</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1955; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>66</sup> Worcestershire County Council Education Committee file on Redditch College of Further Education 1951-1971; held at Worcester Record Office.

<sup>67</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1956; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>68</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, Insert, September 1957; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>69</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1955; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>70</sup> Worcestershire Education Committee minutes, January 1955; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

Buildings to the value of £70 million were proposed for England and Wales, to begin in the next five years, with the expenditure of a further £15 million on equipment. Eccles, the Minister of Education, told the House of Commons that the programme would be exempt from cuts, delays and postponements of any kind, because the Government felt that it was fundamental to the country's economic prosperity.<sup>71</sup> Thus a Ministry of Education circular to LEAs announcing a restriction of school building in 1956 did not affect the plans for technical education. Other sectors of education were competing for resources, so that a Labour MP, Alice Bacon, said this action meant severe overcrowding in secondary schools.<sup>72</sup> Work on Redditch College's new college buildings started in November 1958.

After the 1944 Education Act it was expected that, with free secondary education selected according to the pupil's ability and aptitude, children would not be deprived of educational opportunities because of the circumstances of their parents. However, in 1954 a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education for England showed that such inequality of educational opportunity still existed.<sup>73</sup> The Report, *Early Leaving*, examined pupils' achievements at the beginning and end of their Grammar School life. In the foreword, Eccles, the Minister of Education, pointed out the economic implications of this state of affairs:

Now that our manpower is fully stretched and the demand for trained men and women exceeds the supply everyone can see the importance, if our standard of life is to be raised, of developing to the full all the talent we have.

The report's statistics demonstrated how often home background influenced the use which a boy or girl would make of a grammar school education. The analysis was concerned only with broad classifications, so that a boy whose father was of professional or managerial standing was more likely to find his home circumstances favourable to the demands of grammar school work. For example, of the 1,621 children of semi-skilled or unskilled workers who entered grammar school in 1946, 917, or more than half, failed to get as many as three passes at GCE Ordinary level, and of these 520

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<sup>71</sup> *The Times*, 1 March 1956.

<sup>72</sup> *The Times*, 20 June 1956.

<sup>73</sup> 1944 Education Act (c. 31): 4.-(1) There shall be two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales and Monmouthshire, and it shall be the duty of those Councils to advise the Minister upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit, and upon any questions referred to them by him.



left before the end of their fifth year. The number of children from unskilled workers' families who might have been found in the grammar school sample if the proportion were the same as in the population as a whole was about 927, whereas the actual number was 436. Eccles admitted there were areas where grammar school provision was too low and the ablest children were not getting a proper chance. The Report saw FE as a second chance, an alternative route. Where school life produced a real and continuous sense of frustration, the right thing to do was leave.<sup>74</sup>

If they have the ability to do work beyond the level they have reached at school ...they may continue in an institute of further education, or may take up employment in which part-time study or training is possible.<sup>75</sup>

Gender differences as well as social class differences were evident when examining factors influencing educational attainment. Thus the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, pointed out that girls were a match for boys at school as they did at least as well in the eleven plus examination and in most secondary school examinations. However, once they left school far fewer girls continued their education, even though at that time half the girls and women in the country between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five were employed. Hundreds of thousands of these young women were not making the best use of their talents, because they stopped their education when they left school. A change of outlook was needed, because further education would enable the great number who did earn their living to qualify for better jobs and to gain the maximum pleasure and profit from their work. One problem was how to increase the number of girls asking for science courses, as there was a shortage of teachers of mathematics and science more pronounced than in boys' schools. The best way to attack this problem was in the girls' grammar schools where the Head could influence more girls, who have decided to take up teaching, to choose science or mathematics as their special subject.<sup>76</sup> It was surprising that a White Paper about technical education did not add that possession of GCE O' levels in mathematics and science gave girls a greater choice of FE courses, but it appeared that girls themselves had little careers guidance. At the 1953 conference of the National Union of Women Teachers, one member criticised a

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<sup>74</sup> Ministry of Education. (1954) *Early Leaving*. London, HMSO.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 8.

<sup>76</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*. London, HMSO.

number of pamphlets giving guidance to children for careers. In only one or two, she said, was there any mention of opportunities for girls.<sup>77</sup>

The *Early Leaving* Report referred to the waste of talent of those from the lowest social groups and regarded FE as a way of providing a second chance. However, the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, considered that too often in the past, FE colleges had been thought of ‘as mainly concerned with giving a second chance to those who missed or were deprived of opportunities at school’. Secondary education would improve as the supply and qualifications of teachers improved. The success of the technical colleges would largely depend upon these teachers and their colleagues in the primary schools, so that technical colleges could confidently set higher standards.<sup>78</sup> This view implied that good teaching could compensate for social disadvantages, whereas the 1954 Report on *Early Leaving* also considered material disadvantages. It recommended better maintenance allowances for needy children staying on at school beyond fifteen and the payment of family allowances in respect of all children still at school. However, in the Foreword to this report Eccles, the Conservative Minister of Education, wrote that the main purpose of paying increased maintenance allowances was to help the right pupils to stay on at school. He added that an all-round increase in maintenance allowances would cost a lot of money and might do very little, and that the aim should be to give help where there was need and merit.<sup>79</sup>

The 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, focused on both the economic function of FE and the development of the whole person. In January 1956 at Bradford, the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, spoke of a worldwide scientific revolution, and the importance of a skilled workforce. He said,

The prizes will not go to the countries with the largest population. Those with the best systems of education will win. Science and technical skill give a dozen men the power to do as much as thousands did fifty years ago. Our scientists are doing brilliant work. But if we are to make full use of what we are learning, we shall need many more scientists, engineers and technicians. I am determined that this shortage shall be made good.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> *The Times*, 11 April 1953.

<sup>78</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*. London, HMSO.

<sup>79</sup> Ministry of Education. (1954) *Early Leaving*. London, HMSO.

<sup>80</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO., p. 4.

The 1956 White Paper *Technical Education*, referring to the USA, the USSR and Western Europe, argued that it was clear enough that all these countries were making an immense effort to train more scientific and technical manpower, and that Britain was in danger of being left behind. It said:

One industry after another is being compelled to follow its competitor, supplier or customer in modernising its techniques, knowing that unless new materials are discovered and new methods applied, British industry may fall behind in the race.<sup>81</sup>

The pace of change was quickening, and with it both the need and demand for technical education at all levels as every technologist relied on technicians and craftsmen. Industry was to play a leading part in practical training and in increasing the numbers of craftsmen, while the Government would provide more facilities for technical education. Technical education was ‘always regarded as an adjunct to, and not a substitute for, practical training on the job’.<sup>82</sup> The distinction between technical education and practical training was made clearer as technical education had to be not ‘too narrowly vocational or too confined to one skill or trade’.<sup>83</sup> It was much easier to adopt new ideas and new techniques when the principles on which they were based were already familiar.

The Paper listed twenty two colleges in England providing courses eligible for the 75 per cent grant for advanced work. In 1957 several colleges of technology were designated as colleges of advanced technology (CATs) which would have a substantial amount of advanced and post-graduate work.<sup>84</sup> The 1963 Robbins Report, *Higher Education*, recommended that CATs should become technological universities, and by the end of the 1960s all of them had been granted university status. Financed by the University Grants Committee, the CATs were removed from LEA control.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., para. 4.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., para. 79.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., para. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Simmons, R. (2009) ‘The long goodbye: how local authorities lost control of further education’, *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 14, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 287-297. Robin Simmons is a senior lecturer in the School of Educational and Professional Development at the University of Huddersfield.

<sup>85</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

The high proportion of students not completing courses and not passing examinations made the expansion of qualified technicians and craftsmen difficult. In many courses only one-quarter of those who started reached and succeeded in the examination which came at the end. It was suggested that the rate of successful completions could be increased by greater understanding on the part of parents and employers, by better selection, and especially by the substitution of part-time day for evening classes. The 1956 White Paper wanted the number of young workers given day release to be doubled in five years, while full-time and sandwich courses were also to be encouraged. The White Paper concluded that it was the attitude of individual employers to further education that would count the most, and trade unions also had a role to play. It was made clear that the Government would play its part, and that the cooperation of others would also be necessary:

Managers and trade union leaders who sit on many bodies concerned with education have been insistent that the government should expand technical education. In accepting this advice the Government now look to the individual employer and trade union leader to give all the practical help they can to make the new plans a success.<sup>86</sup>

The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee agreed that expansion depended on employers' wishes as well as colleges' provision of FE. In the first two years after the 1956 White Paper, Worcestershire's FE colleges increased their number of day-release students by twenty-eight per cent, but the FE Sub-Committee thought it unlikely that the expansion target could be reached.<sup>87</sup> The increase in Redditch College numbers was small as in 1956 Redditch College had 418 day-release students and by 1958 the number had increased to 438.<sup>88</sup> However, in 1964 correspondence from the Worcestershire Education Committee revealed that the doubling of the number of day release students recommended by the 1956 document, *Technical Education*, had not been realised.<sup>89</sup>

The 1956 document, *Technical Education*, asserted that the success of plans for the expansion of FE depended 'as much on the quality of teaching as on numbers'. The

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<sup>86</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO., para. 157.

<sup>87</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, Appendix 1, September 1958; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>88</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1956; held at Worcestershire Record Office. Redditch College Governors' minutes, December 1958; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>89</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, 18 December 1964.

training of technical teachers was, therefore, also important.<sup>90</sup> Although it was not compulsory for technical teachers to have received initial teacher training, it appeared that the status of technical teachers was similar to that of school teachers. There were several times when the 1956 White Paper referred to technical teachers as part of the ‘teaching profession’.<sup>91</sup> The 1957 Willis Jackson Report, *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*, claimed that there was ‘scope for a more efficient deployment of teaching staff’. This did not mean more intensive employment, as technical teachers ‘were already teaching for too many hours a week in many areas’. Greater rationalisation of courses was required, so that the ‘wasteful use of teaching effort’ on small groups of students for reasons of local convenience and prestige should not be allowed to continue.<sup>92</sup> Here ‘efficiency’ referred to a greater use of teaching resources, so that teaching hours were accompanied by a greater number of student hours. One of the reasons that some lecturers were teaching for too many hours was that many colleges, such as those in Worcestershire, found it difficult to recruit teaching staff. Redditch College found that in the academic year from 1956 to 1957 it was extremely difficult to replace full-time teaching staff and make new appointments for an increased establishment, so that all staff were seriously overworked.<sup>93</sup> This state of affairs was recognised by the Willis Jackson Committee as it recommended conditions of service be improved by, for example, providing more clerical and laboratory assistance to lecturers and making it easier for lecturers to return periodically to industry to gain further professional experience.<sup>94</sup> The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee noted that the Willis Jackson Report suggested that FE colleges also needed trained teachers who had some acquaintance with technical education, and the County Education Officer agreed to a meeting with the Birmingham Institute of Education.<sup>95</sup>

In 1945 the Royal Commission on Equal Pay, under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Asquith, was gathering evidence. Sir Maurice Holmes, Permanent Secretary to the

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<sup>90</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO, para. 103.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 146, 209, 211.

<sup>92</sup> Ministry of Education. (1957) *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*. London, HMSO, para. 79.

<sup>93</sup> Redditch College Report on the Academic Year 1956-57, Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, October 1957.

<sup>94</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>95</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, Insert, September 1957; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

Ministry of Education, told the Commission that there was undoubtedly an opinion in favour of equal pay in the profession, including that of the NUT, but he doubted if the male members of the union were as much in favour of equal pay as their executive.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, in 1946 the Royal Commission recommended equal pay for women teachers, but it was another fifteen years before women teachers finally received equal pay. In March 1955 the Burnham Main Committee (for teachers' salaries in primary and secondary schools), the Burnham Technical Committee (which covered technical, commercial, and art colleges), and the Farm Institutes' Salaries Committee all agreed to recommend that a scheme of equal pay for women similar to that adopted by the Government for the Civil Service should be applied to teachers by the committees. They further agreed to recommend that the first instalment toward equal pay should be payable from May 1, 1955, and that full equality in pay should be made from April 1, 1961. Upon ratification by members of the committees, the recommendations had to be submitted to the Minister of Education for consideration. He was empowered to approve or reject Burnham agreements, but not to alter or modify them.<sup>97</sup> Eccles, the Minister of Education, informed the Burnham Committee that he approved its recommendations for the introduction of equal pay by seven annual stages, beginning on 1st May.<sup>98</sup> However, A. J. Peters stated that there was much argument as to whether the 1944 Education Act gave the Minister the power to amend recommendations of the Burnham Committees, so the Remuneration of Teachers Act, 1963, gave him this power. The Remuneration of Teachers Act, 1965, gave the Secretary of State direct representation on the committees and disagreements were to be referred to independent arbitration.<sup>99</sup>

The 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, was also concerned with the development of the whole person. It argued that a place should always be found in technical studies for a liberal education, and said, 'We cannot afford either to fall behind in technical accomplishments or to neglect spiritual or human values'. The time available was often limited to what could be done 'in the way of introducing into the curriculum subjects such as history, literature and the arts, but in any event a wide treatment of scientific and technical subjects' was considered 'essential' if students who were to occupy

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<sup>96</sup> *The Times*, 7 July 1945.

<sup>97</sup> *The Times*, 5 March 1955.

<sup>98</sup> *Hansard*, HC 7 April 1955.

<sup>99</sup> Peters, A. J. (1967) *British Further Education*. Oxford, Pergamon Press. Peters was at the School of Education, University of Liverpool.

responsible positions in industry were to emerge from their education with a broad outlook.<sup>100</sup> Thus a broader education could benefit both the vocational and personal development of individuals. The 1944 McNair Report had already referred to good technical teachers as no mere technicians but interpreters of the modern world. Venables therefore argued that there can be no rigid classifications to determine what is vocational and what is general, what is technology and what humanities. Although Venables concluded that the teacher of technical subjects must not allow his subjects to divide him from his colleagues, the later inclusion of Liberal Studies was usually taught by those who were not teachers of vocational subjects.<sup>101</sup>

In 1957 the Ministry of Education issued Circular 323, *Liberal Education in Technical Colleges*. The Circular defined the purpose of a liberal education as the inculcation of 'habits of reflection and free enquiry which are the marks of an educated and liberal mind'.<sup>102</sup> It called for an immediate broadening of the FE technical curriculum, with the introduction of more diverse subjects which would meet the needs of the whole person and recommended a wider treatment of technical subjects. Increased use of the college library, seminars, discussion groups, directed study periods and project assignments were recommended, while the encouragement of corporate life in the college and the development of extra-curricular activities were also suggested.<sup>103</sup>

A report published by the National Institute of Adult Education in 1955 found that the majority of lecturers teaching technical subjects, supported to a large extent by employers, opposed the introduction of Liberal Studies. Initially, improvements in the area were the result of the work of HMIs.<sup>104</sup> Thus several of the HMIs' recommendations following the inspection of Redditch College in March 1957 were related to improving arrangements for a broader education. It was suggested that a person responsible for co-ordinating non-vocational courses should be appointed, and

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<sup>100</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO., para. 11.

<sup>101</sup> Venables, P.F.R.(1949) 'Some problems and opportunities in technical education to-day', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 1: 3, pp. 281-285. Venables was at the Royal Technical College, Salford.

<sup>102</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, p.69.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Gleeson, D. & Mardle, G. (1980) *Further Education or training? A case study in the theory and practice of day-release education*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. Denis Gleeson and George Mardle were lecturers in Education at the University of Keele.

that an attempt should be made to stimulate recreational and social activities. It was also recommended that the library be developed as soon as possible, and that when circumstances permitted a full-time English specialist should be appointed. More specifically, it was necessary that more non-examination and recreational subjects were included in the full-time Commerce course.<sup>105</sup> By November 1957 a full-time English specialist had been appointed to start teaching in January 1958, and estimates for the following year included £1,000 for the library. There were four active students' clubs and there was to be a students' union.<sup>106</sup> In December 1957 the Deputy County Education Officer attended a meeting of the Redditch College Governors, and it was agreed that there should be a Head of Department for Liberal and General Studies.<sup>107</sup> Further development of Liberal Studies at Redditch College is described in the next chapter.

In 1958 the Carr Report, *Training for Skill: Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry*, was published. The Carr Committee had been set up in 1956 by the Ministry of Labour to investigate the implications of the forthcoming 'bulge' in the number of school leavers, which meant there was a possibility that there would be an increase in youth unemployment. The Report noted several faults in the British training system. There were too few skilled workers, and some employers were poaching skilled workers trained by others. The content of apprenticeships was too narrow and over specialised, there was an absence of agreed contents and standards for training, and there was little training for young people outside the apprenticeship system. In spite of these faults, the Report did not recommend any changes to the voluntary system of training provision and said that training should remain the remit of industry.<sup>108</sup> However, as a result of the Carr Report the Industrial Training Council, a body representative of employers, trade unions, the nationalised industries, the government

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<sup>105</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, Insert, September 1957; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>106</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1957; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>107</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, December 1957; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>108</sup> Ministry of Labour. (1958) *Training for Skill: Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry*. Report by a sub-committee of the National Joint Advisory Council, (Carr Report). London, HMSO.



and FE was set up in 1958 to encourage and assist in the raising of training standards.<sup>109</sup>

After 1944 there was a change in role of central government as the increased powers of the Minister of Education and the duty of the LEAs to provide FE facilities reduced the power of LEAs. Many of the themes encountered in earlier documents were also found in documents published from 1944 to 1958. By the mid-1950s evidence showed that inequality of educational opportunity still existed, as home background often influenced the use which a boy or girl would make of a grammar school education. Gender differences were also evident when examining factors influencing educational attainment, as far fewer girls continued their education after they left school and a much smaller number of girls took day-release courses. The 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, was also concerned with broadening the curricula and argued that a place should always be found in technical studies for a liberal education. The following year, the Ministry of Education issued Circular 323, *Liberal Education in Technical Colleges*, which called for the introduction of more diverse subjects which would meet the needs of the whole person, and recommended a wider treatment of technical subjects. The 1956 White Paper distinguished between technical education and practical training as technical education had to be not too narrowly vocational or too confined to one skill or trade. Many of the above themes reappeared in later documents including the 1959 Crowther Report which is discussed in the next chapter.

The reasons that the school leaving age was raised to 15 in 1947 were both political and economic. Despite the lack of resources for all the changes anticipated in the 1944 Education Act raising the school leaving age indicated the Labour government's commitment to the Act, and the emergency teacher training scheme and temporary buildings made it possible. An outcome not mentioned in Wilkinson's Memorandum to the Cabinet in 1947 was that intended County College provision would then be for three years rather than four. At first building schools became a priority, so in the early post-war years FE experienced little change except for more students and by 1947 three colleges for training technical teachers. In 1951 the balance of payments crisis meant there were cuts in planned education expenditure by five per cent as well as a reduction

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<sup>109</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

in the school building programme, while the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen was postponed. However, by 1956 there appeared to be a renewed interest in FE when the 1956 document, *Technical Education*, stated that Britain was competing with the USA, Russia and Western Europe, and if it did not train more scientific and technical manpower Britain's economy would be left behind. The 1956 White Paper wanted the number of young workers given day release to be doubled in five years, and it was also announced that there would be a five-year programme for the further expansion of technical colleges which would be exempt from cuts, delays and postponements of any kind. In 1962 Eccles acknowledged that it was only in 1956 that the government began to build a system of technical education remotely adequate for a leading industrial nation.<sup>110</sup> Although the 1944 Education Act was seen by politicians and the public as important and significant, national economic difficulties and inadequate resources meant implementation was a lengthy business. By 1958 secondary schools and technical colleges were still being built and there was a shortage of teachers in all sectors of education. Therefore it was not surprising that there were no County Colleges and the school leaving age had not been raised to sixteen. However, the Crowther Report recommended that these changes should take place, and suggested various ways technical education could be improved.

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<sup>110</sup> Memorandum by the Minister of Education to the Cabinet, 4 January 1962. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/108> [Accessed 27 December 2010.] Para. 2.

## Chapter 4 Further Education from 1959 to 1965: further changes and expansion

In the fourteen years from 1944 there were few national documents that referred to FE, whereas in the following fourteen years there were nine reports, four White Papers and four Acts of Parliament that had implications for FE. In the former period many of the available resources were used for implementing the 1944 Education Act, yet as the Crowther Report, *15 to 18*, reminded its readers in 1959, the school leaving age had not been raised to 16 and there were no County Colleges. The Crowther Report was a lengthy document with recommendations that had not only appeared in previous official documents, but also ones that were cited in later documents. For example, the earlier 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, argued that a place should always be found in technical studies for a liberal education, while the 1961 White Paper, *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, also wanted to increase the rate of successful course completions by increasing the number of students in day release courses.

David Eccles, the Minister of Education, had asked the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) to consider, in relation to the changing social and industrial needs of society, the education of boys and girls between fifteen and eighteen.<sup>1</sup> The result was the Crowther Report that argued that education was ‘one of the social services of the welfare state’, and claimed that education was the right of every boy or girl regardless of whether there would be any economic return. Although primacy had to be given ‘to the individual human rights of the individual boy or girl’ the report did ‘not believe that the pursuit of national efficiency’ could be ‘ranked much lower’.<sup>2</sup> It also emphasised ‘the need of the community to provide adequate brains and skill to sustain economic productivity’.<sup>3</sup> It suggested various ways in which more young people could form part of a skilled workforce and recommended that the school-leaving age be raised to sixteen by the end of the 1960s, to be followed in the 1970s by County Colleges. However, the Crowther Committee did not think that educational considerations should always be subordinate to employment considerations. Industry bore some of the cost of FE by releasing some of its young workers with pay, but the rest of the cost was met

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., para. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., para. 83.

almost entirely by the taxpayer's and the ratepayer's money. People did not regard this money as being mainly provided to help industry to train its workers, or even to help the young people to improve their vocational status. It was provided as part of the national system of education, to serve broad educational ends.<sup>4</sup> Yet the education provided in the colleges was far too narrowly concentrated on the immediate vocational target, so that some of it was close to the line that separated education from 'mere instruction'. There was need for a great deal of thought about what could be done to make these courses, while still serving their vocational purposes, come closer to the ideal of what a balanced education should be for young people of above average intelligence. This should not be done only by the addition of courses in the humanities, although there should be some movement in that direction. The Committee thought that much could be done by broadening out the syllabuses in some of the technical subjects themselves.<sup>5</sup>

The Crowther Report also stated that the social purpose behind the proposed curriculum of County Colleges was just as significant for apprentices and other skilled workers as it was for unskilled men and women, and that at least equal importance should be given to these wider social purposes, though equal importance did not necessarily mean equal time.<sup>6</sup> This notion of social purpose was a reference to the Report's four main strands of the proposed County Colleges' curriculum. One strand was concerned with helping young people to find their way successfully about both as consumers and citizens, so that they spent their money sensibly, understood the many ways in which the welfare state touched their lives and could assist them, saw how its services were paid for, and played their part as useful citizens. Another strand involved 'helping them to define a standard of moral values' by which they could live after they had left the sheltered world of school and found themselves in novel situations where they desperately needed guidance. The third strand was the 'easier, and infinitely rewarding, task of helping them to carry over into their working life the pursuits and activities, physical and aesthetic, which they practised at school' and too often abandoned. The fourth strand was to help students improve their basic education, as many of the County College students would have grave deficiencies in their formal school education.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., para. 523.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., para. 531.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., para. 275.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., para. 274.

The Crowther Report admitted that in what proportions or in what pattern the four strands should be woven into the fabric of county college education was unknown. The methods which would prove effective were also still largely unexplored, so that experiments on a large scale were needed.<sup>8</sup> It suggested that teaching should start with the familiar, so that, for example, some might be interested in finding out what was actually in their pay packet, and what was nominally in it. Here might be found an introduction to the welfare state, and to collective bargaining. The Report concluded such thoughts by saying,

There is danger to society both in the apathetic customer and the apathetic wage-earner; a healthy society presupposes men and women who think instead of accepting. Knowledge and discrimination are necessary pre-requisites of a democratic community. They can be stimulated even, and often only, by very homely means.<sup>9</sup>

The Committee on General Studies referred to the Crowther Report's notion of 'four strands' and made suggestions for course structure and content. An outline of a course for first year students, including themes on communities and relationships, commercial television, trade unions and industrial relations, and personal relationships was offered. The Committee also referred to the 1961 White Paper, *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, which suggested time given to English and General Studies, including physical education, should be increased. Communication skills were deemed important not only for personal development, but also for success in technical subjects.<sup>10</sup>

Gleeson and Mardle thought such Liberal Studies content meant that the task of the Liberal Studies teacher was bound up with establishing for the apprentice some perspective upon his place in the economy, and that much of Liberal Studies was not Liberal Studies at all, but a form of Social Studies devoted to reconciling the student to himself and to his fellows within an established society.<sup>11</sup> Neale was critical of the Crowther Report's approach to Liberal Studies as the Report remained silent on the steps which might be relied upon to bring about an educational shift from pay packet and work to the kind of knowledge and discrimination which the Crowther Committee

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., para. 274.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., para. 267

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Education. (1962) *General Studies in technical colleges*. London, HMSO.

<sup>11</sup> Gleeson, D. & Mardle, G. (1980) *Further Education or training? A case study in the theory and practice of day-release education*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

thought was necessary for the kind of democratic society it envisaged. Neale also criticised the 1962 document, *General Studies in technical colleges*, because it emphasised that the first need of the students in both the technical and general elements of their course was to develop their communication skills. Success in their technical subjects would directly depend on their mastery of communication skills, which were also important for the students' development as individuals and as members of society. However, the 1962 document on general studies did not make it clear what 'the students' development as individuals' meant, and focused on discussing the necessity of linking language teaching to technical studies and the world of work.<sup>12</sup>

Bill Bailey and Lorna Unwin (2008) explained that the expansion of day release students in the late 1950s meant that many students were in some ways 'new' students who had left school with poor literacy and numeracy skills. This lack of skills could seriously affect students' progress during their course and their performance in the end-of-year written examinations. Even in the early 1960s, some colleges referred to 'English and General Studies', as it was hoped that the teaching of 'useful' English would be seen more positively by both technical teachers and their students. Circular 323 had recommended more learner-centred and participatory teaching methods, but in terms of these proposals there had been little progress.<sup>13</sup> It was in the 1960s that national documents referred to 'General Studies' rather than 'a liberal education'. Thus the 1961 White Paper *Better Opportunities in Technical Education* argued that craft courses needed broadening on general educational grounds and to make the students more adaptable at work.

'The main change [in craft courses] now required is that these courses should be broadened. This is necessary on general educational grounds and in order to make the student more adaptable. It means in particular finding more time for English and other general studies, and in some cases broadening the treatment of the technical subjects in the earlier stages of a course'.<sup>14</sup>

The 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report, *Day Release*, suggested that a broader education

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<sup>12</sup> Neale, R. S. (1966) 'On liberal studies', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 18: 41, pp. 206-224. Neale was at the University of New England, Armidale.

<sup>13</sup> Bailey, B & Unwin, L. (2008) Fostering 'habits of reflection, independent study and free inquiry': an analysis of the short-lived phenomenon of General/Liberal Studies in English vocational education and training. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 60, no. 1, March 2008, pp. 61-74. In 2008 Lorna Unwin was at the University of London.

<sup>14</sup> Ministry of Education. (1961) *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, Cmnd 1254. London, HMSO, p. 10.

was required as many posts required more than a specific skill, such as

progressive development in the fields of human relations, of judgement, and of general educational standards. These are important over a wide range of ability and level of work. There are many of such a nature, for example, in junior grades in retail employment, among operatives in industry, and at all supervisory and managerial levels.<sup>15</sup>

It was also thought that young people should broaden their knowledge to contribute not only to technological advances, but also to the whole life of the community. However, in 1970 Bristow, then Principal of Chester College of FE, thought that employers took a long time to adjust to the new curriculum, and that some employers still objected, as they had never really become reconciled to paying an apprentice when he attended college on day release.<sup>16</sup>

Redditch College had accepted the importance of Liberal Studies for a student's whole development. The Principal at Redditch College presented to the Governors there a statement on Liberal Studies in March, 1959, and said the Circular 323 had led the way. The Governors had appointed an organiser in Liberal Studies, and the Principal had agreed with the organiser's proposals. The Liberal Studies organiser had explained what was meant by 'Liberal Studies'.

It follows that we must define our terms 'liberal studies' and 'a liberal element' in order to establish what it is we are attempting to provide. Liberal studies aim at bringing all studies to their proper focus: Man himself, and his welfare, so that he may have a better understanding of himself, and his environment, so that he may fulfil himself in society. We should try to build our student populace into a community, but a community which is rich in and sustained by individual enterprise ... Our college should make an impact upon them of an adult community which is yet sympathetic and compatible with their own development.<sup>17</sup>

For some time non-vocational work had provided a proportion of each full-time student's timetable. The work included the history of science and technology, history, geography, current affairs and art classes. Finding part-time students timetable space for these subjects was a problem, so the now established Student Union, assisted by the Liberal Studies Co-ordinator, was considered particularly important in developing interests through societies and social activities.<sup>18</sup> The Sports Committee of the Student Union organised competitions for various sports, while climbing and mountain rambling

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<sup>15</sup> Ministry of Education. (1964) *Day Release*. London, HMSO, pp. 7-8.

<sup>16</sup> Bristow, A. (1970) *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. London, HMSO.

<sup>17</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, March 1959, held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

grew in popularity and took place at weekends at the College Mountain Centre in North Wales. Other activities included drama productions and dances. The 1959 Crowther Report believed that those who needed support in the critical years of late adolescence got least. At Redditch College students were advised and helped by the Student Advisory Officer and their course tutor and later the Industrial Chaplain.<sup>19</sup> The explanation of Liberal Studies offered by the Liberal Studies organiser and the activities offered appeared to focus on the student's personal fulfilment in a supportive context, although the phrase 'have a better understanding of himself, and his environment' may have meant the form of Social Studies described by Gleeson and Mardle as devoted to reconciling the student to himself and to his fellows within an established society.

One defect of the FE system was 'the very high proportion of effort' put into it that was wasted, as many day-release and evening courses had a low completion rate. Thanks to the co-operation of the principals of 114 colleges, a sample was selected to give a cross-section of all the students in technical colleges working for National Certificates and for six City and Guilds courses. It was found that of students entering ONC courses without exemptions in 1951, only 26 per cent eventually gained the certificate, and only 11 per cent gained the certificate in the standard three years. 'Against this background of the nation's present and future needs for trained manpower, these wastage rates are shocking'.<sup>20</sup> The Crowther Report pointed in the direction of block release and sandwich courses, and recommended a major reconstruction of courses, including more teaching hours. It was easier to organise block release courses if college year and factory year followed the same pattern, and without a long summer vacation expensive equipment would not be left unused for three months in the year. The Report agreed with the conclusion of the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, that it was the individual employer's attitude that was the most important, by saying, 'The college can invite and advise; it cannot compel. The individual worker may desire release ... but he cannot demand it. The employer alone has the power to give or to withhold'.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Redditch College Prospectus, 1959, 1970; held at Redditch Public Library. Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>20</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO, para. 527.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* para. 489.



The 1959 Crowther Report was another report of the 1950s that stated that the inequality of educational opportunity still existed. One of its surveys took the form of a simple random sample comprising nearly 9,000 men in the Army and Air Force who began their National Service between 1956 and 1958. The Survey dealt only with National Service men educated in England or Wales. No reason was given for not including some men who were in the Navy. It was designed to illuminate the background, in wide terms, of young men all of whom had left school, had reached at least the age of 18 and had already embarked on their job or profession. It was particularly concerned about the extent to which early leaving was a social rather than an academic phenomenon. Whereas 41 per cent of the men in the highest ability group stayed on at school until they were eighteen, only 24 per cent of manual workers' sons in this group stayed on until they were eighteen. The Crowther Report believed there was a great waste of talent when only twelve per cent of young people stayed on at school till they were seventeen years old. Those who did not stay on at school until they were sixteen to take GCE Ordinary Level examinations would not have had the appropriate qualifications to enter many of the courses run in FE colleges. This was a reference mainly to grammar school pupils although there were a few secondary modern schools that offered O' levels.<sup>22</sup>

The Crowther Report also included a survey examining the home background and other factors affecting the age of leaving school, and this survey included females. Grammar and technical school leavers were compared with modern and all-age school leavers. The aim of this survey, which was carried out during the summer of 1957, was to find out more about the fifteen to eighteen year-old girls and boys in education, work and leisure. A stratified sample of boys and girls was taken, so that there were two samples: one of 1,760 grammar and technical school-leavers, and one of 2,200 modern and all-age school-leavers. Whereas only one in ten fathers of grammar and technical school-leavers were semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers, almost one in four of the fathers of modern and all-age school-leavers fell into this group. At the other end of the table the difference was even more marked, with eighteen per cent of fathers in the professional and managerial category in the grammar and technical school sample as compared with only four per cent in the modern and all-age school sample. When

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<sup>22</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.

going through the categories of fathers' occupations, professional and managerial, clerical and other non-manual, skilled manual and semi- or unskilled manual, the proportion of premature leaving at fifteen increased in that order and the proportion of children staying on at school beyond the age of sixteen decreased. This difference between occupational groups was somewhat less sharp for girls than for boys though the trend was still clearly visible. Like the *Early Leaving Report*, the Crowther Report stated that FE never refused a second chance to anyone who had the persistence to continue and the ability to succeed.

The Crowther Report argued that with the less able girls schools should make more adjustments to the fact that marriage now loomed much larger and nearer in the pupils' eyes than it had ever done before. Nearly nine times as many girls as boys got married before they were nineteen and this was reflected in the immediate interests of the boys and girls in the last year or two of the school course. There could be no doubt that at this stage boys' thoughts turned most often to a career, and only secondly to marriage and the family; and that it was the converse for girls. While the ultimate objective should be to help both boys and girls to grow up as intelligent and responsible citizens, the proximate objective should take the interests they display during this phase of their lives into consideration. The numbers of boys and girls in evening classes were not greatly different, and there were actually more girls than boys in full-time courses in the earlier years, owing largely to the number of full-time commercial courses. The big difference was in part-time day courses, as only eight per cent of the girls got day release compared with about one-third of the boys; about 36 per cent of the boys got apprenticeships, but only six per cent of the girls. This was not the result of a deliberate decision on anybody's part that girls required less education than boys. It was partly a consequence of the fact that the great concentration of apprenticeships and day release was in two industries, engineering and building, which were from their nature boys' industries rather than girls'. A girl had a much shorter expectation of uninterrupted working life than a boy. The Crowther Report claimed that it was this fact, rather than the nature of the work she did or any deliberate sex discrimination, which explained how unlikely she was to get part-time day release. It underlined the fact that release, paid for by the employer, was in most instances not primarily given for the sake of the

young person's education but in order to increase their vocational competence.<sup>23</sup> However, the 1958 Carr Report pointed out that not all boys stayed with the same employer, as some employers were poaching skilled workers trained by others.<sup>24</sup> Five years after the Crowther Report, the 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report, *Day Release*, rejected the view that girls had little need of training and education merely because they were less likely to follow a career.<sup>25</sup> Thus despite increased educational opportunities from 1944 and full employment in the 1950s, female career choices were constricted by the seemingly universal opinion, reflected in, and propagated by, the Crowther Report that woman's place would be in the home, an expectation much confirmed by a younger age of marriage and motherhood. The Crowther Report also did not consider the disadvantages faced by many girls and women who returned to paid employment having not developed their full potential.

Initial reactions to the Crowther Report were concerned mainly with the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen and the introduction of County Colleges. The Report was well covered in several editions of the *Times Educational Supplement (TES)* in the six months following its publication and discussed in the national newspapers. This may have been because the Report had implications for secondary schools as well as for technical colleges. The *TES* claimed that the Crowther Report had been accorded a warm reception in the Press. Five national newspapers had placed the Report in their headlines, and eight newspapers had made it the subject of their editorial comment. Any dissent was concerned with the scope of recommendations rather than the evidence it supplied. The *Daily Mirror* reflected that no cabinet would dare to ignore the brilliant report produced by Crowther and his experts. The *Daily Telegraph* accepted the Report's recommendations cautiously, and said that those who had to stay on until sixteen might lose a sense of purpose and be frustrated. The *Evening Standard* agreed and argued that therefore that the aim should be to increase both the number and quality of teachers. The *News Chronicle* also expressed a concern that there might be an inadequate supply of teachers. Unless the Government accepted that, it might as well scrap the Crowther Report. The *Daily Herald* said that what would happen was waffle and delay. The *Daily Sketch* described the Report as a shocker that would shake every

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ministry of Labour. (1958) *Training for Skill: Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry*. Report by a sub-committee of the National Joint Advisory Council, (Carr Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>25</sup> *The Times*, 26 May, 1964.

parent in England. The paper wanted to know if sixteen year-old boys and girls would sit close together in a classroom all day. Would teachers be able to teach those young people in spite of the near attractions of the opposite sex? (The paper had obviously neglected to ask teachers in co-educational grammar schools.) The *Daily Express* had a short article and no comment. The *Star* held the view that the most sensational part of the Crowther Report was the demand that teenagers should be given better training in ethics and morality. *The Guardian* stated that the Report was no more than an echo of the 1944 Education Act. The economics of the programme would call for greater consideration than the advisory council had given, as there would be a formidable building programme. The *Spectator* described the Report as the conservative expression of liberal views held fifteen years earlier, that seemed to be afraid of looking critically at the experience of the post-war period. *The Observer* said the Report presented a picture of appalling waste, and that the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen should begin in 1965, such was the sense of urgency. *The Sunday Times* also stressed the theme of wastefulness, and in addition suggested a programme of university expansion.<sup>26</sup>

On the 15<sup>th</sup> March 1960 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Derek Heathcoat Amory, wrote in a memorandum to the Cabinet that he was shocked by the proposal to announce 8,000 more places in teachers' training colleges and that the education bill could not be increased. Such an increase would mean that local authorities would have to double their spending on education in the next fifteen years. There were already intended increases in spending on improving secondary school staffing, additional places in teachers' training colleges, school buildings and FE teachers. There were also other claims for increased expenditure including those for roads, railways and the NHS, and there was the possibility of running the economy into inflation.<sup>27</sup>

The Education Policy Committee, with the agreement of Eccles, the Minister of Education, submitted its conclusions to the Cabinet on the 15<sup>th</sup> March 1960 as the Crowther Report would be debated in the House of Commons and the House of Lords the following week. The recommendations most likely to be used by the Opposition as

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<sup>26</sup> *TES*, 18 December 1959.

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet, 15 March 1960. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/101> [Accessed 20th December 2010.]

a test of good intentions were that the Government should reaffirm the principles of compulsory full-time education up to the age of sixteen and compulsory part-time education up to the age of eighteen for those not at school. For some boys and girls the year from fifteen to sixteen would be better spent in a full-time course in a technical college rather than in a school. This meant agreeing to a programme that would fully implement the 1944 Education Act. The most pressing need was a reduction in the size of classes, a pledge repeatedly given by the Conservative Government since 1951. The Committee were satisfied that with the planned increase in the number of teacher training places, the reduction would be obtained by 1969 whatever decision was taken on raising the school leaving age. The Committee also considered that local colleges of FE would form a natural focus for the development of County College work, so it might be desirable to re-assess the original conception of County Colleges.<sup>28</sup> The Education Policy Committee concluded by saying

By these decisions we should be coming close to rejecting Crowther's two main recommendations, set out in paragraph 3 above [raising the school leaving age and County Colleges] and so laying ourselves on the charge of not implementing the 1944 Act. We must therefore be seen, as a first and essential step, to be acting with vigour to eliminate over-size classes.<sup>29</sup>

Thus in the House of Commons, Eccles said that he agreed with the Crowther Report in principle. When the right conditions could be assured they believed that the great majority of boys and girls would learn more in full-time education than they were likely to learn in their sixteenth year in employment, provided that the extra year in full-time education could be spent either in school or in a technical college. The Government owed it to parents and children, to teachers and local authorities, to bring the schools, primary as well as secondary, to a point much nearer complete readiness for the reform before the actual date was decided. At first, additional teachers would be needed for reducing class sizes, as there was no other single reform that would raise the standard of education. Raising the school leaving age had to come before County Colleges. The Government did not feel they should contemplate additional buildings for County Colleges where existing college buildings could be made to do the job satisfactorily. It was intended to intensify the drive to expand further education of all kinds on a

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<sup>28</sup> Minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet, 15 March 1960. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/100> [Accessed 20th December 2010.]

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. para. 14.

voluntary basis and to keep an open mind until more experience had been gained of the ultimate desirability of putting compulsion on the student. There were consequences of falling behind other countries in the quality of schools, colleges and universities, when each generation depended on its knowledge, skills, adaptability and character to maintain the influence of the country in the affairs of the world. There would have to be an increase in expenditure on education. In addition to basic skills, education could give boys and girls a sense of values, introduce them to literature and the arts and teach them good manners. An all-round education should be provided for its own sake in a free and affluent society.<sup>30</sup>

Eccles covered the main parts of the Crowther Report, but insisted that reduction in class sizes was the first priority. He emphasised the role of education in maintaining Britain's influence in the world, whereas usually it was the economic role of FE that was stressed. Lord Chorley thought the Government was devoting all their energies to the improvement of technical education and the reason obviously was the fear of what was going on in the USSR.<sup>31</sup> Like *The Guardian*, several people referred to the Report as similar to the 1944 Education Act. Thus in the House of Commons Anthony Greenwood (Labour) said the authors of the 1944 Education Act would not derive any satisfaction from knowing that some of the principal objectives of the Act would not be achieved until 36 years after the Act was passed. In the House of Lords Lord Chorley said that the Minister of Education had announced 'in a cool way' that the Government accepted what was already on the Statute book. Lord Pakenham said it was rather pitiful that in 1960 the House of Commons members should congratulate themselves on something said at the end of the war. Nevertheless, Greenwood said that the Opposition would help the Government if the Minister came forward with more specific proposals. Other Members of Parliament, including Conservative ones, restated the urgency of raising the school leaving age. In summary, the Commons welcomed the Report as a constructive contribution to the formation of educational policy for the next twenty years. In the House of Lords the Earl of Lucan said that there were fears that the attempt to find more teachers for FE would make it more difficult to find staff for secondary schools. However, he thought that those that taught in FE were those who preferred teaching older children. Perhaps Lucan did not realise many teachers in FE

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<sup>30</sup> *TES*, 25 March 1960.

<sup>31</sup> The USSR had the atom bomb and in 1957 its Sputnik was the first space satellite to orbit earth.

taught vocational subjects related to their previous occupation. Lucan added that one reason why a decision to extend education would take many years was to allow time for the necessary building, including for new teacher training colleges. Viscount Hailsham, a Conservative, said the most serious defect was the continued existence of all age schools and the back of the problem would be broken by 1962. The most urgent problem after this was the continued existence of oversize classes, classes of more than 30 in secondary schools and of more than 40 in primary schools.<sup>32</sup>

The Crowther Report and the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen were discussed at the annual conference of the NUT. Sir Ronald Gould, the general secretary of the NUT, said the Crowther Report showed how the waste of human material at fifteen could be prevented, as the cost had been calculated and the country could afford it. Mr. Exworthy, the president of the NUT, was more cautious and stated that the supply of teachers was the vital problem, but it was difficult to plan ahead because of the many factors affecting recruitment and wastage.<sup>33</sup> The British Employers' Confederation in a document sent to the Ministry of Education declared their support for the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen because of the widespread dissatisfaction throughout industry at the standards of education of large numbers of boys and girls entering industry, particularly in elementary English and mathematics. They considered that the advantage to industry of better educated recruits resulting from an additional year of full-time education would outweigh any disadvantages. The employers qualified their support for the raising of the school leaving age by suggesting that the term should not be interpreted too narrowly, but should include an extra year either in school or in a technical college, as indicated by Eccles in the House of Commons.<sup>34</sup>

The 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report, *Day Release*, brought to an end any speculation that the original idea of County Colleges might re-emerge. The balance of educational opinion took the view that local colleges of FE, whose work was centred on the needs of the younger age groups, formed a natural focus for the development of county college work.<sup>35</sup> However, even in 1959, it was fairly clear that central government did not

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<sup>32</sup> *TES*, 25 March 1960.

<sup>33</sup> *The Times*, 18 April 1960.

<sup>34</sup> *The Times*, 12 August 1960.

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of Education. (1964) *Day Release*. London, HMSO.

want compulsory attendance of County College courses, so a few voluntary courses were established. Some teaching vacancies were advertised, including one at the college in Bromsgrove. This was for the post of assistant lecturer to teach English and Social Studies, together with some elementary calculations, primarily to County College part-time students.<sup>36</sup> The General Studies course started in 1964 at Redditch College was a substitution for the County College course formerly provided in Bromsgrove.<sup>37</sup> Students attending this course were mainly those on day release from the Harris Brush Company.<sup>38</sup>

There was no mention of the Crowther Report's concerns over day release courses in the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee minutes. Presumably, this was because a year earlier it had been said that such courses in Worcestershire were working satisfactorily. In one FE Sub-Committee meeting, it had been asked whether experience in Worcestershire was in accordance with criticisms of day release schemes. The reply was that there was little wastage as far as bona fide apprentices were concerned, although difficulties sometimes arose in the matter of continuity for students working for small firms. In general, day release schemes in the County appeared to be working satisfactorily, as most students were keen and the facilities provided were fully appreciated both by employers and students. No evidence was given for these statements, statistical or otherwise.<sup>39</sup> This suggested there was a reluctance to reveal LEA statistics because indeed only a small proportion of students did pass. As Marinetto argued, what is omitted from the document may be significant.

Documents may reveal certain implicit features about the topic under investigation. For instance, the presentation used and the information that is excluded will betray certain characteristics about the organisation or body publishing the document.<sup>40</sup>

Redditch College found by 1961 that local industry's attitude to block release, rather than day release, had changed. Its Engineering Advisory Committee noted that there had been a considerable change in outlook and practice since a college proposal for

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<sup>36</sup> *TES*, 24 June 1960.

<sup>37</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, June 1964; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>38</sup> Redditch Advertiser, 20 March 1996.

<sup>39</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1959; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>40</sup> Marinetto, M. (1999) *Studies of the Policy Process: A case analysis*. Hemel Hempstead, Prentice Hall Europe.



block release courses in 1956.<sup>41</sup> However, a course sometimes had more than one mode of attendance. For example, a new technician's two-year course in 1962 had three blocks of sixteen weeks duration, but while the student was in industry he attended college one evening a week to maintain educational continuity.<sup>42</sup> The Crowther Report was also concerned that the smooth transition from full-time school to part-time FE was often lacking. The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee noted that talks were going on between college principals and secondary school heads concerning the responsibilities towards children between the ages of fifteen and sixteen.<sup>43</sup> The minutes of the FE Sub-Committee and the Redditch College Governors did not reveal the outcomes of these talks, but the following year the Redditch College Governors agreed in principle that students recruited for full-time courses should be sixteen rather than fifteen.<sup>44</sup>

Growing competition for export markets from other industrialised countries made firms realise that salesmen and office workers needed greater efficiency and technical knowledge. Goods not only had to be designed and produced, they also had to be financed, sold, insured and distributed. The Minister of Education asked the NACEIC to give urgent consideration to the development of FE for commerce, particularly at and above the level of ONC and intermediate professional examinations. The 1959 McMeeking Report on *Further Education for Commerce* insisted that similar training and educational training should be made available for young persons seeking a career in commerce as were provided in scientific and technical education.<sup>45</sup> As in the Crowther Report, it was found that evening studies heavily outweighed daytime studies, so the McMeeking Report called for an expansion of day or block release for commercial studies. Courses leading to the examinations of professional bodies predominated, so the Report put forward the ONC as the common intermediate examination for the professional examination. New courses in business studies were to be introduced in the autumn of 1961 following the McMeeking Report, as ONC and HNC in Business Studies would take the place of the certificates in commerce. The ONC would be open to students with at least three GCE O level passes, and the standard of the two- year

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<sup>41</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, October 1961; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>42</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, October 1962; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>43</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1960; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>44</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, February 1961; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>45</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

course would be about that of GCE A level. The new two-year full-time OND in Business Studies course would also be of special interest to girls with appropriate GCE O' level qualifications who wanted to acquire a good general background before entering secretarial and other business posts.<sup>46</sup>

Official policy, found in Circular 15/61 of the Ministry of Education, entitled *Organization of Business Studies in Colleges of Further Education*, was to centre business studies courses in multi-purpose FE colleges rather than in separate colleges of commerce. One writer of a letter in the *TES* commented on Circular 15/61 and said there were only fifteen colleges of commerce in the country. Such colleges should be focal points of interest for bankers, accountants, lawyers, secretaries, those engaged in insurance, commercial and retail managers, salesmen and linguists in the area, so that colleges of commerce could flourish in the same way as colleges of art did.<sup>47</sup> Another letter writer suggested that, as commercial education was already mainly in multi-purpose technical colleges, it might improve in colleges of commerce where even the principal had knowledge of commerce. Many commerce specialists thought the Circular contained unsubstantiated generalisations that had been used to justify economy in overheads.<sup>48</sup> This belief was probably correct as the Chief Secretary to the Treasury had been concerned about the increases in educational expenditure.<sup>49</sup> Eccles commented on the new certificate and diploma courses in business studies and said that the number of students enrolled on the new courses was much greater than the number of those that had enrolled on the commerce courses.<sup>50</sup> One reason for this increase was that the change in course title attracted more boys, as commerce courses were often thought of as appropriate for those entering a secretarial course.

Much discussion about the future of technical education occurred between the publication of the Crowther Report and the 1961 White Paper. The focus was particularly on day release courses. The Industrial Training Council considered that

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<sup>46</sup> *TES*, 17 March 1961.

<sup>47</sup> *TES*, 10 November 1961.

<sup>48</sup> *TES*, 22 December 1961.

<sup>49</sup> Memorandum by the Chief Secretary to the Treasury to the Cabinet, 8 December 1961. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/107> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

<sup>50</sup> *TES*, 26 May 1962.

day-release facilities should be extended throughout industry, so that all boys <sup>51</sup> up to the age of 18 should have some form of further education. This was the conclusion of the booklet on training boys working in industry but without a formal apprenticeship. Discussing the type of FE that should complement practical training, the council considered that for some semiskilled jobs there would be need for vocational study. For other semiskilled and unskilled workers a more general education would be called for. The council considered that the mental flexibility demanded by technological changes could only be developed in this way. <sup>52</sup>

At a conference on industrial training and the bulge <sup>53</sup> John Hare, the Minister of Labour, said the Government wished to preserve the present division of industrial training between itself and industry. He added that, unless the Government was satisfied that industry was fully meeting its responsibilities in this area, it might be hard to resist the considerable pressure for Government action. It was essential that industrial firms should prepare to take on more boys for training. Some firms had made a real contribution to training, but if industry was to keep its free hand, it was essential that the whole body should adopt a vigorous new approach to training. In retrospect Hare's words can be seen as an unheeded warning, as the 1962 White Paper, *Industrial Training*, heralded greater government involvement. Lord McCorquodale, a member of the Industrial Training Council and President of the British Employers' Confederation, agreed that there was a need to find worthwhile jobs for young people of higher abilities and said the Council had two tasks. One task was to try, in the short run, to ensure industry took advantage of the bulge. The second task, in the long run, was to assist in improving standards of training throughout industry. The British Employers' Confederation had asked employers of skilled men to aim at offering in each year of the bulge twenty per cent more than they had in 1958. This minimum should ensure that boys who were capable of benefiting from skilled training would be given the opportunity. The Government had a responsibility to create conditions in which the economy could continue to expand. Sir Thomas Williamson, speaking for the trade union side of the Industrial Training Council, said the large majority of young people

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<sup>51</sup> Note that only boys are included in this claim. The Sex Discrimination Act 1976 included access to education and training.

<sup>52</sup> *TES*, 28 August 1960.

<sup>53</sup> The 'bulge' was a reference to the increased birth rate for a few years after 1945 resulting in a larger group of school leavers in the 1960s. There was a new bulge when that age group had children.

entering industry was still denied any training at all. The Council had received a grant from the Government for helping employers' organisations or joint bodies in training, but there had been very few applications for this assistance. In Sweden, France and Germany public authorities assumed responsibility for a great deal of industrial training, and in America each state had an apprenticeship department and apprenticeship supervisors.<sup>54</sup>

Eccles said that in the 1960s policy decisions would move from the problems of building and organisation to the quality of education. Almost all the issues the Crowther Report raised turned on the relative need to improve the quality of education.<sup>55</sup> The Ministry of Education's report *Education in 1959* suggested that building problems were almost at end. By the end of 1959 final plans for two thirds of the 363 projects comprising the Government's five year plan for the extension of technical colleges had been approved, and the number of new colleges and extensions actually completed in 1959 was 65. The number of full-time teachers in major establishments of FE, other than art establishments, trebled during the years from 1948 to 1958. The Report added that some FE staff still had excessively long hours of teaching and there were acute difficulties in filling the most senior posts and in finding teachers for certain branches of engineering and science.<sup>56</sup> Mr. Turton, the President of the ATTI, also commented on some teachers' excessive teaching hours, when he spoke at the Association's annual conference.<sup>57</sup>

The 1961 White Paper, *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, stated that Britain's natural resources were limited, and 'in an increasingly competitive world' its future as an industrial nation would largely depend on its success in developing the skills of its young people.<sup>58</sup> It acknowledged that account had been taken of the recommendations on FE in the Crowther Report, such as the need to reduce the wastage 'owing to the failure of so many students to complete their courses successfully'.<sup>59</sup> A new classification of worker, the operative, one who could operate machinery and plant,

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<sup>54</sup> *TES*, 2 December 1960.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *TES*, 29 July 1960.

<sup>57</sup> *TES*, 10 June 1960.

<sup>58</sup> Ministry of Education. (1961) *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, Cmnd 1254. London, HMSO, para. 67.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 2.

had been added. The White Paper proposed, and the Government agreed, a major reconstruction of technical college courses for technicians, craftsmen and operatives in England and Wales. The courses mentioned included national certificate and diploma courses for students intending to become at least high-grade technicians, technician courses devised specifically for particular industries, and special courses for craftsmen and operatives. Reduction in wastage would be achieved by broadening the education received by technical students, so that they would have a sufficient grounding in mathematics, scientific principles and English to enable them to cope with the training. Colleges were asked to take care in the selection of students and to experiment with full-time induction courses. The new ONC courses would last two instead of three years and the standards of entry would be raised. There would be new courses of four or five years for technicians, while new general courses would be introduced, leading either to technician courses or ONC and OND courses. The White Paper also stated that more time should be provided under day release schemes, and that no student should have to rely wholly on evening study. Sandwich courses, especially for technicians, and block release courses should be increasingly developed.<sup>60</sup>

The 1961 White Paper also stated that to provide a better basis for further education and training boys and girls should be encouraged to continue their full-time education until they were at least sixteen. Ordinarily, it would be best for them to complete a secondary school course of at least five years, but in some cases it might be more appropriate for the fifth year to be spent in a full-time course of general education at a technical college. At whatever age a student who was going on to a technical college finished his secondary education he should go direct into a technical college course.<sup>61</sup> The advantages of FE at that time included 'its responsiveness to varying local and industrial needs' and the opportunities which were 'given to any student, whatever his record at school, to reach even the highest qualifications if he has the necessary ability and determination'.<sup>62</sup> Although the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, claimed that soon improved secondary education would mean FE colleges were no longer thought of as mainly concerned with giving a second chance, the 1961 White Paper evidently thought that time had not yet come. The following year the ATTI appeared to agree

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., para. 15.

when it gave evidence to the Newsom Committee.<sup>63</sup> It said that it did not accept that those in B or C streams at a secondary modern school were necessarily unable to reach a high level of attainment in the skills or intellectual achievement necessary for success in adult life. If the less able student was looked after carefully and generously, that student could achieve an unexpected standard of proficiency.<sup>64</sup>

One editorial in the *TES* reacted to the 1961 White Paper *Better Opportunities in Technical Education* by commenting that at last the country's leaders were becoming conscious of the frightening backwardness in the preparation of people to earn their and the nation's living in a scientific age. Germany had opened her first technological university more than a hundred years ago, and in about 1919 she instituted universal day release. The French Government had taken over the responsibility for training nearly half the apprentices in France. The British Government's new policy for technical education required for its quick success great enthusiasm from everyone and a willingness to learn new tricks. The *TES* thought that the 1961 White Paper on technical education had been widely welcomed. The managing director of the Shell Refining Company said that many of the recommendations were already accepted practice for up-to-date managements. The White Paper should help to reduce wastage by allowing technical colleges to select students for suitable courses. The general secretary of the Association of Teachers in Training Colleges remarked that poor selection was not the main reason for wastage, as the need for more time had long been recognised. The Education Officer of the Imperial Chemical Industries welcomed the fact that technicians would come into their own.<sup>65</sup>

The means of achieving more effective liaison between schools and FE was one of the chief topics of discussion at the annual general meeting of the ATI. What was most needed was more personal contact between schools and those responsible for the selection of students and organisation of courses in FE. The Chief Education Officer of Birmingham told conference that if the right to day release was granted, full-time induction courses introduced, and block release courses developed, many more full-time teachers would be needed. Without these changes, there would still be twice the present

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<sup>63</sup> The findings of this Committee were discussed in the 1963 Report *Half Our Future*.

<sup>64</sup> *TES*, 4 May 1962.

<sup>65</sup> *TES*, 13 January 1961.

number of technical college teachers needed by 1970. The front page comment of the *TES* included similar points and added that it was important for technical colleges to shed their impersonality. The Ministry of Education pamphlet *Forward from School* summarised ways already tried for bringing schools and colleges, parents and industry, into closer touch. The pamphlet added that good personal relations between school and college staff were no substitute for the detailed knowledge which those who had to advise young people needed to possess.<sup>66</sup>

In the House of Commons the Minister of Education was asked what factors had prevented the achievement of the Government's aim regarding the increase in the number of students released by their employers during the day and expressed in the 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*. Eccles replied that not enough employers had been prepared to allow students to attend part-time day classes. Other factors had been lack of interest on the part of some young people, and in some cases, an inadequate range of courses. There was a growing appreciation of the value of part-time day courses, and the proposals announced in the White Paper, *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, should lead to a greatly improved pattern of courses.<sup>67</sup>

The director of the CGLI said that a new general course for mechanical and electrical engineering was being prepared for introduction in September and it would have a valuable diagnostic character. *The Times* commented that there was likely to be a renewed demand from industry for block or sandwich courses to run 'end-on'. (An end-on system ensured that one batch of apprentices was at college while another of similar size was in the works, so that the firm had a permanently balanced labour force.) This would mean keeping the colleges open for more weeks in the year, a reform that many college teachers would resist.<sup>68</sup> The ATTI President said at the Association's annual conference that he doubted whether plans for the future were adequate. Industry should adjust its intake of apprentices, or the Ministry of Education should introduce its own full-time apprenticeship courses. In a resolution on the 1961 White Paper the conference welcomed the extension of teaching time for the day release courses, but said this could not be done without substantial additions of suitable staff,

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<sup>66</sup> *TES*, 3 March 1961.

<sup>67</sup> *TES*, 30 June 1961.

<sup>68</sup> *The Times*, 6 January 1961.

accommodation and equipment. An amendment was added saying that such courses could be offered within the normal college year.<sup>69</sup> It appeared that *The Times* prediction was correct, although colleges could be opened for teaching more weeks in a year while individual lecturers still taught the same number of weeks each year. This was the practice at Redditch College since the early 1960s, as some courses, such as the ONC Engineering course, spanned Christmas or Easter holidays. Lecturers teaching on those courses had some of their holidays during the usual college teaching year.

Redditch College, with the support of its Engineering Advisory Committee, had already introduced block release courses. Each major department of a FE college had an Advisory Committee that consisted of people representing local interests of, for example, employers and trades unions, and their function was to advise on all aspects of the work and progress of a department. Although these committees were purely advisory, any recommendations they made went to the college governors for consideration.<sup>70</sup> Redditch Higher Education Board's proposal in 1940 that an Engineering Advisory Committee for the technical school should be established had been accepted, and many courses suggested by the Committee had been developed.<sup>71</sup> The Engineering Advisory Committee noted that there had been a considerable change in outlook and practice since a college proposal for block release courses in 1956.<sup>72</sup> This was due in part to the Committee members themselves. For example, in 1959 the Committee proposed a block release course for Craft Training. A rough assessment of probable support from companies represented round the table indicated seventeen apprentices, so that the Redditch College Governors approved the course.<sup>73</sup>

The *TES* also commented on the number of teachers in technical colleges. In 1957 the Willis Jackson committee had recommended steps to raise the number of full-time teachers in technical colleges from 11,500 to 18,600 by 1961. It had seemed unlikely that this target would be achieved, but the target had been bettered according to the report of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers. The Council estimated that the need for technical college teachers would double by the end

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<sup>69</sup> *TES*, 26 May 1961.

<sup>70</sup> Bristow, A. (1970) *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. London, HMSO.

<sup>71</sup> Redditch Higher Education Board minutes, May 1940; held at Worcestershire Record Office. At that time Higher Education referred to post-compulsory education.

<sup>72</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, October 1961; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>73</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, December 1959; held at Worcestershire Record Office.



of that decade. To achieve that figure, allowing for wastage, recruitment would have to be increased from 3,000 entrants a year to 3,600. Hopes of raising the overall quality had not been entirely fulfilled as, for example, the 1961 target for graduate technologists had been 2,600, but the actual number for 1961 was not likely to exceed 2,000. The *TES* suggested that perhaps quality rather than quantity should be concentrated on for a few years, especially as only a third of technical college teachers had been trained as teachers.<sup>74</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s implementation concerning changes in content and structure of courses was left to examination bodies, college departments, and lecturers, with LEAs allowing their colleges to offer such courses. In May 1959 the McMeeking Report was given to the members of the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee, but there was no discussion about this document.<sup>75</sup> There was also no mention of the 1961 White Paper in the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee minutes until new courses had to be approved. Thus Redditch College started the new General Course in Engineering for school leavers in 1961, and the new two-year OND and ONC courses in Engineering in 1962, these courses having been approved by the FE Sub-Committee. The FE Sub-Committee also approved the ONC and OND in Business Studies.<sup>76</sup> The General Course in Engineering was intended for school leavers who showed the potential to proceed to a National Certificate or to a Technician's Course. It gave a common grounding for students in the various branches of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and replaced the Preliminary Engineering Course. The new Mechanical Engineering Technicians' Course took two forms. One course was a part-time day and evening course and the other one was a two-year block release course.<sup>77</sup> The Technicians' block release course continued the following year, but its three months block induction course had been inadequately supported and was suspended.<sup>78</sup>

In the early 1960s the principal concern was the balance of payments, although in 1961 there was a steady fall in unemployment and an increase in demand was anticipated.

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<sup>74</sup> *TES*, 20 October 1961.

<sup>75</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1959; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>76</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, June 1961; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>77</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, October 1961; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>78</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, October 1962; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

Selwyn Lloyd, the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, took deflationary measures, and asked for a pause in wage increases and imposed one in the public sector, while bank rate was raised from 5 to 7 per cent.<sup>79</sup> In December 1961 the Treasury and the Minister of Education disagreed about expenditure on education. Henry Brooke, the Chief Secretary to the Treasury, wrote in a memorandum to the Cabinet that the point of issue was what should be the rate of increase of current and investment expenditure on education in the next four years. The rate of increase of current expenditure should be kept to three per cent, and it might be best to delay the starts of the building programmes.<sup>80</sup> The memorandum of Eccles, the Minister of Education, contained political, as well as economic considerations. If there was a reduction in the rate of increase of educational expenditure, the outcry would cut across political and social boundaries. Wage and salary earners were less likely to operate restraint, if the Government were checking the opportunities for their children to get on.<sup>81</sup> If replacements of all schools were stopped, teachers in every constituency would desert the Conservatives. There ought to be a further increase in expenditure because long term growth and improved competitive efficiency were the only answers to the economic difficulties. The previous July Eccles had agreed to an unannounced delay of one year in completing the teacher training expansion programme. No more could be done without announcing a deliberate slowing down of teacher recruitment plans. Even at the present rate there might be nearly as many children in oversize classes, so the government should be training more teachers, not fewer.<sup>82</sup>

Discussion in Cabinet included the observation that with a serious shortage of teachers already forecast for 1970, it would be very difficult to defend a policy which could be interpreted as restricting the supply of teachers still further. This argument applied with particular force to technical education in view of the emphasis placed on the need to improve the facilities for technical training generally, and the expansion of day release. The Cabinet agreed to resume their discussion having received new papers from the

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<sup>79</sup> Cairncross, A. (1995) *The British Economy since 1945*. Oxford, Blackwell.

<sup>80</sup> Memorandum by the Chief Secretary to the Cabinet, 8 December 1961. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/107> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

<sup>81</sup> Selwyn Lloyd, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, tried to initiate a 'pay pause' in 1961.

<sup>82</sup> Memorandum by the Minister of Education to the Cabinet, 11 December 1961. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/107> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

Minister of Education and the Chief Secretary to the Treasury.<sup>83</sup> Thus in January 1962 Eccles wrote on education policy in terms of political philosophy and political strategy.

Stripped of inessentials the choice before new electors was between a controlled economy in which wealth was much more equally distributed irrespective of merit and an open society in which opportunities for all would be enlarged to a degree that would produce 'one nation' with far less class-consciousness.<sup>84</sup>

In relation to the introduction of universal suffrage the 1944 Education Act was twenty-five years too late. Worse still only in 1956 did the government begin to build a system of technical education remotely adequate for a leading industrial nation.

Tory Governments since 1951 have therefore been under exceptional pressure so to improve the public system of education that we all become middle-class, speak the same language and can comprehend the responsibilities of living in a free and fully-employed society.<sup>85</sup>

The eleven-plus examination picked out the clever children, but it was common knowledge that secondary and further education for the average child were still far from satisfactory. Delaying the elimination of oversize classes in maintained primary and secondary schools would cast doubt on the government's determination to narrow the gap between maintained and fee-paying schools. It was hard to point to any body of opinion that would not oppose a slow-down in the rate of educational advance. The political results of doing so would be serious and the contradiction with a policy of opportunity and growth obvious. Eccles added an economic argument by saying that education as a form of public investment gave a very high return. The possibility of entry into the Common Market had accelerated the demand for better education at the technical level, which was itself dependent on better education in the schools. A further argument was that it was widely held that parental discipline was slack and that everything possible should be done to help the schools take the strain. Eccles concluded that the political, social and economic arguments all pointed to the wisdom of doing more rather than less to improve the system of public education.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Conclusions of Cabinet Meeting, 13 December 1961. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/128/35> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

<sup>84</sup> Memorandum by the Minister of Education to the Cabinet, 4 January 1962. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/108> [Accessed 27 December 2010.] Para. 2.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 2.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

Brooke, the Chief Secretary to the Treasury also sent a memorandum to the Cabinet about public expenditure. Previous assumptions were generally regarded as optimistic, as it was assumed that there would be a solution to the balance of payments problem (none was in sight), a substantial increase compared with the last decade in the rate of growth of national productivity, and willingness by the public to reduce its rate of increase of consumption. Little had happened since to make these assumptions look more realistic. What Brooke was trying to do was to stop the rate of growth of public expenditure from getting altogether out of hand.<sup>87</sup> In February 1962 it was pointed out in Cabinet that the shortage of skilled labour was the main obstacle to increased production. The apprenticeship system often appeared to involve too long a period of training and some misdirection of effort and, although some improvements had recently been achieved as a result of discussion with particular industries, much remained to be done. The Cabinet agreed that building starts in the education investment programme for 1963-64 and subsequent years should be limited to £55 million a year, but that LEAs might be told that this figure would be increased if economic conditions permitted.<sup>88</sup> Thus the Cabinet finally agreed to the original proposal of the Treasury that commencement of some building programmes would be delayed. What also emerged in the Cabinet discussions was an acknowledgement that technical education and training facilities needed to be improved and employers had to play their part.

In the early 1960s the combination of declining industrial competitiveness, an expansion in the number of school leavers, and growing evidence of skills shortages prompted the government to reform apprenticeships and other forms of training. Only four years after the Carr Report had concluded that training should remain the remit of industry,<sup>89</sup> the 1962 White Paper, *Industrial Training*, was published.<sup>90</sup> Hare, the Minister of Labour, had already informed Cabinet that he had opened discussions with the British Employers' Confederation and the TUC on proposals for improving

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<sup>87</sup> Memorandum by the Chief Secretary to the Cabinet, 4 January 1962. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/108> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

<sup>88</sup> Conclusions of Cabinet Meeting, 15 February 1962. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/128/36> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

<sup>89</sup> Ministry of Labour. (1958) *Training for Skill: Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry*. Report by a sub-committee of the National Joint Advisory Council, (Carr Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>90</sup> Ministry of Labour. (1962) *Industrial Training*. London, HMSO.

industrial training and their reactions were favourable.<sup>91</sup> The White Paper stated that since 1945 ‘shortages of skilled manpower’ had been ‘an important factor in holding back the rate of economic expansion’.<sup>92</sup> A successful economic policy would allow the country to play a proper role in world affairs, as well as enable, for example, an increase in living standards and educational expansion. This focus on international political influence was also evident in Eccles’ speech in the House of Commons in March 1960 when he stated that improving the quality of education would help to maintain the influence of the country in the affairs of the world.<sup>93</sup> It was not surprising that the government was concerned about Britain’s influence as the USA and the USSR were now regarded as super powers and Britain had lost control of former colonies. Ghana, Malaya, Nigeria and Cyprus were independent by 1960, while Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Somaliland, Uganda and Jamaica gained independence by 1962. It was important, continued the White Paper, that the rate of industrial training was increased and matched by an improvement in quality. Whether or not Britain decided to join the European Economic Community (EEC), British exports were going to be faced with increasing competition.<sup>94</sup> Many firms did not make adequate use of the facilities for technical training, whereas ‘overseas competitors, particularly in Western European countries’, had paid ‘greater attention to the need to maintain an adequate supply of well trained skilled labour’.<sup>95</sup> The White Paper, *Industrial Training*, proposed government intervention through Industrial Training Boards (ITBs) set up by the Minister of Labour.

Hare, commenting on the 1962 White Paper, said the people who were to be made to pull their weight were those who had been training nobody themselves and poaching skilled labour from other firms. The final shape of the plans was to be worked out in discussion with the British Employers' Confederation and the TUC, and would then be embodied in a Bill. The TUC leaders regretted that the industries in which boards were to be appointed were not yet specified. Hare mentioned engineering and shipbuilding, which together provide training for about half Britain's apprentices, but the White Paper said nothing of this. Individual employers seemed to have misgivings, but Hare

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<sup>91</sup> Memorandum by the Minister of Labour to the Cabinet, 23 January 1962. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/111> [Accessed 27 December 2010.] Para. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Ministry of Labour. (1962) *Industrial Training*. London, HMSO, para. 1.

<sup>93</sup> *TES*, 25 March 1960.

<sup>94</sup> France vetoed Britain’s application to join the Common Market in January, 1963.

<sup>95</sup> Ministry of Labour. (1962) *Industrial Training*. London, HMSO, para. 3.

remarked that this was to be expected from those who would have to find money for the proposed levy. Employers admitted, however, that the present distribution of effort in training was unfair and that the continuing shortage of skilled labour made fairly drastic action necessary.<sup>96</sup> Macqueen compared the employment of technologists with that of craftsmen and technicians. The problem of creating an adequate supporting force of craftsmen and technicians appeared to be much more difficult than that of creating the necessary numbers of technologists. There had been no less than ten colleges of advanced technology since 1956, whereas there had been little expansion in facilities at craft and technician levels.<sup>97</sup> The 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report and the 1964 Industrial Training Act aimed to increase training and education opportunities for craftsmen and technicians.

The 1964 Industrial Training Act led to the creation of ITBs that promoted and co-ordinated training in the different sectors, and that were empowered to redistribute the costs of training between employers by means of the levy-grant system. The ITBs collected money from establishments in the industry by means of a levy. One of the requirements of the Industrial Training Act was that the ITBs should recommend FE courses which had to be pursued in association with industrial training. The employers had to comply with these recommendations if they wished to receive a grant.<sup>98</sup> Those employers who did not train their employees and send them on appropriate courses would still have to pay the levy, so there was an incentive for firms to train their employees. Another advantage of the levy-grant system was the notion of standards. In order to obtain a grant, a firm had to prove to the satisfaction of its ITB that it was actually doing the training and doing it at an acceptable standard.<sup>99</sup> In this sense some employers had less autonomy as a result of government directed training. Each ITB was composed of a chairman and representatives of employers, trade unions and education, so there were formal links between FE and industry. The Central Training Council, superseding the Industrial Training Council, advised the Minister of Labour on

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<sup>96</sup> *The Times*, 6 December 1962.

<sup>97</sup> Macqueen, W. M. (1983) 'Training and Education for Industry: Some Reflections on the Issue of a Ministry of Labour White Paper, December, 1962.' *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 35: 91, pp. 43-45. Macqueen worked in the Department of Building Trades, Liverpool College of Technology.

<sup>98</sup> 1964 Industrial Training Act (c. 16).

<sup>99</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

the operation of the Act.<sup>100</sup> Sir John Hunter, the first Chairman of the Central Training Council, said that although it would be the task of the industrial boards to plan training in their industries, and to collect levies and make grants to employers, the Council had to see that they were kept up to scratch. The Council had no disciplinary powers, but could report to the Minister if it appeared that a Board's arrangements were misdirected or inadequate. The Council consisted of six employers, six trade union leaders, two representatives of nationalized industries, six educationalists appointed after consultation with the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Scotland, and six other people with a special interest in industrial training.<sup>101</sup>

By the end of 1968 26 ITBs had been created, covering industries such as engineering, textiles, iron and steel, shipbuilding, ceramics, hotel and catering, and civil air transport. One problem area concerned the growing demand for an adequate supply of training officers. The ITBs had appointed training officers to develop their inspection and advisory services and many of the larger industrial firms used training officers to plan and administer their training schemes. The growth in this field had been partly met by the provision in technical colleges of introductory courses for training officers based on the first report of the Central Training Council's committee on the training of training officers issued in 1966.<sup>102</sup> Redditch College played a part in implementing the 1964 Industrial Training Act, not only by providing appropriate courses for employees, but also by providing a course for training officers in 1965. Redditch College started in September 1965 a part-time course for Training Officers, one day a week for 30 weeks together with a residential weekend. It catered primarily for smaller firms who were not able to release a senior member of staff for one of the four week Residential Training Courses to prepare industry for the implementation of the 1964 Act. As this course ran before the 1966 report of the Central Training Council, the syllabus and programme of the course had been drawn up and discussed with HMIs, the Ministry of Labour, and the Industrial Training Service.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> 1964 Industrial Training Act (c. 16).

<sup>101</sup> *The Times*, 7 May, 1964.

<sup>102</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>103</sup> Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee minutes, March 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

Because employers had to send their trainees on FE courses recommended by their ITBs if they wished to receive a grant, it was hoped that the Industrial Training Act would have far-reaching consequences for FE colleges. For example, the Engineering Training Board had stipulated that all craft, technician, commercial and clerical trainees up to the age of eighteen had to attend day or block release courses if their employers were to receive a grant. Many apprentices who would have previously attended college one day for 35 weeks a year now took first year off-the-job courses on a full-time basis for 48 weeks a year. The number of students attending block release courses increased due to the availability of grants, and stretched the resources of many colleges. Thus a change in the organisation of the college year after the 1964 Industrial Training Act occurred in the Engineering Department at Redditch College. There were, for example, 'off the job' integrated engineering courses, so that there was an increased need for staffing over the normal holiday periods between terms.<sup>104</sup>

FE colleges, as well as employers, were influenced by ITBs, as the ITBs also had to approve relevant courses. For example, in 1969 the Road Transport ITB would only approve a course at Herefordshire Technical College when there was an Advisory Committee for motor vehicle work and local firms were represented.<sup>105</sup> This was not an isolated example as Peter Scott of *The Times* referred to the powerful Engineering Industry Training Board. He stated that the Industrial Training Act of 1964 was a controversial measure, and there were frequent grumbles about the authoritarian interference by the ITBs in the traditional patterns of work of technical colleges. In engineering many colleges had adopted the 48 week first year off the job training course recommended by the Engineering ITB. The ATTI, for example, had urged the Government to give the DES more control over industrial training.<sup>106</sup>

Guidelines for FE as part of overall training programmes were laid down by the Central Training Council in 1966. It defined the main aims of FE to be:

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<sup>104</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, Appendix D, October 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>105</sup> Herefordshire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, October 1969; held at Herefordshire Record Office.

<sup>106</sup> *The Times*, 19 August 1970.



- (a) to provide the knowledge and appreciation of techniques necessary to enable a trainee to do his job;
- (b) to inculcate a broad understanding of relevant science and technology, so that the trainee appreciates the problems of those working in associated occupations and is also better equipped to adjust to the changes in the nature of his work;
- (c) to widen the trainee's understanding of society in which he lives and the development of his personality; and
- (d) to prepare suitable trainees for more advanced study leading to more highly skilled work.<sup>107</sup>

The first two aims were included in earlier documents such as the 1956 and 1961 White Papers on technical education and the 1959 Crowther Report. The 1956 White Paper argued that technical education should not be too narrowly vocational or too confined to one skill or trade and that it was much easier to adopt new ideas and new techniques when the principles on which they were based were already familiar.<sup>108</sup> This was why the 1959 Crowther Report argued that the education provided in colleges was far too narrowly concentrated on the immediate vocational target and that some of it was close to the line that separated education from mere instruction.<sup>109</sup> The 1961 White Paper recommended a broader education, so students would have a sufficient grounding in mathematics and scientific principles to enable them to cope with the training and to make them more adaptable at work.<sup>110</sup> The third aim was found in all three documents and reflected the importance of a general or liberal studies element in the course, although sometimes such additions could be described as social studies.

Mention of the need for a broader education was found in Redditch College documents 'Apprenticeship Training' prepared by the Head of the Engineering Department at Redditch College and presented to the governors in 1964. The College was more concerned with study and appreciation of the techniques involved in relation to engineering production or manufacture<sup>111</sup> Another document for the governors, 'The New Craft Studies Course in Engineering', explained that the 'approach to the craft studies course' had been 'to generalise the specific skills and experience likely to be acquired in the training situation and to relate them to simple fundamental principles

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>108</sup> Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education*, Cmnd 9703. London, HMSO.

<sup>109</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>110</sup> Ministry of Education. (1961) *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, Cmnd 1254. London, HMSO, p. 10.

<sup>111</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes October 1964; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

which the student can learn to apply in working situations'.<sup>112</sup> In the 1960s therefore Redditch College documents, like the earlier national FE documents, regarded a broader education as also enabling the young worker to be more adaptable at work. Although some LEAs after 1958, including Worcestershire, set up working parties to investigate schemes or courses to integrate practical and theoretical training, this was not evident in Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee minutes from 1959 to 1965.<sup>113</sup>

The Henniker-Heaton Report *Day Release* was also published in 1964, its committee having been established in 1962 by Sir Edward Boyle, then Minister of Education.<sup>114</sup> The Report recommended several ways of increasing the number of day release students. One paragraph in the Report explained why this expansion was so important.

It is vitally important for the future well-being of the nation and for our industrial prosperity that the proportion receiving day release should be rapidly increased. Far greater numbers of those young persons who do not continue in full-time education must have an opportunity of broadening their knowledge, raising their level of attainment, and contributing their full share both to the technological advances which are now taking place and to the whole life of the community.<sup>115</sup>

Although young employees could attend evening classes, the Crowther Report had argued that insufficient teaching hours contributed to the low rate of successful course completion. This state of affairs was recognised by the authors of the Henniker-Heaton Report *Day Release*, when they recommended an increase in the number of day release students, and suggested that the new ITBs should pay the greatest attention to release from employment for FE. The Henniker-Heaton Committee 'noted with concern the decrease between 1961/62 and 1962/3 in the percentage (though not absolute numbers) of both boys and girls under 18 receiving [day] release'. The numbers rose from 200,000 to 209,000 boys and 50,600 to 52,000 girls; but the percentages fell from 18.64 to 18.3 boys and from 4.93 to 4.77 girls. However, of young people not receiving full-time education in any form, a larger proportion was receiving part-time day education, mainly day release courses, in 1962/63 than in 1961/62.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Redditch College Governors minutes December 1968, Appendix; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>113</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>114</sup> *The Times*, 26 March 1964.

<sup>115</sup> Ministry of Education. (1964) *Day Release*. London, HMSO, p.23.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

The 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report, *Day Release*, called for steps to be taken to double the number of day release students by 1970.<sup>117</sup> However, there was no reason given for this amount and no analysis of previous failures. The TUC stated that compulsory measures were necessary to secure a significant extension of day release for young workers to attend college. Nevertheless, the TUC said they would support the more intensive measures of persuasion recommended by the committee.<sup>118</sup> In March 1965 the County Education Officer for Worcestershire reported a meeting held in early December, 1964, attended by Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of governing bodies of FE establishments in the County. This was the second of such meetings which had taken place to strengthen links between Worcestershire LEA and governing bodies, and to provide opportunities for discussing policy. The Pro-Vice Chancellor of the new university of Aston, previously the Chairman of the Governors of Redditch College, had opened a discussion of the Henniker-Heaton Report and the 1964 Industrial Training Act.<sup>119</sup> At this time governing bodies of FE colleges were still sub-committees of the Education Committee. However, there appeared to be no record of any conclusions arising from these meetings.

LEAs were given targets for expanding the number of day release students, and a share was assigned to each college, roughly in proportion to the number of day release students, aged from fifteen to seventeen years, in attendance during that session. Governing bodies had to accept these figures as reasonable targets for 1965/1966, and to consult with local industry. Redditch College's share was sixty students.<sup>120</sup> The Worcestershire Deputy Education Officer concluded that any figure suggested for an increase in the number of day release students was futile, as it took no account of the availability of accommodation or the degree to which various colleges had already progressed in achieving day release. The FE Sub-Committee thought the responsibility lay with industry and commerce to produce the students, leaving the LEAs to provide the appropriate facilities.<sup>121</sup> The following year the FE Sub-Committee received a statement, compiled by the WMAC, showing for each West Midlands LEA the actual

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *The Times*, 27 July 1964.

<sup>119</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>120</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, April 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>121</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1964; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

increase in day release students in relation to the target set. The Sub-Committee noted with satisfaction the increase achieved in Worcestershire as the number of day release students had risen from 2,063 to 2,363, an increase of 300 students. The target set for the first year had been 380, so Worcestershire's actual increase was below target. The committee probably felt pleased that Worcestershire's gain contrasted favourably with neighbouring Warwickshire's increase of 143 compared with its target of 590.<sup>122</sup>

Some LEAs had a decrease, or only a small increase, in the number of day release students, but this may have been because some colleges were victims of their own success in a couple of ways. Firstly, there were those colleges that had only a small increase in the number of day release students, because there were more students on block release courses. Redditch College Governors, for example, realised that since 1959 companies were beginning to prefer block release courses for their apprentices. The reason for this change of opinion was not given, but it may have been because employers noticed block release courses had a higher rate of successful course completions. Secondly, as the Worcestershire Deputy Education Officer pointed out, target figures took no account of the degree to which various colleges had already progressed in achieving day release students. Certainly, in 1965 the Redditch College Governors were concerned that their Henniker-Heaton target would not be met as the college already had students from the major firms in the Redditch district.<sup>123</sup> As a large number of these firms already had employees on block or day release courses, it was more difficult to gain additional day release students. The exception was firms in the retail sector, but local shops showed no interest in day release courses. No reason for this response was minuted, but it was hoped that there would be better results when the Distribution Board was set up. Later minutes did not indicate what happened when the Board was established.<sup>124</sup> However, in 1969 one article in *The Times* noted that the retail trades had a shocking record for training and granting day-release.<sup>125</sup> Another factor was that Redditch town centre did not have any large shops, as it was only in 1973 that the first phase of the covered Kingfisher Shopping Centre was opened, while the final phase was completed in 1982. Nevertheless, the Principal of Redditch College

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<sup>122</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>123</sup> Redditch College Governors minutes, February 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>124</sup> Redditch College Governors minutes, June & November, 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>125</sup> *The Times*, 1 January 1969.

told the Governors that the number of day release students in Worcestershire was much higher than the average, and Redditch College had gained the additional sixty students required.<sup>126</sup>

The 1959 Crowther Report expressed concern that there were still inequalities in educational opportunities. It continued the argument for a broader technical education, and Redditch College devised a Liberal Studies programme for full-time students with various activities and facilities available for both full-time and part-time students. In the 1960s, the College's Department of Engineering also integrated practical and theoretical training to enable the student to be more adaptable at work. There had been government concern about the low rate of successful course completions, so in the early 1960s there were curriculum changes and more teaching hours. However, by 1964 there was another change to encourage training and the setting of standards with the establishment of the ITBs and the levy-grant system. Reasons for introducing the 1964 Industrial Training Act were both political and economic. In December 1961 and February 1962 the Cabinet concluded that shortage of skilled labour was the main obstacle to increased production and that technical education and training facilities needed to be improved. The 1964 Industrial Training Act was an admission that not enough employers had played their part. The 1962 White Paper, *Industrial Training*, also stated that economic expansion would allow the country to play a proper role in world affairs. The ITBs reduced the power of employers by only allowing grants for courses they approved. They also had to approve the courses and facilities the LEAs and FE colleges offered, so that the LEAs' control of FE was reduced. Both the 1964 Industrial Training Act and the 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report encouraged greater use of block release and day release courses. In the 1960s, despite more students staying on at school, FE colleges became the fastest growing sector in education.<sup>127</sup> The creation of ITBs and the efforts made to increase the number of day release students contributed to the expansion of FE, but by the mid-1960s there was the realisation that it would be difficult to meet this demand given the economic climate and the resources available.

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<sup>126</sup> Redditch College Governors minutes, October 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>127</sup> Bailey, B. (2002) 'Further Education.' In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutledgeFalmer.

## Chapter 5 Further Education from 1966 to 1973: consolidation and cuts

The expansion of FE from the mid-1960s required more resources, including more lecturers, at a time when the Britain was facing economic difficulties. The balance of payments moved into heavy deficit in 1964 and for its first three years the incoming Labour Government was struggling to balance its international accounts without changing the exchange rate. In November 1967 the pound was devalued from 2.80 to 2.40 dollars to the pound, so that in 1968 there was a rapid growth in exports. Although the balance of payments remained in deficit throughout 1968, from 1969 to 1971 the balance of payments was increasing and substantial surplus. However, inflation received a fresh impulse from devaluation, so that various deflationary measures were taken.<sup>1</sup> This was not the situation when the Russell Committee was set up in 1958. The Committee included two ATTI members and Sir Willis Jackson, who chaired the committee producing the 1957 report, *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*. By 1964 the number of teachers in FE was likely to continue to increase rapidly after the Industrial Training Act and the Henniker-Heaton Report, while at the same time the proportion of trained teachers was likely to fall.<sup>2</sup> The Russell Committee thought there was still a ‘rapidly increasing demand for further education’ that made it ‘essential that the quality of teaching should be not only maintained but improved’.<sup>3</sup> The 1966 Russell Report, *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Further Education*, stated that less than one third of FE teachers was teacher-trained, and contained three main recommendations designed to achieve an improvement in the quality of teaching and in the proportion of trained teachers in FE. Firstly, LEAs should be required to secure the professional training on full salary of all new entrant Assistant Lecturers within three years of the date of their appointment although initially this period would have to be increased to five years. Secondly, LEAs should be permitted to make special grants to teachers to attend residential courses of training, and thirdly, in 1969 a professional training requirement should be introduced for all new entrants into FE colleges.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cairncross, A. (1995) *The British Economy since 1945*. Oxford, Blackwell.

<sup>2</sup> Parry, J.P.(1966) 'The Russell report: The supply and training of teachers for Further Education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 18: 41, pp.157-163. Parry was Director of Bolton College of Education (Technical).

<sup>3</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1966) *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Further Education*. London, HMSO, para. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

In 1964 a Labour Government was formed, and in August 1965 the Report was submitted to the Secretary of State for Education and Science, Anthony Crosland. In his covering letter the Chairman, Sir Lionel Russell, referred to the principal recommendation that LEAs should be required to secure the professional training, on salary, of all new entrant assistant lecturers within a specified period of their appointment. The age and family responsibilities of the recruits and the delicate balance between demand and supply in the many specialisms presented some difficult problems to which they had sought solutions. They were conscious that the detailed arrangements and the machinery to give effect to their recommendations would call for much consultation, negotiation and careful preparation. Crosland replied that there was to be no more speed for a full six months. The Russell Report was published 7 March 1966 and rejected by Crosland the same afternoon in the form of a written reply read out in the House of Commons. Crosland was at one with the Committee in the importance which he attached to professional training for teaching, but at the present time with the pressure on teacher supply and available financial resources, he would not feel justified in imposing a requirement which could be expected to have some effect on recruitment and which would be bound to involve additional expenditure in a period when the demands on the FE service would be increasing rapidly. He would wish, so far as present resources would permit, to encourage training on a voluntary basis by an increased emphasis on secondment on salary both for one-year courses of the sandwich type and for shorter courses taken by teachers in service, and he hoped shortly to issue a circular containing proposals to that end.<sup>5</sup> He sent DES Circular 7/66 to the LEAs, saying that it was important that more teachers in further education should attend courses concerned with new subject matter and with fresh approaches to subjects and teaching methods in order to improve the quality of technical teaching and to encourage a greater concern with teaching method.<sup>6</sup> The DES Circular 21/66, *Training of Teachers for Further Education* was published in September 1966. The Circular reiterated the rejection of the main recommendations of the Russell Report, but supported the training of teachers for FE in various ways. The Secretary of State was anxious to encourage training on a voluntary footing, but he considered that more emphasis could well be placed upon the four-term sandwich course. He wished to

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<sup>5</sup> Parry, J.P.(1966) 'The Russell report: The supply and training of teachers for Further Education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 18: 41, pp.157-163.

<sup>6</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

commend the Committee's recommendation that every effort should be made to develop the extra-mural activities of the colleges of education (technical).<sup>7</sup>

Parry pointed out that entry to teaching in FE was not limited in any way by national requirements of qualifications or experience. The simple market pressures of supply and demand of labour were allowed to operate with a minimum of interference and so it was seldom that vacancies were never filled. There was the perpetual threat that, particularly with a very high level of employment, the standards of knowledge, experience and general competence of entrants to the teaching profession would steadily decline. The Russell Committee were informed that already about one-third of those entering technical college work did not have qualifications which would admit them to the colleges of education (technical) for a course of professional training. Parry thought it was ludicrous that the whole country had to have a vast training scheme for its industrial workers and that it could, and should, get by without any training at all for the great majority of those who were going to teach technical subjects in the educational system. The reception of the Russell Report's main recommendations by the LEAs and by the teachers' organisations was entirely favourable. At their Annual Conference in June 1966 the Association of Education Committees regretted the rejection of the Report, while the ATTI and the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State expressing their disappointment. The Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education sent the DES a deputation representing the colleges of education (technical) to argue for the Report.<sup>8</sup>

On 1 January, 1967, the ATTI became the first organisation of British teachers to affiliate with the TUC, and over the next ten years other educational bodies such as the NUT followed its lead. This was a significant development as participation in the TUC meant identification as a trade union. This issue was the subject of a lengthy debate within the ATTI as affiliation required a fundamental reappraisal of the ATTI's traditional professional identity and led its members to recognise and acknowledge the Association's primary role as a FE teachers' trade union. As ATTI grew in the 1950s its focus was to raise the status of the occupation and advance educational policies to

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<sup>7</sup> Parry, J.P.(1966) 'The Russell report: The supply and training of teachers for Further Education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 18: 41, pp.157-163.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



benefit members and their students. As the 1960s progressed, the mood of the Association changed and in 1964 the ATTI conference marked the Association's transition when it altered its constitution to make 'protecting and promoting the interests of members' its priority aim. This was before the government had rejected the Russell Report and a compulsory teaching qualification, but TUC affiliation came after the government's rejection and the ATTI's acceptance. It was unclear whether a compulsory qualification was regarded as a market strategy and a more militant trade union provided an alternative method of claiming higher salaries. In 1969 the annual ATTI conference unanimously passed a resolution calling for a lobby of parliament in response to a six per cent offer to an eighteen per cent pay claim, so that the first mass ATTI lobby took place in July 1969.<sup>9</sup>

The introduction of a compulsory teaching qualification for FE lecturers in the 1950s and 1960s did not take place, as it was thought this would reduce the number of FE lecturers at a time when FE provision was expanding. Farzana Shain, a lecturer in Education at Keele University, claimed that the shortage of FE lecturers contributed to the strength of the ATTI, and strengthened claims for lecturer autonomy.<sup>10</sup> Shain explored the usefulness of 'professionalism' as a conceptual tool for understanding changes in FE, and cited Phil Hodgkinson who argued for the retention of a concept of professionalism without accepting the exclusivity of a profession. Another notion of 'professionalism' was found in the work of Avis, who pointed out that in the 1950s and 1960s FE lecturers were viewed as curricular experts who knew what was best for their students. There was a managerial approach in FE that accepted an idea of professionalism based on the lecturer's independence and autonomy in all areas of their work that was based on the lecturer's knowledge of subject. The lecturer had a responsibility for teaching methodology and assessment.<sup>11</sup> In this sense then a FE lecturer could be both professional and a trade union member. However, as Gleeson

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<sup>9</sup> NATFHE (2004) 'NATFHE 100 years on', a supplement for NATFHE members in October 2004, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Shain, F. (1999) 'Changing notions of teacher professionalism in the Further Education Sector.' *Presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference*. Belfast.

<sup>11</sup> Avis, J. (2003) 'Re-thinking Trust in a Performative Culture: the Case of Education.' *Journal of Education Policy*, vol. 18, no.3, pp. 315-332. James Avis is Professor of Post-Compulsory Education and Training at the University of Huddersfield.

and Mardle demonstrated, the FE lecturer's autonomy was limited by both the demands of employers and the requirements of the examination boards.<sup>12</sup>

The Russell Committee described the qualities they expected the FE lecturers to have. Even the acquisition of manual skills had to be accompanied by an understanding of the context in which they practised, so the students would be prepared to face the changes and developments they would constantly be meeting in their work. It therefore followed that a competent craftsman, technician or technologist required more than the ability to communicate his technical knowledge to be an effective teacher. He had to know 'the purposes and functions of industrial practice in relation to the economy and to society generally' and be able 'to appreciate that the student's growing effectiveness at work depends upon intellectual insight and emotional maturity as well as on the development of manual skill'.<sup>13</sup> However, it was known in the 1960s and 1970s that FE colleges still had the old legacy of the vocational teacher with industrial and trade expertise being seen as a sufficient qualification to teach.<sup>14</sup> This tradition was highlighted in Gleeson and Mardle's study of a college of FE that focused on day release courses. Many technical teachers saw themselves as subject specialists who happened to be in teaching rather than as teachers. They came from similar backgrounds to their students and consequently shared with them similar work and training experiences. Many thought this helped them to understand and get on with students, but the high rate of failure and the sheer size of the syllabus made many technical teachers adopt a highly narrative teaching style.<sup>15</sup> Bristow did not acknowledge this aspect when he described past technical teaching as being extremely pedestrian and uninspired with an unhealthy reliance upon notes. Bristow wondered why such FE lecturers did not relate their lessons to practical situations and make use of their own and students' experiences, and pointed to the advantages of an initial teacher training qualification.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Gleeson, D. & Mardle, G. (1980) *Further Education or training? A case study in the theory and practice of day-release education*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

<sup>13</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1966) *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Further Education*. London, HMSO, para. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>15</sup> Gleeson, D. & Mardle, G. (1980) *Further Education or training? A case study in the theory and practice of day-release education*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

<sup>16</sup> Bristow, A. (1970) *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. London, HMSO.

The West Midlands Advisory Council (WMAC) responded to the Russell Report by carrying out a regional survey to discover the extent to which FE colleges were staffed by teachers who lacked any form of teacher training. This survey showed that of some 2,600 teachers of all grades in 43 colleges about 59 per cent had experienced some form of teacher training although, in many cases, the training was slight. About 30 per cent had attended a full-time course of training of one year or more. The WMAC had expressed their concern at this situation, although they considered that it would be unrealistic at the time to require universal training on one year courses prior to accepting a teaching appointment or by secondment. Nevertheless, every effort should be made to achieve in-service training by other methods, although at best these could only be considered to be in the nature of first aid. Accordingly, the WMAC commended to the LEAs in the region the proposals which were intended to remedy at least the worst of the deficiencies. Birmingham, Coventry, Stoke-on-Trent and Wolverhampton LEAs had agreed to act as regional centres for day-release courses run in conjunction with Wolverhampton Technical Teachers' College, and courses would start in October 1966. Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee agreed to support the policy of providing opportunities for newly recruited staff to attend courses of in-service training and to notify governing bodies accordingly.<sup>17</sup> Later minutes of the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee indicated that each year FE colleges in Worcestershire, including Redditch College, sent several lecturers on day release courses leading to an initial teacher training qualification, while occasionally lecturers were seconded full-time for a year. By 1974 50 per cent of the Redditch College full-time lecturers were teacher trained,<sup>18</sup> several having been trained at one of the four Technical Teachers' Colleges, whereas nationally the proportion in 1975 was 42.66 per cent. From the late 1960s the steady growth of general education courses and full-time courses attracted more teachers with an initial teacher training qualification.<sup>19</sup>

By 1966 there was a serious deterioration in Britain's balance of payments leading to a rapid fall in the value of sterling, particularly against the US dollar, but devaluation of

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<sup>17</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>18</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1974; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>19</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

the pound in November 1967 did not bring the relief required.<sup>20</sup> The borrowing of vast sums from the IMF had only served to reinforce the need to attain a surplus in the international trading account.<sup>21</sup> The Labour Government cut public spending and reduced consumer spending. The earlier voluntary wage restraint lasted only a short time, so the National Board for Prices and Incomes, created in 1965, imposed a statutory wage and price freeze for six months, which was followed by two more years of restraint.<sup>22</sup> Thus when the WMAC recommended an increase in student fees in 1966, the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee concluded that an increase in fees would not be possible in September 1966 because there had been the operation of the prices and incomes standstill, so the increase was deferred until September 1967.<sup>23</sup>

In July 1966 a memorandum, prepared by officials on Public Sector Investment, was circulated to Cabinet members. The officials had tried to concentrate on items which were not essential to the furtherance of the social and economic programmes to which the government attached the highest priority, especially housing, schools and the health service. Thus in Higher and Further Education there would be a saving between two million and two and a half million pounds.<sup>24</sup> In November 1966 Crosland, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, gave Cabinet members a memorandum saying that he found the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals for education unpalatable. Although the link between education and long-term economic growth was generally acknowledged, the Chancellor now proposed to reverse the priorities. Between 1966 and 1967, the school population would increase by three per cent and the number of students in higher and further education by at least five per cent. If educational expenditure increased only by four per cent, it would barely be possible to maintain the present level of spending per pupil or student. Nevertheless, Crosland

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<sup>20</sup> Cox, A. & Sanderson J. (1997) 'The Political Economy of Britain since 1939.' In Cox, A, Lee, S. & Sanderson J. (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Britain*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

<sup>21</sup> Skuse, A. (1970) *Government Intervention and Industrial Policy*. London, Heinemann Educational Books. Allen Skuse was Head of Economics at Haberdashers' Aske's Boys' School, Hatcham.

<sup>22</sup> Cox, A. & Sanderson J. (1997) 'The Political Economy of Britain since 1939.' In Cox, A, Lee, S. & Sanderson J. (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Britain*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

<sup>23</sup> Worcestershire Education Committee minutes, April 1967; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>24</sup> Memorandum on the economic situation, 18 July 1966. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/126> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

realised that education must make its contribution, and he reluctantly accepted the Chancellor's proposals in general.<sup>25</sup>

Although nationally there were economic problems from the late 1960s, locally the Redditch economy was expanding with the arrival of new firms, and it was not until the early 1980s that the older Redditch companies reduced the number of employees. Redditch was announced as a New Town in January 1963 and, after a public inquiry, was designated as a New Town in April 1964, but it was not until 1968 that the development plan was approved by the government.<sup>26</sup> In 1970 the first new large factory in Redditch was occupied by a division of BKL Alloys of Kings Norton, engaged in heavy engineering, and Halfords, a national distributor of motor accessories, moved its headquarters and warehouse from Birmingham to Redditch. This was followed by a factory and offices of Alfred Herbert, the Machine Tool Group, and Serck Industries, manufacturer of car radiators, bumpers and number plates. There were also the GKN offices for Research and Development purposes and offices for British Leyland.<sup>27</sup>

In the late 1960s Redditch College's activities were influenced by national FE policy as the DES was emphasising the greater utilisation of resources in FE to keep down costs, when demand for FE courses was increasing. Greater concern over the use of resources in terms of buildings, equipment and lecturers was expressed in national FE documents. The Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources was established in 1964 by the NACEIC to suggest ways in which the most effective use could be made of technical college resources. This Committee published four reports concerned with the size of classes and the use of buildings and equipment. The first Report on *The Size of Classes and approval of further education courses*, sometimes known as the Pilkington Report, considered the contribution made by arrangements for approving courses to facilitate the more effective use of resources. It was published after 1964, when there were plans to implement the recommendations of the *Day*

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<sup>25</sup> Memorandum on educational expenditure in Great Britain 1967-68, 18 July 1966. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/129/127> [Accessed 27 December 2010.]

<sup>26</sup> Anstis, J. G. (1985) *REDDITCH: Success in the Heart of England*. Stevenage, Publications for Companies. Gordon Anstis was a Board member of Redditch Development Corporation from 1965 to 1985.

<sup>27</sup> Rollins, J. G. (1984) *A History of Redditch*. Chichester, Phillimore.

*Release* report and the 1964 Industrial Training Act announced the establishment of ITBs. It was not surprising, therefore, that the subsequent 1966 Report argued that the effective utilisation of this reserve of resources would be invaluable in helping the colleges meet the heavy demands in the next few years. The DES approval of new courses was limited to advanced courses, whereas the *Further Education (Local Education Authorities) Regulations, 1959*, (Regulation 9) required that all LEAs avoid uneconomical duplication of courses provided at similar institutions in neighbouring areas. For this purpose, FE colleges were required to consult bodies maintaining such other institutions via their RAC. Now, however, this meant what had been given as a minimum for advanced courses was often regarded as the minimum for non-advanced courses.<sup>28</sup>

What was expressly put forward as a minimum for advanced courses has often come to be regarded as the norm for all courses, and has in turn set an upper limit to the size of classes. Nobody with whom we have discussed the matter has sought to argue that larger classes than 15 are ipso facto excessive, though all have recognised that smaller teaching groups are desirable for some purposes.<sup>29</sup>

It was recommended that approval for local, non-advanced courses should be left to the LEA, but some LEAs had even used between eight to twelve students as their minima. Even given the use of minimum numbers for courses, it was also essential that classes be organised in such a way that FE lecturing staff and accommodation were employed to the fullest advantage. The Pilkington Report took into account the situation of FE colleges in rural areas of England where there were particular difficulties in travelling. The Report added,

But there will be some cases - particularly in the more scattered country areas - in which there are a substantial number of students who will be deprived of a course if the normal minimum enrolment is insisted upon, and exceptions should be sympathetically entertained in such cases.<sup>30</sup>

When referring to the greater use of resources Worcestershire LEA paid most attention to the size of classes. The Worcestershire County Education Officer had written in May 1966 to all Principals and Governing Bodies of FE Colleges about the Pilkington

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<sup>28</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1966) Report on the *Size of classes and approval of further education courses* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 49.

Report, including the criteria for approval of new vocational courses that applied to all advanced and non-advanced vocational courses. Minimum initial enrolments were required before new courses were approved:

(i) Full-time (including sandwich) courses	24
(ii) Part-time day courses involving a large element of workshop practice	15
(iii) Other part-time day courses	20 <sup>31</sup>

The Worcestershire County Education Officer stated that the Pilkington Report had received preliminary consideration at a recent meeting of Principals of Colleges of FE. It was then proposed to hold a series of further meetings at which each group of courses would be examined in the light of the Report. The object was to strengthen existing courses where possible, and to rationalise or eliminate weak courses which showed no signs of development.<sup>32</sup> In February 1967 the FE Sub-Committee was informed that significant progress had been made in the rationalisation of courses in accordance with the Pilkington Report, as a result of a series of consultations involving College Principals and HMIs.<sup>33</sup>

The Summary of Annual Reports of the Colleges of FE issued in 1967 indicated some of the ways implementation of the 1966 Pilkington Report had affected the development of FE in Worcestershire, as Worcestershire LEA was able to find more than one way of strengthening courses. This summary made evident the advantages of the LEA having responsibility for several colleges, rather than individual colleges competing against each other. For example, there was to be the progressive elimination of brickwork and plumbing courses at Bromsgrove College.<sup>34</sup> There was also closer inter-college co-operation and the development of inter-college activities. These included the Supervisory Studies scheme, an association between Redditch College, as the parent college, and the Kidderminster and Halesowen colleges.<sup>35</sup> Courses were rationalised

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<sup>31</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, Letter from County Education Officer, May 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>32</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>33</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1967; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>34</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, October 1967; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>35</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

so, for example, in 1967 Worcestershire LEA moved Redditch College's HNC and ONC courses in Production Engineering, as well as the General Course in Engineering, to Bromsgrove College where similar courses were offered.<sup>36</sup> Engineering lecturers at Redditch College resented the move and wanted to know why the courses were not retained in Redditch with its numerous engineering firms. However, there was also the argument that Bromsgrove College had strong links with BMC at Longbridge, Birmingham.<sup>37</sup> Worcestershire LEA also wanted to close the Mechanical Engineering Technicians' Certificate, part two, block release course at Redditch. In May 1968 a special meeting of the Redditch College Governors was held as the Chairman of the Governors had received letters of protest from various local engineering firms, and strong representations had been made to the LEA by the Manufacturers' Association. The Principal had sent a letter to the County Education Officer referring to the growing apprehension of the staff upon possible redundancy. The governors were concerned that, if the block release courses were transferred elsewhere, firms would be likely to send their day release students to the college with the block release course.<sup>38</sup> By June 1968 representatives of the Education Committee and the Redditch College Governors had met, and the WMAC had agreed to reconsider their decision, but the decision did not appear in the minutes of Worcestershire LEA and Redditch College Governors.<sup>39</sup>

At Redditch College the report on the New Craft Studies Course in Engineering, written by the Head of Engineering Department was presented to the governors. This document recognised the application of the Pilkington Report that emphasised 'the contribution to be made by a rationalised system of courses'. By 'rationalising common elements' of the 'FE complement' as recommended by various training boards, there would be a single common FE course for Craft Engineering students. In other words, by extracting from various possible courses what each course had in common, a new course was offered.<sup>40</sup> This approach sounded similar to the one described in the 1959 Crowther Report.

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<sup>36</sup> West, H. (1973) A History of Redditch College; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>37</sup> The British Motor Corporation amalgamated into British Leyland in 1968.

<sup>38</sup> Redditch College Governors' special meeting minutes, May, 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>39</sup> Redditch College Governors' special meeting minutes, June, 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>40</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, New Craft Studies Course in Engineering, December 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.



We understand that there have recently been some discussions with a view to seeing whether it would not be possible to devise a common basis for some of the courses in the engineering industry that are now quite separate. With more time available, it should be easier to arrange something of the sort, which from the educational point of view could hardly help but be beneficial.<sup>41</sup>

This was an example of a situation where there was a greater use of resources with ‘maximum educational advantage’ as suggested by the 1968 Report on the *Use of buildings and equipment*.<sup>42</sup>

The Worcestershire County Education Officer’s Report in 1970 commented on the assessment and approval of new courses by stating that

At almost every meeting, the Committee have approved proposals for establishing some new courses for which colleges see a need. It is true to say that, during the past three years, these proposals have been examined more critically than ever before, because of the numerous exhortations for economy and the most efficient use of resources.

The County Education Officer added that they had all had very much in mind the Pilkington Report on the rationalisation of courses, and a great deal had been done to eliminate weak courses and to concentrate certain courses in fewer centres. He felt he could accurately describe the past three years as a period of consolidation rather than rapid expansion.<sup>43</sup>

One way of strengthening courses and attracting more students was by ensuring employers, schools and individuals were more aware of the courses offered by FE colleges. Three national FE documents in the mid-1960s, the 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report, the 1964 Alexander Report, and the 1966 Pilkington Report contained recommendations for improving public relations. The Henniker-Heaton Report, *Day Release*, argued that the right to day release could not be granted without holding back the prospects for other urgent educational developments including the raising of the school leaving age to 16, but a significant increase in the number of young people on

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<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO, para. 531.

<sup>42</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1968) Report on the *Use of buildings and equipment* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>43</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, County Education Officer’s Report, February 1970; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

day release courses was still required.<sup>44</sup> The recommendations of the Henniker-Heaton Report included a 'continuing public relations campaign' to persuade employers to allow their young employees to attend day release courses, and 'to bring the facilities available to the notice of employers'.<sup>45</sup> The Henniker-Heaton Report suggested that, without reducing normal liaison between industry and senior members of staff in FE, a public relations officer might be valuable. The 'concept of a college-industry liaison officer' had 'considerable attractions not only in relation to day release, but in the whole field of relationships between the college and industry'.<sup>46</sup> Some colleges already dealt with a great number of firms, but such a liaison officer would meet employers singly or in groups to discuss questions of education in general, and opportunities in the FE college, as well as acting as a direct link with the Principal, Heads of Departments and specialised staff of the college. The compilers of the Henniker-Heaton Report were glad to learn that the NACEIC had set up a sub-committee to advise on what guidance might be given to the Minister of Education, the Regional Advisory Councils and LEAs on the public relations of FE. The authors of the Henniker-Heaton Report were sure that the NACEIC Report on Public Relations would be of great value in relation to their own objectives, as well as in other ways.<sup>47</sup>

The 1964 NACEIC Report, sometimes known as the Alexander Report, was entitled *The Public Relations of Further Education*, and placed emphasis on the importance of improving the public understanding of the facilities offered in FE, and concluded that systematic public relations activities about FE were needed at national, regional, LEA and college levels. At the national level public relations included a book commissioned by the DES, written by Bristow and entitled *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. Bristow intended his book to be read by the interested parent and teachers in secondary schools. His descriptions of FE colleges included the range of courses offered and the varied backgrounds of teaching staff.<sup>48</sup> The 1972 publication *Education: A framework for expansion* described the book as a lively account of the work of FE colleges.<sup>49</sup> The

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<sup>44</sup> Ministry of Education. (1964) *Day Release*. London, HMSO.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 47.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 122.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Bristow, A. (1970) *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. London, HMSO.

<sup>49</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

Alexander Report suggested that Liaison Officers should be appointed, who would be responsible for dealing with the press, schools and industrial concerns so as to make well known the FE facilities provided by the LEAs. This approach would identify whether there were any academic and vocational fields in which existing FE provision was inadequate.<sup>50</sup> Therefore the Alexander Report envisaged a larger role for the Liaison Officer than that outlined by the Henniker-Heaton Report, as the role would include not only developing links between the FE college and employers, but also improving links between the FE college and schools, and also the press.

The Pilkington Report on the *Size of Classes and approval of further education courses* also referred to 'Public Relations Aspects'. This Report attached special importance to the need to ensure that groups and individuals who were affected understood the purpose of measures designed to improve the use of resources and increase the opportunities for colleges.<sup>51</sup> The Report added,

Care should also be taken to explain the decisions to parents, students and firms. We have been told that opposition from firms who expect courses to be put on at the nearest college is sometimes an obstacle to the sensible planning of courses. Yet businessmen should be the first to understand the advantages of measures intended to make good use of resources if the reasons are explained to them.<sup>52</sup>

The Pilkington Report implied that FE was also a business, but this assumption was more evident in the national FE documents of the 1980s when a business discourse was found in national and local documents.

The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee concluded that as far as FE colleges were concerned publicity was best left in the hands of Principals. Nothing was said at that time about what would be done at LEA level.<sup>53</sup> The Redditch College Governors discussed the recommendations of the Alexander Report and decided that relations with industry were best covered by discussions between specialist members of the teaching

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<sup>50</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>51</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1966) Report on the *Size of classes and approval of further education courses* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>53</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

staff and the industries concerned. However, a local conference of head teachers of secondary schools, their careers teachers, the local Youth Employment Officer and other interested parties held at the College was also considered useful as a way of providing details of local FE facilities. A letter was now sent to the County Education Officer, who replied that he would arrange for one of his department's officers to come and discuss the matter in more detail.<sup>54</sup> There was, however, no mention in the minutes of the College Governors that any such meeting took place. More than a year later, the Governors felt there was still not enough publicity for the type of work undertaken in FE colleges. The Governors agreed that the Principal should give a talk on courses available at Redditch College to the Redditch and Bromsgrove Employment Committee, but the minutes did not give any details about this committee.<sup>55</sup>

The Principal later reported that as a result of certain pressures the LEA was producing a booklet dealing with the work of FE colleges.<sup>56</sup> This was a reference to the meeting of the FE Sub-Committee earlier that month, but it was not made clear what these pressures were. It was minuted at that meeting that with the increasing trend towards concentration of courses at particular colleges, it was important that adequate publicity on the location of courses should be given to students, employers and schools. It was therefore proposed, subject to the Committee's approval, to prepare for publication during the summer a concise 'County Guide to Further Education'. The FE Sub-Committee hoped that this guide would also help to improve the public understanding of the facilities offered in FE, as recommended in the report on *The Public Relations of Further Education*. The Sub-Committee also agreed that that the guide, once published, should be widely distributed in the area.<sup>57</sup> A month later, a LEA administrative assistant at a Redditch College Governors' meeting stated he was working on the booklet and gave the details of the type of information that would be incorporated.<sup>58</sup> Thus, more than two years after publication of the Alexander Report, Worcestershire LEA had started to prepare a booklet publicising FE facilities in the county. This

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<sup>54</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, June 1965; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>55</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, December 1966; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>56</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, February 1967; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>57</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1967; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>58</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1967; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

change of mind suggested that the LEA was not as independent as it thought; yet there was no indication in LEA or college documents that the County Guide was ever completed and distributed.

The second Report of the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources was related to the use of buildings and equipment, as there was still a concern about the use of resources when the demand for FE courses was increasing. It was anticipated that the need to improve the use of existing buildings would be greater where the facilities were under heavy strain because of rapidly growing demand for FE provision. The Report stressed that its recommendations were based on steps already taken in colleges to make the best possible use of premises and equipment to meet growing and changing requirements. Recommendations in this report included regular surveys of accommodation and equipment, the careful timetabling of classrooms which were furnished for a variety of purposes, with colleges sharing expensive or specialised equipment. Industry could then help FE colleges by timing the release of students with the intention of monitoring the load on college accommodation, and enabling FE colleges to make more use of industrial facilities, particularly equipment.<sup>59</sup> The 1968 Report on the *Use of buildings and equipment*, acknowledged that output was also important and said that all possible assistance should be given to colleges ‘in using the available resources to maximum educational advantage’, thus raising educational standards.<sup>60</sup>

In July 1968 Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee was informed of the receipt of the second report concerned with the ‘More Effective Use of Technical College Resources’, focusing on buildings and equipment. A summary of the main findings of this report was given, and it was agreed to consider the report after the Worcestershire FE College Principals had discussed it.<sup>61</sup> However such consideration was not evident in the later minutes of the Sub-Committee. Worcestershire LEA had already written to FE colleges

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<sup>59</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1968) Report on the *Use of buildings and equipment* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., para. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, July 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

in 1964 about the Henniker-Heaton Report and increasing the number of day release students, which would have required extra facilities, but governors were reminded that it was also essential first of all to ensure that maximum use was made of existing accommodation.<sup>62</sup> In May 1970 the Worcestershire County Education Officer referred to the steps being taken to promote closer liaison between secondary schools and FE colleges, undertaken with the object of securing the most effective use of accommodation, equipment and staffing in meeting the needs of the 16 to 19 age group.<sup>63</sup> Presumably this action was one of the stimuli for the development of linked courses discussed in July 1972, when a report dealing with the objectives and development of linked courses in the County was discussed.<sup>64</sup> Some linked courses had already been developed at Redditch College, where the college had provided the lecturers, and the school or college provided the accommodation. The Principal of Redditch College told the Governors that school-linked courses in Retail Trades subjects and Computer Appreciation had opened with good support, although no further details were given.<sup>65</sup> In 1975 the newly formed Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee discussed the full-time education of students aged 16 to 19 in schools and FE colleges, and it was still considered 'possible to make good economic use of all resources, e.g. shared use of specialist staff, [and] provision of linked courses where appropriate'.<sup>66</sup>

The 1969 Report on the *Use of Costing and other financial techniques* referred to the contribution that could be made by costing to control expenditure. It was thought imperative to ensure that the most economical use was made of resources. The Report suggested that the DES should be the agency that collected and published statistics of comparative cost, having consulted with the appropriate bodies. There was also the advice that, if the statistics relating to colleges and courses were published, authorities should constantly be alive to local circumstances and pay full regard to educational

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<sup>62</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1964; held at Worcestershire Record Office; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>63</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1970; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>64</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, July 1972; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>65</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes, June 1969; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>66</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1975; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

factors contributing to differences in cost.<sup>67</sup> One measure was soon used to compare FE colleges with each other, as in 1972 the DES established norms of Staff-Student Ratios (SSRs) using the Annual Monitoring Survey to monitor the colleges in this respect. The SSR was based on full-time equivalent (fte) enrolled students and academic staff, and rationalisation of courses was one way of increasing SSRs.<sup>68</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee did not refer to the report on the use of costing.

The 1970 Hunt Report on *The Pattern and Organisation of the College Year* claimed that a substantial number of the colleges sampled pointed out the strong probability that an extension of the college year would result in a marked increase in cost-effectiveness.<sup>69</sup> The 1959 Crowther Report, had already recommended that colleges should organise part of sandwich courses to run during the summer vacation to ensure greater use of resources, particularly extremely expensive equipment.<sup>70</sup> The 1970 Hunt Report stated that there was the obligation facing all those concerned in the operation of the FE service to use to the full the resources available. This statement was a reference to worsening economic conditions that made fuller use of resources even more necessary. The Labour Government cut public spending after the 1967 devaluation, which was why the obligation to make full use of resources remained, and why as the report said, 'economic developments since the first report was written' had 'intensified it'.<sup>71</sup> Although receipt of the Report on Technical College Resources: *The Pattern and Organisation of the College Year* was acknowledged by the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee in 1970, the FE Sub-Committee minutes contained no further references to

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<sup>67</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1969) Report on the *Use of Costing and other financial techniques* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>68</sup> Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office. (1987) *Managing Colleges Efficiently*. London, HMSO.

<sup>69</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1970) Report of an inquiry into the *Pattern and organisation of the college year* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>70</sup> Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18*. Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>71</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1970) Report of an inquiry into the *Pattern and organisation of the college year* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO, para. 4.

the 1970 Report.<sup>72</sup> In the Engineering Department at Redditch College there had already been a change in the organisation of the college year after the 1964 Industrial Training Act. However, local documents did not mention that the advantage of the extended college year was the greater use of buildings and equipment.

The decision to defer plans to raise the school leaving age to 16 in 1969, along with expenditure cuts was announced by Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in January 1968.<sup>73</sup> Sir Edward Boyle, Conservative Minister of Education from 1962 to 1964, spoke in the House of Commons and said that the postponement of the raising of the school leaving age was wrong. A longer period of full-time education was an essential precondition to securing a more adaptable labour force that the country so urgently required. Yet, the United States, who were also concerned about their balance of payments, were planning a considerably increased educational budget. It was now not surprising that there was a lack of confidence even over the postponed date of 1973. After talking to a number of larger authorities, he feared there would be a restriction on the development of FE just when everyone agreed that the nation needed to devote more resources to professional training. There was a risk that if the growth rate was to be reduced in local authority spending on education from six to three per cent, some authorities would start saving on the recruitment of teachers. Patrick Gordon Walker, Labour Secretary of State for Education and Science, said that he would have liked education to have been spared, but it was impossible for education, a costly and rapidly expanding service, to escape a contribution to the savings which they had to make. They had restrained growth of expenditure in ways which would enable them to resume their advance as quickly as possible.<sup>74</sup> At the TUC Conference in Sept 1968, Sidney Greene, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, warned the Government that unless there was a return to full employment people would not cooperate in raising output. An ATTI delegate, Mr. W. A. G. Easton, said that the only way major savings could be made was in the salary bill for teachers, and that meant larger classes.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1970; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>73</sup> Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell. Dr. Ian Lawrence was a writer, lecturer and researcher on educational issues.

<sup>74</sup> *The Times*, 15 February 1968.

<sup>75</sup> *The Times*, 5 September 1968.



It was also in 1968 that financial restraints in Worcestershire were particularly evident, as the implementation of the 1967 Burnham Report was deferred by Worcestershire LEA. The Burnham Report defined in numerical terms the relationship between the four levels of work and the various grades of teaching staff and intended that LEAs should bring this into effect on 1st January 1968. However, there were various alternatives permitted by the Burnham Report, and the Worcestershire Further Education Salaries and Staffing Sub-Committee selected the one which involved least adjustment to the existing staffing formula. The following table shows their option and indicates the four levels of work with the associated proportion of teaching posts.

<u>Standard of work</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Proportion of posts</u>
A.1	Senior Lecturers	45%
	Lecturers Grade II	55%
A.2	Senior Lecturers	35%
	Lecturers Grade II	65%
B	Lecturers Grade II	40%
	Lecturers Grade I	60%
C	Lecturers Grade II <sup>76</sup>	50%
	Assistant Lecturers	50%

Source: Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1968, Appendix I.

The same Sub-Committee calculated that application of this formula would require the appointment of nine additional teaching staff, as well as the upgrading of nearly forty existing teachers. It was seriously concerned that the heavy additional cost would fall within a year of special financial stringency and recommended the adoption of the new scheme as from 1st September 1968. The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee felt unable to recommend a larger financial contribution to the WEA at that time, in view of the severe restriction on education expenditure, but agreed that the annual grant of £250 should continue. Remission of fees for old age pensioners was also discussed, but it was agreed to recommend that, in view of the national economic situation, the concession to pensioners which had been approved for the next session should be deferred for a further twelve months. <sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> This probably should have been 'Lecturers Grade I'.

<sup>77</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

In 1971 there were further financial difficulties when the rate support grant was reduced. The 1966 Local Government Act replaced the general grant with the Rate Support Grant which was divided into needs, resources and domestic elements.<sup>78</sup> If LEAs spent more than the estimated amount, the entire excess was taken from the rates. Thus from 1967 the responsibility for providing education, including FE, rested very largely with the LEAs, while the cost was met from central government's Rate Support Grant and from local rates. Central government controlled the amount of resources allocated to education, although LEAs had some influence over the level of spending as they decided what proportion of income from local rates was spent on education. They also decided what proportion of funds for education was allocated to FE.<sup>79</sup> This meant there was a wide variation between LEAs in the amount that was spent on each FE student. The Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee received the DES Circular 4/71 which asked LEAs to review, in collaboration with the RACs, FE tuition fees for 1971-2 with the object of securing increased fee income to offset the reduction in the rate support grant.<sup>80</sup> The only mention of cuts at Redditch College was in April 1969, when the Redditch College Governors received its estimates as approved by the Education Committee. These estimates showed token reductions under the headings of furniture, text books, materials and administration, so the Redditch College Principal expressed his satisfaction that in general the cuts were of a minor character.<sup>81</sup>

The 1968 Education (No. 2) Act meant college governing bodies ceased to be sub-committees of the Education Committee, and instead they became statutory bodies exercising powers and carrying out duties prescribed in their Articles of Government.<sup>82</sup> There were also changes in the composition of FE college governing bodies to reduce the control of LEAs. The DES Circular 7/70 stated that LEA members would now form less than half of the governing body, although in most cases it would be sufficient if they formed one third or even one quarter. The Secretary of State suggested that direct representation of industry would normally account for about one-third of the membership. It was stated in Circular 7/70 that if major establishments of FE were to

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<sup>78</sup> Taylor, G. & JB Saunders, J. B. (1971) *The New Law of Education*. London, Butterworths.

<sup>79</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1979) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>80</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1971; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>81</sup> Redditch College Governors minutes, April 1969; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>82</sup> The 1968 Education (No. 2) Act (c.37).

function effectively, such governors would have relevant experience and knowledge, so that they would understand the work of the college.<sup>83</sup> Therefore governing bodies would need to include ‘substantial representation of industrial [and] commercial...interests from the areas they serve’ with current experience of industry and commerce relevant to the work of the college and with an active interest in FE.<sup>84</sup> The Principal of the FE college and not fewer than two other members of the teaching staff should be included on the governing body. However, if the college had an academic board, this would be responsible for appointing one or more of the staff governors. At least one such staff governor should be elected by the teaching staff as a whole. It was also specified that individuals not drawn from an organised group could make a valuable contribution because of their interests or background. Provision was made for the co-option of such individuals as members of the Governing Body. Circular 7/70 stated that in ‘the case of colleges with a substantial proportion of advanced work, or a substantial proportion of adult students at 18 plus...consideration should be given to the inclusion of students appointed through the students’ union. Authorities may also wish to consider the representation of students in other cases’.<sup>85</sup> It was suggested that it would often be appropriate to include a head teacher from one of the principal schools from which students were drawn. It was also recommended that governing bodies ‘should not be so large as to impede effective action. A governing body of 20 to 25 members should normally be aimed at.’<sup>86</sup>

When Alice Bacon, Minister of State for Education and Science, moved the third reading of the Education Bill in 1968, she said the Bill was important to the future growth and development of the non-university sector of higher education. Its main purpose was to improve the arrangements by which colleges of education and FE colleges were conducted in the future. The Bill had its origins in the determination of the Government to see that the colleges of education and leading FE colleges were able to fulfil their important role as higher education institutions.<sup>87</sup> In other words, the 1968 Education (No. 2) Act enabled colleges of education and FE colleges with a substantial

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<sup>83</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1970) *Government and Conduct of Establishments of Further Education*, Circular 7/70. London, HMSO.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 4 (iv).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 4 (ix).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 4 (i).

<sup>87</sup> *The Times*, 15 June 1968.

proportion of advanced work to have greater academic freedom despite LEA control.<sup>88</sup> This explanation suggested that previously LEAs were a hindrance.

The Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee, approved in principle the appointment of adult students, defined by Circular 7/70 as '18 plus', to serve as governors, with full rights and responsibilities, on college governing bodies.<sup>89</sup> In October 1968 there was a joint meeting with the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of College Governing Bodies when the possible implications of the 1968 Education (No. 2) Act were considered. It was agreed that in any reconstitution of governing bodies there should be wider representation, but no increase in the size of the governing body.<sup>90</sup> It was also reported that the representation of staff on governing bodies was now being considered at national level, and no action locally should be taken until guidance on this subject was received.<sup>91</sup> This guidance was received in the form of the DES Circular 7/70, and the Education Committee minutes gave Bromsgrove College's Articles of Government as an example. These Articles of Government, like those of Redditch College, were similar to those given in the Annex to Circular 7/70. The LEA, in consultation with the Governors, was responsible for determining the general educational character of the College, while the Governors were responsible for the general direction of the College and its educational provision, including staffing, financial control and approval of courses. The Principal as chief executive had increased powers as the Articles of Government stated he was now responsible to the Governors for the internal organisation, management and discipline of the College. The Academic Board was responsible for the planning, co-ordination, development and oversight of the academic work of the College. The Academic Board comprised the Principal, who acted as Chairman, the Vice-Principal, and such other members of the College as the Governors determined in accordance with a constitution approved by the Governors after consulting the academic staff of the College.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ebutt, K. & Brown, R. (1978) 'The Structure of Power in the FE College', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 2: 3, pp. 3-17. Keith Ebutt and Roger Brown were at Hounslow Borough College.

<sup>89</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, July 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>90</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>91</sup> Redditch College Governors' minutes December 1968; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>92</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, October 1970; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

The change in the composition of Redditch College Governing Body is shown below.<sup>93</sup>

**Representatives**

<b>Redditch College</b>	LEA	District Council	Principal	Industry and Commerce	Head Teachers	Teaching staff	College students	Co-opted
<b>1962</b>	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0
<b>1974</b>	5	0	1	5	1	2	2	1

The wider representation of Redditch College Governing Body, with little increase in size, was the outcome agreed in the meeting of Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of FE College Governors in 1968, although there were fewer governors than suggested in Circular 7/70. Redditch College now had no district councillors, so the proportion of governors who were elected councillors fell from two thirds to less than one third.

Academic Boards consisted of senior management staff and not less than six members of the teaching staff who were elected by the teaching staff. At Redditch College lecturers in each department voted for their representative(s) on the Academic Board. All lecturers also voted for a 'cross college' representative, who was, in practice, usually the Branch Secretary of ATTI. Cantor and Roberts thought that the DES recognised that FE lecturers were responsible, professional people and should be given a voice by being represented on the Academic Board. However, they also acknowledged that the extent to which LEAs and Principals followed the spirit of Circular 7/70 varied considerably. Before 1970 appointments of full-time and part-time lecturers were approved by the FE Sub-Committee. Afterwards it was the Principal, under arrangements made by the Governors after consultation with the Academic Board, who had a general responsibility for the appointment of members of the teaching staff. Although these changes meant LEAs had less control over FE colleges, Cantor and Roberts (1983) pointed out that LEAs still had considerable influence as, for example, their powers to approve expenditure estimates could be used as a lever for wider intervention.<sup>94</sup> There was still a place for Advisory Committees in a FE college, and in 1970 Redditch College had not only an Advisory Committee for Engineering, but

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<sup>93</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1962 and 1974; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>94</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1983) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

also one for Business Studies and one for Management.<sup>95</sup> Bristow pointed out that it was convenient if one of the governors acted as chairman of each Advisory Committee.<sup>96</sup> In 1970 at Redditch College the Chairman of the Governors was also the Chairman of each Advisory Committee, so the Chairman of Governors was able to speak on behalf of all the Advisory Committees.<sup>97</sup>

Although the 1968 Education (No. 2) Act and the DES Circular 7/70 meant that the LEAs' control of their FE colleges was reduced and the Colleges of Advanced Technology (CATs) were now removed from LEA control to become universities, LEAs did develop polytechnics. The establishment of polytechnics was recommended by the 1966 White Paper, *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges*. There were advanced courses in about 200 colleges, so that advanced classes in FE were often too small to be economic. It was decided that advanced classes should be concentrated in a limited number of colleges, with some colleges merging.<sup>98</sup> Thirty polytechnics were established and by 1983 courses included those in business and management studies, science and technology, the social sciences, the humanities, and art and design, although the courses tended to have a practical application by preparing students for a particular career.<sup>99</sup>

The Haslegrave Committee reviewed the provision for courses suitable for technicians at all levels (including corresponding grades in nontechnical occupations) and considered what changes were desirable in the present structure of courses and examinations.<sup>100</sup> The basic message of the 1969 Haslegrave Report, *Technician Courses and Examinations*, was that technician courses should be simplified and less cluttered with the teaching of particular skills needed in a comparatively narrow field of industry. The Haslegrave Committee examined FE courses provided for technicians in industry, the workers in the grades between the qualified scientists and engineers and the skilled foremen and craftsmen. Their main recommendation was that a Technician

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<sup>95</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1970; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>96</sup> Bristow, A. (1970) *Inside the Colleges of Further Education*. London, HMSO.

<sup>97</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1970; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>98</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1969) *Further Education in England and Wales*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>99</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1983) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>100</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1969) *Technician Courses and Examinations*. London, HMSO.

Education Council (TEC) should be set up. It would introduce new technician courses, starting in the field of engineering, to replace those run by the CGLI and the National Certificate and the National Diploma courses run by the DES. The new council would be responsible for the whole range of examinations and qualifications in the technician field. It would also take over the administrative work at present done by the DES in connection with National Certificate and Diploma courses. The committee recommended that an entirely new Business Education Council (BEC) should be set up to develop a unified national pattern of courses in business and office studies below first degree level. Edward Short, the Labour Secretary of State for Education and Science, had sent copies of the Haslegrave report to LEAs, FE colleges, and other bodies concerned in the education and training of technicians.<sup>101</sup> Although these recommendations were accepted by the government it was not until March 1973 that the TEC came into existence and May 1974 that the BEC appeared.<sup>102</sup> The TEC's tasks included devising or approving programmes of study leading to its awards, but there were opportunities for colleges to devise and submit for approval programmes which met the specific needs of their students and local industry. Redditch College offered the new TEC National Certificate and Higher Certificate in Mechanical and Production Engineering courses from 1979 and the BEC OND, ONC, HNC and HND Business Studies courses from 1980.<sup>103</sup>

The Haslegrave Report referred to 'general studies' and, as technicians often became managers, it recommended a broader curriculum for technicians that would encourage in young workers independence of thought and a sense of responsibility, and develop their ability to communicate.<sup>104</sup> However, in 1974 the TEC referred to General and Communication Studies, and argued for a closer association of these studies with technical and vocational content. The BEC approach appeared to be somewhat different as it identified four 'core themes': people; communication; money; and a logical and numerate approach to problems in a technological environment. The related 'core skills' were assessed through the device of cross-modular assignments. Bailey and

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<sup>101</sup> *The Times*, 16 December 1969.

<sup>102</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1983) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>103</sup> Redditch College Prospectuses, 1979 and 1980; held at Redditch Public Library.

<sup>104</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1969) *Technician Courses and Examinations*. London, HMSO.

Unwin, when analysing the ‘short-lived phenomenon of General/Liberal Studies in English vocational education and training’, regarded the BEC model as representing a much narrower curriculum than had been envisaged in the early days of Liberal and General Studies, so that the ‘free inquiry’ of DES Circular 323 had become the ‘core skills’ of BEC.<sup>105</sup> By the 1990s other courses, such as the OND and ONC in Care, also included assessed core skills, and GNVQs incorporated an assessed ‘key skills’ element.

Short announced a special school building programme for the postponed raising of the school leaving age, now due in 1972-73. *The Times* argued that one of the reasons why some 15 year olds would get little or nothing out of an extra year was that they were already effectively lost to schooling. One of the reasons why they were already lost to schooling was the deficiency of the schools they had already attended. Raising the age entailed a building programme over three years, but also deferred the time when there would be enough teachers to rid the system of oversized classes. Educational finance was exceptionally tight, some local authorities foresaw a deterioration of standards, and there was expected to be a shortage of teachers for a decade ahead. Short said the Government was also looking at the possibility that the final year of education for some pupils should be in institutions of further education as an alternative to schools.<sup>106</sup> Speeches and votes at the 1969 annual conference of the ATTI indicated that Short was standing almost alone in supporting an arrangement enabling students aged 15, whose vocational commitment was secure, to move on to technical colleges for their last year of compulsory education. Against him were ranged a strong alliance of the ATTI, the NUT, and the Headmasters' Association.<sup>107</sup>

However, when the school leaving age was raised to sixteen in the early 1970s full-time attendance at a technical college was not an option, although some pupils were able to take advantage of linked courses already provided by several local FE colleges as part of the school curriculum. Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1972, said that FE colleges had a role to play in linked courses in which children still at school attended colleges for part of their education. She had

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<sup>105</sup> Bailey, B & Unwin, L. (2008) ‘Fostering ‘habits of reflection, independent study and free inquiry’: an analysis of the short-lived phenomenon of General/Liberal Studies in English vocational education and training’, *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 60, no. 1, March 2008, pp. 61-74.

<sup>106</sup> *The Times*, 9 January 1969.

<sup>107</sup> *The Times*, 26 May 1969.



been encouraged by reports she had received from local authorities. They showed that 102 areas were already operating such courses and a further 22 were planning similar developments. The range of topics was wide and often made use of local opportunities. This kind of development went a long way towards achieving the essential objective of those who advocated a change in the law, so that pupils in the last year of compulsory education could attend colleges of further education for part of that year.<sup>108</sup> Although the 1944 Education Act recommended raising the school leaving age to 16, it was nearly thirty years before this came into effect. McCulloch remarked that delay had advantages, as history showed that people would accept and almost take the change for granted in a decade's time.<sup>109</sup> Sheldon agreed that delay defused opposition and allowed time for parents, schools and pupils to accept the change and at the same time, governments deferred the costs involved.<sup>110</sup>

The 1970 Hunt Report claimed that FE faced future 'increasing competition from other claimants on scarce resources'.<sup>111</sup> The 1972 White Paper, *Education: A framework for expansion*, revealed that the sectors competing with FE included those in education. It stated that each programme was in a very real sense in competition for its share of resources with other programmes, both within and outside the education service. Thus the counterclaims of 'nursery education, school buildings, staffing standards in schools, teacher training and higher education' posed 'difficult decisions about the allocation of resources'.<sup>112</sup> Prior to this the UK'S FE expenditure of LEAs had grown faster than for education as a whole, and it was probable that the DES bore this in mind when referring to only five areas of education in their statement.<sup>113</sup> However, the White Paper did state that the FE system now had a vital contribution to make in ensuring that the country had a work force capable of meeting, at all levels, the changing demands of industry and commerce. Employers, including those in need of updating and retraining,

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<sup>108</sup> *The Times*, 24 March 1972.

<sup>109</sup> *The Guardian*, 2 December 2008.

<sup>110</sup> Sheldon, N. (2009) 'Tackling truancy'. Available from <http://www.historyandpolicy.org> [Accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2011.]

<sup>111</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1970) Report of an inquiry into the *Pattern and organisation of the college year* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO, para. 3.

<sup>112</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO, para. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1969) Report on the *Use of Costing and other financial techniques* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

were now asked to increase their support for FE by making full use of all FE facilities.<sup>114</sup> Such pleas were what the 1969 Report on costing described as the frequent response of Government, the stimulus of exhortation.<sup>115</sup> Little else was said about non-advanced FE (NAFE) at this time, presumably because, as the White Paper said, no forecast of public expenditure could be usefully offered at that stage.<sup>116</sup>

As the 1972 White Paper followed a series of reports concerned with making greater use of resources in FE, it was not surprising that it was focused on ‘matters of scale, organisation and cost rather than educational content’.<sup>117</sup> However, one journalist writing for *The Times* thought that when Thatcher, the Education Secretary, produced the White Paper she should have followed the writing on the wall. It was quite clear that Britain's affluence had run completely dry and that the number of child consumers was likely to drop significantly, so what was needed was a Framework for Contraction.<sup>118</sup> Indirectly the 1972 White Paper on education had referred to FE when discussing initial teacher training as the government accepted that a much higher proportion of those teaching in FE should receive initial teacher training either before or after taking up an appointment. However, the government doubted ‘whether it would be desirable or practicable to impose compulsory initial training on a category of teachers (such as those intending to teach mainly the 16-19 age group) which could not be easily defined in advance.’<sup>119</sup> *The Times* did not explain why the government thought older students did not need to be taught by a trained teacher. Presumably the explanation was that the 16 to 19 year olds could have been in a school and taught by a teacher with an initial teacher training qualification. The 1972 James Report, *Teacher Education and Training*, also reminded its readers that there was ‘no formal requirement that further education teachers should be trained or hold qualified status’, although FE teachers should have opportunities to take suitable part-time courses of

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<sup>114</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO.

<sup>115</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1969) Report on the *Use of Costing and other financial techniques* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO.

<sup>116</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO, para. 2.

<sup>117</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO, para. 3.

<sup>118</sup> *The Times*, 31 May 1977.

<sup>119</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO, para. 85.

education and training.<sup>120</sup> The WMAC set up a sub-committee to consider the 1972 White Paper on education insofar as it related to further and higher education. The sub-committee felt that the 1956 Willis-Jackson Report and the 1966 Russell Report had spoken to no avail of the importance of initial teacher training in FE. The Advisory Council in its observations on the James Report suggested that all untrained technical teachers with less than three years service and all newly appointed untrained teachers should be offered induction and in-service training.<sup>121</sup>

The Conservative Government's 1972 discussion document *Training for the Future* stated that a major review of British training was one of the Government's most important commitments, because an adequate supply of trained manpower was vital to economic growth. It claimed the levy-grant system had administered shock treatment to industry, so that there was a permanent shift in attitude in British industry. It was assumed that, as employers had to pay a training levy to the ITBs, while those firms undertaking training received a grant, more firms were encouraged to provide training for their employees, and realised that there were other benefits to be gained by training their workforce.<sup>122</sup> However, by the beginning of the 1970s the ITBs were criticised for having only limited success in increasing the quantity of training.<sup>123</sup> The volume of training had only marginally increased, as it was up by fifteen per cent in those areas of manufacturing covered by the ITBs between 1964 and 1969, but the quantitative gains in training were limited to certain skilled areas.<sup>124</sup> The provision by 27 different boards was chaotic, apprenticeships were falling in number and new issues were posed by the growing unemployed.<sup>125</sup> *The Times* queried the assumption that the shock treatment had already done the trick and suggested that most of the ITBs' shortcomings had been the result of the way in which they were conceived. The organisation of training was on an industry by industry basis, and ignored the important fact that many skills and occupations were not peculiar to a particular industry. Management functions, for

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<sup>120</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Teacher Education and Training* (James Report). London, HMSO, para. 70.

<sup>121</sup> Worcestershire Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, July 1973.

<sup>122</sup> Department of Employment. (1972) *Training for the Future – A plan for discussion*. London, HMSO.

<sup>123</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1983) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>124</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>125</sup> Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. (1981) *Unpopular Education: Schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*. London, Hutchinson. This book was produced by the Education Group in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

example, were applicable in more or less the same form across the broad spectrum of industry.<sup>126</sup> The Department of Employment's plan was to create a national training agency to co-ordinate the work of the ITBs and take over the government's own existing vocational training scheme, which was to be expanded into a mass Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS).<sup>127</sup>

Thus *The Times* reported that a major reorganization of industrial training was announced by the Department of Employment, and that the aim was to provide 100,000 opportunities a year as soon as possible, compared with less than 17,000 in 1970. This large-scale expansion of vocational training schemes into a more comprehensive and widely available training scheme was designed to meet the requirements of both industry and the individual. In addition the Department was putting forward ideas for a National Training Agency responsible for running the new scheme and co-ordinating and complementing the work of the ITBs. The idea was to phase out the present levy-grant system of financing the Boards, enabling them to concentrate on advisory and standard-setting work. *The Times* Editorial commented that it was the failure to recognize the rate at which industrial skills became obsolete in an advanced economy that had been the critical weakness of governments' involvement so far in industrial training. It was a disquieting fact that a large proportion of the one million people now out of work would never again return to the type of jobs they last held. Technology, changing business patterns and other factors had completely precluded their return. Thus more attention could be focused on the particular training needs of different regions, particularly those with a high content of labour in declining industries.<sup>128</sup>

Eric Wigham wrote in *The Times* that employers were commonly guided by short-term economic considerations and unless there had been a surprising change of heart many would prefer to hope they would find skilled workers somehow in three or four years time rather than start training more now. The levy-grant schemes operated by industrial training boards were designed to put the balance of economic advantage clearly on the side of training more youngsters effectively. If the schemes were to be phased out, as

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<sup>126</sup> *The Times*, 2 February 1972.

<sup>127</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell. In 1990 Patrick Ainley worked in the Social Statistics Research Unit of City University. Mark Corney was visiting Research Fellow of the Public Policy Unit at Queen Mary College, London.

<sup>128</sup> *The Times*, 15 February 1972.

the consultative paper proposed, some companies might go back to relying on others to train their skilled workers. Given an expanded economy, there would be a severe shortage of skilled workers in 1975.<sup>129</sup> This concern was expressed in the House of Commons by Labour MPs. Reg Prentice, for example, stated that the levy-grant system had provided the main incentive for the improvements which had taken place since 1964. He said the Opposition were deeply concerned at the Government's policy set out in *Training for the Future*. If the central proposals of this policy statement were implemented, it was likely to lead to less training being carried out, less enforcement of good training standards, fewer young workers being given day release or block release to courses in FE, and even worse prospects than at present for young people leaving school and entering industry. The central proposals in the document represented surrender to pressure from some selfish groups of employers who were anxious to avoid carrying out their share of the nation's training effort. This policy was particularly dangerous against a background of over 900,000 registered unemployed, including over 50,000 under 18.<sup>130</sup> One Conservative MP, Hugh Fraser, said he hoped the Government would think again about the proposal to do away with the levy-grant. Although there had been failures, it was a stimulus which got industrialists to see that training was carried out.<sup>131</sup>

The 1973 Employment and Training Act established the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), which would be responsible for the promotion of more and better industrial training and for this purpose the Training Services Agency and the Employment Services Agencies would be created.<sup>132</sup> The MSC would have a semi-autonomous existence with representatives from government, employers and trade unions involved in its running. Both the TUC and the Confederation of British Industries (CBI) had agreed in principle to the plan for a training agency, and Maurice Macmillan, the Conservative Secretary of State for Employment, said in the House of Commons in March 1973 that the government attached great importance to the 'tripartite' approach. Patrick Ainley and Mark Corney claimed that Prime Minister Heath and his Ministers thought the MSC would be a sweetener for the Government's new attempt at an Incomes Policy. The MSC's Chairman would be accountable to the

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> *The Times*, 6 June 1972.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> The Employment and Training Act 1973 (c. 50).

Secretary of State for Employment, and Macmillan told the House of Commons in 1972 that the MSC would have to work closely with the Department of Employment since nearly all the money to finance it would come from that department.<sup>133</sup> The development and consequences of the MSC are discussed in the next chapter.

Although the 1969 Haslegrave Report referred to general studies and a broader education, the core themes in BEC courses in the 1970s were far removed from the Liberal Studies envisaged in the late 1950s. The LEAs' control of FE colleges was reduced when the 1968 Education (No. 2) Act was implemented, as the governing bodies of FE colleges were no longer Sub-Committees of the LEAs' Education Committees. LEA representatives had to form less than half of the governing body; at Redditch College they formed less than a third. The 1973 Employment and Training Act marked another change with the functions of ITBs reduced by phasing out the levy-grant system, and the creation of the MSC. Britain's economic problems from the mid-1960s meant that any expansion of FE had to be achieved with fewer resources than expected. The 1966 Pilkington Report, for example, stated that the greater utilisation of resources was required to meet greater demand. Thus, in 1970 the Worcestershire County Education Officer stated that in the late 1960s the LEA had been concerned with rationalising courses, and described the previous three years as a period of consolidation rather than rapid expansion.

The year 1973 can be regarded as the end of an era for FE. Although Britain experienced economic difficulties in the late 1960s, by 1974 it was evident that the general prosperity and economic stability of post-war Britain had ended. There was a worldwide recession, and Britain experienced a rapidly falling demand for its products. Rising unemployment was evident in the UK, and the rate of inflation increased which was partly the result of a rise in the price of oil. The Arab-Israeli War of 1973 had resulted in a decision by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to restrict the supply of oil to western countries, as they had supported Israel. Local government had been reorganised, as central government believed in the economies of scale. Thus the 1972 Local Government Act, which came into effect in April 1974,

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<sup>133</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

reduced substantially the number of local authorities by creating much larger organisations.<sup>134</sup> The counties of Herefordshire and Worcestershire were combined to form the County of Hereford and Worcester, which also included the City of Worcester, formerly a separate LEA. In 1974 there was a General Election and a new Labour Government.

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<sup>134</sup> Lawton, A. & Rose, A. (1994) *Organisation and Management in the Public Sector*. London, Pitman Publishing. Alan Lawton was Lecturer in Public Sector Management at the Open University. Aidan Rose was Principal Lecturer in Public Administration and Public Management at the University of North London.

## **Chapter 6 Further Education from 1974 to 1982: managing the youth unemployment crisis.**

The 1970s was a decade characterised by high unemployment, the highest since the Second World War. The rate of inflation was at its highest since the 1920s, with the average rate for 1973 to 1979 being 16 per cent. The value of sterling fell, so that between 1972 and 1976 the exchange rate of the pound fell from 2.4 American dollars to 1.55. In 1974 the new Labour Government introduced a ‘social contract’ with the trade unions, and new spending commitments in welfare reform. By 1975 wage increases were averaging 26 per cent and increases in public spending led to a crisis of confidence on the international currency markets, so that the value of sterling fell rapidly. Controls on prices, dividends and rents were relaxed to win back business confidence and thus restore the value of sterling. In 1976 there were also severe cuts in public expenditure followed by an IMF loan.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, in the mid-1970s FE lecturers’ pay was greatly increased after the 1974 Houghton Report.

There was a Labour Government from March 1974 to May 1979. Harold Wilson was Prime Minister from March 1974 to April 1976, and was replaced by James Callaghan in April 1976. There were three Secretaries of State for Education: Reg Prentice from March 1974 to June 1975; Fred Mulley from June 1975 to September 1976; and Shirley Williams from September 1976 to May 1979. There were also changes at the lower level in the junior ministerial posts. One journalist commented on this lack of continuity in the DES and wondered whether this meant that education was no longer a priority.<sup>2</sup> Yet from April 1964 when the DES was established until December 1991 there were fourteen Secretaries of State for Education and the tenure of junior Ministers was very short. From August 1944 to March 1964 there were eight different Ministers of Education.<sup>3</sup> There was an average of two years in the DES compared with two and a half in the Ministry. Ian Lawrence thought that for some, appointment to the DES signified a staging post to political glory, while for others it marked the end of their

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<sup>1</sup> Cox, A. & Sanderson J. (1997) ‘The Political Economy of Britain since 1939.’ In: Cox, A, Lee, S. & Sanderson J. (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Britain*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

<sup>2</sup> *The Times*, 31 May 1977.

<sup>3</sup> Viscount Hailsham (previously Quinton Hogg) was Minister of Education from January 1957 to September 1957, and Secretary of State from April 1964 to October 1964. David Eccles was Minister of Education from October 1954 to January 1957 and from October 1959 to July 1962. Ellen Wilkinson took office in August 1945 and died in office February 1947.



governmental careers. Perhaps only two or three found it genuinely fulfilling.<sup>4</sup> These statistics give added weight to Ewart Keep's assertion that the extremely short time that ministers had to make their mark meant that institutions, programmes and initiatives that arose as the result of government intervention had only a short period in which to prove themselves. However, it took longer to introduce changes and deliver results than that given by policy makers, so there were endless problems and incoherence.<sup>5</sup>

There was an emerging criticism of education, including that of the Black Papers which were publicised by the mass media. The first two Black Papers were published in 1969, while the third and fourth ones were published in 1970 and 1977. The Black Papers, edited by Cox and Dyson, criticised the empirical research on which the growth in progressive education had been based and the rationale for comprehensive schools.<sup>6</sup> They claimed that educational standards were falling, and that there was a decline in pupils' standard of behaviour. They also argued that militant students became left-wing teachers, and identified educational administrators as meddling bureaucrats. The Black Papers supported a return to systematic instruction, based on testing, in order to meet the pupils' needs, and appealed to the parents. 'The parent' was an abstraction that disguised differences, yet it had considerable impact.<sup>7</sup> The attack against school teachers was well documented by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS).<sup>8</sup> The *Daily Mail*, in particular, argued that 'many schools' were 'refusing the blandishments of the progressives and as a result are maintaining good standards'.<sup>9</sup> There were confident assertions that 'millions of parents' were 'desperately worried about the education their children' were receiving,<sup>10</sup> and that 'parents throughout the country' were 'becoming increasingly frustrated by the lack of discipline and the low standards of state schools'.<sup>11</sup> If teachers defended the 'progressive orthodoxy', it was

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<sup>4</sup> Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell.

<sup>5</sup> Keep, E (2006) 'State control of the English education and training system-playing with the biggest train set in the world', *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, Vol. 58, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 47-64. Ewart Keep is a Professor at the School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University.

<sup>6</sup> Brian Cox was Professor of English Literature at Manchester University. He believed the subject of English should be at the core of education and that education should be more formal.

<sup>7</sup> Ball, S. J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London, Routledge.

<sup>8</sup> Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. (1981) *Unpopular Education: Schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*. London, Hutchinson, pp. 210-217.

<sup>9</sup> *Daily Mail*, 13 January 1975.

<sup>10</sup> *Daily Mail*, 27 April 1976.

<sup>11</sup> *Daily Mail*, 18 January 1975.

because they were ‘sloppy in their own teaching ... hopeless in keeping order’. So it was ‘very convenient for them to find a philosophy’ which justified ‘the freedom of children to do what they want’.<sup>12</sup>

The need for some new strategy towards education was also voiced by a section of employers’ representatives. For example, Arnold Weinstock, managing director of the General Electric Company, suggested that the shortage of skilled workers, especially in engineering, could be attributed to the anti-industry attitudes of many teachers. Weinstock alleged that such teachers usually lacked any direct experience of industry, yet were left free to propagate views based on that inexperience. Such freedom to operate, without any external control over what was taught, and without accountability to the wider community was, for Weinstock, the source of the problem.<sup>13</sup> John Methuen, Director General of the CBI, stressed that employers viewed the shortcomings in the vocational preparation of young people as basically an educational problem which could not be passed on to employers under the guise of training and induction.<sup>14</sup> Joe Rogaly of *The Financial Times* suggested that the question of curriculum content was of central importance since industry was suffering from an undereducated workforce, while many working class children were being given the added disadvantage of a non-education on top of all their other burdens.<sup>15</sup>

Newspapers concentrated on items concerning teachers’ lack of professional competence and referred to the findings of the Auld Inquiry in 1976 that had investigated on behalf of the ILEA the activities, and apparently eccentric teaching styles, of the teachers at the William Tyndale Junior School in Islington. The media were prominent in criticising the school, and in 1976 referred to Neville Bennett’s book, *Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress*, which concluded that children did better in formal classroom situations. Ball referred to the emergence of this educational discourse during the 1970s as a ‘discourse of derision’. Discourse is the way people talk or write about a topic, so that one can refer to the ways in which, for example, teachers and FE are represented. This discourse was one of derision, because it debunked and displaced specific words and meanings such as progressivism. The discourse also debunked the

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<sup>12</sup> *Daily Mail*, 18 December 1975.

<sup>13</sup> *Daily Mail*, 23 January 1976.

<sup>14</sup> *TES*, 29 October 1976.

<sup>15</sup> *The Financial Times*, 3 January 1976.

speakers of those words, the experts, specialists and professionals that formed the 'educational establishment'. The new discourse derided teachers and LEAs, saying they were inadequate and should have less autonomy, if the fall in educational standards was to be halted, and entered into the generally accepted 'what we all know about school'.<sup>16</sup> However, Williams, when Education Secretary, stated in the House of Commons that much of the debate conducted in the press had been hysterical, exaggerated and distorted. Teachers had not only to educate in the basic subjects but take children in other subjects, prepare them for working life, engage in pastoral care, create close links with parents and interests outside the school, and engage in community work. People should recognize just how many demands were being made on the schools that were never made before. Norman St John-Stevas, the Conservative spokesman on education, replied that Williams was less than fair to the press when she accused them of being hysterical about these matters. It was the press, by constantly reporting the shortcomings in a number of schools, which had led directly to Labour's present change of attitude towards schools.<sup>17</sup> This notion of the 'discourse of derision' cannot be applied to experiences in FE as in the 1970s there was not a similar debunking of FE provision. There were no obvious 'isms' to displace, and even if there had been, a large proportion of FE lecturers had not been to teacher training colleges to learn the ideas of the 'educational establishment'. Newspaper editors focused on schools because they felt that their readers were more likely to be interested in the standards of compulsory education, so they appealed to parents. This did not mean that FE in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly LEAs and the DES, did not have its critics in the Department of Employment and the later Audit Commission, but the criticism received little attention from the national media.

In 1976, the Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan, had a meeting with Mulley, the Secretary of State for Education and called for a paper on education, which came to be known within the DES as the Yellow Book. It was a report prepared by the Inspectorate, and offered both a critique of schooling and a series of proposals which the government could incorporate as policy. The document served as a briefing and a guide to the themes which Callaghan was to take up in his speech at Ruskin College,

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<sup>16</sup> Ball, S. J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London, Routledge. Stephen Ball was Professor of Education at the Centre for Education at King's College, London. He later became Professor at the Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>17</sup> *The Times*, 26 November 1976.

Oxford in October 1976.<sup>18</sup> Callaghan, in one of the few prime ministerial speeches devoted entirely to education, emphasised that he was not criticising the schools or the teachers, but no one could claim exclusive rights in that field. He stated that public interest was strong and legitimate and would be satisfied, and he referred to the need for the essential tools of basic literacy and numeracy, the understanding of how to live and work together, and respect for others.<sup>19</sup> Callaghan said, 'I am concerned in my journeys to find complaints from industry that new recruits from schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required.'<sup>20</sup> An emerging message was that teachers and the LEAs needed to be more closely monitored and controlled. Presumably, Callaghan did not want to be seen as unconcerned about education, when his political opponents were expressing their concern, so political pragmatism may well have been one motive for Callaghan's speech.<sup>21</sup>

During his Ruskin College speech Callaghan raised angry protests from his audience when he said there was little hope of more resources being made available to education. He said everyone had to meet the challenge, and that the challenge in education was to work out its priorities and be as efficient as possible with the £6 billion of existing resources.<sup>22</sup> Callaghan's response was not surprising given the cuts in public expenditure that year. The 'Great Debate' on the curriculum, methods and achievements of the educational system consisted of Williams, the new Secretary of State for Education, meeting LEAs and teachers' organisations to formulate an agenda for the six regional conferences held in 1977.<sup>23</sup> Clyde Chitty (1998), relegated Callaghan's contribution to a minor role among the many factors accounting for the new emphasis on education as a key political and economic issue, and cited major factors such as the state of the economy in the 1970s, as part of the explanation for the emergence of a new discourse. He later referred to a political consensus created by the

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<sup>18</sup> Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. (1981) *Unpopular Education: Schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*. London, Hutchinson.

<sup>19</sup> *The Times*, 19 October, 1976.

<sup>20</sup> Cited in Trowler, P. (1998) *Education Policy*. Eastbourne, Gildredge Press. Paul Trowler was Senior Lecturer at the University of Central Lancashire.

<sup>21</sup> Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. (1981) *Unpopular Education: Schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*. London, Hutchinson.

<sup>22</sup> *The Times*, 19 October 1976.

<sup>23</sup> *The Times*, 26 November 1976, 25 May 1977.

Ruskin speech, but even using Chitty's arguments, it would be more accurate to refer to a consensus symbolised by the Ruskin speech.<sup>24</sup>

Although Callaghan's Ruskin speech was concerned with compulsory schooling, it was significant in FE terms for two reasons. Firstly, Callaghan had advocated a closer correspondence between educational objectives and the nation's manpower requirements, so that the needs of the individual and wider society were met. Much of the following Great Debate focused on the definition of education's effectiveness, which was the extent to which schools were able to match the stipulated requirements of industry.<sup>25</sup> Furlong and Phillips argued that the Ruskin speech was later regarded as a significant turning point in the history of education. The speech was seen as a defining moment as it set out a clear priority for the economic purpose of education.<sup>26</sup> Jephcote and Huddleston suggested that transferring attention from the 'economic problem' by making it an 'education problem' fulfilled a number of purposes. It absolved Government, Labour and Conservative, from previous economic ills. The 'Great Debate' gave the view that education did not transmit the knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes needed for economic and industrial success. This was used as an explanation for the large rise in youth unemployment, so that from the late 1970s onwards, post-16 education was seen as a key means of dealing with youth unemployment. In the wake of the speech came a range of initiatives within compulsory and the post-compulsory education that were intended to realign the outputs of education and the training system more closely with the needs of industry.<sup>27</sup>

The second reason why the 1976 Ruskin speech was significant in FE terms was that the Ruskin speech signalled an increase in central government's control. Lawrence claimed that both the Labour Party in the 1970s and the Conservative Party in the 1980s

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<sup>24</sup> Chitty, C. (1998) The 'Moment of 1976' Revisited. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3, pp. 318-323. Clyde Chitty was Professor of Policy and Management in Education at Goldsmith College, University of London.

<sup>25</sup> Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. (1981) *Unpopular Education: Schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*. London, Hutchinson.

<sup>26</sup> Furlong, J. & Phillips, R. (2001) Introduction and rationale. In: Phillips, R., & Furlong, J. (eds.) (2001) *Education, Reform and the State: Twenty-five years of politics, policy and practice*. London, Routledge Falmer. John Furlong was in the School of Social Sciences at Cardiff University.

<sup>27</sup> Jephcote, M. & Huddleston, P. (2001) Further Education: A suitable case for treatment? In: Phillips, R. & Furlong, J. (eds.) (2001) *Education, Reform and the State: Twenty-five years of politics, policy and practice*. London, Routledge Falmer. Martin Jephcote was at the Cardiff School of Social Sciences; Prudence Huddleston, was Director of the Centre for Education and Industry, University of Warwick.

encouraged centralism in educational matters. The speech signalled not only the future Conservative Government's establishment of the National Curriculum, it also signalled the reduced power of LEAs over schools and FE colleges, as shown in the 1988 Education Reform Act. The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act and the resulting Incorporation of colleges meant that the LEAs no longer had responsibility for FE colleges. At the same time the establishment of the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) meant control of colleges was more centralised.<sup>28</sup> This is not to say that that Callaghan forecast all the developments leading to greater centralisation. As later governments discovered, however, the speech and related occurrences made the journey down that road a little easier.

The discussion document, *Vocational Preparation for Young People*, had already referred to an increasing need for skill and adaptability for employment and the importance of initial training and job experience in shaping attitudes to work. The discussion paper proposed curricular changes, but different ones from those discussed in earlier documents. The MSC claimed that employers and employees preferred more vocationally-oriented courses, whereas schools had emphasised personal development rather than what would be encountered in most work situations. This represented a turning away from earlier recommendations of the 1956 and 1961 White Papers concerning technical education and the 1959 Crowther and the 1964 Henniker-Heaton Reports that there should be a broad education.<sup>29</sup> At first the work of the MSC had developed slowly, with the Job Creation Scheme being launched in 1975, and the Work Experience Programme starting in 1976. The Work Experience Programme assumed unemployment was the fault of the young people who lacked the necessary skills and attitudes for the work that was available.<sup>30</sup>

In 1976 the MSC appointed a working party to investigate whether it was possible to provide opportunities for training, or participation in work experience, or job creation projects, for all young people of 16 to 18 who had entered the labour market and could

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<sup>28</sup> Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell.

<sup>29</sup> Manpower Services Commission. (1975) *Vocational Preparation for Young People*. London, HMSO.

<sup>30</sup> Walford, G., Purvis, J. & Pollard, A. (1986) 'Ethnography, policy and the emergence of the new vocationalism.' In: Pollard, A., Purvis, J. & Walford, G. (eds.) (1986) *Education, training and the new vocationalism: experience and policy*. Milton Keynes, Open University Press. Geoffrey Walford is Professor of Education Policy at the University of Oxford. Professor Andrew Pollard is at the Institute of Education, University of London.

not get a job. The 1977 Report *Young People and Work*, also known as the Holland Report, recommended a coherent programme of training and work experience for school leavers who were low achievers, only a few months after Callaghan's 1976 speech about school leavers who lacked the skills of literacy and numeracy. The Youth Opportunity Programme (YOP) that emerged was a larger operation than that envisaged by the Holland Committee, but it was still targeted at low achievers.<sup>31</sup> It was a national programme set up in 1978 to prepare unemployed school leavers for work by means of work preparation and work experience schemes. One day a week was used for off-the-job training, and this presented colleges with a new group of students.<sup>32</sup> The programme lasted a maximum of six months, and therefore was not intended as a means of gaining a qualification, but as a way of changing attitudes. The LEAs had less direct control over the running of courses such as the YOP, as the MSC was responsible for them, and the MSC had to approve the provision of such courses before institutions offered them. Dudley Fiske, Manchester Chief Education Officer, called for a reaffirmation of confidence in the undivided authority of the local education body and spoke of his concern at threats to the autonomy of the service.<sup>33</sup> However, the ITBs had already checked FE colleges before approving a course to ensure there were adequate facilities.

The reduction of teacher training places and the increase in the number of higher education courses in the 1970s had consequences for FE. In 1974 Prentice, the Education Secretary, announced another cut in the number of recruits to teacher training colleges, because a sharp drop in the birth rate meant there was no need for any class to have more than 30 children by the end of the decade. The numbers were already to be cut from September 1974 as there was concern about the risk of producing unemployment among teachers. This did not mean a risk of producing more teachers than could be made good use of, but more than the LEAs would be able to employ.<sup>34</sup> The Association of Metropolitan Authorities disapproved of the cuts as in all the metropolitan areas there were still many hundreds of vacancies for teachers.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>31</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

<sup>32</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1986) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>33</sup> *The Times*, 16 July 1971.

<sup>34</sup> *The Times*, 23 May, 1974.

<sup>35</sup> *The Times*, 18 June, 1974.

NUT warned the Government not to take the irrevocable step of cutting down on recruits to teacher training because of inadequate and precarious forecasts on the declining birth rate.<sup>36</sup> There were cuts, however, as, for example, Hereford and Worcester LEA proposed 750 places for Shenstone New College in Bromsgrove whereas the DES stated a maximum of 500.<sup>37</sup> The 1972 White Paper, *Education: A framework for expansion*, recommended an expansion of higher education, but the number of FE colleges providing higher education would be limited to those large enough to provide full economies of scale.<sup>38</sup> The DES Circular 7/73 followed the White Paper and asked LEAs to prepare plans for the development of higher education. When discussing this circular the merger of Shenstone New College with Bromsgrove College of FE was proposed.<sup>39</sup> In 1975 the DES approved the amalgamation of the Shenstone and Bromsgrove colleges, as it would 'afford the greatest possible flexibility in meeting future changes in the requirement for teacher training' with a phased development of higher education courses.<sup>40</sup> The colleges were amalgamated in 1976 and became known as North Worcestershire College. Thus the LEA was able to find alternative courses to compensate for the reduction of teacher training places, while the new college was large enough for economies of scale, especially as the campus of Bromsgrove College adjoined the Shenstone campus.

In 1976 Williams, now the Education Secretary, sent the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers a memorandum outlining a new strategy for dealing with the problem of teacher over-supply and the consequent adjustments that would need to be made to the teacher training system. Nearly 15,000 of those who had completed initial training were still unable to find jobs, so a considerable number of institutions, perhaps as many as thirty, would have to cease to be engaged in initial teaching training. It meant that some of those engaged in teacher education would have to seek alternative employment.<sup>41</sup> By 1977 there were more unemployed teachers, because of cuts in education expenditure, so that Oxfordshire, for example, abolished

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<sup>36</sup> *The Times*, 26 November 1974.

<sup>37</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1974; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>38</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1972) *Education: A framework for expansion*, Cmnd 5174. London, HMSO.

<sup>39</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1974; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>40</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, Appendix I, February 1975; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>41</sup> *The Times*, 26 November 1976.



344 full-time teaching posts.<sup>42</sup> In 1977 there was a proposal to merge North Worcestershire College and Redditch College, so that there could be ‘more effective staff utilisation’ and ‘rationalisation of courses’. The Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee estimated that the maximum spare capacity at North Worcestershire College, resulting from the rundown of teacher education, would be between 400 and 500 full-time student places by 1981, whereas they thought that Redditch College would need more teaching accommodation by the 1980s to cope with natural growth.<sup>43</sup>

There were various meetings to discuss the possibility of a merger, including those of the Redditch College working party, consisting of the Vice-Principal, Senior Management and a representative of the teaching staff from each department. This was followed by a larger working party, composed of five representatives from each college (including representatives from each governing body and academic board) and five LEA members, which met four times. The Chairman was the Chairman of the FE Sub-Committee. Two significant factors gave rise to this enquiry. Firstly, the future growth of Redditch New Town was expected to increase the need for more FE and higher education, and secondly, at North Worcestershire College the initial teacher training intake for September 1977 would be the last. This meant that approximately 450 full-time student places, which had been planned to be used for teacher training in 1981, would become available for other purposes, so it was likely that surplus accommodation would become available. The LEA decided that this was a joint problem, especially as the colleges were only about six miles apart.<sup>44</sup>

In reaching its conclusions, the working party concentrated on two major issues likely to involve LEA policy decisions. This was a reference to the volume and scope of academic work and the consequent resource implications. In spite of the removal of the teacher training courses, the Secretary of State, Shirley Williams, had written that she was confident of the prospects for success of North Worcestershire in other fields of higher and further education. The working party felt that North Worcestershire College had a prior claim to higher and advanced FE courses, especially as the college was

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<sup>42</sup> *The Times*, 16 July 1977.

<sup>43</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, October 1977; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>44</sup> Hereford and Worcester Special Meeting of the FE Sub-Committee minutes, October 1977; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

already part of the County's development plan for higher education. Both colleges had acquired their own specialisms. Redditch College had its unique professional tutorial system and North Worcestershire College had its close links with British Leyland, and it was considered important that these specialist areas of work should be preserved. It was also argued that this merger was unacceptable to the staff and governors of Redditch College, and the members of the working party concluded that a merger was not a realistic proposition.<sup>45</sup> Redditch lecturers still resented the college in Bromsgrove, as in 1967 several Redditch engineering courses were transferred to Bromsgrove. There were also fears about redundancy as this was often a consequence of mergers. Although the LEA was having economic difficulties in the 1970s, the sense of urgency did not seem as acute in the 1970s as it did in the 1980s when the merger did take place.

The largest of the organisations representing FE lecturers from the late 1970s was the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE), which came into being on 1 January 1976 through the merger of the ATTI, a union based largely in FE colleges and the former polytechnics, and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE). The ATCDE stated that the catalyst was that their members' salaries were negotiated in the FE policy forum, and teacher education was moving into colleges of higher education.<sup>46</sup> In the 1970s FE lecturers had a significant increase in pay, the first national conditions of service were established, and additional facilities for in-service training were developed.

Although there was a voluntary wage restraint agreed between trade unions and the government in 1974, teachers were treated differently. Prentice, the Education Secretary, agreed with the report of the Houghton Committee on the pay of non-university teachers, as the pay of teachers had fallen behind and it was right to treat them as a special case. The report's recommendations were weighted in favour of the more experienced teachers, so the increases would range from 16 per cent for the teacher on the minimum rate to 44 per cent for the Principal of a Polytechnic. As regards the distribution of the money, the Government lacked the final power, but they

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. The professional tutorial system prepared the student for qualification with some of the major professional institutions such as those concerned with accountancy. The essence of the method was to guide the student's reading, to encourage him to test himself by using study sheets, and to provide him with examination expertise. There were also seminars to cover topics that were found difficult by a number of students.

<sup>46</sup> NATFHE (2004) 'NATFHE 100 years on', a supplement for NATFHE members in October 2004.

would exercise their influence in the negotiating bodies towards accepting the Houghton recommendations, so as to stop the drift of experienced teachers out of the profession.<sup>47</sup> Thus the biggest increases went to lecturers and principals in colleges of further and higher education. Lord Houghton said that teachers doing work broadly equivalent to work in universities should have broadly the same career prospects as university lecturers.<sup>48</sup> Thus there was an almost automatic progression from Lecturer Grade II to Senior Lecturer for those who taught at advanced level for 50% of their teaching time. In addition to increases in salary, Houghton Senior Lecturers taught for three fewer hours a week than Lecturers Grade II. However, Houghton Senior Lecturers in FE, unlike those in universities, rarely pursued research interests, and some did not have the administrative responsibilities of Senior Lecturers teaching on NAFE courses. There was also the assumption that advanced level work was more demanding, whereas on some lower level courses much preparation was necessary to engage students' attention and facilitate their understanding. With the introduction of Houghton Senior Lecturers there was also much rivalry between Grade II Lecturers attempting to teach more advanced work. Hereford and Worcester LEA had wanted advancement to the higher salary scale to take effect from the beginning of the second successive year the lecturer was teaching advanced courses. However, ATTI wanted the higher salary scale awarded after the first year of teaching mainly advanced courses, and the FE Sub-Committee agreed.<sup>49</sup>

Under the provisions of the 1965 Remuneration of Teachers Act pay was negotiated within a sub-committee of the main statutory Burnham arrangements. Conditions of service were determined by recommendations agreed nationally by LEA representatives and the trade unions. The ATTI's annual conference in 1964 agreed to seek a national agreement on conditions, but this aim was not achieved until February 1975 when the first national conditions of service agreement was ratified. This set limits on the working and teaching year, length of terms, class contact hours, locally negotiated remission of teaching hours for a specific responsibility, a maximum of three hours of

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<sup>47</sup> Conclusions of a meeting of the Cabinet, 19 December 1974. Available from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/cabinetpapers/CAB/128/55/27> [Accessed 5th February 2011.]

<sup>48</sup> *The Times*, 21 December 1974.

<sup>49</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, November 1975; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

teaching without a break, and at least six weeks' continuous summer holiday. The maximum number of hours lecturers were expected to be on the college premises was thirty.<sup>50</sup>

In September 1975 The Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee agreed that any improvements in FE lecturers' conditions of service needed to be seen in the context of the government's Income Policy embodied in the White Paper, *The Attack on Inflation*, and of the standstill on local government expenditure. The greater flexibility in the use of teaching staff and the physical resources of FE colleges would be more easily and effectively achieved on the basis of some agreed definition of what might reasonably be required of individual teachers. No member of the academic staff should be required to undertake college duties for more than 38 weeks a year, and no member of staff should have longer than fourteen weeks of continuous teaching. The recommended weekly teaching load was:

Lecturer I	21 hours
Lecturer II	18 hours
Senior Lecturer	15 hours
Principal Lecturer	13 hours <sup>51</sup>

The County Education Officer's recommended conditions of service for teachers in colleges of FE were similar to those found in the later Silver Book. The Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee concluded that the document should be adopted from September 1976, although some recommendations could not be implemented until financial circumstances permitted. There would also be further discussions with Principals and NATFHE concerning the phased implementation of various clauses involving additional expenditure.<sup>52</sup> The 1970s and early 1980s saw a maturing of such voluntary arrangements, exemplified in 1979 by the establishment of a National Joint Council. One of its first tasks was to codify the various existing conditions of service agreements within a single document, the 1981 'Silver Book'. The principal trade union represented on the NJC was NATFHE. Its bargaining power had been

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<sup>50</sup> NATFHE (2004) 'NATFHE 100 years on', a supplement for NATFHE members in October 2004.

<sup>51</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1975; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>52</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, February 1976; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

strengthened by the expansion of FE during the 1970s, something that had enabled it to negotiate the Silver Book in the first place.<sup>53</sup>

The Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers set up a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Professor Haycocks. This subcommittee considered and advised the main committee on policy for the training of teachers in FE establishments in England and Wales. While the second report was concerned with part-time teachers and the third report focused on training for education management, it was the first report that resulted in a DES circular. The first report of the Haycocks Committee appeared in 1975, but was not officially published until the end of 1977 because of the prevailing financial circumstances. It recommended that all new full-time FE teachers, who had not had pre-service training and had less than three years` teaching experience, should take an induction training course. This would consist of day release throughout the academic year with a four-week period of block release. About one-third of untrained new entrants should have the opportunity of an additional year`s training, possibly leading to a formal qualification. New entrants who had completed a one-year full-time course should undertake an induction programme equivalent to day release for one term. Opportunities for further in-service training should be more generous. Each FE college should have at least one professional tutor who would normally be a member of the full-time staff. The DES Circular 11/77 considered that it should be possible to introduce induction training gradually, and also to make some progress towards in-service training but with a target of three per cent of staff released at any one time, rather than the recommended five per cent.<sup>54</sup> However, NATFHE stated that even the target of five per cent was inadequate and wanted all serving teachers in FE to receive in-service training.<sup>55</sup> The Report and the Circular agreed on making the most effective use of existing resources. The Circular asked the RACs to draw up plans for the training of full-time FE lecturers. However, some RACs did not complete their development plans until June 1980.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Williams, S. (2004) Accounting for change in public sector industrial relations: the erosion of national bargaining in further education in England and Wales. *Industrial Relations Journal*, vol. 35, no.3, pp. 233-248. Stephen Williams is Principal Lecturer in the Business School of Portsmouth University.

<sup>54</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1986) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>55</sup> *The Times*, 20 September 1978.

<sup>56</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1986) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

The second Haycocks Report was concerned with the 130,000 part-time FE lecturers as they formed a significant part of the teaching staff. The most widespread scheme was the CGLI Further Education Teachers Certificate No. 730. The RACs were asked to submit plans for teacher training and for upgrading their subject knowledge and skills. However, the schemes did not attract many teachers of vocational subjects. The third report of the Haycocks Committee appeared in 1978 in the form of a discussion paper on training teachers for education management in FE, which was circulated by the DES to interested organisations. The paper reviewed existing provision and suggested ways of improving the quality and quantity of education management including short courses. Many respondents, like NATFHE, thought that that the paper did not provide a clear lead for the improvement of training, and relatively little happened in response to the report.<sup>57</sup>

From 1977 to 1979 inflation caused a decline in the real value of wages, so that employees, particularly those in the public sector, went on strike to protect their wages. In the ‘winter of discontent’ from 1978 to 1979 several of the public sector unions went on strike for wage increases that were above the norm set by the Government. In May 1979 Labour lost the General Election and was replaced by the Conservatives with Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister. The ‘New Right’ was the term used to refer to the pro-market, anti-state perspective that gained support in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, and became associated with the Thatcherite Conservative governments of the 1980s. Thatcher was influenced by the ideas of Hayek and Adam Smith that stated the market was the most efficient allocation of goods and services. It was assumed that individuals were motivated more by self-interest than by ideals of collective interest. The market was the most efficient and just allocation of goods, and allowed human actions to be guided by the price system to maximise the satisfaction of different desires. Smith said:

It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity, but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our necessities, but of their advantages. Nobody but a beggar chooses to depend chiefly upon the benevolence of his fellow-citizens.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Smith, A. (2003) *The Wealth of Nations*. New York, Bantam Dell, pp. 24-25. Adam Smith wrote this book in 1776. He studied at Glasgow University and Oxford University, and became a Professor at Glasgow University. Thanks to the patronage of a duke he was able to retire and write.

However, New Right supporters did not publicise Smith's argument that government intervention was appropriate when the aim was to reduce poverty. He argued, for example, that when regulation of wages was in support of the workmen, it was 'always just', but it was 'sometimes otherwise when in favour of the masters'.<sup>59</sup> He was also concerned that large businesses might dominate particular industries and use their influence with government to prevent competition.<sup>60</sup>

Another revivalist of classical economics, and an influence on Thatcher, was Milton Friedman. Friedman argued that controlling the money supply was the best way of controlling the economy, so the focus should be on reducing the rate of inflation by reducing public spending and borrowing. The main objective of economic policy under Thatcher was to reduce the rate of inflation. Thatcher also wanted to reduce the power of the trade unions so a more flexible labour market could be created. Her other plans included creating a pattern of ownership and control based on a free market, so that several organisations such as British Telecom (1984), British Aerospace (1985), British Gas (1986), and regional water authorities (1989) were privatised.

The New Right views also found a voice in the Institute of Economic Affairs, the Centre for Policy Studies and the Adam Smith Institute. The Institute of Economic Affairs was founded in 1957, and its publications analysed and expounded the role of free markets in solving economic and social problems, by referring to the ideas of Hayek.<sup>61</sup> From 1979 several of its policies were implemented, such as privatisation of public utilities and central bank independence. Stuart Sexton wrote for the Institute of Economic Affairs, but was also political adviser to Mark Carlisle and Keith Joseph, both having been Secretary of State for Education in the 1980s.<sup>62</sup> The Adam Smith Institute focused particularly on the policy of privatisation of public sector industries and services, although it was also associated with policy on free markets, free trade, choice and competition, and emphasised parental choice in education. Its papers argued that schools should have control over their own budgets, and be judged on the basis of their

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 195.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Pratt, A. (1997) 'Neo-liberalism and Social Policy.' In: M Lavalette and A Pratt (1997) *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction*. London, Sage. Alan Pratt was Principal Lecturer in Social Policy, University of Central Lancashire.

<sup>62</sup> Ball, S. J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London, Routledge.

results, reforms implemented by the 1988 Education Reform Act. The Centre for Policy Studies was founded in 1974 by Joseph and Thatcher, and many of the Centre's policies, such as privatisation and trade union reform, were introduced from 1979. From 1982 the Centre called for a concentration on standards in education, parental choice, devolution of power to schools, and the introduction of school league tables.<sup>63</sup> These three think-tanks were similar as they focused on the role of the market and less state intervention, and claimed credit for the ideas found in the 1988 Education Reform Act.

In 1981 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Geoffrey Howe, had to decide whether to control public spending and sustain high interest rates, or deal with the rising unemployment by using Keynesian techniques to stimulate effective demand. Howe chose the former. Welfare costs, however, were rising as the result of higher unemployment and an ageing population.<sup>64</sup> A major feature of the 1980s was the reduction of labour in both declining and successful industries. The high levels of unemployment and changes in industrial law weakened employee and trade union resistance. As the increase in youth unemployment continued into the 1980s, the 1981 White Paper, *A New Training Initiative*, introduced the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) providing a one year's full-time training for unemployed 16 year olds. The MSC recognised the need to go beyond YOP to create a more comprehensive scheme that would guarantee a longer period of paid vocational preparation and training. The 1981 White Paper argued that a new direction was needed, because the workforce lacked the skills necessary to enable Britain to compete effectively in a modern international economy.<sup>65</sup> Again training in Britain was compared with that of Britain's economic competitors by saying that

only about half of the young people in Great Britain continue in full time education or further vocational training after reaching the minimum school leaving age and this compares very unfavourably with the practice of our major foreign competitors such as France and West Germany.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Pratt, A. (1997) Neo-liberalism and Social Policy. In: M Lavalette and A Pratt (1997) *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction*. London, Sage.

<sup>64</sup> Cox, A. & Sanderson J. (1997) 'The Political Economy of Britain since 1939.' In: Cox, A, Lee, S. & Sanderson J. (1997) *The Political Economy of Modern Britain*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, pp. 24-25.

<sup>65</sup> Department of Employment. (1981) *A New Training Initiative: a programme for action*, Cmnd 8455. London, HMSO.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. para. 14.



The White Paper made it clear that training reforms were to bring about change in the attitudes of young people to the value of training and acceptance of relatively lower wages for trainees. However, Dan Finn, from the CCCS at the University of Birmingham, found in his study that many school leavers were already prepared for work, as they had part-time jobs. The social and job hunting skills evidently displayed by the youngsters whilst at school were also those required for an important sector of the job market which confronted them after leaving. Employers appeared to prefer those who had shown initiative, discipline and punctuality in part-time employment rather than those who had experienced only work placements.<sup>67</sup> Finn refuted the idea that school leavers were unemployable, and argued that their unemployment was simply the result of a lack of jobs. The youth training schemes meant that the young people were not included in the unemployment statistics, and they were a source of cheap labour.<sup>68</sup> Finn also argued that the on-the job training received by YTS trainees was not assessed in any conventional sense, and very few trainees were involved in systematic on-the-job training unrelated to production. Many employers preferred to train young people in skills which could be used immediately rather than allowing them to develop more transferable skills.<sup>69</sup> From 1982 sanctions were introduced against those who refused or prematurely left a place on YTS, so that there was a forty per cent reduction in benefit for six weeks, subsequently increased to thirteen and then twenty six weeks.<sup>70</sup>

As YTS had been introduced by the MSC, the government decided the MSC could be involved with the secondary school curriculum. Thatcher, rather than the DES, announced the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) in 1982. The MSC developed the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) in schools, so its new responsibility for TVEI courses from 1983 implied another rebuke aimed at the LEAs. The TVEI was launched under the auspices of the MSC, to give some kind of work orientation to what pupils were doing at the upper secondary school level,

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<sup>67</sup> Finn, D. (1984) *Leaving School and Growing Up: Work Experience in the Juvenile Labour Market*. In: Bates, I., Clarke J., Cohen P., Finn D., Moore R., & Willis, P. (1984) *Schooling for the Dole? The New Vocationalism*. Basingstoke, Macmillan. Dan Finn was at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

<sup>68</sup> Finn, D. (1987) *Training Without Jobs*. London, Macmillan.

<sup>69</sup> Finn, D. (1986) YTS: The Jewel in the MSC's Crown? In: Benn, C., & Fairley, J. (eds.) (1986) *Challenging the MSC on Jobs, Training and Education*. London, Pluto Press.

<sup>70</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

including work experience.<sup>71</sup> The TVEI courses offered by LEAs had to be agreed with the MSC and meet their criteria.<sup>72</sup>

David Young, Chairman of the MSC in 1981 and Secretary of State for Employment in 1985, regarded TVEI as an intervention that would transform pupils' attitudes, and disagreed with those such as Finn, who argued that school leavers were unemployed because there was no work available for them. Young did not believe youth unemployment had anything to do with the state of the economy. He thought it had to do with the state of mind of young people leaving school, who lacked motivation and enterprise because their education had been too academic and unrelated to employment. The DES and the teacher unions were hostile to the TVEI at the start, as it was regarded as an attack upon the principle of comprehensive education, as not all pupils would be required to follow the course. However, Joseph, the Conservative Education Secretary, supported TVEI from the beginning. The TUC did not want TVEI to mean early specialisation and narrowing of study options, but it was also not clear what TVEI would include as there was some variation between pilot projects. Eventually, LEAs and teaching unions were eager to submit TVEI schemes to obtain additional funding. Although the original intention was that employers should become involved in the TVEI scheme, there was little support from employers as they could not see any direct advantage of such investment.<sup>73</sup>

The period from 1974 to 1982 saw a world-wide recession, the rise of the MSC and a new market, the young unemployed, while New Right views of education emerged. The LEAs had less direct control over the running of courses such as the YOP, as the MSC was responsible for them, and the MSC had to approve the provision of such courses before institutions offered them. Despite an earlier incomes policy, by 1976 the Labour Government felt compelled to obtain an IMF loan and reduce public expenditure. The new Conservative Government did not see training as interfering

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<sup>71</sup> Bash, L. (1991) *Beyond Compulsory Schooling*. In: Coulby, D. & Bash, L. (eds.) (1991) *Contradiction and Conflict: The 1988 Education Act in Action*. London, Cassell Educational. Leslie Bash is now an Associate Lecturer in Education at Anglia Ruskin University.

<sup>72</sup> Walford, G., Purvis, J. & Pollard, A. (1986) 'Ethnography, policy and the emergence of the new vocationalism.' In: Pollard, A., Purvis, J. & Walford, G. (eds.) (1986) *Education, training and the new vocationalism: experience and policy*.

<sup>73</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

with the market but aiding it, so the YTS was introduced. The next chapter explains how from the mid -1980s the MSC had a period, albeit a short one, of greater control of FE, and the successful implementation of national FE policy meant LEAs lost all control of the FE sector.

## Chapter 7 Further Education from 1983 to 1993: the road to Incorporation

From 1983 until the end of the decade there was a continuous economic expansion and a large rise in output. However, recovery started from a low level and the high rate of unemployment continued. By 1989 the expansion was slowing down and in 1990 there was a recession. From 1986 to 1988 there was an unprecedented consumer boom and a borrowing spree, but the rate of increase in public expenditure was lower than for decades. Meanwhile, there was no balance of payments problem because of the output of North Sea oil. By 1990 nearly two million fewer workers were employed in manufacturing than ten years earlier, and the rise in unemployment was almost entirely due to a contraction in manufacturing.<sup>1</sup> Since the mid-1980s the debate began to move away from a preoccupation with the effects of organised labour on economic performance. The legislation of Thatcher's Conservative Government had weakened trade unions, but no significant economic improvement appeared. Politicians and journalists were keen to see the expansion of vocational training as an indispensable condition for improving economic performance. An increase in training was not seen as intervening against the market, but as enabling the market to work more effectively.<sup>2</sup>

The 1984 White Paper on *Training for Jobs* declared that '*public sector provision for training and vocational education*' had to '*become more responsive to employment needs at national and local level*'. Italics were used to emphasise the point.<sup>3</sup> FE provision should be provided in the most cost-effective way, but it was not entirely clear what was meant by 'cost effective' as it was a term rarely used in earlier FE documents. The 1984 White Paper also rebuked employers as it was for employers 'to make the investment in training people to do the work that they require', while trainees needed to 'accept that the total costs of training must be taken into account in determining their pay'.<sup>4</sup> The *Training for Jobs* document concluded that FE had failed to market itself effectively, and announced that about a quarter of the money spent on non-advanced FE

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<sup>1</sup> Cairncross, A. (1995) *The British Economy since 1945*. Oxford, Blackwell.

<sup>2</sup> Cutler, T. (1995) Vocational training and British economic performance. In: Coates, D. & Hillard, J. (eds.) (1995) *UK Economic Decline: Key Texts*. Hemel Hempstead, Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheat sheaf.

<sup>3</sup> Department of Employment, Department of Education and Science. (1984) *Training for Jobs*. London, HMSO, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 2.

would be directed to the MSC, rather than to the LEAs through the rate support grant.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, after 1984 Hereford and Worcester LEA's funding of some work-related NAFE courses was dependent on the MSC's approval. In 1985 the Hereford and Worcester Education Committee agreed to the FE Sub-Committee's proposals concerning the arrangements necessary to secure from the MSC their financial contribution towards the County Council's costs in providing work-related non-advanced FE (NAFE). The arrangements included the production by the Council of a three-year rolling development plan by December of each year.<sup>6</sup> The County Education Officer queried the role of the MSC and questioned future contractual arrangements where part of NAFE would still be financed by the MSC. The main reason the 1984 White Paper gave for the arrangements was a perceived need for NAFE to be more efficient and responsive to the needs of industry and commerce. Yet the LEA was responsible for the strategic planning of courses and allocation of resources, while industry and commerce had a predominant role in governing FE colleges.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the National Audit Office, established in 1983 to audit government departments and non-departmental public bodies, had noted earlier in 1987 that the MSC, although responsible for the government's training projects, had no comprehensive information about the skills industry needed, or the skills and abilities of the unemployed.<sup>8</sup>

In 1984 Young, previously the MSC Chairman, and now Lord Young, moved into the Cabinet Office as Minister without Portfolio and became one of Thatcher's advisers.<sup>9</sup> The 1985 White Paper, *Education and Training for Young People*, was published in conjunction with Joseph, the Education Secretary, and Young, as the government intended to set up a review of vocational qualifications and bring in a new two-year YTS. In the House of Commons Tom King, Secretary of State for Employment, stated that it was no coincidence that countries like Germany and Japan prepared and trained people better, and had a better qualified workforce. The White Paper showed how

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, December 1985; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>7</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1987, Appendix 2; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>8</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 11 February 1987. Cited in Pollard, A., Purvis, J., & Walford G. (eds.) (1988) *Education, training and the new vocationalism: experience and policy*. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

<sup>9</sup> *The Times*, 12 September 1984.

education and training, properly co-ordinated, could increase employment opportunities for young people. The White Paper said the YTS would be extended to two years for 16-year-old school leavers, and should give the opportunity to all trainees to seek recognized vocational qualifications. Tony Benn, a Labour MP, claimed that for tens of thousands of young people on YTS, the Government's motives were: to take people off the unemployment register, to provide free labour, to lower wages and to by-pass trade unions and the health and safety legislation.<sup>10</sup> In the House of Lords Lord Lucas, Under Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, said that British industry had been slow to accept the need for training and retraining, while some of Britain's competitors had recognised the advantages rather more quickly.<sup>11</sup>

The MSC and the DES completed a review of national qualifications in 1986, and this review led to the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ). The Council's aim was to introduce standardised vocational qualifications related to working in particular occupations. National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) were intended to reward practical achievement, with qualifications being gained by demonstrating 'competencies'. It was also the belief of the government at that time that employers needed to be put more formally at the forefront of setting standards in terms of outcomes and occupationally specific competencies.<sup>12</sup> By 1987 NVQs had four levels: basic, standard, advanced and higher, and a higher level, level 5, was added later. Level 3 was defined as the equivalent of GCE A' level. NVQs had the advantage that much of the work could be assessed on the employer's premises. This was not only more convenient for employers, it also meant that colleges needed fewer resources, such as accommodation. Critics of the competence-based system have deplored the lack of rigour and understanding of underlying concepts.<sup>13</sup> Such a narrow focus worked against adaptability and the transfer of skills from one occupation to another in a constantly changing world.

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<sup>10</sup> *The Times*, 4 April 1985.

<sup>11</sup> *The Times*, 25 July 1985.

<sup>12</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>13</sup> Cantor, L. M, Roberts, I. F. and Pratley, B. (1995) *A Guide to Further Education in England and Wales*, London, Cassell.

In the 1980s there were several references to FE's inefficient use of resources. The Audit Inspectorate's document, *Colleges of Further Education: Guide to the Measurement of Resource Efficiency*, as the title suggested, was concerned mainly with the examination of college records with a view to the measurement of resource utilisation.<sup>14</sup> The Guide gave a more precise definition of efficiency than in earlier FE documents by stating that 'efficiency' was 'measured by the ratio of inputs to outputs', with inputs including lecturers' student contact hours and attendance hours of academic and non-academic staff.<sup>15</sup> Effectiveness concerned the achievement of policy aims and objectives and the outcomes of further education in terms of successful completion of studies and/or examinations, successful application of skills and knowledge in employment, individual self fulfilment, and meeting local and national educational and training needs. The Audit Inspectorate stated that objectives were more specific. The student retention rate, for example, was one measure of effectiveness, which was a more specific indicator.<sup>16</sup>

The Inspectorate regarded over-teaching as a problem recognised by many principals, so the lecturers' contact hours per course should be reduced to as few as practicable. However, 'caution should be exercised' when making such judgements as they involved 'a degree of professional (educational) judgement'.<sup>17</sup> The Audit Inspectorate Guide added that methods of teaching were 'outside the scope' of its audit', and that educational effectiveness was 'properly the concern of HMI'.<sup>18</sup> In the same document there was a reference to the staff-student ratio (SSR) and 'the fact' that a college had a relatively high SSR was not necessarily a reason for not seeking a further increase. The Audit Inspectorate understood from the HM Inspectorate of Schools that no relationship had been established between educational effectiveness and SSRs at English and Welsh FE colleges. Therefore it was considered possible that even high SSRs could be further increased without detriment to educational effectiveness.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Audit Inspectorate. (1983) *Colleges of Further Education: Guide to the measurement of resource efficiency*. London, HMSO.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. para. 1.3.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. para. 6.11.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. para. 1.5.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

Welfare and public services were subjected to new criteria, so that there were more controls and redirection of expenditure, and the Audit Commission played a part in this process. It was the Conservative Government that established the Audit Commission, a successor to the Audit Inspectorate, in 1983 under the provisions of the 1982 Local Government Finance Act as part of its drive to contain public expenditure.<sup>20</sup> The Audit Commission's stated mission was to promote proper stewardship of public finances and help those responsible for public services to achieve economy, efficiency and effectiveness. From the mid-1980s the Audit Commission had published Performance Review Handbooks covering a range of local services, including housing and the social services.<sup>21</sup> The Treasury gave definitions of 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' that were similar to those of the Audit Commission, and also put forward a definition of 'economy'. 'An economy measure describes the extent to which the cost of inputs is minimised. Economy is usually measured in terms of money saved by switching to cheaper inputs'.<sup>22</sup> Efficiency, however, is also related to outputs, so that an efficient programme is 'one where the target is being achieved with the least possible use of resources'.<sup>23</sup> An effectiveness measure revealed 'the extent to which objectives have been met: it makes no reference to cost'.<sup>24</sup>

In 1985 the Audit Commission, in its document, *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*, reported on the way resources were being used in 165 out of 550 polytechnics and FE colleges, but interestingly not universities which were not the responsibility of LEAs. It pointed to the 'inefficient use of scarce teaching resources' arising 'from several causes...poor marketing...maximum (but not minimum) class contact hours per week...lower than necessary lecturer productivity'.<sup>25</sup> The Audit Commission also mentioned the quality of the teacher, when referring to the 1984 HMI

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<sup>20</sup> 1982 Local Government Finance Act (c. 32).

<sup>21</sup> Holloway, D. (1999) The Audit Commission, Managerialism, and the Further Education Sector. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 229 –243. David Holloway is at Portsmouth University.

<sup>22</sup> HM Treasury (1992) *Executive Agencies: A Guide to Setting Targets and Measuring Performance*. London, HMSO, p. 31. Cited in Lawton, A. & Rose, A. (1994) *Organisation and Management in the Public Sector*. London, Pitman Publishing, p. 155.

<sup>23</sup> Treasury and Civil Service Committee (1982). Third Report: *Efficiency and Effectiveness in the Civil Service*. London, HMSO, para. 52. Cited in Lawton, A. & Rose, A. (1994) *Organisation and Management in the Public Sector*. London, Pitman Publishing, p. 156.

<sup>24</sup> HM Treasury (1992) *Executive Agencies: A Guide to Setting Targets and Measuring Performance*. London, HMSO, p. 33. Cited in Lawton, A. & Rose, A. (1994) *Organisation and Management in the Public Sector*. London, Pitman Publishing, p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Audit Commission. (1985) *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*. London, HMSO, para. 38.



survey findings that concluded that there was a ‘shortage of appropriately experienced lecturers’ and that there was an ‘inadequacy of staff development’.<sup>26</sup> However, the Audit Commission did not recommend an increase in the number of FE lecturers with an initial teaching qualification. Although the Commission said that it wanted to avoid making educational judgements, its proposed increase in the SSR suggested larger teaching groups, presumably without any educational ill-effects. The Audit Commission also referred to ‘over-teaching’ and suggested there could sometimes be fewer student class contact hours. The number of student hours was a matter for ‘professional educational judgement’.<sup>27</sup> ‘Over-teaching’ was not defined, but Birch and Latcham felt that academic judgements were made.

The report, however, through its ‘causes for concern’ and ‘good practice targets’ makes many, and often repeated, pronouncements on matters of academic judgement! The authors of the report did not apparently feel obliged to follow the advice the commission gave to its auditors in the field.<sup>28</sup>

In 1983 the Audit Inspectorate argued that greater management control of FE lecturers was necessary. The Audit Commission came to the same conclusion and claimed that ‘controlling lecturers out of class time’ was necessary.<sup>29</sup> It added that the ‘appearance of restrictive practices in the ... terms and conditions’ could ‘only be damaging to the public standing of the further education service’. The notion of public accountability was introduced when referring to the ‘problems’ which were caused by FE lecturers’ ‘lack of flexibility’. It was suggested that the removal of such practices would be ‘in the interest of the further education service and those it exists to serve as well as the tax and ratepayers who meet the cost involved’.<sup>30</sup> The use of phrases by the Audit Commission (1985) such as lecturers’ ‘lack of flexibility’, ‘restrictive practices’ and ‘can only be damaging’ suggested a ‘discourse of derision’. This was not however the ‘discourse of derision’ referred to by Ball in 1990 when describing reactions to teachers, because, as argued earlier, the new discourse received little attention from the national mass media. To avoid confusion the discourse referring to FE lecturers will be

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., para. 51.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., paras. 38, 61.

<sup>28</sup> Birch, D. & Latcham, J. (1985) The Audit Commission and FE: Value for Money and the Audit Ratios. In: Coombe Lodge Report: *Assessing Educational Effectiveness and Efficiency*, vol. 18 no. 3 1985, p. 124  
Derek Birch and Jack Latcham were at the Further Education Staff College, Bristol.

<sup>29</sup> Audit Commission. (1985) *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*. London, HMSO, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., para. 90.

described as a ‘discourse of disdain’. The Audit Commission’s attack on FE lecturers was part of a wider discourse deriding employees. The 1988 White Paper, *Employment for the 1990s*, for example, said, ‘We must ensure that inflexible pay arrangements and excessive pay increases do not threaten jobs and growth. We must counter outdated attitudes and behaviour in industrial relations, which can still inhibit change and constrain productivity.’<sup>31</sup> This was about the problem of labour; it was not just FE lecturers who were not ‘flexible’.

A change in tone was found in national FE documents, when the greater utilisation of resources was recommended. Thus, in 1966 a conciliatory tone was expressed in the 1966 Pilkington Report, when it suggested that the reserves of resources ‘could be more fully used’ and ‘the effective utilisation of this reserve would be invaluable’.<sup>32</sup> Crosland, the Secretary of State welcomed in particular the report’s ‘positive approach’ and wished ‘to commend it warmly to all concerned’.<sup>33</sup> The tone in the report, *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*, was less friendly when the Audit Commission expected that the LEAs would ‘ensure that systems are in place to see that the Pilkington guidelines on class size for new courses are adhered to’.<sup>34</sup> This was not a warm recommendation but a cool instruction. Holloway concluded that the Audit Commission was open to the criticism that it had a narrow focus on issues of economy and efficiency, and had tended to provide support to the ‘New Right’ attack on the public sector and the professions. The Commission’s report concluded that there should be changes in FE lecturers’ terms and conditions, as their current working practices were not conducive to value for money. The existence of Houghton Senior Lecturers was given as one example, but the rationale for its existence was not given. An examination of the data in Appendix A of the Commission’s 1985 report showed that a large majority of lecturers in NAFE were working very close to their conditions of service maximum.<sup>35</sup> However, a great deal of adverse press comment had centred on

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<sup>31</sup> Department of Employment. (1988) *Employment for the 1990s*. London, HMSO, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Department of Education and Science. (1966) Report on the *Size of classes and approval of further education courses* by the Committee on the More Effective Use of Technical College Resources. London, HMSO, para. 3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 10.

<sup>34</sup> Audit Commission. (1985) *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*. London, HMSO, para. 89.

<sup>35</sup> Holloway, D. (1999) The Audit Commission, Managerialism, and the Further Education Sector. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 229–243.

the suggestion that 'some lecturers had fewer than ten hours class contact per week'.<sup>36</sup> Therefore it was unfortunate that the Commission included polytechnics and FE colleges in the same report.

*The Times* reported that lecturers in polytechnics and FE colleges reacted angrily to the Commission's report which said they worked too few hours, taught too few students and were 'on the fiddle'. They rejected allegations of malpractice and said it was not true that they did not work hard. The report from the Audit Commission found that many lecturers did a ten-hour teaching week; had classes as small as five or six students; and that some staff claimed to have taught classes they had not. David Triesman, national negotiating secretary of NATFHE, did not deny those details but said the evidence did not justify the claims made. It was nonsense to suggest lecturers were skiving. They spent a great deal of time on individual tuition, administrative work, acting as course tutors, attending meetings and writing letters. They also did marking and lecture preparation, mostly in the evening, because they did not have time during the day.<sup>37</sup> Summaries in the local press could also be misleading. Thus the *Birmingham Evening Mail* reported that sixteen lecturers at North Worcestershire College had been made redundant, and explained this by saying that the County Council said at the time that jobs were being lost after the Audit Commission said it could make better use of resources.<sup>38</sup> The newspaper made it sound as if the LEA had been specifically named by the Audit Commission, whereas the redundancies were caused largely by a fall in demand for engineering courses, reflecting difficulties of local firms.

The FE Sub-Committee of the Hereford and Worcester LEA referred to recommendations requiring implementation by using the headings from the 1985 Audit Commission's report. A working party of the Hereford and Worcester LEA, including the Chairman of the Policy, Resource Allocation and Finance Committee and the Chairman of the Finance Sub-Committee, had been established to discuss the recommendations of the Audit Commission's 1985 *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*. With the aim of controlling losses on library books, there would be

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<sup>36</sup> Birch, D. & Latcham, L. (1985) The Audit Commission and FE: Value for Money and the Audit Ratios. In: Coombe Lodge Report: *Assessing Educational Effectiveness and Efficiency*, vol. 18 no. 3 1985.

<sup>37</sup> *The Times*, 21 June 1985.

<sup>38</sup> *Birmingham Evening Mail*, 30 September 1986.

a report on the viability of an existing College Book Detection Scheme. The working party also reported that there would be a review of the establishment of Laboratory and Workshop Technicians. Responding to the Audit Commission's recommendation that one way of reducing non-teaching costs was by tightening purchasing agreements, the Chairman of the Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee had written to Principals and Governing Bodies of all Colleges emphasising the need for Colleges to make maximum use of the Shropshire Stores and its lower prices when purchasing items.<sup>39</sup>

Marketing details were outlined in May 1986. The Hereford and Worcester LEA's FE colleges had traditionally marketed courses through the college prospectus, careers conventions, liaison committees with local employers and a variety of informal arrangements. The Audit Commission considered marketing needed to be improved as industry was not fully aware of the training opportunities within colleges, and there was also a growing element of competition with private training providers for MSC courses. It was also asserted that effective marketing would more fully utilise skilled teaching resources and expensive equipment, ensuring that the need for education and training at a time of high youth unemployment was met. Referring to 'market intelligence', it was announced that two colleges, one in Worcester and one in Redditch, had appointed Development Officers to co-ordinate new initiatives and develop closer links with local industry. A database of all employers in the colleges' catchment area was being developed.<sup>40</sup> Recommendations were first made in 1964 in the Henniker-Heaton Report and the Alexander Report that colleges should have Liaison Officers to strengthen the links between colleges and industry. Twenty two years later similar advice was accepted from the Audit Commission and the policy was then implemented by Redditch College, thus indicating that in practice, as well as on paper, the LEA had less control of FE. Another recommendation of the Audit Commission was that the college year should be extended from 36 to 48 weeks. This advice was also found in the 1970 Hunt Report, but the Engineering Department at Redditch College had already extended the college year following the 1964 Industrial Training Act. In 1985 the Audit Commission reminded LEAs that the 1966 Pilkington Report guidelines on class size should be adhered to.

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<sup>39</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>40</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

It may have been the ‘Pilkington guidelines’ that the FE Sub-Committee had in mind in 1986 when it was agreed that there should be consideration of ways of achieving greater rationalisation of courses between Redditch College and North Worcestershire College.<sup>41</sup> A working party had already discussed the merger of Herefordshire Technical College and Hereford College of Art, and concluded that only a few resources could be combined and there could be one shared library. The Sub-Committee however appeared more concerned that an amalgamation could have detrimental effects on the standing of the College of Art.<sup>42</sup> Although this conclusion appears to have little to do with rationalisation of resources, the Sub-Committee could have pointed out that the lower standing of the College of Art would have had consequences for marketing.

A working party of County Councillors was established and included a governor from each college. The working party discussed the possibility of a merger between the Redditch and North Worcestershire Colleges, and considered ways of achieving greater rationalisation of courses between the two colleges. Echoing the 1985 report of the Audit Commission, it was stated that the colleges were required to make the most efficient and effective use of the resources available.<sup>43</sup> In 1987 the County Education Officer concluded that a merger could be beneficial both educationally and in terms of the cost effective provision of further education in the area. The underlying assumption was that some form of rationalisation of courses was both possible and desirable.<sup>44</sup> The merger was opposed by the Labour County Councillors who were members of the County of Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee. One such councillor was also a Governor of Redditch College and told a local newspaper that a merger would destroy Redditch College which was the most efficient college in the County.<sup>45</sup> Although he did not say what he meant by ‘efficient’, this assertion had some foundation, as the Chairman of the Education Committee had already claimed that Redditch students had cost only half as much as those at North Worcestershire

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<sup>41</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, December 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>42</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>43</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, December 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>44</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>45</sup> *Redditch Advertiser*, 19 March 1987.

<sup>45</sup> *Redditch Advertiser*, 19 March 1987.

College.<sup>46</sup> Redditch College also had a higher Staff Student Ratio (SSR). In 1987 the SSR was still the only widely developed ‘efficiency’ indicator in NAFE and would continue to be important. A national target of 11.4 was set for 1991/2, whereas the national average figure for 1985/6 was 10.3.<sup>47</sup> One of the reasons the FE Sub-Committee gave for the merger was that the SSR had been particularly a problem for the North Worcestershire College. For the academic year 1985/6 North Worcestershire College’s SSR was 8.5 whereas Redditch College’s SSR for the same year was 10.8. The County planned to work towards raising the SSR in all its colleges to more than 10.1 as soon as possible.<sup>48</sup>

By 1988 Redditch College had merged with North Worcestershire College, and the new college was named North East Worcestershire College (NEW College). Before the new college was opened, its Principal told a regional newspaper that the merger had provided economies of scale which would strengthen weaker courses and develop more options within stronger courses.<sup>49</sup> This argument assumed therefore a greater utilisation of resources, but it did not necessarily mean there would be an increase in output such as the rate of successful course completions. This was not necessarily a reference to ‘efficiency’ in the sense intended by the Audit Commission.

The 1987 Report, *Managing Colleges Efficiently*, stated that a high premium would ‘be put on efficiency and effectiveness, including responsiveness to employment needs’ and that non-advanced FE (NAFE) had ‘a vital role in the national strategy for restoring this country’s international competitiveness’.<sup>50</sup> It referred to ‘efficiency’ as the relationship of inputs to outputs, so that ‘efficiency’ was achieving ‘more of what they should achieve with the money that is available’.<sup>51</sup> It defined ‘effectiveness’ as the extent to which the organisation’s objectives were achieved. It stressed the importance of responsiveness to employment needs, and said ‘consumer satisfaction’ should also be assessed. FE was not a production line and its outputs did not lend themselves to direct

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<sup>46</sup> *Bromsgrove Weekly Mail*, 16 January 1987.

<sup>47</sup> Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office. (1987) *Managing Colleges Efficiently*. London, HMSO.

<sup>48</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>49</sup> *Birmingham Evening Mail*, 17 June 1988.

<sup>50</sup> Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office. (1987) *Managing Colleges Efficiently*. London, HMSO, para. 2.16.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 4.3.

measurement, so appropriate and sometimes partial indicators had to be found. The DES agreed that performance indicators were ‘proxies for measures’ when direct measurements were not possible, but the DES was still referring to output.<sup>52</sup> The DES considered the achievement of qualifications, for example, related to a crucial aspect of any college’s objectives, and was therefore concerned with outputs that reflected the purposes of the educational process: student enrolments; student completion rates; qualifications gained and examination successes; and progression to more advanced study or employment.<sup>53</sup> It was these performance indicators that became increasingly important, especially after 1993 when funding of FE was calculated according to performance indicators. One of the problems in using such indicators is that the statistics become ends in themselves. For example, students may not complete a course, because they realise there is another course or job more appropriate for them. Such decisions may be the result of an excellent tutorial system that helps students to develop insights into their own aptitudes and abilities. Thus non-completion of a course should sometimes be seen as a successful outcome.

The 1987 report suggested that the SSRs could be tightened by increasing course enrolments and average class size, and by reducing average student hours. The Audit Commission had already referred to ‘over-teaching’ in its 1985 report and recommended fewer student class contact hours. The SSR however took no account of non-teaching costs or of the ultimate educational outputs of the college. The DES argued that unit costs, cost per full-time equivalent (fte) student, would provide better information on the resources consumed and, linked with sound indicators of educational output, would provide better indicators of efficiency. The following indicators for NAFE, in addition to the SSR, were recommended:

- 1) non-teacher cost per enrolled fte student;
- 2) cost per fte student enrolled and on a course;
- 3) completion rates for enrolled students, and the cost per fte student completing a course;
- 4) rates for target qualifications gained, and the cost per fte student gaining qualifications; and
- 5) rates of success in gaining employment or progression to further and higher education.

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<sup>52</sup> Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office. (1987) *Managing Colleges Efficiently*. London, HMSO, para. 4.2.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

Local authorities and colleges were told by the DES to aim to use these indicators in all colleges within five years.<sup>54</sup> This focus on indicators meant that ‘equity’ was ‘only a minority interest’. Cripps described equity indicators as age, sex, race, entitlements and disability.<sup>55</sup>

The Working Party established by the County of Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee to discuss the document, *Managing Colleges Efficiently*, agreed that it was necessary to consider the effects of national conditions of service in the search for efficiency.<sup>56</sup> Possible new conditions of service for FE lecturers were discussed again in the Education Committee in March 1988. Echoing the Audit Commission’s ‘discourse of disdain’ aimed at FE lecturers, the Chairman of the Education Committee accused lecturers of being unprofessional and inflexible, as Conditions of Service had seriously eroded both its teaching staff’s professionalism and its capability to respond to the challenges. There were 20 votes in favour of the new conditions and 13 votes against them, those in favour being Conservatives.<sup>57</sup> The result was that the County of Hereford and Worcester introduced its own ‘Gold Book’ contract for lecturers that year.<sup>58</sup> One feature of the new contract was the averaging of teaching hours. A lecturer could be required to undertake class contact hours in excess of his or her normal weekly commitment, and additional class contact hours would have to be balanced by reductions in class contact time at other times of the year. This arrangement saved money as it reduced the number of teaching hours that had to be paid for by employing part-time lecturers or as over-time. However, at NEW College the emphasis appeared to be on reducing holidays rather than on averaging of teaching hours. The ‘Gold Book’ contract stipulated a 35 hour week on college premises and six weeks’ holiday, whereas the ‘Silver Book’ contract specified a 30 hour week on college premises and fourteen weeks’ holiday a year.

College lecturers in the County of Hereford and Worcester who switched to the

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Cripps, S. (2002) *Further Education, Government’s Discourse Policy and Practice: Killing a paradigm softly*. Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing. Sandy Cripps was a lecturer at the University of East London.

<sup>56</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, October 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>57</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, March 1988; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>58</sup> The new County contract came to be known as the ‘Gold Book’ because it replaced Silver Book conditions and this was why it was printed on yellow paper.



County's Gold Book conditions of service by 12 July would be paid a salary increment of £530 as an incentive bonus for agreeing to work longer hours and to take shorter holidays. Payment of the bonus, which could have cost the County up to £500,000 if all 830 lecturers signed new contracts, was agreed by 7 votes to 3 at a special meeting of the County's Finance Committee. The LEA also had to find an additional £600,000 worth of FE savings that year to bring the County closer to the Audit Commission's requirements. The Chief Executive Officer and the County Treasurer reckoned that the extra £500,000 would be recouped over several years by the increased efficiency and value-for-money flexibility that the Gold Book offered. They said in a joint report that the incentive would not only increase a lecturer's salary and ultimate pension, but would also be another demonstration of the good faith in which the implementation of the new conditions of service had been approached. At that time college lecturers in the County worked 38 weeks of 30 hours.<sup>59</sup> Under Gold Book they would work 46 weeks of 35 hours, so that the £530 was equivalent to almost £1.13 an hour for each of the extra 470 hours a year.<sup>60</sup> At the NATFHE national conference it was pointed out that no NATFHE member had accepted the bribe of £530 in return for the Gold Book conditions of service.<sup>61</sup>

There was a 'considerable degree of satisfaction among leading [local] Conservatives at having managed to put the union on the defensive'. The Finance Committee chairman, formerly the Education Committee chairman, had said that over the years NATFHE had flouted every attempt to bring the FE service in the County to a state of efficiency. Throughout the County of Hereford and Worcester the college branches of NATFHE had launched action campaigns against the Gold Book, even though Dr. Muffett, Chairman of the Education Committee, and other leading members of the controlling Conservative group of the county council, had repeatedly claimed that no lecturer who wished to remain under the Silver Book would be forced to accept the Gold Book. County Councillors were refusing to recognise the NATFHE's national dispute, because, they said, 'We are not in dispute with the union'.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, the Gold Book contract was discussed at the 1988 NATFHE national conference. Delegates

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<sup>59</sup> According to the Silver Book contract, only 36 weeks were teaching weeks. The other two weeks were known as 'admin. weeks'.

<sup>60</sup> *Education*, 27 May 1988.

<sup>61</sup> *Education*, 3 June 1988.

<sup>62</sup> *Education*, 27 May 1988.

there approved action to prevent the LEA from implementing its plan, including a national boycott of all advertised posts in the County of Hereford and Worcester, and a ballot of local NATFHE members on refusing to work alongside lecturers accepting the LEA contract.<sup>63</sup> Delegates also voted overwhelmingly for a one-day national strike in full support of FE lecturers in the County.<sup>64</sup> Although the majority of Hereford and Worcester FE lecturers who voted supported a national strike, there was only a turnout of around 50 per cent. The union thought this turnout was too low and did not authorise a one-day national strike, or call on members in the County of Hereford and Worcestershire to commence sanctions, although there did not appear to be a legal reason for this decision.<sup>65</sup>

In spite of the NATFHE boycott of advertised posts in Hereford and Worcester, from September 1988 there were new full-time and promoted lecturers in the County, and they had to accept the County's 'Gold Book' conditions of service. The successful applicants for the positions of Heads of Departments of NEW College from September 1988 had to accept the Gold Book conditions of service, but the Redditch NATFHE branch had instructed its members not to co-operate with the four departmental heads by not attending meetings, not responding to memos, and not making telephone calls to them at work. Councillor Muffett said that all lecturers were bound by their contracts of employment, whether under Silver Book or Gold Book, to obey any reasonable instruction of the college principal or his representative. Any lecturer who obeyed that union branch instruction would be in breach of his or her contract and would be fired.<sup>66</sup> There were circulars issued urging lecturers at NEW College not to co-operate with the new departmental heads, which had been issued over the name of the Redditch College NATFHE branch chairman. The County Education Officer had written to him demanding the withdrawal of the circular and an unconditional pledge that the policy of not co-operating would be ended. Otherwise the authority would seek an injunction against him, his branch and the union.<sup>67</sup> The Redditch branch chairman had been advised by NATFHE that legal action could not be taken against him personally, but being cautious he did not distribute any more circulars.

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<sup>63</sup> *The Guardian*, 30 May 1988.

<sup>64</sup> *Times Educational Supplement*, 3 June 1988.

<sup>65</sup> *Education* 1 July 1988.

<sup>66</sup> *Education* 27 May 1988.

<sup>67</sup> *Education* 3 June 1988.

In March 1988 the Conservative Chairman of the Education Committee, Dr Muffett, stated that the Silver Book conditions of service had seriously eroded lecturers' professionalism. However, it appeared that Dr Muffett and his fellow Conservative Councillors had been unhappy with NATFHE and the Silver Book contract for several years.<sup>68</sup> Dr Muffett also disagreed with the Audit Commission's findings concerning SSRs. A letter from the Audit Commission in the period 1986/87, forwarded by the District Auditor, stated that the County of Hereford and Worcester Council's overall SSR in the Audit Commission Profile for 1987/88 was still significantly lower than the 'family' average despite the forty-four lecturer posts which had been declared redundant. Although no other authority had taken effective steps to reduce the number of lecturers, the number of lecturers employed by the County of Hereford and Worcester remained high. Councillor Muffett replied that he had rejected the validity of the Profile figures as they were based on imprecise CIPFA (Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy) data. Councillor Muffett had also complained that the Audit Commission had failed to take up his analysis of the excessive cost of lecturers' conditions of service. The Education Committee claimed that the proposed 'Gold Book' contract would bring increased efficiency, value-for-money, and flexibility.<sup>69</sup>

There was some speculation in later years that Dr Muffett had been asked by central government to 'test the water' by introducing a new contract in the County, thus preparing the way for Incorporation and new national contracts. It is unlikely however that he had that sort of relationship with central government, as he resigned from the Education Committee and the Conservative party when Incorporation became official. He did not think the LEA should lose responsibility for FE. In his obituary it was said that 'disillusioned by what he saw as Conservative betrayal of local government, he declared himself an Independent and was re-elected as such'.<sup>70</sup> An alternative explanation was that Dr Muffett was trying to prove that efficiencies could be made and lecturers controlled, despite NATFHE, without Incorporation, even though he did not agree with the Audit Commission's statistics. However, it was probable that central government thought that, as a significant proportion of FE lecturers in the County of Hereford and Worcester accepted the Gold Book contract, after Incorporation FE

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<sup>68</sup> *Education* 27 May 1988.

<sup>69</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1988; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>70</sup> *Worcester News*, 8 October 2007.

lecturers would accept the new contracts of their individual colleges.

The 1988 Education Reform Act further reduced the power of LEAs as FE college governing bodies became responsible for the general direction of colleges. Each governing body had to submit annual proposals to the LEA, but it was for each college to determine its internal arrangements. Most of the financial responsibility for college expenditure was transferred from the LEAs to the governing bodies of colleges, and the Act required LEAs to devise schemes of financial delegation. The intention was to ensure that no more than fifteen per cent of the block grant for FE made available by the government would be retained for central LEA services.<sup>71</sup> The Act also reduced the power of the LEA by reducing the percentage of LEA representatives on the governing bodies of FE colleges. At least fifty per cent of the governors now had to represent employers, no more than twenty per cent could be LEA appointees, and there were no more than two governors from the college staff.<sup>72</sup> Since the 1988 Act's definition of FE excluded those which did not provide part-time education to a significant extent, the sixth form colleges were not included. Provision of the 1988 Act took effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1989. The following table shows that the composition of the NEW College governing body in 1989 was very different from that of Redditch College in 1962.

#### **Composition of College Governing Body 1962 - 1989**<sup>73</sup>

	<b>Representatives</b>								
<b>Redditch College</b>	LEA	District Council	Principal	Industry and Commerce	Head Teachers	Teaching staff	College students	Co-opted	Poly-technic rep
<b>1962</b>	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
<b>1974</b>	5	0	1	5	1	2	2	1	0
<b>NEW College</b>									
<b>1989</b>	4	0	1	10	1	2 <sup>74</sup>	1	0	1

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<sup>71</sup> Cantor, L. M, Roberts, I. F. and Pratley, B. (1995) *A Guide to Further Education in England and Wales*, London, Cassell.

<sup>72</sup> Education Reform Act 1988. (c. 40). London, HMSO.

<sup>73</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1962, 1974, 1984; held at Redditch Public Library. Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee minutes, 9 December 1988; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>74</sup> Two from the college staff, one definitely being from the teaching staff.

Employers, therefore, were in a more powerful position to decide the direction of FE locally, and, as Cantor et al. pointed out, the government placed considerable faith in the ability of members of industry to oversee the provision of FE.<sup>75</sup>

From September 1988 the newly established NEW College had to deal with not only the aftermath of a merger, but also the implementation of the 1988 Act. NEW College had also been chosen by the Hereford and Worcester LEA for the piloting of a new system of allocation of resources to FE colleges, and the monitoring of the suitability of a new management information system. As the LEAs and colleges were monitored and compared with each other, a new management information system was necessary. A management information system, the West Kent Data Base system, had already been installed in 1985 in the County's colleges, as in 1983 the Chairman of the Education Committee had said that there was a need for improved budgetary information.<sup>76</sup> However, the system was not capable of producing all the performance indicators and other statistical returns that were essential for compiling the FE student return for 1989/90.<sup>77</sup> The newer FE Management Information System (FEMIS) had been funded by the DES to create a system that was cheap enough for all institutions to afford.<sup>78</sup> The Audit Commission was disappointed that the County did not install FEMIS immediately, but the Hereford and Worcester LEA had already invested in one system. In effect, the LEA was being penalised for implementing policy too quickly. As funding would have to come from existing budgets, in 1988 the FE Sub-Committee agreed that the new system would be installed throughout the County in the following three years, enabling the County to meet the requirements of the 1987 report, *Managing Colleges Efficiently*.<sup>79</sup>

The 1988 Education Reform Act was a three pronged attack on LEAs as it also affected polytechnics and schools. Thirty polytechnics were formed from 50 FE institutions

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<sup>75</sup> Cantor, L. M, Roberts, I. F. and Pratley, B. (1995) *A Guide to Further Education in England and Wales*, London, Cassell. Beryl Pratley was Head of the School of Education at Kingston University.

<sup>76</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, December 1983; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>77</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1985, December 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>78</sup> Triesman, D. (1988) 'Management Information.' In: Locke, M., Lanning, P., Scribbins, K., Triesman, D., Waitt, I. (Eds.) (1988) *College Administration*. Harlow, Longman/NATFHE. David Triesman was the national Negotiating Secretary of NATFHE.

<sup>79</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1988; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

from across 31 LEAs. The polytechnic directors were concerned that their establishments were not given the same freedoms as universities, while the LEAs were concerned about their lack of control over institutions for which they were legally responsible. In 1979 the new Conservative Government established a National Advisory Board which reduced the power of LEAs by creating a central, state controlled mechanism through which to allocate funding, and in 1988 the Education Reform Act removed polytechnics from LEA control.<sup>80</sup> The 1988 Act introduced the national curriculum and associated assessment arrangements for schools. At the same time local management of schools, whereby school governing bodies were given control of their budgets and staffing, coupled with allowing schools to opt out of LEA control and become grant maintained, also ensured a reduction in the power of LEAs.<sup>81</sup> There were also occasions when there was conflict between the government and LEAs especially when they did not come from the same political party. This was particularly so in the years preceding 1988. Lawrence claimed that ‘the power conflicts of the mid-1980s between central and local governments were much wider and deeper than those which surfaced in education policy’.<sup>82</sup> There was, however, a more obvious disagreement between the Conservative Government and the Labour-controlled Inner London Education Authority, which led to the dismantling of the Authority under the 1988 Education Reform Act.

In 1987 an easing in the bulge of school leavers reduced the population of those aged from sixteen to nineteen, so that school leaver unemployment was at its lowest level since 1974. In the following year the MSC was replaced by the Training Commission which was to be specifically responsible for training and nothing else. In September 1987 the TUC called upon the government to modify the Employment Training scheme for adults, but the lack of a clear response eventually caused the TUC to boycott Employment Training. This gave the government an excuse to abolish the Training

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<sup>80</sup> Simmons, R. (2009) ‘The long goodbye: how local authorities lost control of further education’, *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 14, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 287-297. Robin Simmons is a lecturer and Associate Director of the Post-Compulsory Education and Training Research Unit at the University of Huddersfield.

<sup>81</sup> Sharp, P. (2002) ‘Central and local government.’ In: Aldrich, R. (Ed.) (2002) *A Century of Education*. London, RoutFalmer, pp. 54-74.

<sup>82</sup> Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell, p. 116.

Commission in September 1988 after only ten days of existence, and to replace it with a Training Agency within the Department of Employment.<sup>83</sup>

At the end of 1988 Norman Fowler, the Secretary of State for Employment, wrote in the White Paper, *Employment for the 1990s*:

Above all, we must invest in the skills and knowledge of our people and build up industry's skill base, through a strategy of training through life, to enable Britain to continue to grow and to generate jobs. The prime responsibility for this investment lies with employers.<sup>84</sup>

Discrimination prevented the best use of human resources.

We must prevent discrimination in recruitment and employment on grounds of race, sex, disability or age, which hinders the best use of the country's human resources at a time when the population of working age is hardly growing.<sup>85</sup>

Here lack of discrimination was justified not for its own sake, but for the sake of the national economy.

The 1988 White Paper announced the government's intention to set up organisations that came to be called Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs). The decision to create TECs was taken by Fowler as he was impressed by the Private Industry Councils in the USA, although there was no evaluation of their success. There were 75 TECs in England and they took over the running of programmes such as Youth Training and Employment Training, as the MSC was disbanded. The TECs were also given the job of evaluating the economic needs of their areas, and were meant to persuade local companies to undertake more training. The Department of Employment provided funding for training schemes aimed at the unemployed, plus a grant towards operating costs and promotional activities. The TECs were independent companies run by chief executives recruited from private industry, while a group of ten TEC chairpersons represented the TECs in dealings with the Department of Employment.<sup>86</sup> The Government's reforms shifted the focus of decision-making from industry level bodies

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<sup>83</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

<sup>84</sup> Department of Employment. (1988) *Employment for the 1990s*. London, HMSO, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>86</sup> Cantor, L. M, Roberts, I. F. and Pratley, B. (1995) *A Guide to Further Education in England and Wales*, London, Cassell.

(ITBs) and a national tripartite body (MSC) towards locally based, employer-dominated TECs. As Keep remarked, the aim was one of nationally based standards, coupled with the local delivery of training. The creation of TECs meant that the role of LEAs diminished even more, while TEC-funded programmes became important to FE colleges.<sup>87</sup> In some colleges the programmes provided one third of their total budget for vocational training. The TECs were conceived during a period of economic growth, but launched at a time of recession. The TECs were, therefore overwhelmed by demands to train the unemployed, and youth training and training for the unemployed accounted for four fifths of their budgets. The CBI held the view that instead of concentrating so heavily on helping the unemployed to return to work, the TECs should devote more time to the enterprise aspects of their mission. When the TECs were established many industrialists gave up a great deal of time and energy to serve on them. However, interest later dwindled so that in some TECs there was a rapid turnover of employers with the result that the full-time officers, many of whom were seconded former civil servants, were effectively running them.<sup>88</sup>

The new discourse in the 1980s referred to FE as a business with the concept of efficiency resembling that of the production model. The output of FE became more 'commodified' in the 1980s, so, although there were no goods for sale, colleges came to be organised and conceptualised in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption. This trend was actively encouraged by the Further Education Staff College, Coombe Lodge in Somerset. The Staff College was opened in 1963, and provided facilities for education, training and research in all branches of FE. It co-ordinated a series of projects in colleges throughout the country, that were funded by the MSC. The project co-ordinator there was involved in applying marketing concepts such as 'quality control', 'after sales service' and 'product development' to education. The purpose of the scheme was to encourage colleges to look at their 'product' in a systematic way. Students' reactions to the course (product) were monitored (quality control) through questionnaires, and were given to staff who reviewed course design (product design). When students left the college, they were followed up, and both students and their employers were asked further questions to assess the value of the

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<sup>87</sup> Keep, E. (1993) Missing, presumed skilled: Training policy in the UK. In: Edwards, R. (1993) *Adult Learners: Education and Training*. London, Routledge.

<sup>88</sup> Cantor, L. M, Roberts, I. F. and Pratley, B. (1995) *A Guide to Further Education in England and Wales*, London, Cassell.



course (after sales service).<sup>89</sup> Unlike industry, however, the output of FE was not measured in monetary terms, although funding was later to be calculated according to certain performance indicators.

In the 1980s several FE documents contained examples of a business discourse, and were frequently concerned with ‘the maintenance of adequate and reliable records’ so that there was ‘proper management control and accountability’.<sup>90</sup> Appropriate ‘and sometimes partial [performance] indicators’ became part of that process.<sup>91</sup> Meanwhile, FE lecturers had become ‘teaching resources’ and to maximise their use there had to be a ‘marketing programme to establish the nature of demand’, while there was to be ‘value for money’.<sup>92</sup> FE was to relate the courses it provided ‘to the needs of the customer and in the most cost effective way’.<sup>93</sup> Similarly in the early 1990s, a public service had to take into account the needs of ‘individual consumers’ and this had to ‘be reflected in its quality assurance arrangements’ while the assessment of quality had to ‘satisfy and involve the customer’. The FE student had become a customer and consumer. A FE course had to be ‘fit for its purpose’, suggesting a more tangible product and production line.<sup>94</sup> Cripps pointed out that a British Standards Institution (BSI) approach to effectiveness and efficiency was applied to the FE product. Achievement of quality was evidenced by an audit trail.<sup>95</sup> ‘BS5750 and Total Quality Management’ were named as appropriate models for quality.<sup>96</sup> The FEFC Circular, *Assessing Achievement*, made it clear that it wanted colleges to adopt some of the approaches of private businesses. ‘The education service can learn from the approaches to quality and its assurance adopted in the business and industry sectors’.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *TES*, 6 May 1988.

<sup>90</sup> Audit Inspectorate. (1983) *Colleges of Further Education: Guide to the measurement of resource efficiency*. London, HMSO, para. 1.13.

<sup>91</sup> Department of Education and Science, Welsh Office. (1987) *Managing Colleges Efficiently*. London, HMSO, para. 4.2.

<sup>92</sup> Audit Commission. (1985) *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*. London, HMSO, pp. 1-2, p. 27 para.38.

<sup>93</sup> Department of Employment, Department of Education and Science. (1984) *Training for Jobs*. London, HMSO, p. 13.

<sup>94</sup> Further Education Funding Council. (1993) *Assessing Achievement*, Circular 93/28. Coventry, FEFC, para. 7.

<sup>95</sup> Cripps, S. (2002) *Further Education, Government's Discourse Policy and Practice: Killing a paradigm softly*. Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing.

<sup>96</sup> Department of Education and Science, Department of Employment, Welsh Office. (1991) *Education and Training for the 21st Century*, Cmnd 1536. London, HMSO.

<sup>97</sup> Further Education Funding Council. (1993) *Assessing Achievement*, Circular 93/28. Coventry, FEFC, para. 7.

The County of Hereford and Worcester LEA's Further Education Development Plans of 1986 and 1988 also emphasised cost effectiveness.<sup>98</sup> FE lecturers were 'resources'<sup>99</sup> and FE students now 'clientele'<sup>100</sup> and 'customers'. However there was some indication that the new practice of students being referred to as customers was not taken that seriously, as the Further Education Sub-Committee minutes reported that 'some courses required "customers" to complete questionnaires on their experiences on the courses'. The quotation marks around the word suggest that the Sub-Committee found the new name for students rather amusing or even irritating.<sup>101</sup> The importance of 'market strategy' was also noted<sup>102</sup> and there was to be 'value for money'.<sup>103</sup> In addition, it was emphasised that there was a need for 'market intelligence', 'completion analysis' and 'competition strategy'.<sup>104</sup>

The new business discourse of the 1980s and early 1990s was also evident in documents concerned with NEW College. The Principal there, when writing to the Chief Executive of the College Employers' Forum, not only referred to 'our clients' but also to the college as 'our business'.<sup>105</sup> His letter made it clear that as the Principal endorsed a proposed new lecturers' contract, he would have wanted to demonstrate that he, like the CEF, regarded colleges as businesses. In February 1994 the NEW College Principal had staff meetings to discuss the document, Teaching Staff New Contracts, he had sent to lecturers in January 1994. The new business discourse was still evident in the document. The government had declared that public services must be 'publicly accountable, market-driven, and customer oriented'. The NEW College Principal said the issue to be addressed was how government objectives could be achieved '**whilst**

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<sup>98</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, December 1985, December 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>99</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, March 1988, Statement by the Chairman of the Education Committee; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>100</sup> Hereford and Worcester Education Committee minutes, December 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>101</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>102</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, December 1986; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>103</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, May 1988; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>104</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, September 1988; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>105</sup> NEW College. (1992) Letter from Principal to Chief Executive, College Employers Forum; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

**simultaneously securing our business in 94/5'** The phrase in the original document was in bold lettering to emphasise what the Principal thought was important.<sup>106</sup> This was an attempt to make lecturers feel they had a stake in the college business. From the mid-1980s there were several examples of a business discourse in national, LEA and college documents. The terms mentioned earlier in this chapter, 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness', with their new meanings, became part of that discourse. Local FE documents of the 1980s however did not mention 'effectiveness' and it was difficult to establish whether the new meaning of 'efficiency' was intended. However, both national and local FE documents treated FE as a business when referring to aspects of the market, the student as customer/consumer/client, and lecturers as resources.

The 1991 White Paper, *Education and Training for the 21st century*, (DES et al. 1991) stated that the White Paper was a response 'to the rising demand from employers for more and higher level skills to meet the growing challenge from overseas competitors in world markets'.<sup>107</sup> It argued that although the quality and scale of education and training had improved dramatically over the previous ten years, there were still young people leaving school without the motivation to continue learning. It was recommended that such young people should be allowed to choose a combination of qualifications to suit their needs. The Government would legislate to remove FE colleges and sixth form colleges from LEA control, and new Councils with responsibilities for colleges in the new sector would be set up. A new system of funding for colleges would reward expansion. Previously, colleges were not sufficiently accountable, and without the LEAs individual colleges would be able to extend, and respond to, their markets. Thus, colleges would be 'efficient, effective and free to respond to their customers'.<sup>108</sup>

Competing colleges would publish examination results as part of that process, as more information should make it possible for consumers to make effective choices. However, a value added approach would have been a better indicator of a college's effectiveness, as it took into account what the students had achieved before they arrived at college. An emphasis on the market meant that privatisation had already entered the FE scene, so that from the 1980s private managing agents competed with FE colleges

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<sup>106</sup> NEW College. (1994) Teaching Staff New Contracts; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>107</sup> Department of Education and Science, Department of Employment, Welsh Office. (1991) *Education and Training for the 21st Century*, Cmnd 1536. London, HMSO, para. 1.1.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. para. 10.2.

for YTS courses. The 1991 White Paper assumed that with resources following consumer choices, competition would encourage efficiency and reward the most successful producers. However, it was also unrealistic to see colleges as individual competing businesses, as, unlike most private enterprises, colleges were subject to government regulation and control, and, therefore, the incorporated colleges of 1993 can be regarded as a system of franchises. This situation was sometimes called a quasi-market as after Incorporation FE colleges not only competed against private training providers, they also competed against each other. However, those advocating the existence of quasi-markets assumed consumers had the knowledge and power to be able to exercise realistic choices between competing institutions. It was also unrealistic to assume that students were willing or able to travel to another town. This was why NEW College provided a free bus service to Redditch and Bromsgrove students travelling between towns.<sup>109</sup> This introduction of quasi-markets and the improvement of ‘efficiency’, through performance auditing and measurement, have been referred to by some people, such as Steer et al., as the New Public Management.<sup>110</sup>

The government’s decision to incorporate was connected with the Treasury’s need to make up the £2 billion which was lost through the poll tax revolt that helped to bring down Prime Minister Thatcher. John Major, the new Conservative Prime Minister, was left with the task of finding another way to reduce local government expenditure. The polytechnics and other colleges of higher education were already incorporated after the 1988 Education Reform Act and had increased their own funding by raising their numbers of students while reducing their unit costs. This efficiency gain obviously influenced the government as an example of what could be done with FE.<sup>111</sup> Given FE’s low political profile, Incorporation was a relatively uncontroversial way to cut costs.<sup>112</sup> Incorporation can also be seen as the continuation of the long term strategy to remove FE from LEA control. Thus the Poll Tax fiasco provided the opportunity to do

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<sup>109</sup> Hereford and Worcester Further Education Sub-Committee minutes, March 1987; held at Worcestershire Record Office.

<sup>110</sup> Steer, R., Spours, K., Hodgson, A., Finlay I., Coffield, F., Edward, S. & Gregson, M. (2007) ‘Modernisation’ and the role of policy levers in the Learning and Skills Sector. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 59, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 175-192. Richard Steer, Ken Spours, Anne Hodgson and Frank Coffield were in the Institute of Education at the University of London.

<sup>111</sup> Ainley, P. & B. Bailey (2000) *1992 and All That: The F & HE Act 1992*. In: Hall, L. & K. Marsh (eds.) (2000) *Professionalism, Policies and Values: A Reader*. Greenwich, Greenwich University Press.

<sup>112</sup> Simmons, R. (2009) ‘The long goodbye: how local authorities lost control of further education’, *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 14, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 287-297.

then what would have been done later. Kenneth Baker's memoirs indicated that work had begun before he left the DES in 1989 to incorporate FE colleges.<sup>113</sup> It has been suggested that the inclusion of sixth form colleges in the incorporated sector was needed by the government to make up the poll tax miscalculation.<sup>114</sup>

The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act described the process and responsibilities of Incorporation that would start in 1993. The councils became known as the Further Education Funding Councils (FEFCs), one for England and one for Wales, and were responsible for funding and inspecting FE colleges.<sup>115</sup> Each FEFC consisted of thirteen representatives of large private companies, who were responsible to the Secretary of State for Education. The FEFC altered the budget mechanism to change the unaccountable funding differences between colleges by establishing a process of convergence towards an Average Level of Funding (ALF). This was achieved by setting growth targets for colleges that had had higher levels of funding, and the additional units were funded at rates below that of other units. Funding based on the number of full-time equivalent students was replaced by that based on the number of units. Unit funding was now based on each stage of the student's progress, namely, that of 'entry', 'on programme' and 'achievement', with other units available for additional learning support, fee remission and child care. This approach was designed both to reflect real costs and to provide incentives for improving attainment.<sup>116</sup> As courses were funded by a standard unit cost formula, set at a relatively low level, most colleges needed to bring about a 25 per cent growth in enrolments to maintain their existing levels of income.<sup>117</sup> These changes encouraged a greater use of resources, while changes in funding and supervision strengthened the control of central government. Lucas stated that the effect of the FEFC model of Incorporation was the creation of 'bureaucratic markets' in which a centralised authority exercised control by making

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<sup>113</sup> Ainley, P. & B. Bailey (2000) *1992 and All That: The F & HE Act 1992*. In: Hall, L. & K. Marsh (eds.) (2000) *Professionalism, Policies and Values: A Reader*. Greenwich, Greenwich University Press.

<sup>114</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>115</sup> 1992 Further and Higher Education Act (c. 13).

<sup>116</sup> Green, A. & Lucas, N. (1999) *From Obscurity to Crisis: The Further Education Sector in Context*. In: Green, A. & Lucas N. (eds.) (1999) *FE and Lifelong Learning: Realigning the Sector for the Twenty-first Century*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

<sup>117</sup> Ball, S. J. (1998) *Education Policy*. In: Ellison, N. & Pierson, C. (eds.) (1998) *Developments in British Social Policy*. London, Macmillan.

funding conditional on obeying rules and regulations that it had laid down.<sup>118</sup>

Steer and his co-researchers referred to the new funding and supervision arrangements as ‘policy levers’ as they were governing instruments which the state had at its disposal to direct, manage and shape change in public services. In their project they focused on the role of planning, targets, funding, inspection and policy initiatives as policy levers. They thought that the dynamics of the interaction between different policy levers might result in the promotion of different or even contradictory responses, or intensification of their power. The levers were deliberately aligned, for example, when college funding in the 1990s was made dependent on achieving specific government targets. Any analysis of the role and impact of policy levers needed to be seen within the context of changing forms of governance and the rise of policy steering. The concept of policy steering referred to the processes whereby national governments have withdrawn from direct control over the administration of public services and have increasingly used a range of different levers to steer policy. ‘Steering at a distance’ was an alternative to coercive and prescriptive control. Constraints were replaced by incentives, and prescriptions were replaced by accountability based upon quality or outcome assessments.<sup>119</sup>

Another policy lever was FEFC inspections, but, unlike HMIs, FEFC Inspectors did not suggest ways of making improvements. The aim of FEFC inspections was to inspect and report on all aspects of colleges’ activities every four years. The FEFC Inspectors assessed the strengths and weaknesses of various aspects of the college, namely responsiveness and range of provision; governance and management; students’ recruitment, guidance and support; teaching and the promotion of learning; students’ achievements; quality assurance; and resources. Examination of ‘governance and management’ included assessment of attention given to efficiency and the deployment of staff and other resources.<sup>120</sup> All aspects of a college’s activity were graded on a scale from 1 (many strengths and few weaknesses) to 5 (many weaknesses and few strengths). These grades were taken into account by the FEFC when deciding on a college’s future funding. Ainley and Bailey gave the example of a curriculum area

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<sup>118</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London, p. 32.

<sup>119</sup> Steer, R., Spours, K., Hodgson, A., Finlay I., Coffield, F., Edward, S. & Gregson, M. (2007) ‘‘Modernisation’ and the role of policy levers in the Learning and Skills Sector.’ *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 59, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 175-192.

<sup>120</sup> Further Education Funding Council. (1993) *Assessing Achievement*, Circular 93/28. Coventry, FEFC.

which received a 4 or 5 grade. It would not be allocated additional units of funding until it had been inspected again and provided evidence that the weaknesses previously identified had been corrected.<sup>121</sup> This was another example of policy levers being deliberately aligned when college funding in the 1990s was also made dependent on achieving inspection grades from 1 to 3. Thus those FE colleges thought to be underperforming would receive another inspection visit within a few months and, if still found unsatisfactory, FE in an area could be reorganised. Redundancies could be part of this reorganisation, so that individual lecturers and managers were also subjected to the full pressures of inspection, being faced with the possibility of redundancy. They also had to deal with the potential responsibility of contributing to the college's failure. Thus FE colleges soon discovered the power of the FEFC when the funding of FE colleges depended on performance indicators and inspection grades. At the time one Principal referred to the Funding Council as fast becoming the biggest LEA in the world, and added that it was certainly clear that Incorporation did not mean independence.<sup>122</sup>

NATFHE was against Incorporation and the loss of LEA links, and declared that Incorporation represented a loss of democratic control. After Incorporation lecturers' salaries were not decided nationally but at college level. Salaries and conditions of service became the responsibility of individual governing bodies, which meant there were salary differences and differences in conditions of service between colleges. It also meant the reduced power of NATFHE when new contracts were issued, whereas College Principals appeared to have more power, as after Incorporation most belonged to the College Employers' Forum (CEF), consisting of College Principals and Chairmen of College Governors. In 1993 the CEF had advocated and drawn up new contracts for teaching staff to come into effect when Incorporation took place. The NEW College Principal had suggested, unsuccessfully, to Roger Ward, Chief Executive of the CEF that with the new contract a lecturer's weekly teaching hours should be raised to thirty hours, whereas the Chief Executive's recommendation for twenty seven hours was

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<sup>121</sup> Ainley, P & Bailey, B. (2000) '1992 and All That: The F & HE Act 1992.' In: Hall, L. & Marsh, K. (eds.) *Professionalism, Policies and Values*. London, Greenwich University Press.

<sup>122</sup> Withers, B. (1998) The experience of Incorporation, 1993-95: principals' impressions. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol.3, no.1, pp. 39-56.

included in the CEF management guidelines.<sup>123</sup> Shain pointed out that central government via the FEFC threatened to hold back £50 million from college funds, if Principals failed to introduce a more flexible contract based on the CEF model, therefore giving individual Principals less control over the nature of the new contracts.<sup>124</sup> NATFHE however disagreed with the Corporations' interpretation of the FEFC's ruling and argued that Tim Boswell, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Further and Higher Education had not said that colleges must adopt a CEF-style contract to avoid the holdback. He was asking all Corporations to specify that they were satisfied that all contracts of employment entered into with newly employed staff on or after 1<sup>st</sup> April 1994 provided adequate flexibility for the college to make proper use of its resources.<sup>125</sup>

During the first five years of Incorporation 'twenty thousand staff left FE as funding cuts, redundancies, and restructuring swept across the sector'.<sup>126</sup> Most FE lecturers found the new contracts meant the numbers of days allowed for holidays were drastically reduced and were far lower than those of school teachers. It was assumed that some FE lecturers did not use part of their holidays, for example, ensuring that they were aware of recent developments in their subject, and voluntarily advising students when they knew their examination results. Most colleges increased the weekly minimum number of hours a lecturer had to be on college premises from 30 to 37, and a redundancy notice of one year was reduced to four months. This lack of trust was evident in the 1980s when the Audit Commission claimed that 'controlling lecturers out of class time' was necessary.<sup>127</sup> It was not surprising that the main lecturers' union, NATFHE, was concerned that the increased workload would provide additional stress. It had warned its members that the new contract advocated by the CEF did not protect the basis on which quality FE had been built by insisting on reasonable professional

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<sup>123</sup> NEW College. (1992) Letter from Principal to Chief Executive, College Employers Forum, with Chief Executive's handwritten reply on letter.

<sup>124</sup> Shain, F. (1999) Changing notions of teacher professionalism in the Further Education Sector. *Presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference*. Belfast.

<sup>125</sup> National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education. (1994) NATFHE Ballot for Action to Defend Lecturers' Conditions of Service. London, NATFHE.

<sup>126</sup> Simmons, R. (2009) 'The long goodbye: how local authorities lost control of further education', *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 14, No. 3, September 2009, p. 287.

<sup>127</sup> Audit Commission. (1985) *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*. London, HMSO, p. 5.



limits for lecturers' workloads, so as to preserve their health.<sup>128</sup> Although NATFHE did not provide evidence for this view, later research such as that of Clow, Randle and Brady, Shain, and Whitehead referred to lecturers' excessive workloads and increased levels of stress at the expense of quality teaching.

Randle and Brady reported a 1995 study by Stead et al. that showed 43 per cent of FE lecturers assessed were considered at borderline and clinical levels of anxiety. They claimed that performance management meant that aspects of work which were not visible or not measurable became undervalued, so that there was a decline in lecturer morale and loss of self-esteem. Thus Randle and Brady claimed that the inability of staff to provide what the lecturers themselves perceived as quality was a major factor in increasing stress levels.<sup>129</sup> Similarly, Shain demonstrated in her research that most lecturers were concerned that students should gain the qualification they were studying for, but they also wanted the course to be a 'quality' learning experience throughout the year. This included using resource based learning, where hours had been cut for teaching, with some of the learning materials being prepared by the lecturers to compensate for the reduction in class hours. Shain concluded that this additional preparation contributed to an increased workload.<sup>130</sup> Clow added that the New Contract meant that lecturers had reduced time for relaxation, lack of time for up-dating, and often timetables were front loaded to compensate for a lighter load in the summer term.<sup>131</sup> Ball observed that greater central regulation of FE meant that college lecturers were spending more time filling in forms and preparing for inspections.<sup>132</sup> Whitehead, who interviewed twelve senior and middle managers in twelve FE Colleges, found that the reality for many managers, as well as teaching staff, was increased workloads and

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<sup>128</sup> National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education. (1994) NATFHE Ballot for Action to Defend Lecturers' Conditions of Service. London, NATFHE.

<sup>129</sup> Randle, K. & Brady, N. (1997) 'Managerialism and Professionalism in the 'Cinderella Service'.' *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1997, pp.121-139. Keith Randle was at the University of Hertfordshire Business School. Norman Brady was at Oaklands College, St. Albans.

<sup>130</sup> Shain, F. (1999) Changing notions of teacher professionalism in the Further Education Sector. *Presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference*. Belfast.

<sup>131</sup> Clow, R. (2001) 'Further Education Teachers' Constructions of Professionalism.' *Journal of Vocational Educational Education and Training*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2001, pp. 407-419. Ros Clow was at Oxford Brookes University.

<sup>132</sup> Ball, S. J. (1998) Education Policy. In: Ellison, N. & Pierson, C. (eds.) (1998) *Developments in British Social Policy*. London, Macmillan.

stress.<sup>133</sup> NATFHE's prediction that the increased workload advocated in the proposed New Contract would not allow lecturers' to be 'professional' appeared to have been correct, if one equates 'quality teaching' with 'professionalism'. This view echoed the assertion of Cripps that the focus on outcome ignored the process and quality of the learning experience.<sup>134</sup>

At first FE colleges introduced the New Contract to new staff and those who were promoted. At NEW College it was in 1996 that the last of the lecturers signed the New Contract, having been told that if they did not sign they would lose their jobs. Thus by the mid-1990s there was not just one set of conditions of service for teaching staff but several, as there were staff covered by 'Silver Book' or 'New Contract' and local, rather than national, bargaining. In 1993 there were also FE lecturers in the County of Hereford and Worcester who had Gold Book conditions of service. As teaching staff had a variety of contracts, they no longer presented a united front, and this weakened the lecturers' main union, NATFHE, so that pay and conditions worsened.

While there was a steady increase in FE teachers with teaching qualifications between 1944 and 1993, initial teacher education programmes for those in FE developed in a fragmented and unplanned way. Until the 1980s the four technical teachers' colleges dominated provision. There were also the City and Guilds 7307 courses mainly offered by FE colleges, and in the early 1990s 250 FE colleges ran these courses. By 1993 there were nearly forty universities and higher education colleges that provided Certificate of Education and Post Graduate Certificate of Education teaching qualifications for those training to teach in FE colleges. When FE entered Incorporation in 1993 there was no statutory requirement for teaching qualifications and no minimum qualifications for those who taught in the FE sector. The qualifications and quality of FE lecturers was left to LEAs and individual colleges to decide.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Whitehead, S. (1996) 'Men/managers and the shifting discourses of post-compulsory education', *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 1, no. 2: 96, pp. 151-168. Stephen Whitehead is a Senior Lecturer in Education at Keele University.

<sup>134</sup> Cripps, S. (2002) *Further Education, Government's Discourse Policy and Practice: Killing a paradigm softly*. Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing.

<sup>135</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.

After 1993 there were no LEA representatives in the new governing bodies of the incorporated colleges. At least half of all the members of the Corporation had to be business members, which meant that usually local employers formed the majority of governors. Local employers therefore were in an even more powerful position than after the 1988 Education Reform Act to decide the direction of FE locally. Influence had been transferred from locally elected representatives to business representatives, yet there was no guarantee that the new representatives considered the interests of most local firms. Governors oversaw the running of their FE college and appointed the senior staff, including the principal. With the advice of the principal they took the key decisions about the college's management arrangements and strategic development, in particular those related to finance and property. They were responsible for ensuring the solvency of the college, for safeguarding the public funds and assets in their care and for making sure that the college obtained value for money in its spending. The governing body was also accountable to the FEFC for the use of the money it received and for meeting any conditions attached to that funding. The Principal, as a member of the governing body and the college's Chief Executive Officer, was also accountable to the governing body for management of the college.<sup>136</sup> There were no longer any staff or student members of the Corporation of NEW College as a result of changes in the Instruments and Articles of Government. Some colleges did continue to have staff and student members, but it was made obligatory by the Labour Government in 1999. The Principal at NEW College anticipated some of the changes that occurred when the college was no longer the responsibility of the County of Hereford and Worcester LEA in 1993. He said, 'We want to see...lecturing staff work to common conditions of service...we are looking for greater flexibility with considerably more freedom to establish local practice'.<sup>137</sup> The existence of the FEFC, however, meant that FE colleges never had complete control.

Alan Smithers and Pamela Robinson found it difficult to separate out the effects of Incorporation from the financial constraints under which the colleges were operating. The colleges were required to make steep year-on-year savings, referred to as 'efficiency gains'. The squeeze on colleges impacted on conditions of service of their

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<sup>136</sup> *TES*, 2 June 1995.

<sup>137</sup> NEW College. (1992a) Letter from Principal to Chief Executive, College Employers Forum, with Chief Executive's handwritten reply on letter.

staff who in many cases felt badly let down by Incorporation.<sup>138</sup> Only six years after the FEFC was established, and two years after there was a new Labour Government, there were plans to replace the FEFC. The 1999 White Paper *Learning to Succeed: A New Framework for Post-16 Learning*, published by the Department for Education and Employment, proposed a single national Learning and Skills Council (LSC) responsible for the planning, funding and managing of all post-16 education and training other than higher education and school sixth forms.<sup>139</sup> The LSC was established in April 2001, under the Learning and Skills Act 2000. It took over the roles of the FEFC and the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), and operated through a network of local sector skills councils (SSCs). Colin Cottell, a Guardian journalist, claimed that the TECs were discredited as wasteful bureaucracies, so the sector skills councils (SSCs) were hailed as the final answer to the UK's skill shortages. However, outside Whitehall, critics were sharpening their knives, asking if they would look back and see the moment SSCs arrived as a turning point, or just another initiative that failed to live up to its billing.<sup>140</sup> The critics did not have too long to wait as the end of the LSC came in March, 2010.

Funding for adult learning was transferred to the Skills Funding Agency while funding of under-19 college provision was moved to LEAs. Four months later, and two months after a Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition Government was formed, it was announced that responsibility for commissioning and funding education for 16 to 18 year olds in FE and sixth form colleges would be transferred to the Young People's Agency.<sup>141</sup> John Hayes, the Minister for Further Education, Skills and Lifelong Learning, said 'I am certain that we can achieve much more with less. But to do so we must be robust in tackling waste and unnecessary and burdensome regulation.'<sup>142</sup> The words 'déjà vu' spring to mind. In May 2011 it was announced that from September 2011 FE colleges would have to deal with only one funding body, the Skills Funding Agency, with sixth form colleges dealing with the Young People's Agency.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Smithers A. & Robinson, P. (2000) 'Colleges in the New Millennium.' In: Smithers A. & Robinson, P. (eds.) (2000) *Further Education Re-formed*. London, Falmer Press. Alan Smithers and Pamela Robinson were Professors of Education at the University of Liverpool.

<sup>139</sup> The government merged the Department of Employment and the DES in 1991.

<sup>140</sup> *The Guardian* 17 May 2003.

<sup>141</sup> *TES*, 23 July 2010.

<sup>142</sup> *TES*, 10 September 2010.

<sup>143</sup> *TES*, 20 May 2011.

The New Right views of Thatcher's Conservative Government were evident in the government's representation of FE colleges as businesses and its focus on the market and competition in FE. It was believed that educational standards were too low and could be raised by greater enterprise and competition on the part of the FE colleges. The LEAs' responsibilities for FE were regarded as interfering with the market mechanisms, so the power of LEAs was reduced by attack on several fronts. The MSC, the 1988 Education Reform Act, and the TECs combined to reduce the role of LEAs, and employers' representatives became more involved in the running of FE. This meant there was less FE policy for LEAs to implement, and the FE colleges had to be answerable to more than one body. However, the Audit Commission provided LEAs with the job of monitoring colleges to ensure greater cost-effectiveness, but after Incorporation in 1993 the LEAs no longer had a role to play in FE. FE colleges not only competed against private training providers, they now also competed against each other. Measures in the 1960s and 1970s reduced the LEAs' control of the FE sector, but the 1980s were the years that paved the way to Incorporation. The end of LEA governance of FE in 1993 can be understood by locating events in the context of New Right politics and the financial exigencies that that surrounded Incorporation. However, the power of LEAs had been in decline for many years, so Incorporation can also be viewed 'as part of a long goodbye rather than as an act of sudden separation'.<sup>144</sup> The continual changes in FE are re-examined in the conclusion.

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<sup>144</sup> Simmons, R. (2009) 'The long goodbye: how local authorities lost control of further education', *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, vol. 14, No. 3, September 2009, p. 289.

## **Conclusion**

This study has examined the beginnings of English technical education in the nineteenth century and how it developed up to 1993. The consequences of Incorporation were briefly assessed and later FE developments were considered, so that these changes in FE policy and provision could be better understood as part of FE's long journey. The following pages not only summarise that journey, they also re-examine intended and actual changes that had implications for FE. They included the changing roles of central and local government, increased provision for the training of technical teachers, raising of the school leaving age, compulsory part-time education for school leavers, and inclusion of Liberal or General studies in the FE curricula. The changing roles of central and local government are examined first.

### **The changing roles of central and local government**

Britain's early industrialisation had developed successfully within a laissez-faire framework, and manufacturers were wary of technical instruction that might give away their trade secrets, so state intervention was considered unnecessary. From the mid-nineteenth century central government, through the Department of Science and Art, gave grants to aid technical instruction facilities that were being developed by local benefactors. After the 1867 Paris Exhibition it was evident that other countries, including Germany and the USA, with more advanced systems of education, were now Britain's economic rivals. After the late 1880s central government allowed county councils to raise a penny rate to aid technical education. Central government subsidised technical education and later permitted local authorities to use some of the rates for that purpose, but it was still considered that the state should not direct the provision of technical education. This meant local facilities were dependent on local benefactors and later the wishes of county councils. Money from Worcestershire County Council enabled the first technical school in Redditch to be opened in 1892.

Between 1900 and 1943 the LEAs' only statutory duty was to provide elementary education, so the extent of technical education varied. After 1918 the Board of Education, established in 1899, bore half the cost of buildings for technical education, but the economic difficulties and depression of the 1920s and 1930s meant LEAs were

unwilling to meet the remaining cost of new buildings. The Board was more concerned with overseeing and monitoring LEAs than developing a national framework for technical education, while ensuring LEAs' expenditure was kept within Treasury allocations. If employees managed to find an appropriate evening class, it was likely to be in squalid conditions. From 1904 to 1932 Worcestershire County Council saved money in Redditch by making the technical school a dual purpose building, with Redditch Secondary School using the building during the day.

The idealism created during the years of the Second World War made it possible for the 1943 White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction*, to promise to fit schemes for educational reform into the general picture of social reconstruction. The perceived importance of education meant that in 1944 the Board of Education was replaced by the Ministry of Education which had a larger budget, and potentially its Minister had increased powers. LEAs now had a duty to provide FE, so in one sense the power of LEAs was reduced. The governing bodies of FE colleges became sub-committees of the LEAs, and the LEA's FE sub-committee had to approve new courses and staff appointments. Although there were other sectors of education competing for resources, technical schools were built in areas that had no technical institution and there was an increase in the number of FE students. The Redditch Technical School building became dual purpose again, housing the junior technical school from 1948 to 1957. Nationally there was an eighty per cent increase in student hours from 1947 to 1956, and this expansion was reflected in Redditch, which meant that Redditch College resorted to using various annexes around the town. This expansion occurred despite the 1951 cuts in planned education expenditure, but the lack of resources for English FE meant the expansion of FE courses was limited. In Redditch, for example, some courses in 1955 were prevented from opening because suitable rooms and workshops were not available.

In 1956 Redditch College also found it was extremely difficult to replace full-time teaching staff and make new appointments for an increased establishment, so that all staff were seriously overworked. It was at this time that central government fully acknowledged the importance of FE and its own role by beginning to build a national system of technical education that could enable Britain to compete with its economic rivals. A five-year programme for the further expansion of technical colleges was exempt from cuts, delays and postponements of any kind. Work on Redditch College's

new college buildings started in November 1958, but the increase in the number of students by 1960 caused the Redditch College Governors to ask for the second phase of buildings which was completed in 1973.

Changes in the roles of central and local government since 1964 occurred by specific legislation that was obviously intended to reduce LEAs' control of FE and by the introduction of agencies that had the same effect. From the 1960s one type of solution to the problem of an insufficient supply of skilled workers was the establishment of the Industrial Training Boards, the Manpower Services Commission, and the Training and Enterprise Councils. Despite later criticisms, these organisations were probably remembered most for their attempts to improve the skills of young people, employed and unemployed. The ITBs, particularly the Engineering ITB, had been instrumental in increasing the number of employees on block release courses and, with the implementation of the 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report, on day release courses. The MSC was involved in expanding the provision of courses for the increasing numbers of young unemployed and during the recession of the 1990s the TECs continued providing more of such courses than was originally anticipated.

These organisations also reduced the LEAs' control of FE, as did the Audit Commission which monitored LEAs and FE colleges according to the Commission's notions of economy, efficiency and effectiveness. Previous references in this study indicated that there were important differences between the various agencies created in terms of their functions and influences. The following chart summarises the differences between these agencies. The characteristics of each organisation in terms of key documents, its composition and functions, as well as its effects on LEAs and FE colleges are outlined. It can be seen here that the Central Training Council with the ITBs, which resulted from the 1964 Industrial Training Act, was the earliest of these. The main focus was on employers, but it was the ITBs, rather than the LEAs, that approved the relevant courses and facilities provided by the FE college. The ITBs also required colleges offering block release courses to make a change in the organisation of their college year. Thus the Engineering Department at Redditch College had some of its staff in college during the normal holiday periods, and allowed those lecturers time off during term time.





Initially the MSC told LEAs what staff and resources it needed. After 1984 the MSC, rather than the LEA, received money from central government for certain courses, and the LEA did not receive funding until it met the MSC's approval. The Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee minutes revealed that this included approving the LEA's production of a three year rolling development plan each year. There was also a growing element of competition with private training providers for MSC courses.

The advent of the Audit Commission in the mid-1980s further reduced the LEAs' control of the FE sector and ensured the LEAs focused more closely on efficiency measures than they had in the late 1960s. The Hereford and Worcester FE Sub-Committee carefully followed the Commission's guidelines and used them to justify the merger of two FE colleges to form NEW College in 1988, as the merger enabled greater rationalisation of resources and more viable courses and course options. The Hereford and Worcester Education Committee also agreed that it was necessary to consider the effects of FE lecturers' national conditions of service in the search for efficiency, so the LEA issued its own conditions of service, known as the Gold Book. However, it was unlikely that central government would have tolerated this unilateral action if conditions of service had been made more generous. Inevitably, the changes in agencies and their functions indicated changes in the autonomy of LEAs. The movement away from local control exercised by elected politicians from the area meant that central government had greater control over the implementation of FE policy.

The increasing influence of business representatives can be ascertained partly by examining the composition of the above agencies. The ITBs consisted of an equal number of representatives of employers, trade unions and education. The MSC, responsible ultimately to the Department of Employment, had a semi-autonomous existence with representatives from government, employers and trade unions involved in its running. The TECs were independent companies run by chief executives recruited from private industry. The increasing influence of employer representatives and the reduction of the LEA's control were also indicated by the changing composition of FE college governing bodies. The 1968 Education (No. 2) Act meant a college governing body ceased to be a sub-committee of the LEA's Education Committee, and instead it became a statutory body. The DES Circular 7/70 followed and ruled that LEA members would form less than half of the governing body and about one third of

governors would represent businesses relevant to the work of the college and have an active interest in FE. The 1988 Education Reform Act stated that at least fifty per cent of the governors were to represent employers and no more than twenty per cent could be LEA representatives. The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act declared that a college's corporation could have no elected member of any LEA whereas at least half of all the members of the corporation had to be business representatives. Presumably, these representatives met the same criteria as those recommended in the DES Circular 7/70. After the publication of the 1991 White Paper, *Education and Training for the 21st century*, the Principal of NEW College said in a staff meeting that he hoped that the new governors would have a broader view of FE.

The ITBs and the MSC included those representing employer interests and reduced the LEAs' control of FE, but they existed only by ministerial sufferance. Despite being termed an employer body and employer-led, the TECs did not escape abolition by central government once their usefulness to ministers had been exhausted. Keep wondered what influence employers actually could exert over policy. The expected role of employers appeared to have been a subordinate, supportive role as recipients of public subsidy and delivery agents for schemes the government had designed for them. Policy makers had tried to appeal to the enlightened self-interest of employers on an individual basis, but employer bodies had been unable to exert significant leverage over the training decisions of individual employers. Policy development therefore tended to represent variations on previous themes and included usually exhortation, the dissemination of examples of good practice, and attempts to produce evidence that training paid.<sup>1</sup>

The 1968 Education (No. 2) Act also reduced the LEA's control by allowing FE colleges to appoint staff and approve courses without referring to the LEA. Bacon, the Minister of Education, stated that the Act would enable colleges of education and some FE colleges to continue as higher education institutions. This explanation suggested that LEAs were slow in developing higher education courses. The 1988 Education Reform Act made the governing bodies of FE colleges responsible for the general

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<sup>1</sup> Keep, E. (2006) 'State control of the English education and training system-playing with the biggest train set in the world.' *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, Vol. 58, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 47-64.

direction of colleges, and responsible for most of the colleges' expenditure. This change in the autonomy of the FE college can be regarded as a rehearsal for the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, when all responsibility for FE was removed from LEAs. These two Acts reflected the Conservative Government's New Right views concerning the desirability of a quasi-market in the FE sector.

At first sight it appeared that that the responsibilities of the MSC in the 1980s signified a clash between the DES and the Department of Employment. It had been suggested that Thatcher's own experience as Minister of Education from 1970 to 1974 led her to use the MSC as a means of forcing change upon what she regarded as the entrenched educational interests of the DES. However, the MSC could also by-pass traditional policy making circles, so that central government did not need the co-operation of LEAs.<sup>2</sup> Lawrence's claim that the conflict between central and local governments was worse than it appeared tended to confirm Bash's conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

With hindsight, what appeared to be a struggle for power and influence over the control of education and training between the two arms of central government – the Department of Employment (via the MSC) and the DES – was, in fact, the first battle in the war against the local education authorities.<sup>4</sup>

As far as FE was concerned the LEAs lost the war against central government control with the arrival of Incorporation in 1993. Any struggle between the Department of Employment and the DES had ended by 1991, as the government merged the two departments resulting in the Department for Education and Employment.

From 1993 the National Audit Office took over the Audit Commission's functions regarding FE, since the FEFC, a national organisation, rather than LEAs, provided most of the funding. The MSC's influence lived on in the 2007 Green Paper of the Department for Education and Skills, *Raising Expectations: Staying in education and training post-16*, when the document referred to young people's attitudes. It argued that all young people should participate in education until their eighteenth birthday, because they should expect a life of change which meant they needed to be equipped with the

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<sup>2</sup> Ainley, P & Corney, M. (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*. London, Cassell.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell.

<sup>4</sup> Bash, L. (1991) Beyond Compulsory Schooling. In: Coulby, D. & Bash, L. (eds.) (1991) *Contradiction and Conflict: The 1988 Education Act in Action*. London, Cassell Educational.

personal capabilities, resilience, interpersonal skills and the attitudes that would enable them to benefit from the opportunities this would bring.<sup>5</sup> The MSC's discussion document, *Vocational Preparation for Young People*, had already referred to the importance of initial training and job experience in shaping attitudes to work.<sup>6</sup> The 1981 White Paper, *A New Training Initiative*, introduced the YTS, which was the responsibility of the MSC. It made it clear that training reforms were to bring about change in the attitudes of young people to the value of training and acceptance of relatively lower wages for trainees.<sup>7</sup> The implication in all three documents was that young people would not be able to adapt to changes in employment if they did not have an appropriate attitude to work.

Both McCulloch and Sheldon agreed that the many years between the expressed intention to raise the school leaving age and its implementation allowed time for parents, schools and pupils to accept the change, and at the same time governments deferred the costs involved.<sup>8</sup> However, since 1964 changes in FE related agencies have been more frequent, occurring about every ten years, and are summarised below.

#### **FE Agencies 1964-2010**

**1964** Industrial Training Act introduced ITBs.

**1973** Employment and Training Act introduced the MSC.

**1985** Audit Commission (established 1983) published its report on FE.

**1986** Most ITBs had been disbanded.<sup>9</sup>

**1988** Demise of the MSC. *Employment for the 1990s* (Dept of Employment) introduced TECs.

**1993** Incorporation of FE colleges. FEFC established. National Audit Office performed the role previously taken by the Audit Commission.

**1999** White Paper *Learning to Succeed* introduced Learning and Skills Council and local Sector Skills Councils which replaced the FEFC and TECs.

**2010** Demise of LSC

Usually Ministers and Secretaries of State did not hold a position for long. For example the tenure of Ministers of Education and Secretaries of State for Education and Science

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<sup>5</sup> Bailey, B & Unwin, L. (2008) Fostering 'habits of reflection, independent study and free inquiry': an analysis of the short-lived phenomenon of General/Liberal Studies in English vocational education and training. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 60, no. 1, March 2008, pp. 61-74.

<sup>6</sup> Manpower Services Commission. (1975) *Vocational Preparation for Young People*. London, HMSO.

<sup>7</sup> Department of Employment. (1981) *A New Training Initiative: a programme for action*, Cmnd 8455. London, HMSO.

<sup>8</sup> *The Guardian*, 2 December 2008. Sheldon, N. (2009) 'Tackling truancy'. Available from <http://www.historyandpolicy.org> [Accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2011.]

<sup>9</sup> Cantor, L. M. & Roberts, I. F. (1986) *Further Education Today: a critical review*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

averaged less than three years, so that those introducing change had little time to guide and consolidate the new programme.

Changes in FE not only had repercussions for LEAs and FE colleges, they also had implications for students. For example, until 1944 LEAs were allowed to provide FE facilities which meant that there were significant local differences in the provision of FE and opportunities for young people. From 1944 LEAs were obliged to provide FE and the Minister of Education, later the Secretary of State for Education and Science, had increased powers, so that technical colleges were built in towns where there had been no significant FE provision. To some extent this enabled an increased number of courses and students. However, as it was up to the individual LEA what proportion of the rates was spent on FE, there were still local differences in the provision of FE. The advent of the ITBs after 1964 reduced the LEAs' and FE colleges' control of FE, but resulted in more block release courses and an increase in the number of FE students. The 1968 Education (No. 2) Act meant that FE colleges had more control over what courses were run and who taught them. It also meant that some FE colleges were more able to develop higher education courses for local students. The MSC was set up after the 1973 Employment and Training Act, so that LEAs had less direct control over the running of courses such as the YOP and the YTS. As the MSC was able to bypass the DES and LEA bureaucracy, the young unemployed were soon able to take advantage of youth employment schemes. After the Incorporation of FE colleges in 1993, college mergers became more usual. Sometimes this meant more viable courses, but it often meant local students had further to travel.

### **Increased provision for the training of technical teachers**

For much of the twentieth century FE colleges found it difficult to get enough teachers, so it was not mandatory for FE teachers to be teacher trained. In-service teacher training often competed with other areas for resources and was not considered a priority. From the late 1960s minutes of the Worcestershire FE Sub-Committee indicated that each year FE colleges in Worcestershire, including Redditch College, sent several lecturers on day release courses leading to an initial teacher training qualification, while occasionally lecturers were seconded full-time for a year. By 1974 50 per cent of the

Redditch College full-time lecturers were teacher trained,<sup>10</sup> several having been trained at one of the four Technical Teachers' Colleges, whereas nationally the proportion in 1975 was 42.66 per cent.<sup>11</sup> By 1985 Redditch College's figure had risen to 57%<sup>12</sup> compared with the national figure of 53.72 per cent.<sup>13</sup> There was no national monitoring of the numbers of FE lecturers who were teacher trained, but by 1993 there were nearly forty universities and higher education colleges that provided technical teacher training.

From 1993 most FE colleges needed to bring about a 25 per cent growth in enrolments to maintain their existing levels of income, so it was not surprising that between 1993 and 1999 there was greater use of part-time and agency teachers, and the loss of some full-time, experienced FE teaching staff. The FEFC estimated that the proportion of part-time staff with initial teaching qualifications was much smaller than that for full-time staff. There was, therefore, also a decrease in the proportion of FE college teachers with recognised initial teaching qualifications. The FEFC assumed that the decisions about the level of investment in continuing professional development were the responsibility of individual FE colleges. Despite the increased demands made on teachers, staff development programmes also declined as a proportion of FE college budgets between 1993 and 1997. Much of the money allocated to staff development was spent on training for college managers, so that they understood the aspects of administration arising from the data demands of the FEFC. During the same period there was a growing concern about the quality of teaching, while FE teachers were subject to greater regulation in the form of FEFC inspections and performance indicators. In 1999 the FEFC suggested in its *Professional Development in Further Education* that very few colleges had given priority to the development of effective teaching skills even when lesson inspection grades revealed weaknesses. Compulsory teaching qualifications came into effect from 2001 under Statutory Instrument 2001, No. 1209. Thus all new unqualified teachers who were employed to teach an FE course

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<sup>10</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1974.

<sup>11</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Redditch College Prospectus 1985.

<sup>13</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London, p. 1.

leading to a nationally recognised qualification at an FE college would be required to work towards and achieve in a specified time a recognised teaching qualification.<sup>14</sup>

### **The raising of the school leaving age**

At the end of the nineteenth century there was the realisation that elementary education had to be adequate enough for young people to benefit from a technical education. At the beginning of the twentieth century local authorities made the establishment and improvement of elementary schools their priority. Evening continuation classes had also been established in the late nineteenth century, and from 1907 there were evening continuation classes in Redditch. All students' subjects included reading, English Literature, writing and composition, but the classes were neither compulsory nor free. The 1918 Education Act raised the school leaving age to 14, and intended the age to be raised to 15 at a later date. These developments did not occur between the wars because of the post-war economic difficulties and the depression. The 1944 Education Act allowed for the school leaving age to be raised to 15 and later to 16. Despite post-war shortages of resources the raising of school leaving age to 15 occurred in 1947. It was made possible by the use of temporary buildings and an emergency teacher training scheme and signalled a commitment to social reform. The 1959 Crowther Report recommended that the school leaving age be raised to 16 at the end of the 1960s when there was no longer the 'bulge' in the number of school leavers. It was not until 1964 that the government decided that the age should be raised in 1970, but in 1969 it was postponed until 1972 when there would be sufficient teachers and additional school buildings completed.

### **Compulsory part-time education for school leavers**

The 1918 Education Act intended compulsory part-time day continuation schools, providing a broad education, to be established at a later date. The 1944 Education Act allowed for the establishment of County Colleges, similar to continuation schools. According to the 1943 White Paper, *Education Reconstruction*, County Colleges would also provide facilities for all kinds of activities, recreational and cultural. The curriculum would include training in clarity of expression and in the understanding of the written and spoken word together with some education in the broad meaning of

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<sup>14</sup> Lucas, N. (2004) *Teaching in Further Education: New perspectives for a changing context*. London, Institute of Education, University of London.



citizenship. The Crowther Report also suggested that there should be the County Colleges recommended by the 1944 Education Act for those who were not in education or training until they became 18. It was not surprising that Eccles, the Minister of Education, stated in 1960 that local colleges of FE, rather than additional buildings, could be used for the development of County College work, as there was already a programme for the further expansion of technical colleges including new buildings. There was no further mention that attendance at County College courses should be made compulsory, but a few voluntary courses were established, including one in Bromsgrove College which started in 1960.

### **Inclusion of Liberal or General studies in the FE curricula**

The Crowther Committee thought that the County College curriculum would be as important for skilled workers on technical college courses as for unskilled workers. They recommended a broader curriculum that would help young people to become consumers and citizens, define a standard of moral values, continue previous pursuits and activities, and improve their basic education. Many of the County College students would have deficiencies in their formal school education, so that the emphasis tended to be placed on the need for adequate written and verbal communication. Bailey and Unwin pointed out that many day release students in the late 1950s had left school with poor literacy and numeracy skills. Thus the raising of the school leaving age, County Colleges, and Liberal Studies courses for school leavers on various FE courses were interrelated as it was hoped all three would be concerned with broadening the students' education and improving their communication skills. These aims were similar to those expressed in the 1943 White Paper, *Education Reconstruction*.

The 1956 White Paper, *Technical Education*, had also emphasised the importance of a liberal education in technical studies that would be concerned with the development of human and spiritual values. A year later Circular 323, *Liberal Education in Technical Colleges*, referred to the importance of free enquiry which was the purpose of a liberal education. Both documents and the Crowther Report recommended at least a wider treatment of technical subjects. It was certainly more difficult for part-time students to follow a curriculum as broad as that suggested by the Crowther Report, which was why at Redditch College the Student Union, assisted by the Liberal Studies Co-ordinator, was considered particularly important in developing interests through societies and

social activities. However, the 1961 White Paper, *Better Opportunities in Technical Education*, suggested more time should be given to English and General Studies which were considered important not only for personal development, but also for success in technical subjects. The 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report *Day Release* suggested that a broader education was required as many posts required more than a specific skill, whatever the level of work, whether the person was a shop assistant or a supervisor. It added that young people's increased breadth of knowledge could also benefit the whole life of the community. As technicians often became managers, the 1969 Haslegrave Report wanted General Studies to heighten the sense of responsibility in young workers, encourage independence of thought and develop the ability to communicate by establishing a broader curriculum. There was no mention of developing the whole person or contributing to the life of the community.

In 1967 Ethel Venables stated that throughout the history of technical institutions two motives were distinguished. FE colleges gave the less privileged a chance to improve their employment opportunities, while FE also enabled skilled and informed employees to keep pace with industrial and scientific advances.<sup>15</sup> National documents in the 1950s referred explicitly to FE as a second chance.<sup>16</sup> This present study has shown that since the late nineteenth century there has been many references in national documents to FE's contribution to economic growth by ensuring a more skilled workforce. Some relevant extracts from national FE documents from 1943 to 1991 are indicated in Appendix 1. However, a third motive was considered even in the eighteenth century. Adam Smith supported universal education financed by government, because he believed the division of labour destined people to perform monotonous mind-numbing tasks that eroded their intelligence.<sup>17</sup> It was noted in chapter 2 that in 1917 that Fisher, President of the Board of Education, held a similar view as he believed that the more thoughtful workers wanted education as a source of enjoyment and a refuge from the

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<sup>15</sup> Venables, E. (1967) *The Young Worker at College – A Study of a Local Tech.* London, Faber and Faber. Ethel Venables was an educational psychologist and Nuffield Research Fellow at the University of Birmingham.

<sup>16</sup> Ministry of Education. (1954) *Early Leaving.* London, HMSO; Ministry of Education. (1956) *Technical Education.* London, HMSO; Ministry of Education. (1959) *15 to 18.* Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (Crowther Report). London, HMSO.

<sup>17</sup> Krueger, A. B. (2003) 'Introduction.' In: Smith, A. (2003) *The Wealth of Nations.* New York, Bantam Dell. Alan Krueger was Professor of Economics at Princeton University.

necessary hardships of life in a factory.<sup>18</sup> This notion of the intrinsic value of education was evident in the establishment of the WEA at the beginning of the twentieth century, and in the development of non-vocational adult education brought about by the 1944 Education Act. From 1993 courses funded by the FEFC had to have recognised qualifications at the end of them, so that many FE colleges turned to Open College Network qualifications for non-vocational adult education courses. Otherwise, such courses had to depend on LEA support and fees.<sup>19</sup> The non-economic benefits of FE, the development of the whole person, were also found in national FE documents in the 1950s and 1960s that referred to Liberal and General Studies.

In 2008 Alan Johnson, Secretary of State for Education and Skills in the Labour Government, pointed to the decline in unskilled jobs and the need for young people to be equipped for modern day employment and decided to raise the school and training age to 17 by 2013, and 18 in 2015. This was not just about raising the school leaving age, as it was also about training. By 2013 every 16- and 17-year-old could expect to be offered some form of suitable training or educational opportunity.<sup>20</sup> The 2008 Education and Skills Act stated that employers would be obliged to allow 16 and 17 year-old employees the equivalent of one day a week off to undertake training, and to not employ such individuals if they had not made appropriate training arrangements. Thus 16- and 17-year-olds would be in full-time education or training, work-based learning such as an apprenticeship, or part-time education or training if they were employed, self-employed or volunteering more than twenty hours a week, until they had a level 3 qualification. However, the student's aptitude, ability and any learning difficulties would be taken into account.<sup>21</sup> Much of the responsibility for providing courses for 16 and 17 year olds would rest with FE colleges. Debates about the aim and nature of appropriate curricula would surface again, but it was unlikely that 'the noble ambitions of Circular 323' would be presented as the way forward.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen, p. 174.

<sup>19</sup> Cantor, L. M, Roberts, I. F. and Pratley, B. (1995) *A Guide to Further Education in England and Wales*, London, Cassell.

<sup>20</sup> *The Guardian*, 2 December 2008.

<sup>21</sup> 2008 Education and Skills Act (c. 25).

<sup>22</sup> Bailey, B & Unwin, L. (2008) Fostering 'habits of reflection, independent study and free inquiry': an analysis of the short-lived phenomenon of General/Liberal Studies in English vocational education and training. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, vol. 60, no. 1, March 2008, p. 73.

It is also unlikely that sufficient employers will wish to employ young people if they are forced to give them day release, especially if their courses are concerned with general, rather than vocational, education. Financial incentives, rather than government exhortation, have proved more successful in the past. Thus more employers participated in training after the 1964 Industrial Training Act, so that they could receive training grants. The government provided financial support for the Youth Training Scheme, established in 1983, by covering both the costs of training and the trainees' allowances, so that critics of the scheme claimed that participating firms were provided with cheap labour. More recently, in May 2011 the Department for Education stated that offering cash to employers would be an effective way to encourage them to take on apprentices.<sup>23</sup>

In 1918 it was envisaged that at a later date the school leaving age would be raised to 15 and that there would be day continuation schools. In 1947 the school leaving age was raised to 15. By the early 1960s it was clear that County Colleges would not materialise, and in 1972 the school leaving age was raised to 16. In the 1960s it was thought that compulsory day release for young employees would delay other improvements such as the raising of the school leaving age to 16. In 2008 it was intended that by 2015 employers would have to ensure that their 16 and 17 year old workers had a day off each week for education and training. The long road from 1918 to possibly 2015, should lead to all young people attending courses of education and training until they are 18. Brian Simon asserted that there was nothing inevitable about educational advance and that advances were more often met by setbacks, by new crises, by ideological and political struggles of all kinds.<sup>24</sup> This present study has shown that FE had been beset by economic difficulties, two World Wars, and the increased dominance of New Right views. One can only guess the implications and outcomes for FE, for example, after 1918 if economic conditions had permitted the establishment of compulsory part-time day continuation schools, the raising of the school leaving age to 15, and improved facilities for FE.

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<sup>23</sup> *TES*, 20 May 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Cited in Lawrence, I. (1992) *Power and Politics at the Department of Education and Science*. London, Cassell.

## Appendix 1

## The economic purpose of FE

National documents	Economic purpose
<b>1943</b> <i>Educational Reconstruction</i> (Ministry of Education) para. 68	Britain's 'place of pre-eminence in world manufacture and world markets' had 'long been fading' ... 'be necessary to rely on the capacity, adaptability and the quality of our industrial and commercial personnel'
<b>1956</b> <i>Technical Education</i> (Ministry of Education) para. 3 & 4	'pace of change' was 'quickening, and with it both the need and the demand for technical education' 'all these countries ... making an immense effort to train more scientific and technical manpower' Britain 'in danger of being left behind'
<b>1959</b> <i>15 to 18</i> (Ministry of Education) para. 83	'the need of the community to provide adequate brains and skill to sustain economic productivity'
<b>1961</b> <i>Better Opportunities in Technical Education</i> (Ministry of Education) para. 67	Britain's 'future as an industrial nation will largely depend upon our success in developing the native skills of our young people' 'in an increasingly competitive world'.
<b>1962</b> <i>Industrial Training</i> (Ministry of Labour)	'Our overseas competitors, particularly in Western European countries, have paid great attention to the need to maintain an adequate supply of well trained skilled labour. We must be quite sure that our own arrangements do not fall behind.' <sup>1</sup>
<b>1964</b> <i>Day Release</i> (Ministry of Education) p. 24	More day release students 'vitaly important' for future 'industrial prosperity'.
<b>1966</b> <i>Size of Classes etc.</i> (DES) para. 73 & 10	The new demands for FE courses must be met 'for the good of the national economy' and 'to make a major contribution to national prosperity'
<b>1972</b> <i>Training for the Future</i> (Dept of Employment)	'adequate supply of trained manpower' was 'vital to economic growth'
<b>1972</b> <i>Education: A framework for expansion</i> (DES) para. 101	'The further education system has a vital contribution to make in ensuring that the country has a work force capable of meeting...the changing demands of industry and commerce'
<b>1981</b> <i>A New Training Initiative</i> in (Dept of Employment) foreword	'to a considerable extent' Britain still lagged behind its 'competitors having an educated, trained and flexible labour force'. Workforce did not have the necessary skills to enable Britain to compete effectively in a modern international economy
National documents	Economic purpose
<b>1984</b> <i>Training for Jobs</i>	'public sector provision for training and vocational education must

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<sup>1</sup> Maclure, J. S. (1979) *Educational Documents England and Wales: 1816 to the present day*. London, Methuen.

<p><i>(Dept for Employment, DES)</i> p. 13</p>	<p>become more responsive to employment needs at national and local level’</p>
<p><b>1987</b> <i>Managing Colleges Efficiently</i> <i>(DES)</i> para. 2.16</p>	<p>‘a high premium will be put on efficiency and effectiveness, including responsiveness to employment needs’ NAFE had ‘a vital role in the national strategy for restoring this country’s international competitiveness’</p>
<p><b>1988</b> <i>Employment for the but 1990s skills</i> <i>(Dept of Employment)</i> through grow’ p. 4</p>	<p>British economy had led the way in Europe in generating new jobs, future success partly depended on a commitment to ‘invest in the and knowledge of our people and build up industry’s skill base, a strategy of training through life, to enable Britain to continue to</p>
<p><b>1991</b> <i>Education and Training employers for the 21st century</i> <i>(DES/Dept of Employment)</i> para 1.1</p>	<p>This White Paper was a response ‘to the rising demand from for more and higher level skills to meet the growing challenge from overseas competitors in world markets’.</p>

## Appendix 2

### FE Timeline 1888-1993

**1888** Local Government Act created County Councils

**1889** Technical Instruction Act – local authorities allowed to raise rates for technical instruction

**1890** Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act – ‘whisky’ money

**1899** Board of Education Act

**1900-1905 Conservative Government;** PM Marquis of Salisbury 1900-1902, A Balfour 1902-1905;

Pres Board of Ed 1900-1902 Duke of Devonshire, 1902-1905 M of Londonderry

**1902** Education Act - LEAs were responsible for schools

**1904** ATTI formed

**1905-1915 Liberal Government;** PM 1905-1908 H Campbell-Bannerman, 1908-1915 H Asquith; Pres

Board of Ed 1905-1907 A Birrell, 1907-1908 R McKenna, 1908-1911 W Runciman, 1911-15

J Pease

**1914-18** WW1

**1915-1922 Coalition Government;** PM 1915-1916 H Asquith, 1916-1922 D Lloyd George; Pres Board

of Ed 1915-16 A Henderson, 1916 Lord Crewe, 1916-1922 H Fisher

**1918** Education Act - not less than fifty per cent of the cost of education met from the central government funds, abolished all exemptions from the leaving age of 14 [compulsory part-time day continuation schools, but not enough funds between wars]

**1919** First Burnham Committee

**1921** OND/Cs started

**1920s Juvenile unemployment** meant extended full-time education became more widely accepted

**1922-1924 Conservative Government;** PM 1922-23 A Bonar Law, 1923-1924 S Baldwin; Pres Board of

Ed 1922-1924 E Wood

**1924 Labour Government;** PM R Macdonald; Pres Board of Ed C Trevelyan

**1924-1929 Conservative Government;** PM S Baldwin; Pres Board of Ed Lord Percy

**1929-1931 Labour Government;** PM R Macdonald; Pres Board of Ed 1929-1931 C Trevelyan, 1931

H Lees-Smith

**1930s Depression** continued; heavy regional unemployment concentrated among unskilled, shortage of skilled labour

**1931-1935 National Government** [coalition]; PM R Macdonald; Pres Board of Ed 1931-1932, 1932-

1935 Lord Irwin,

**1931** Teachers’ pay cut by 10%

**1935-1940 National Government [Conservative];** PM 1935-1937 S Baldwin, 1937-1940 N

Chamberlain; Pres Board of Ed 1935-1937 O Stanley, 1937-1938 Lord Stanhope, 1938-1940 Lord

De La Warr

**1939-45** WW2

**1940-1945 Coalition Government;** PM Winston Churchill; Pres Board of Ed 1940-1941 H

Ramsbotham, 1941-1945 Pres Board of Ed/ **Min of Educ** R Butler.

**1943** *Educational Reconstruction* (Board of Education)

**1944** Education Act – LEAs had duty to provide FE facilities

**1945-1951 Labour Government;** PM C Attlee, **Min of Educ** 1945-7 E Wilkinson, 1947-51 G

Tomlinson

**1945-1951 Full employment, increased real incomes, and increased welfare spending. Shortages of labour, equipment and raw materials.** Post-war ‘bulge’ in births, shortage of teachers

**1947** Enormous Balance of Payments deficit, IMF loan, more financial aid from the USA. ROSLA to 15

**1951-1957 Conservative Government;** PM 1951-55 W Churchill, 1955- 57 A Eden; **Min of Educ**

1951-54 F Horsbrugh, 1954-57 D Eccles

**1950s** Real incomes grew faster than national productivity, cuts in public expenditure: ‘stop-go’ policy

**1954** *Early Leaving* (Ministry of Education)

**1956** *Technical Education* (Ministry of Education)

**1957-1964 Conservative Government;** PM H Macmillan 1957-63, A Douglas-Home 1963-64; **Min of Educ** 1957 V Hailsham (Q Hogg), 1957-59 G Lloyd, 1959-62 D Eccles, 1962-64 E Boyle, 1964 Q Hogg

1957 *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*, Willis Jackson Report (Min of Educ)

1958 *Training for Skill* Carr Report (Ministry of Labour)

1959 *15 to 18*, Crowther Report (Ministry of Education)

1961 *Better Opportunities in Technical Education* (Ministry of Education)

1962 *General Studies in technical colleges* (Ministry of Education)

1962 *Industrial Training* (Ministry of Labour)

1964 Industrial Training Act

1964 *Day Release*, Henniker-Heaton Report (Ministry of Education)

**1964-1970 Labour Government;** PM H Wilson, **Ed Sec** 1964-65 M Stewart, 1965-67 A Crosland, 1967-68 P Gordon Walker, 1968-1970 E Short

1966 *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Further Education*, Russell Report (DES)

1966 *Size of classes and approval of further education courses* (DES)

1967 **Devaluation of pound**, as worsening of balance of payments deficit, and fall in value of sterling  
IMF loan, cuts in public expenditure, wage restraint measures

1968 *Use of buildings and equipment* (DES)

1968 *Education Building Programmes*, Circular 13/68 (DES)

1968 Education (No. 2) Act 1968

1969 *Use of Costing and other financial techniques* (DES)

1969 *Technician Courses and Examinations*, Haslegrave Report (DES)

**1970-1974 Conservative Government;** PM E Heath, **Ed Sec** 1970-74 M Thatcher

1970 *Pattern and organisation of the college year* (DES)

1972 *Training for the Future* (Dept of Employment)

1972 *Education: A framework for expansion* (DES)

1973 Employment and Training Act

1974 Reorganisation of local authorities

**1974-1979 Labour Government;** PM H Wilson 1974-76, J Callaghan 1976-79, **Ed Sec** 1974-75 R Prentice, 1975- 1976 F Mulley, 1976-79 S Williams

1974 **World-wide recession** evident, Britain had high rates of unemployment and inflation

1974 Houghton Report

1975 *Vocational Preparation for Young People* (MSC)

1976 Severe cuts in public expenditure followed by an IMF loan

1976 Callaghan's speech at Ruskin College

1976 NATFHE formed

1977 First Haycocks Report

1978/9 **'Winter of discontent'** as still high rate of inflation and decline in real value of wages

**1979-1997 Conservative Government;** PM M Thatcher 1979-90, J Major 1990-97; **Ed Sec** 1979-81 M Carlisle, 1981-86 K Joseph, 1986-89 K Baker, 1989-90 J MacGregor, 1990-2 K Clarke, 1992-1994 J Patten

1980s **Large rise in output**, but started from low level. North Sea oil

1981 Still high rate of unemployment and **youth unemployment**

1981 *A New Training Initiative* (Dept of Employment)

1983 *Colleges of FE: Guide to the measurement of resource efficiency* (Audit Inspectorate)

1984 *Training for Jobs* (Dept for Employment, DES)

1985 *Obtaining Better Value from Further Education* (Audit Commission)

1986-1988 **Consumer boom and borrowing spree.** Lower rate of increase in public expenditure

1987 *Managing Colleges Efficiently* (Department of Employment, DES, Welsh Office)

1988 Education Reform Act

1988 *Employment for the 1990s* (Dept of Employment)

1990 **Recession**, rise in unemployment as contraction in manufacturing

1991 *Education and Training for the 21st century* (DES/Dept of Employment, Welsh Office)

1992 Further and Higher Education Act

1993 Incorporation

1993 *Assessing Achievement*, Circular 93/28 (FEFC)



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