

FORUM

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Special Number on Further Education

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FURTHER EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOLS

This number of FORUM is chiefly concerned with the 15 to 18 age group, considered from the angle of 'further education', a world which, as the Crowther Report remarked, often seems to those in the schools 'a foreign country, whose language is incomprehensible and for which they feel a visa is probably necessary'. Commenting on the fact that most young people of 15 or 16 have only two alternatives — 'the full-time academic route . . . and the arduous and often wasteful part-time route' — this report affirmed: 'It should be regarded as one of the major tasks before English education to construct a new form of education which would suffer from the defects neither of the part-time route nor of the academic in the old conventional sense. This would not be confined to technical subjects.' It is, broadly speaking, with this matter that our contributors are concerned.

The subject is directly relevant to the now widespread discussion about methods of reorganising secondary education, for at present schools and local colleges provide for the same age groups and both are facing up to the need for new thinking with the coming raising of the school leaving age to 16. It is vital that this thinking should be done in concert and not apart.

It is also vital that thinking be clear, in the interests of the young people to be educated and the country that needs their services—rather than directed to defending the interests of this or that existing institution. In education, of all things, there is no room for the argument that what proved good yesterday is good enough for today. The Crowther Report noted that in 1959 only 1 in 8 of the 16-18 age group were in full-time education. It advised that this proportion be raised to 1 in 2 by 1980, a four-fold expansion.

Nothing less would do 'if the national educational system is to meet the requirements of this tumultuous and dynamic century'.

The question to be decided is where and how the necessary provision should be made, and it needs to be decided now if the policy is to be carried out. It was Crowther's recommendation that proposals be 'worked out and adopted as a coherent, properly phased development programme, extending by timed and calculated steps, a long way into the future . . . Just as with similar plans for transport or for power, there need be nothing immutable; the money will have to be voted every year, and the details can be subject to constant modification. But if the objectives are to be attained, there will have to be a programme, with dates fixed in the future for the execution of its various component parts'.

What evidence is there, as yet, of any planning on such a scale? Yet the reorganisation of secondary education provides an opportunity which may not recur for a long time. Contributors to this issue stress the need to plan in terms of extending the principle of comprehensive education to both part-time and full-time students — perhaps through the organisation of the Junior College. There is no doubt that the ramshackle structure of educational facilities for the 15 to 18 age range is resulting in a tremendous wastage of human resources; that fundamental changes are needed to transform the Crowther targets from suggestions into reality. This Special Number, which also contains reports of practical steps being taken to transform the system of secondary education, is a contribution to this end.

The Editorial Board acknowledge with gratitude the help of Mr. C. A. Thompson, Mr. M. E. Mumford and Mr. R. M. Prideaux in the planning of this number.

Comprehensive Further Education

'The prizes will not go to the countries with the largest population. Those with the best systems of education will win.' (SIR ANTHONY EDEN)

C. A. THOMPSON

Mr. Thompson is Principal of the Brooklyn Technical College, Birmingham. He is a past-President of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions and a member of the executive. In addition he has served on the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) and was a signatory of the Newsom Report.

As a result of the 1956 White Paper on Technical Education, reorganisation began in further education with the issue of Circular 303. This brought, in many areas, the Local College catering mainly for the 16-19 age group, and offering courses for full-time students and those released from industry—in other words comprehensive further education. Many full-time courses are similar to those in sixth forms but the majority are more specifically vocational: for example, secretarial and clerk-typist courses, pre-apprenticeship courses in the building crafts and engineering, diploma courses in business studies or construction, courses in catering, art, and many more.

The reorganisation of secondary education is now being undertaken, but by secondary committees of local education authorities, whereas local colleges come under further education committees—at any rate in large authorities. To what extent do these branches come together to discuss common problems, to seek a solution ensuring that the reorganisation of one sector will not have disastrous effects on the other? Much of the difficulty results from an overlap of age-groups and interests. This suggests a joint planning committee to unravel the tangle of sectional and traditional growths. There is a lot to be said for a new look at organisation: secondary to 16+, further education from 16+. Completion of a secondary course of study would then lead into an appropriate course in a further education establishment—whether full-time or part-time.

The Crowther report (in paragraphs 621/622) recommended a junior college in the following terms—'Is there a case for a Junior College which would be essentially a full-time institution without part-time students? What we have in mind is an institution with the adult atmosphere of a technical college but with a much wider range of curricula and with terms of reference nearer to those of a school in that equal weight would be attached by the staff to the

subjects taught and to the personal development of the students.' But precisely because there must be responsibility for the personal development of all students, part-time students should be integrated, as far as possible, with full-time. Anyone with experience of a technical college with a student body mainly part-time also knows how difficult it is to develop a good corporate spirit. On the other hand, where there is a significant proportion of full-time students, these provide the backbone of social life. Follow the idea of Crowther, denude local technical colleges of full-time students, and they will revert to the soulless institutions they once were. A further thought: the tutor system encouraged in relation to full-time students has a simple 'feed-back' influence for part-time students.

'We do not, then, think of a Junior College as replacing Sixth Forms, but as standing side by side with them, providing an alternative form of education for those who had got incurably tired of school and for those whose schools had no Sixth Forms.' But should reorganisation mean only a slight modification of traditional organisation? When an increased expenditure of £250,000,000 for secondary education over the next five years, and a proportional increase for further education, is envisaged, we must be fully aware what these sums are going towards. The necessary changes should be considered at the national level rather than by separate local education authorities.

Training and Education

Here it should be noted that Boards are now being set in motion under the Industrial Training Act. It may ultimately be universally accepted that the first years of training should be a full-time operation. Should this be left to industry? Or should it be paid for and made available by Government—and in this event is the Ministry of Labour the right Ministry for the job?

It is very difficult to define the line between train-

ing and education, especially vocational education. Some people make the distinction as follows: education is the process of showing or telling how and why, training is the practice engaged in afterwards to make persons skilled. By this definition, 50 sums in arithmetic or 100 words of vocabulary is training: or is it? Surely, it is during these periods of practice that the teacher can make the individual personal contact with the student and the 'how' and 'why' become more clearly understood. Teaching is a human situation, and the transfer of ideas and facts by means of human relationships, using whatever vehicles are available, is education. The Department of Education and Science should properly take responsibility for young persons during the formative years, until they are ready to take their place fully in the world of work: until then young people should not be regarded as productive units.

Does the country at present really tap all the potential in our young people? Will it under the Industrial Training Act? Can it, when profit motives dictate training methods? Is it not significant that by and large the Youth Employment Service is now a responsibility of the Local Education Authorities? Is it not significant that in times of crisis the Department accepts responsibility for young persons? As an example, I quote from *Education in 1963*, the annual report of the Ministry as it then was:

'The autumn figures for unemployment among young people, and particularly of summer school leavers, were such that the Minister considered that special steps should be taken to ensure that, in the areas most affected . . . the education service was making every possible contribution to alleviate the situation'; that is, 'helping young people to increase their chances of finding suitable employment by improving their practical skill and general education'.

Colleges already provide basic courses, for instance, in 1963 there were about 3,000 students in integrated apprenticeship courses mainly in engineering. It was noted in *Education in 1963* that 'There is a widespread recognition of the value of these courses', and as the Industrial Training Act 'will enable boards to pay grants to firms in respect of the cost of the industrial training element in the technical college courses, it may confidently be expected that the developments of courses of this type will be stimulated'.

To take a more general view is to find that policies relating to full-time education after 15+ vary throughout the country. In some areas 'extended courses' are arranged in the local technical college or college of further education, whilst in others it is only exceptionally that 15+ students are found in the colleges for secondary schools are encouraged to provide suitable extended courses as an incentive to

retain pupils in school. This leads to an overlap in facilities, staffing and opportunities.

Amongst the exceptions are courses linked to apprenticeship schemes. For instance, there is a one-year pre-apprenticeship course to the building industry for 15+ entrants; in this the student has the opportunity to taste the major craft trades in the industry—carpentry, joinery, painting and decorating, plastering, plumbing—before making a choice of trade and specialising in this for the latter part of the year. If successful in the course, he earns one year's remission of his apprenticeship; with the changing pattern of a shortened apprenticeship, this means that journeyman status is attained by 19+. This is the only course tied in this way with apprenticeship but there are other pre-job courses entered at 15+ in engineering, commerce and catering.

With the raising of the school leaving age, it will be necessary to rethink these courses, but the incentive and conditions, which have caused students at 15+ to accept further full-time education voluntarily, when at 14+ they were anxious to leave school, must not be lost. Joint approaches from secondary and further education in the final school year may be a solution.

A variety of courses

For 16+ students there are full-time courses in a variety of specialisms. A complete list cannot be given here but some of the main ones may be noted.

(i) Various forms of secretarial course of one or two years, preparing students for direct entry to industry and commerce as trained personnel. These are administered, examined and certificated by the colleges; moves are afoot to obtain National Diploma status for them. Proof of their value is that students can always be placed and colleges are often approached by employers looking for satisfactorily trained people.

(ii) General Engineering courses that on a full-time basis provide an alternative route for entry to the Ordinary National Certificate and Diploma courses in Engineering. Many of those who do not quite make the grade in selective schools might be successful in such alternative purposeful vocational courses, and ultimately attain distinction in industry alongside their 'A' level contemporaries. Experience with diploma courses points to this.

The *Birmingham Post* (28.11.64) recently reported: 'An engineering Workshop Theory and Practice course introduced for the first time in a grammar school within the Oxford Examinations Board area has brought a number of top grade passes.' The headmaster said at the school's speech day that, with this course with a vocational interest, 'many will be interested in going to the sixth form'. What kind of

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sixth form studies are usually offered to the less bright category? Surely, if they are to have full opportunities, courses of a vocational character, related to 'A' level standard, must be available. If they possess the necessary entry qualifications, such pupils can be encouraged to take up a Diploma course in Engineering at a technical college.

(iii) Diploma courses in Business Studies, Construction, Engineering and other specialisms have been the salvation of many young people who have at some point dropped out of the stream that flows to academic success. The following is not an isolated case. A John Brown (to adopt the Newsom nomenclature) joined us from a secondary modern school with one 'O' level pass in Woodwork and entered an introductory course leading to an Ordinary National Diploma in Building. Three years later he obtained this in nine subjects with seven distinctions, his other marks being 76% and 82%. As a by-product of his course he passed an additional seven G.C.E. subjects at 'O' level including English Language, Mathematics and Physics and one subject at 'A' level. He is now pursuing a Diploma in Technology course. There are many John Browns and many Mary Browns, who, as the Newsom report suggests, might with the right educational help, achieve more than they do: 'If they could, then in human justice and in economic self-interest, we ought as a country to provide that help'. This approach must obtain towards those of 16+ as well as those at school.

(iv) There are now courses for the General Certificate of Education at 'O' and 'A' levels. In my opinion 'O' level courses should not figure in long-term planning. At present they operate as first-aid for those who, sometimes misguidedly, think that G.C.E. is the only ticket to future progress: they are attended by pupils from secondary modern or private schools which do not provide the necessary opportunities, and also by those with whom selective schools have not succeeded. Alternative courses would be far more suitable, and likely to lead to greater success, if only careers masters, the students and particularly their parents, could be persuaded of the value of this different route. On the other hand, for selected students who need 'A' level passes as a vocational entry requirement for progress to a next stage of educational ambition, courses should be provided as part of further education.

What of the future? Education after 16+ should be designated further education. This should be comprehensive, including full-time and part-time courses in the same institution, the former including integrated basic training courses in preparation for employment. What would be the main advantages of such a reorganisation?

First, this is to provide for the individual an opportunity to take up one of a variety of courses according to ability, aptitude and interest, whether academic or vocational—embracing a range, using present terms, from pre-apprenticeship to G.C.E. 'A' level courses—in a post-school, adult, atmosphere.

Secondly, it provides industry and commerce with an opportunity to use full-time courses as selection machinery for their junior labour force. At present, young people are too often recruited to jobs irrespective of their ability and aptitude for the work and there are many instances of recruitment of the over-qualified. Associated research could well lead to a better evaluation of job requirements as measured by the standard of technical ability and skill attainments.

I have tried to point the way to a rational system of education at the stage between the compulsory school leaving age and entry to employment with its associated further education, or entry to higher education. It will not be to everyone's liking, but in considering this matter let us put away prejudices and vested interests, let us concern ourselves honestly with what will be best for the individual student and in consequence for the national well-being. However we plan, reorganisation must lead out of the present muddle into a pattern that will tap all the potential of our youth, for 'on the education of the people of this country the future of this country depends'.

Mr. Chips in Winter-time

Once I sailed like a young yacht into the wind.
New every morning was the love
I sang to the city, and the pavements
Gleamed white and bright in my wake.
I took the Spring like a lover in my arms.

But then the winter syllabuses came
And took the wind out of my blowing soul.
I became becalmed in the old smoke
Of staffroom days, passing *The Times* away.

And now there are no pigeons in these holes,
Only publishers' catalogues and absence-notes.
The red ink flows thinly in my veins.
Down the corridors the mistakes stampede,
And in the distance I hear the plain song.

And then, when the last bell has been tolled,
I shuffle home with my cargo of books to mark,
And the wind stabs me in the back.

JULIAN ENNIS

The Junior College

M. E. MUMFORD

After teaching Physics at Epsom College, Surrey, Mr. Mumford worked during the war in the Administration of Research and Development in the Royal Naval Scientific Service. From 1945 to 1948 he was Assistant Director of Education for Shropshire. Since 1948 he has been Principal of the Cambridgeshire College of Arts and Technology.

The revolt against 11-plus selection has gathered such momentum all over the country that its supporters may claim total victory to be in sight. The results of victory however are harder to estimate for, in the heat of controversy, little has been heard of the new structure of education which must be created if 11+ selection is abolished. By looking only at their immediate objective, the abolitionists are in danger of repeating, in education, the folly of the Hyde Park Corner underpass, which £10m. was spent in order to transfer the traffic block a hundred yards up the road. If the educational system is to be reorganised, then the undesirable social and educational aspects of selection at 11+ must not be allowed to reappear at a later stage.

In general, proposals for reorganisation fall into two main categories — one-stage schemes in which children remain together for the whole 11-19 period in one school, and two-stage schemes where transfer to a new institution takes place midway through the period.

The most widely publicised one-stage scheme is the comprehensive school, in which the initial intake of children is large enough to provide an adequate sixth form. In practice, this generally means a school of a thousand pupils or more and many educationists have doubts of the wisdom of plunging an 11-year-old child from a primary school into so large a community, however many shock absorbers like house systems and tutors and other devices may be supplied. Experiments with large comprehensive schools have been carried out for some time in London and other parts of the country and their merits and demerits have been widely debated. Because of the special circumstances, favourable and unfavourable, which have governed many of the experiments, it is too early to draw firm conclusions. But even if the weight of evidence were heavily in favour of the large comprehensive school it would be irrelevant to the present problem.

Any rapid large scale re-organisation of secondary education throughout the country must depend on the use of existing buildings and plant. Since nearly 80% of all existing non-comprehensive secondary schools house less than 600 pupils, a new structure for immediate use must be based mainly on schools of 400-600 pupils.

Given these limitations, the only practicable form of organisation is a two-stage one. Comprehensive junior secondary schools of 400-600 pupils would provide for the first stage; for the second stage, pupils from several different junior secondary schools would be grouped together. The various ways in which this might be organised are discussed later. What must be emphasised here is that any *rapid* reorganisation of education to abolish selection at 11+ means in practice that secondary education must become a two-stage process. Wide-spread reorganisation based on large comprehensive schools covering the whole age range is totally impracticable except as a long term policy.

A two-stage system

There are in any case strong educational and social reasons, quite unassociated with the problems of selection, for making secondary education a two-stage process. Whatever biologists may say, there is no doubt that, socially, the age of maturity has advanced considerably. Today's sixth former is generally as poised and assured, as well-informed, and as capable of critical and independent judgement, as was the undergraduate of 30 years ago. In consequence, strains and tensions are increasingly evident in schools which embrace the whole 11-19 age range, where the younger people who form the large majority must heavily influence the general ethos and the tone of staff/student relationships. Devices like separate sixth-form centres, which implicitly recognise these growing tensions, are mere

palliatives. The only real remedy is complete separation of the older from the younger students, allowing each to work and develop in an atmosphere appropriate to its degree of maturity. Those who regard with horror the resultant loss of the influence which sixth-forms are supposed to exert throughout the school would do well to remember that three-quarters of the secondary schools in England have always managed without sixth-forms.

Changing social and educational attitudes and practical considerations alike, then, point to the emergence of a two-stage secondary system and the form this should take ought to be exercising educationists urgently; yet so far only the vaguest proposals have been put forward. That so critical a problem should receive so little attention, must alarm anyone concerned with the practical business of education.

The form of the first stage of a non-selective system is unlikely to excite much disagreement. The need to use existing accommodation practically dictates junior comprehensive schools with an entry of four or five streams a year. Those who insist that a four-stream comprehensive school is unworkable are thinking of it in terms of the existing pattern, as a combination of a one-stream grammar and a three-stream modern school. But with any reorganisation of the structure of secondary education must go so radical an overhaul of the whole curriculum that the present divisions will become meaningless. Reform of the traditional academic grammar school curriculum to provide greater opportunity for the exercise of imagination and creative expression in arts and crafts, music and drama is indeed a high educational priority whether reorganisation takes place or not.

Transfer from the junior to the senior stage could conveniently take place after either four or five years (assuming entry at 11+). With a five year course, many of the pupils would take G.C.E. 'O' level (should it survive) or C.S.E. before either entering the next stage or taking up employment. A four year first stage, however, might fit better into existing buildings, and would ensure, once the school leaving age is raised, that pupils had at least one year's full-time education in the higher stage. Instead of a sharp division between the two stages an overlap system, similar to that adopted in Leicestershire, might be arranged. Only experience can reveal fully the advantages and disadvantages of the various possible systems.

The second, senior stage of a reorganised secondary system would generally cover pupils ranging in age from 15 or 16 to 19. Judging from proposals published so far, there seems to be a grave danger that irrevocable decisions about second-stage

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organisation may be taken in ignorance of the wide experience of dealing with students in this age range which already exists in the field of further education.

Schemes for the organisation of the second stage fall into three main categories — the sixth form college, the senior high school and the junior college. Since there is no agreed nomenclature these terms are often used synonymously; thus adding further confusion to notably vague discussions. For the purpose of this article the terms are taken to have distinct meanings, although it is appreciated that not everyone would agree with the definitions given.

The sixth form college is essentially an amalgamation of sixth-form entrants from a number of different junior schools, its curriculum concentrating on academic work of the traditional sixth form type. As an exclusive, academic hothouse, with a selective entry, the sixth form college is open to most of the social and educational objections now levelled at the selective school. As an element in a true comprehensive system it is entirely unacceptable.

The senior high school

A more attractive alternative is the senior high school, a broader based institution than the sixth

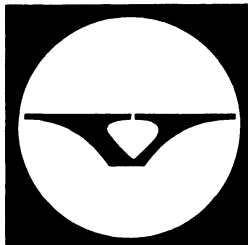
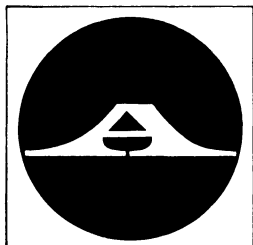
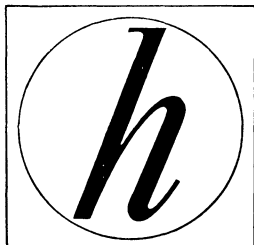
form college, providing courses for all who wish to continue full-time secondary education beyond the school leaving age. The senior high school appears to meet the objections which can be raised against the sixth form college; nevertheless it has educational and social drawbacks which may not be apparent to anyone who looks at secondary education in isolation and ignores the fact that provision for the 15-19 age group is also a major responsibility of the further education system.

Proposals for senior high schools must therefore be examined very closely. The critical question to ask is—what sort of course will be available to the majority who are not suitable for the academic G.C.E. 'A' level stream? Most of the proposals make vague references to 'general' or 'vocational' or 'technical' courses. This is the point at which the widespread ignorance and lack of appreciation of the nature and content of courses provided in the further education field is most manifest; this ignorance, it must be stressed, is not confined to the general public but is shared by many of those directly concerned with the administration of education.

A vocational course in further education normally prepares a student for a professional or technical

Sprachgefühl

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qualification which is nationally recognised by employers. Courses leading to qualifications like the National Diploma or the National Certificate cannot come under the secondary umbrella; they can only be provided in approved further education institutions which have the proper range of equipment and staff with appropriate academic attainments and industrial experience. The possession of certain specified 'O' or 'A' level passes may give students exemption from certain parts of a further education course, but colleges are not empowered to give credit for any other work done in a secondary school.

A pupil who wishes, say, to become an engineer, and who stays on at school beyond the age of 16 without getting 'A' level passes in mathematics or a science subject, must start in further education at the same point as he would have done at the age of 16. Under present conditions of apprenticeship, staying on at school may indeed deprive him of the opportunity of becoming an engineer at all; even if accepted he may miss a substantial part of the period of day release to which he would normally be entitled. It is therefore vitally important that both the authorities who provide so-called 'vocational' sixth-form courses, and the students who are prepared to embark on them, should be fully aware of the implications; both must appreciate that no credit can generally be given for time spent on such courses if the student later enters the field of further education.

The student in a senior high school who is not in the group preparing for 'A' level, then, faces a dilemma — whether to transfer to further education to prepare directly for the qualifications he will need in the future or whether to remain at school for an extended period of education which, however valuable in itself, may cause him to lag behind his contemporaries, or even, at worst, to miss the opportunity of entering on his chosen career.

A single institution ?

These dilemmas arise from the division of educational responsibility for the 15-19 age group between secondary and further education. At one time this division was essentially one between full-time and part-time education. With the rapid growth of full-time courses in further education this distinction is no longer valid, and it is reasonable to ask whether there is any longer any justification for perpetuating the separate existence of the two systems. If not, then the most satisfactory form for the senior stage of secondary education must be the junior college, providing a complete range of courses, both academic and vocational, either on a

full-time or a part-time basis. The junior college fuses two separate, conflicting, and sometimes competing, systems of secondary and further education into a single institution with a wide choice of courses, of recognised value, meeting the needs of the whole age group, and with all the flexibility needed to allow for differing rates of individual development. Whereas the sixth form college would reintroduce at 16+ most of the objectionable features now surrounding selection at 11+, and the senior high school would perpetuate undesirable conflicts of loyalty, status and prestige, while failing to meet the real needs of the less academic student, the junior college maintains the full comprehensive principle. If the social and educational arguments levelled against selection at 11+ are valid, then the junior college represents the only acceptable form of organisation for the upper level of a two-stage secondary system.

Apart from satisfying ideological requirements, the junior college offers many practical advantages. It could provide courses of sufficient variety and high enough academic standard to attract lively minded and well qualified staff and be large enough to ensure that this most precious of all educational resources is used economically. Its size and range of courses could justify the provision of laboratory, workshop and other equipment on a generous scale. Its variety of human and material assets could encourage the development of a vigorous student life. Above all, it could help to solve one of the most serious social and economic problems the country now faces—the prejudice in favour of 'pure' as against 'applied' science. By segregating our ablest children into institutions which are wholly academic in outlook, with staff who, whatever their academic qualifications, have normally little or no experience of the worlds of industry and commerce, we ensure that university academic departments are perpetually over-subscribed, while the faculties of technology and applied science have unfilled places.

The interests of individual students and of the country as a whole suffer in consequence. Much heartburning and wastage of human talent could be avoided if students could be made aware, before they embark on university or other forms of higher education, of the full range of possibilities which lies open to them. By providing courses in such fields as Engineering, Applied Science, Building Construction and Business Studies, alongside the academic G.C.E. courses, which under our present system normally exist in isolation, the junior college could be a powerful instrument in breaking down the uniquely British prejudice against technology and commerce and vocational education generally.

Reorganisation based on comprehensive junior

high schools, followed by junior colleges, could be carried out satisfactorily with a much smaller amount of additional building than by any other method; the aggregation of sixth-forms from several schools, and the removal of overlap and competition between secondary and further education, should lead to economies in both space and staffing. A population of 100,000 would require about a dozen junior high schools, for which the buildings would normally already be available. Under the present system the 16-19 age group of this population would yield on average about 400 sixth form students, together with 150 full-time and 750 part-time students for further education. All these could be accommodated in a single junior college. Under present conditions, indeed, one college could probably serve double this population. Physically, junior colleges might be housed in enlarged local or area colleges of further education whose present functions in respect of the 16-19 age group they would absorb. Some might be housed in large secondary or comprehensive schools to which the necessary laboratories and workshops had been added. Only in rare cases would completely new buildings be necessary.

Some objections answered

Any scheme for educational reorganisation must involve losses as well as gains, and it is important to anticipate some of the objections which will be raised. There are two banners behind which the opponents of change in education can always be relied upon to rally—the maintenance of standards and the preservation of tradition.

Will ultimate academic standards be lowered if the first four or five years of secondary education is spent in a junior comprehensive school with a broader curriculum and, perhaps, a staff less highly qualified academically than in a grammar school? Consider staffing first. The grammar schools were immeasurably enriched by an influx of highly qualified graduates during the years of the slump. In another decade these exceptional entrants will all have retired and the staffing picture will look very different. The Robbins Report pointed out that, in maintained grammar schools, the proportion of teachers over the age of 35 holding first class honours degrees was 13% whereas amongst those under 35 it was only 4%. The time is rapidly approaching when it will be impossible to spare a first class chemist, or even perhaps a chemistry graduate of any level, to teach the third form how to prepare hydrogen sulphide. Different ideas of staffing the lower forms of secondary schools will have to be accepted, whether reorganisation takes place or not. But this need not imply any lowering of

standards at the end of the final course, even with a broader, less academic, curriculum. Students with little academic background have for many years successfully completed academically demanding courses in further education establishments; plenty of evidence could be produced from such sources to show that success in a G.C.E. 'A' level course can be achieved without the preliminary four or five year 'O' level work, usually considered essential. There may indeed be positive gains in coming fresh to a subject at sixth form level.

The other general criticism which any reorganisation of the educational system will provoke is that of the upholders of tradition. Typical of their arguments is the warning in a recent article in *The Times* by the President of the I.A.H.M.: 'This country will run into most serious danger if it substitutes an unproven cure for all scholastic ills for the proven worth of well-tried and still evolving institutions'.

This is a fair comment—but it does not apply to junior colleges. In the United States, and particularly in California, one of the most firmly established and widely admired features of the educational system is the junior college, providing a comprehensive range of academic courses, of roughly sixth form standard, and vocational courses similar to those of an English further education college. Admittedly, comparisons with another country may be of doubtful validity; educational institutions which may flourish in a particular social and economic milieu may not work where conditions are different. But potential junior colleges already exist in England. The number of students taking G.C.E. 'A' level courses in further education colleges has increased rapidly in the last few years and in 1963 reached a total of over 40,000, of whom 13,500 were full-time; the corresponding figure for all maintained grammar schools was about 108,000.

Clearly, the provision of academic G.C.E. 'A' level courses has, in a relatively short time, become a substantial activity in many further education colleges. But these colleges provide, in addition, the full-time and part-time courses characteristic of further education—courses in such fields as Engineering, Building, Catering, Business and Professional Studies, Music and Art. Here, largely unrecognised, are embryonic junior colleges capable of expansion to meet the full needs of the second-stage age group. To reorganise the secondary educational system without first seeking and evaluating the relevant experience available here, would be both negligent and irresponsible.

Personal Development and Further Education

R. M. PRIDEAUX

After teaching experience in Switzerland and elsewhere Mr. Prideaux was, from 1945, organising tutor for Further Education in North Hertfordshire. From 1948 he was Principal of the Barnet College of Further Education, a post which he has just left to take up the Principalship of the Malawi Polytechnic at Blantyre. He has always been keenly interested in social work with delinquents and maladjusted adolescents. Last summer he visited junior colleges and senior and junior high schools in California.

PERSONAL. One's own, individual, private.

INDIVIDUAL. Single, particular, special, opp. to general; characteristic of particular person.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary

I suppose that most of us who teach are made aware from time to time of the opposition between the general interest of a class of students and the special, private interest of a particular student. And sometimes we are in danger of forgetting that courses, curricula and colleges have no other purpose than to further the development of individuals whom we know by the collective name of students. Or is there some other purpose?

There is an ancient, confused debate about the claims of 'the community', whose interests may conflict with the wishes of the individual. In its modern form this is sometimes presented as the problem of the manpower budget, of the necessity to plan for the economic and social needs of society. In a talk, published in *The Listener* last October, and delivered just before he became Minister of State for Education and Science, Lord Bowden wrote of the Russians: 'They begin by making the fundamental assumption that graduates who come from universities have an obligation to society and that the purpose of their university education is to enable them to contribute to society by exploiting their native intelligence to the best possible advantage. The Russians are all convinced that the universities must teach useful skills as well as intellectually valuable disciplines. The central Gosplan authorities do their best to produce a running forecast of the probable demand for different types of skilled men and different types of scholar for five years ahead and they determine the expansion programme for the universities on the basis of these figures.' Is this attempt to plan higher education to meet the

expected demand for qualified men and women in direct conflict with the ideal of education for the personal fulfilment of the individual?

Surely it is time that we put behind us the false dualism of the individual *or* society, academic *or* vocational, liberal *or* technical, theoretical *or* practical? One does not have to be a Marxist to believe in the unity of theory and practice in education. To quote Lord Bowden's talk once more: 'The Russians put a technological university into a factory for much the same reason that we put medical schools into hospitals'. If this produces good engineers and good doctors, has the individual's right to personal development through education been infringed? Does the same principle apply to technical education being undertaken partly in workshops and partly in classrooms? If good technicians and craftsmen are produced, have the boys who wished to become skilled and knowledgeable suffered any diminution of their status as human beings? Should they be allowed to embark upon technical drawing and metal work in their secondary schools? Does this path lead directly back via primary school children lifting potatoes to Dotheboys Hall?

Liam Hudson said recently¹ that what we need is a mood of doubt, a sense of unease. 'The feeling that the teacher may do harm is our first sign of taking him seriously. There really is a danger that educational institutions and methods will proliferate blindly, without regard to the interests of children—either as a response to social and political pressures, or through fads and fashions.' There has probably been less complacency in technical education than in universities and schools, if only because technology itself demands continual modification and development of its processes. But for many years technical teachers seemed to aim at making their

¹L. Hudson, 'Academic sheep and research goats' (*New Society*, 22 Oct. 1964).

work as academic as possible, as though status and respectability must consist in teaching syllabuses and subjects that should be examinable by traditional Boards, with the whole apparatus of written papers, marks, grades and a fifty per cent failure rate. More recently there has been a serious attempt to evolve practical tests of ability that would offer a chance of recognition to the boy who had skill in his hands and a good understanding of mechanical and electrical techniques without being able to encapsulate his knowledge in an envelope of words. How far is personal development possible without acquiring the distinctive vocabulary and command of phrase that we associate with civilisation?

The importance of literacy

Our experience at Barnet suggests that the human personality suffers serious injury, though not always permanent disablement, when a young boy or girl completes ten years of custodial schooling without having acquired the level of literacy required to read a newspaper or write a letter. Bernstein has demonstrated more clearly than anyone before him the crucial importance of helping a child to associate emotional satisfaction with the acquisition of verbal skills in complex patterns. So the man-in-the-street's insistence on the 'three R's' has a basis in social psychology as well as common sense. The verbal 'programming' of a young child deserves as much scientific research and social investment as the design of computers for automatic piloting of aircraft. It cannot just be left to the maternal instinct and junior schools with an eye on the selection of the ablest twenty per cent for an academic education.

Is basic literacy less a problem of human sympathies than of technique? It is a case of William Blake's 'He who would be good to another must do it in Minute Particulars'. Without the wish to do good to the young child nothing can be even begun. But little will be achieved without attention to the detailed requirements of the individual child. When we have studied enough individual children we may have some basis for generalised programmes designed for children who have been reliably identified as having significant common characteristics. This requires a large, expensive and carefully planned research programme. It will take many years to establish valid conclusions, but even interim or provisional findings may save millions of pounds and much human frustration and mental disablement.

In the meantime, to the Further Education College at sixteen come a great cross section of English boys and girls. Some of them have been well educated, are confident and eager for fresh experience. Some of them have been indifferently educated, but have

preserved an essential core of hope and self-respect. Some of them have been in the literal sense systematically neglected, and they are bitterly resentful or dully resigned to the futility of all that takes place in classrooms. These last casualties of our present arrangements for primary and secondary education are not an insignificant minority. There are many, many more of them who never find their way into further education than who do. But those we see are enough to give us some inkling of the size of the problem.

Individual care

If Further Education Colleges are to make a significant contribution to the personal development of young men and women between the ages of 16 and 20, it is essential that they receive individual consideration from the beginning. A College has a greater variety of courses than can be found in schools, and it can offer many alternative patterns of study—full-time or part-time day courses, sandwich or block-release courses, evening classes; and perhaps in the future college-based correspondence courses, and tutorials and seminars linked with television and radio programmes. This profusion of opportunity can appear as an embarrassing confusion to the young student unless it is carefully explained and related to his or her particular needs.

Responsibility for offering advice is at present often shared uneasily and with much overlapping of functions between careers masters at secondary schools, youth employment officers, industrial training officers, and principals or heads of departments in colleges of further education. Much will depend on the professional competence and care exercised by these persons in assessing the special needs of boys and girls who often have little insight into their own capabilities and limitations. In my own College we have found it invaluable to have on the teaching staff a qualified psychologist and psychotherapist who can apply diagnostic tests and help the student to make his private emotional adjustments to the many and complex demands of contemporary life. For many students, perhaps for most, nothing that can truly be called education — as distinct from a passive acceptance of instruction—will take place without the establishment of satisfactory personal relationships with other students and with tutors. An account of some of the obstacles that may obstruct development will be found in Claude Palmer's book, *Student Guidance*.²

The variety of organisation usually makes it possible for the individual to find something to suit his requirements. The day-release or block-release

²To be published by Longmans, Spring, 1965.

student in further education spends only a small fraction of his week or year in college. But this is not always a disadvantage. Some people find it much more congenial to combine earning a living with improving their qualifications. There is less time for the student to become bored, and less time for the teacher to be diffuse. The job is more obviously that of stimulating the desire to learn rather than 'covering' a syllabus or 'spoon-feeding' for an exam. The full-time student has chosen to go to college and applied for a particular course. The classes are generally smaller than in secondary or primary schools, though not of course smaller than the average sixth form 'set'. A more adult relationship between student and tutor can be found than in most schools with younger children. Colleges have on the whole good libraries and cafeterias in which it is possible for students to educate themselves and each other according to their felt needs and the mood of the moment. There is an absence of petty restrictions, uniforms, formal assemblies and the atmosphere of intimidation that still hangs around some institutions.

If it is true that a college of further education usually has a framework of organisation within which real human relationships between tutors and students can develop, it does not follow that they will do so. That will depend largely on the care taken by the senior teaching staff to see that the individual's particular needs are met by the programme arranged. This is a matter not only of the initial interviews but of continuing supervision by course tutors. If a student seems to be working badly the reasons should be sought. They may be commonplace, like too many late nights, or private and personal, like poor family relationships or unhappy love affairs. The Dutch have a proverb: 'Happy people are not wicked'. It is largely true that happy people make good students, although this will be disputed by all those puritans who think that work is the curse of Adam and must be accepted in that spirit.

Most people enjoy working at problems that they have discovered they can solve with some effort; and if they can see some practical application of what they have learned their satisfaction is increased. Personal development requires a growing confidence in one's own powers to deal with the physical and social environment in which one has to live. It does not come from learning about the teacher's success in dealing with his problems unless they happen to coincide with those of the student. It is for this reason that the teacher of technical subjects has, on the whole, a more straightforward assignment than the teacher of general studies. The technical teacher is usually engaged in demonstrating or handing on skills and insights that the technical student knows

he will require. If this is not the case the student is wrongly enrolled, or the syllabus has lost touch with reality. Even the teacher of mathematics or pure science, or economics or accounts, has to ask for an act of faith in the more theoretical aspects of his subject.

General studies

There is some irony in the fact that as the traditional guardians of culture and the humanities, the grammar schools and universities, have seemed increasingly ready to surrender to the claims of competitive specialist subject departments, the technical colleges have devoted an increasing proportion of their time to humane studies. Programmes of social and 'general' studies provide opportunities for a student to notice that he is not only an engineer, accountant, chemist, or architect, but also a man living in the world of the twentieth century. Do general studies increase a man or woman's confidence in his or her ability to live acceptably in the modern world? If the lecturer has merely communicated his anxiety about the Bomb, his cynicism about politicians, his contempt for contemporary painting and literature, or a general disenchantment with the results of technical and scientific progress—he has probably done more harm than good. I believe such lecturers are rare, and fortunately the young are resilient.

But if a lecturer has communicated his own enthusiasm for some aspect of living in which his students can share, he has done well. If he has dispersed some misunderstandings about history, religion or family life, and diminished some personal anxieties during group discussion, that is even better. It does not matter much if the course is called 'psychology', 'sociology', 'the history of art' or 'the frontiers of science' so long as the human spirit is liberated, tolerance is extended, interest in the human condition is expanded, and fresh channels of communication are opened between men and women, black and white, rich and poor, wise and ignorant.

This last is the greatest challenge—those we call ignorant or illiterate. Did we nearly forget them? Most people have. How are we cultured, enlightened people to communicate with the youngsters whom I described as coming to further education dully resigned to the boredom of the classroom or bitterly resentful at the despotism of schoolmasters? Well, first we can pay them the compliment of giving them some individual attention that is friendly and constructive, not critical. Very few adults will have tried this, so the novelty of our approach will give us a flying start. We shall not be so ill-mannered as

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New Sources of Academic Potential

Alternative Routes to Higher Education

G. S. BROSAN

Mr. Brosan is Principal of the Enfield College of Technology. He was previously Head of Department at Willesden Technical College, later holding an administrative post with the Middlesex County Council.

What can we usefully say about entry into university level courses that has not already been said many times before? At first thought the answer is nothing. There is abundant data available, and more can be obtained easily enough by a few more questionnaires. The facts are plain. Only their interpretation is in doubt.

First, it is indisputable that there are students who are taking university level courses outside universities. Even degrees. Most discussion conveniently ignores them. But they are there—count them. London University is big enough to have its existence unchallenged (23,000 students). In one typical year (1957, because I happen to have the data handy), some 37% of degrees in science and 56% of

degrees in technology were obtained by students reading for London degrees at technical colleges. What is more, they tend to do this with lower wastage rates than in the universities, as Cotgrove has been at some pains to point out. There exist, therefore, alternative routes to higher education outside the formal university structure which can make a countable contribution to the number of graduates or 'graduate-equivalents'. In general terms, what is the intellectual potential of students who embark on such equivalent courses?

It may be useful, first to list these courses. In their prestige (pecking) order they may be arranged as follows:

External London Degree	} to be replaced by	C.N.A.A. degree?
Diploma in Technology		
College Diploma		
Higher National Diploma		
Higher National Certificate plus endorsements.		

For the external degree the minimum entrance qualification is two appropriate 'A' levels and some 'O' levels; the same is true for the Dip. Tech., with the addition of another — and very significant — entrance stream from Ordinary National Diploma and Ordinary National Certificate. College Diplomas and Higher National Diplomas have the same sort of entry, but often one 'A' level or a poorer performance in Ordinary National Diploma/Ordinary National Certificate is acceptable.

This reduced entry qualification is viewed with much suspicion. Cries of dilution of intellect, sub-professionalism, etc. abound. We are asked, 'Is expansion of degree level work to be obtained at the cost of lowering intellectual standards?'

The publication of the Robbins report produced masses of comment including this great cry of 'more means worse'. The thought that someone might actually plan to meet a social demand was shocking; at all costs it should be prevented. Professor P. G. Epinasse asked for 'misfits' to be kept out of Britain's universities . . . misfits being defined as boys who had worked hard at school in order to get to university.

The contention is, apparently, that if university expansion is pursued beyond the limits required to keep pace with the growing population, then the additional places must be filled in the main by students of a lower academic standard than has hitherto been regarded as acceptable. In other words, the attitude is, 'We have had most of the cream already and now we fear we may have to coddle the clots'.

One trouble now arises; there seems to be no method of selecting for university entrance that is

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to make personal remarks about their hair style, dress or manner of speech until we know them well enough to invite similar comments on ourselves. We shall, as the best people do, choose subjects for conversation with which they feel at home — after all, as our college is 'home base' for us they are in a sense our guests. And we shall patiently set to work to build up their confidence in us as human beings, forgetting that we are teachers. If we can establish some degree of acceptance of ourselves, we may begin to do something useful. They may even allow us to develop those powers of self-expression which were stunted almost from birth, like the bandaged feet of the children of old Japan. This is remedial work requiring great skill and insight. Very few teachers in further education are qualified to do it, and they are probably not the best paid. But there is no field for personal development more rewarding than this.

Quantitative data also exist (see Figures 1a and 1b) showing that there is overlap in intelligence quotient between university graduates, O.N.C. students and craft students. But again, someone may well interpret the data differently.

¹A. W. Heim, *Manual for the Group Test of High Grade Intelligence AH5*.

Some Test Scores N.I.I.P. (33)

<i>Test Score</i>	<i>GROUP A</i> <i>1st yr. Trade/</i> <i>Craft</i>	<i>GROUP B</i> <i>1st yr.</i> <i>O.N.C.</i>	<i>GROUP C</i> <i>Graduates</i>
185+	0	0	5
165-184	0	1	86
145-164	6	11	110
125-144	16	45	50
105-124	38	81	11
	23% of total	57% of total	100% of total
25-104	191	103	0

Total No.	253	241	262
Mean Score	86.3	108.2	156.3
S.D.	27.5	23.2	16.2

23% of Group A are within same Range as C.
57% " " B " " " " " C.

Some Test Scores (Raven)

<i>Test Score</i>	<i>Univ.</i>	<i>1st yr. O.N.C.</i>	<i>1st yr. Craft</i>
48-45	0	0	0
44-41	2	5	0
40-37	28	11	2
36-33	65	37	11
32-29	53	74	34
28-25	19	59	62
24- 0	3	55	144
Total No.	170	241	253
Mean	32.9	28.2	23
S.D.	3.9	6	6.9

In any event we know that of a given age group, 16% will have an intelligence quotient of 115 or better. Whatever we think of intelligence tests as a whole — and there are lots of doubts — as a rough guide to performance they are probably useable. The

quotient of 115 plus is often regarded as indicative of 'superior' in possible performance. Certainly it is the level above which most successful professional people are placed, and below which there are relatively few such people. Prima facie this 16% of the age group thus has a *right to be considered* for higher education. Naturally there will be many factors of personal student interest and parental resource which will modify the actual numbers wishing to study. But look at Figure 2 which gives some data on the percentages of all 18-year-olds who go on to some form of higher education (1961).¹

FIGURE 2

	Numbers	Percentage Total to Percentage to other all to Uni- Higher Higher versity Education Education		
Children of non-manual workers	140,000	12%	7%	19%
Children of manual workers	485,000	1.57%	2%	3.5%
Total	625,000	3.9%	3.1%	7%

Of about 44,000 18-year-old students entering some form of higher education, 26,600 are children of non-manual workers and the remainder, 17,400 are children of manual workers. Considering universities alone, of 24,500 entering there are 16,800 children of non-manual workers and 7,700 children of manual workers, roughly one-third of the total.

If we think of university expansion in terms of expanding the 12% of children of non-manual workers, then more will probably mean worse; we are getting towards the 16% limit we laid down (albeit somewhat arbitrarily) earlier. But if we think of expanding the figure of 1.57% of children of manual workers, the possibilities are quite different. Raising this figure to say 8% (two-thirds of the non-manual figure) would involve a 125% increase of potential university entrants of the same calibre as hitherto. Raising both figures to 16% is of course unrealistic, but it would mean a fourfold increase of university intake. This is probably an extreme bound to the problem; within it there is sufficient room for expansion from the present figure of 3.9% (low by any standards) to a realistic figure required both by the demands of the economy and as a measure of non-discriminatory opportunity for young people.

How do we finish up?

We seem to have evidence that

1. There are lots of youngsters who do not get to university.

2. Psychological prediction of performance is a dodgy business.
3. If *faute de mieux* we use an 'intelligence test' (various types) we get a clear indication that there are masses of youngsters with good performances who get nowhere near a degree level course.
4. Most of these youngsters are the children of manual workers.
5. Some of these youngsters go to technical colleges to take degrees or degree equivalent courses. There is a tremendous overlap of intellectual potential between our 'nudles' and undergraduates.
6. There are lots more students in Great Britain who are intellectually capable of taking and profiting from a degree course.

There may be good social and economic reasons why this last point cannot be implemented. But don't let us pretend that it is because the pool of ability is dry.

FORUM book on Non-streaming

FORUM readers may be interested to know something of the progress of the first book we have published: *Non-Streaming in the Junior School*. Although this consists entirely of reprints, the demand for it was surprising; indeed orders flowed in at such a rate immediately before and after publication that it was difficult to keep pace with them.

A duplicated letter, together with the leaflet advertising the booklet, was sent to principal lecturers in education at all Colleges of Education and University Education Departments. Bulk orders of 30, 40 and up to 60 copies came in and, of the first 2,500 copies sold, over 1,000 went to students in training, the majority to the Colleges of Education. Of the rest, 650 went to bookshops, to what destination is not known, but an analysis has been kept of direct orders which shows that of the remaining 800, over 400 went to primary schools, 100 to Education Offices, and nearly 100 to comprehensive schools. Secondary modern schools have ordered about 70 copies, as also have the various branches of the Association for the Advancement of State Education. The remainder went in miscellaneous directions, only six, so far as our records go, reaching the grammar schools.

A second print had to be ordered immediately on publication and orders are still coming in well. This term we will be approaching teachers' associations, drawing attention to the bulk purchase arrangements. Reviewers' comments will be found in the advertisement on page 45.

EDITOR

¹Adapted from Report of Committee on Higher Education, *Higher Education*, Appendix One, pp. 39-40.

Notes by the Way

And now abideth age, aptitude, ability, these three

B. F. HOBBY

The Butler Act will this year attain its majority. A surprisingly large number of people who have come into teaching or administration since the end of the last war cherish the illusion that tripartitism in the secondary sphere was established by the Act of 1944. This, of course, is not so. The Act said simply (some would now say naively) that the basic considerations should be age, aptitude and ability, with due regard to parental wishes in so far as they were administratively reasonable. Was it through some oversight that the architects of the Act made no mention of grammar, technical and modern schools? Was it that in a light-hearted mood they decided to leave it at age, aptitude and ability and to see what would transpire? Had they heard the early rumours of comprehensive schools?

Age

Recent events have revealed that on the apparently simple and settled question of the age of transfer to secondary schools Hadow is now widely discredited and that all the tedious effort that went into the Hadow reorganisation, especially in rural areas, may have been a waste of time. But there is no generally accepted alternative policy. Some still advocate transfer at 11+; others advocate 12+, others 13+. Not a few challenge the whole practice of transfer based on chronological age. If the 12+ or 13+ suggestions are accepted where will the displaced pupils go? Will they remain in the primary school and create a demand for drastic reorganisation in schools which are already overfull, or will they go to junior secondary schools?

Aptitude

The problem of aptitude has proved to be equally perplexing. Some psychometrists succeeded for a long time in persuading the authorities that the so-called Intelligence Test was a test of aptitude. Only when it was pointed out that correlations between grammar school results and IQ's after the early years in the secondary school were often so low that they had little significance did they begin to complain that it was 'unfair' to expect high correlations after a lapse of four or five years. Later they admitted by implication that too much weight given to these tests penalised the non-verbal child, and, by the same token, favoured the verbal, for they changed the name to Tests of Verbal Reasoning, and started to make jokes about old-fashioned teachers who, in their ignorance, continued to call them Intelligence Tests. We have come a long way since then. It is

apparent that many aptitudes do not reveal themselves until well after the age of 11+. It has proved well-nigh impossible to select children for technical schools on grounds of aptitude, because tests of aptitude for technical work are in conspicuously short supply. Consequently, many schools labelled technical are in fact bi-lateral. Does anyone know of a test of aptitude for modern school work?

Ability

But the greatest of these is ability. But ability to do what? There was a time, not long ago, when brilliant science students had no hope of getting into a university because they had no pass in a foreign language at 'O' or 'Credit' level; likewise good Arts students because they had no such pass in mathematics or a science. Times have changed somewhat but many faculties still put up barriers that exclude potentially good students from an honours school for similar reasons. Schools do not create or promote the dichotomy between Arts and Science. It is a fact of life deriving from individual differences, preferences, aptitudes and abilities. Whether schools should attempt to bridge the cultural gap between Arts and Science is another question.

It would perhaps be wrong to place too much emphasis on the examination results at 'O' and 'A' level of pupils who 'failed' the 11+ examination. But they succeed far too often, and sometimes far too flagrantly for us to ignore the implications. Not only do aptitudes declare themselves after the age of 11+ but ability also often blossoms late, sometimes in most unlikely corners.

These three corner stones of the Act have worked a bit loose and it looks as if it were time some repairs were done, or some rebuilding.

During the recent brouhaha in Bristol and Liverpool, parents have brandished copies of the Act and voiced their right to send their children to the school of their choice—but only if their children were in grammar schools. The new Secretary of State for Education and Science cannot be very happy about the implications of this section of the Act. It would be interesting to learn, twenty years after the event, what Mr. Butler's collaborators had in mind when they wrote in this principle. Did they intend it to extend beyond questions of religion and co-education? It is hard to see how they could have meant it to apply to a system of secondary education whose development they had not even adumbrated.

It may well be time for us to start thinking about a new Act. If we do not have one soon, Sir William Alexander, forensically correct but educationally old hat, may rightly continue to argue, in spite of Bristol, Liverpool, etc., that NOT to select for secondary education at the age of transfer is 'agin the law'.

Discussion

A Principal of Primary Education

The Plowden Committee's deliberations may well result in far-reaching changes both in the structure and in the content of primary education. But such changes will not become effective for some years, and in the meantime it may be worth while looking at primary education as it is and to consider suggestions how best to employ the buildings and teachers now available without prejudicing the future.

It is usual for a secondary modern school and a grammar school, or alternatively a comprehensive school, to have an intake drawn from several primary schools. As a result, there can be wide variations both in the standard of attainment and in the breadth of education of these children. Consequently, secondary schools have difficulty in finding a common denominator on which to found their work, and this almost inevitably results in some children facing unnecessary difficulties while others may be marking time in some or all subjects.

Clearly this state of affairs would be ameliorated if all children entering a particular secondary school had covered the same syllabus, had had the advantage of the facilities available in the most favoured primary schools and had benefited from the application of modern educational techniques and research.

These desirable ends might well be achieved by the appointment of principals of primary education. Each such principal would have jurisdiction over all the primary schools whose children would subsequently attend a particular secondary school. Some adjustment of the catchment areas of some primary and secondary schools would be necessary for full implementation of the scheme, but a pilot scheme could well be undertaken where existing arrangements were already suitable.

Apart from the advantages to be gained from the use of a common syllabus, it would be possible for the varied physical facilities available in a group of schools to be shared among all. This would, of course, involve the use of transport, but journeys would be short and would consume little time.

The requisitioning of books, materials and equipment would be done by the principal and his office staff. There would be considerable economies here as duplication would be avoided, while by interchange among schools the materials available to each school would be increased. For instance, by a system of periodic exchange among schools, every child would have access to a large number of books while the proportion of books being read to the number left on the shelves would be reduced. In addition, the principal would have at his disposal a technician equipped with a van. This technician would be in charge of teaching aids such as cinematograph projector, film strip projectors, tape

recorders, etc. He would be responsible for their maintenance, for transporting them from school to school when necessary and for supervising their correct use.

The position and status of the head of each primary school would not greatly be changed. If, on one hand, his overall freedom would be to some extent curtailed, this would be offset by the availability of better facilities to aid him in his work.

The appointment of a teacher to a particular school would continue to be normal practice, but the principal could arrange for temporary interchanges of staff to allow new methods to be more widely disseminated. Arrangements could be made for newly-qualified teachers to see and take part in the work of several schools. School practice for college students could be arranged by the principal, so that a number of students could be attached to the group of schools throughout their college course.

To sum up, what is being suggested is that primary schools should be more truly comprehensive. The geographical separation of the teaching units does not today present insuperable difficulties. The suggested organisation is comparable to that adopted by some comprehensive secondary schools which are subdivided into houses. In Further Education, too, some education authorities have appointed area principals of further education with heads of centres working under them, a very similar arrangement.

Finally, as the status and salary of a principal of primary education would be comparable to those of the head of a comprehensive school, we should have in the primary school service posts which would attract entrants of the highest calibre.

E. HARVEY, Otley, Yorkshire.

The Hesitant Partners

J. LONGDEN

Mr. Longden is Head of the Engineering Department at the Mid-Warwickshire College of Further Education. An ex-President of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, he is concerned here with the role of industry in further education. It is hoped to publish an answer to this article from a representative of industry in the next number of FORUM.

The growth of Further Education, both in terms of student population and provision has been enormous in the last twenty years; the teaching force alone has tripled. For a considerable number of occupations an educational qualification is undisputedly essential.

There is today fairly general agreement that education beyond school leaving age is beneficial both to the individual, to industry, and to society. It is certain that industrial productivity rises in proportion to better understanding of the process and the environment. If anything has become plain during the past few years it is that Britain must realise the maximum potential from manpower.

Despite all this, less than 20% of young people undertake any form of further education after leaving school; probably not more than 5% qualify at a reasonable level. The colleges of further education, which provide courses at all levels, are mainly supported by public funds and not at direct cost to industry. The clear intention is that there should be an effective partnership from which industry is potentially the greatest beneficiary. What are the restraints which prevent realisation of this aim?

The first difficulty is a hiatus at the point of entry into employment, what seems to be a deeply entrenched dichotomy between training and education. Some employers feel that, although training is their responsibility, further education is entirely a matter for the individual. Training enables a man to do his work properly, education enables him to 'get on', and hence is his own affair.

Employers should surely tell young people that further education is necessary to do the job itself well, apart from any prospects it may open up. But students often receive no encouragement whatever when taking up employment; the question of study is not mentioned at the appointment interview, nor indeed later. In such cases initiative comes from the student, as a result of his friends being engaged in study, or the parents. Why this lapse? According to the Henniker-Heaton Report, many employers still do not know about facilities for further education. This seems hardly credible, but it would be useful to find out where the breakdown in communications occurs and what kind of publicity is needed.

Sometimes day release is denied on the grounds that the employer cannot afford it. The average wages-cost of day release over five years is not inconsiderable, probably around £50 per annum per student. But this is also not excessive and qualifies for tax relief. It can reasonably be argued that the benefits outweigh the cost in the long term. Clearly such costs, and loss of production, is more likely to be serious if there is a large number of adolescents in the labour force. But should such a situation be allowed? It would be interesting to hear a justification for such a labour policy, remembering that there is an increasing shortage of young people for employment.

The first report of the Ministry of Labour Manpower Research Unit shows that the working popula-

tion will diminish well into the 70's and failure to develop working potential may be serious. The policy of employing an excessive proportion of adolescent labour can be destructive to industry in at least two ways. Firstly, a sufficient proportion of skilled manpower is not forthcoming to guarantee technical sufficiency. This has indeed occurred in certain industries which have depended for nearly two decades on the post-war output of trained and rehabilitated men from the Forces and have not adequately trained their successors. Secondly, inertia in an uneducated labour force robs an industry of the ability to respond to major technical changes. Certain foreign competitors might not enjoy their present dominance had our labour force been more flexible and more capable of innovation a few years ago.

Labour costs are prime costs in industry but an educational commitment, such as day release, need not greatly affect them if the remaining working time of the week is suitably planned. Both students and employers sometimes report that work is slowed down, even stopped, while the student is at school. This suggests that the day release factor is not integrated into production planning or staff-loading schemes—yet modern planning takes account of public holidays, transport difficulties, even climatic conditions. Are the difficulties, then, financially factual or are they largely psychological in origin?

Another inhibiting factor, over which the employer may have only partial control, is the financial incentive (or disincentive) to study. In some cases boys are put on production work during the trial period preceding apprenticeship; on accepting apprenticeship, earnings may fall sharply and remain low for years. Sometimes release for study is only obtained without payment.

It is quite common to insist that the first year of study should take place in the evening to 'prove' something, or to grant day release provided two evenings' work are undertaken as well. Educationally, this is quite illogical. It prevents adequate reading and private study, overloads the weaker student, and inhibits the college from applying the right disciplinary factors. Why should study be made a penance? The social psychologist might suggest that rather than thinking progressively we are sub-consciously punishing the new generation for the harshness we experienced in the past.

Those who enter on further education still face difficulties, the most fundamental centering around the linkage between course of study and job. So far, in this country, we have tended to avoid specialised courses; reasonable breadth and adaptability is thought to be better than specialisation efficiency. Industry generally prefers a broadly based training

for most trades and senior posts, and for many operatives. This makes it all the more difficult to understand why employers are so inflexible about courses.

On the one hand, an employer who takes on youths as craft apprentices may insist that all follow a craft course, regardless of individual abilities. Sometimes the college has to ask that students are given the chance to exercise their ability; each man should surely try to reach as far as he is able. On the other hand, a National Certificate may be considered essential for a boy taken into a Drawing Office, even though he is not of that calibre. Fortunately, the new pattern of technical courses partially solves this difficulty, but the causative agent remains—that the educational process is not considered part of development but an appendage to the job. Why is the young man put into the Drawing Office at all before he is seen to be suitable? Should not the results of study be made one of the factors of decision?

It would seem to be both practicable and desirable for college and employer to engage together in some way in selection for both work and study. One wonders if there is any need to preserve the attitude that 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'? A college should be able to assist in selection and guidance without in any way weakening the employer's authority.

There is inflexibility about the length of courses, and the extent of release. Ordinary National Diploma courses receive very little support. There have been arguments, even bitter ones, between college and employer as to whether a block release course should be eleven weeks or twelve. Very few employers will give an extension on one day release, although two days are justifiable. In some cases day release may be stopped at 18, and it is a progressive employer who will continue it beyond 21.

Although the technical content and the subject matter of most courses has increased, quite small requests for an increase in course time can cause real difficulty. It may reasonably be argued that an increase from one day to two will decrease and restrict training time, but it is generally accepted that the length of training could be reduced in many trades. Surely it would be wise, rather than ending apprenticeship and training prematurely, to convert some training time to increased study time. What does not seem to be accepted is that, as technology becomes more complex, the proportion of technical study to practical training needs continuous adjustment.

What relationship is there between study and training? In many cases it is almost possible to say

—none. Sometimes the works and the college duplicate effort unnecessarily; alternatively, they hand out incompatible information. The causes of this are complex, and the worst effects are avoided by some excellent industrial representation on syllabus drafting bodies such as the City and Guilds of London Institute. But clearly college and industry have too little knowledge of each other. For this, colleges must accept their share of the blame. Joint discussion between teacher and trainer is needed so that each understands the other's part. What prevents this? If it is lack of time on the part of individuals, then there should be allocation of time. Perhaps both teacher and industrialist should be more generous in their conception of what is required of them in terms of willingness to meet and act.

Direction should be given to senior staff of local firms by top management, and at Board level, about the priority of liaison with colleges. Managers visit colleges as rarely as teachers visit firms. The staff structure of colleges and the nature of the teaching job may need examining to see if active liaison is indeed practicable. The fundamental difficulty may be the fragmentation of industry. Some colleges of quite moderate size deal with three or four hundred separate firms.

This article poses difficulties as they often appear to the educational partner. In the next issue an industrialist will say what hesitations he sees. The great good that is being done is not forgotten. The partnership is valued and appreciated. But can it be improved by mutual frankness and adjustment? While we hesitate the next generation is losing something, and in the modern world those who do not move forward are, relatively, slipping back. How can we remove restraints and turn the hesitant partnership into a happy marriage in which each partner will both give and take for the sake of the offspring?

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Day Release

The Report of the Henniker-Heaton Committee

W. HATTON

Mr. Hatton is Head of the Department of Building and Engraving at the Liverpool College of Building.

Lord Snow once said in a television interview, 'What frightens me most about this country is that if anything is suggested which is both necessary and desirable it is immediately thought to be impracticable'. The context was education with particular reference to the raising of the school leaving age. It would have been equally relevant to the development of day release education. The social and economic values of further education, both general and vocational, to the individual citizen and to the community are widely recognised but the county college provisions of the 1944 Butler Act, like the day continuation schools of the 1918 Fisher Act, have so far proved impracticable.

A committee representing industrial and educational interests has lately been examining ways and means of achieving the maximum practicable increase in day release education for young workers under 18. It was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. C. Henniker-Heaton in 1962 by Sir Edward Boyle, then Minister of Education and the Committee's Report was published in May last year.

The origins of this latest attempt to remedy a gross deficiency in educational provision are reviewed in the early chapters. Dissatisfied with the response of employers to the challenge of the White Paper on Technical Education (1956)—to double the total number of students in day release courses by 1961—the Minister of Education, then Sir David Eccles, asked a working party to investigate the practical problems involved in conferring the right to claim day release on all employees under 18. The working party's report was considered at a meeting of educational and industrial bodies with Sir Edward Boyle in 1962. It was unanimously agreed that the cost of new building and additional staff would jeopardise other urgent educational development. The further agreement that consideration should be given to other means of increasing the volume of part-time day education led to the setting up of the Henniker-Heaton Committee.

The Committee analysed in some detail the trends in day release education since 1956. Statistics in an appendix to the Report show encouraging increases

in numbers remaining at school or proceeding to full-time further education but the figures for day release are depressing enough. In the year 1962-63 just over 260,000 boys and girls under 18 were released from employment (as against 185,000 in 1956-57) but, when expressed as proportions of the corresponding age groups, the increase was less than 1%. The single most brutal fact disclosed by the figures is that in 1962-63, of nearly 2½ million boys and girls between 15 and 17, 1¼ million were receiving no formal daytime education whatsoever.

A second appendix analyses day release by industries over a four year period. The number of boys getting day release as a percentage of the estimated number in employment has climbed erratically from under 25% to just over 30% (for girls from 6.4% to 7.4%). The publicly owned industries of gas, electricity and water lead the table (they were sixth in 1954), the distributive trades and insurance, banking and finance are still at the foot. For the rest there are five industries with over 50% day release provision for boys, but 17 below.

A discussion of the factors inhibiting day release, and a survey of evidence submitted, illustrate the extreme divergence of employer attitudes. The most enlightened are in favour of release for all under 18, if suitable courses, not necessarily vocational, are available. At the other end of the scale there are the employers who betray ignorance of and even hostility towards technical education facilities.

These attitudes no doubt influenced the Committee in the decision to reject the various forms of limited compulsion by industry, area, age group or type of employment (wholesale compulsory measures were precluded by the terms of reference). Instead the Committee recommended that a target, minimal but realistic and practicable, should be set, namely to secure an average increase of 50,000 a year over the next five years in the number of boys and girls granted release. An extra 5,000 teachers would be needed by 1970, the capital cost would be near £60m. and recurring expenditure £12m. a year.

The Committee makes two major recommendations for the achievement of this target. The Industrial Training Boards should give special consideration to day release education and, where appropriate, make it a condition of approval of training schemes. But this will take time because the Boards have the prior task of creating complex machinery and in any case they will be concerned primarily with vocational education. Therefore, more immediate action should be taken by the L.E.As. With the help of the National and Regional Advisory Councils and with the co-operation of industry they should set local targets and reach them by a sustained public relations campaign. The

Colleges would, of course, be heavily involved and they should be staffed accordingly. The idea of a liaison officer is commended.

Consequential and other recommendations follow. Young people in jobs for which further education courses are appropriate should have priority; on the other hand non-vocational courses should be developed (support is given to some pioneering work being done in this difficult field); special efforts should be made on behalf of boys and girls keen enough to attend evening classes; public authorities should set a good example; release should not cease abruptly because of the incidence of a birthday; gaps in statistical information should be filled.

Part-time education has never excited widespread public interest and the Henniker-Heaton Report was no exception. Its reception was lukewarm. Criticism has been mainly directed to the rejection of any measure of compulsion on the unco-operative employer. But, quite apart from the probable opposition of employers' representatives on this issue, the Committee are entitled to pass the buck to the Minister of Labour. The Industrial Training Bill, itself an acknowledgement of the failure of the voluntary measures for more and better industrial training recommended by the Carr Committee in 1958, completed its passage through Parliament

while the Committee was sitting. Its gravest defect is that there is no provision to compel an employer either to provide training or to release the young worker for part-time day education. His legal liability is limited to the payment of a contribution towards the cost of training provided by other employers and the small employer may be exempted even from paying this levy.

The Secretary of State for Education and Science in the previous Government accepted the Report and later circularised the local education authorities on the part they are called upon to play.

What of the new Government? The Labour Party's Manifesto promised that compulsory day and block release would be extended as a first step towards universal part-time education for the first two years after leaving school. Faced with a massive programme, the Government may decide to defer positive action until the first effects of the Industrial Training Act and the Henniker-Heaton Report can be assessed. But it is to be hoped that the introduction of compulsory day release education, at least for the group for whom the Henniker-Heaton Committee sought priority, will not be long delayed. There has been much talk about 'untapped ability' and 'investment for national survival' and too little action.



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Local Authorities and Educational Reorganisation.

A Summary

In his statement in the House of Commons on 27th November last, the Secretary of State for Education and Science brought to general notice the extent to which Local Education Authorities are now planning reorganisation on comprehensive lines and said that, in the Government's view, this ought now to be accepted as national policy. The summary figures given showed that 68 L.E.A.s responsible for 63% of the secondary school population, were either implementing or examining concrete proposals; 21 more, covering 11% of secondary pupils, were contemplating reorganisation, leaving 59 L.E.A.s, covering 26% of secondary pupils, which had not as yet provided evidence they were considering the matter.

It is helpful to have figures in this form because L.E.A.s vary greatly in size and influence. The largest county is London (with a secondary school population of over 185,000), the smallest L.E.A. of all is Rutland (c. 1,000). The smallest county borough is Eastbourne (c. 2,000) and by far the largest, outstripping the majority of counties, is Birmingham (c. 73,000).

In all, there are now 148 L.E.A.s in England and Wales, two new county boroughs—Luton and Solihull—having recently been created. On 1st April, 1965, under the London Government Act, 20 more county boroughs will be created at the expense of one county, Middlesex. It is probable that a number of these will follow the example set by London in providing comprehensive schools.

In Wales there is a special position, a number of the 13 counties (including Monmouth) have a comprehensive or near-comprehensive system, while of the three county boroughs, Swansea and Newport have long planned for comprehensive schools (See FORUM Vol. 5 No. 1). Leaving these aside, there remain 50 counties and 82 county boroughs in England; of these 11 have a secondary school population of over 50,000, another 21 of over 20,000, another 28 of over 10,000. A brief review illustrates the direction in which these are moving; the figures in brackets designate approximate secondary school population.

While the largest county, London, has led the way since 1944, the third largest, Lancashire (123,000+) has now decided to reorganise on comprehensive lines. So have the second and third largest county boroughs in the country—Liverpool (40,000+) and Manchester (39,000+)—and a number of the lesser ones in Lancashire, as is described elsewhere in this issue.

The fifth largest county is the West Riding (104,000+) in which eight districts are now comprehensive, while the county boroughs of Leeds (28,000+) and Sheffield (26,000+) have planned reorganisation and Bradford (15,000+) initiated the first phase of a fully comprehensive system last September (See FORUM Vol. 6 No. 3). Wakefield has now decided to introduce a comprehensive scheme, Barnsley and Huddersfield are

considering reorganisation; there is no news from Dewsbury or Halifax.

The eighth largest county is Staffordshire (57,000+) which has a considerable proportion of comprehensive schools, having successfully introduced several with 900 pupils. There is a comprehensive scheme for the county borough of West Bromwich, Stoke (18,000+) has recently submitted one, Walsall has one comprehensive school and is considering the position, as also is Wolverhampton (11,000+); there is no news from Burton-on-Trent or Smethwick.

Lying ninth is Durham (54,000+) which is reorganising from a system of school bases. The county borough of Darlington has approved a comprehensive system, Sunderland (11,000+) has one comprehensive school and is considering further reorganisation, as also is West Hartlepool; there is no news from Gateshead or South Shields.

It is, then, the chief industrial centres that are in the forefront in planning reorganisation, as they have been in introducing comprehensive schools. Birmingham (73,000+) now has four comprehensive and six bilateral schools. Fifth on the list of county boroughs is Bristol (27,000+) where over 60% of the secondary population is now in comprehensive schools. Nottingham (21,000+), lying seventh, has one comprehensive school and a system of bilateral and grammar schools with shared sixth forms. Then comes Coventry (20,000+), one of the pioneers, with eight comprehensive schools.

It is the same in the next category. Apart from places already mentioned, Hull (19,000+) has one comprehensive school, four to come, and is discussing reorganisation. Leicester (19,000+) is now considering possibilities. Cardiff (16,000+) has a plan for reorganisation. Croydon (15,000+) has long wanted to introduce the sixth form college plan. Then come Newcastle, Middlesbrough, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Southampton, Southend, West Ham (10,000-14,000+) all of which have either approved or are considering reorganisation.

To return to the counties is to find less activity. The second largest, Essex (125,000+) has some comprehensive schools, mostly in new towns, but is otherwise tripartite; Kent (105,000+) is to experiment with reorganisation in one area. No plans have been announced from Surrey (83,000+), Herts. (58,000+), Cheshire (51,000+), Hants (48,000+), Northumberland (26,000+) or Beds. (21,000+). But Derbyshire (44,000+) is to reorganise, and Leicestershire (27,000+) has now reorganised in six zones.

West Sussex (23,000+) has some bilateral schools and plans reorganisation in some areas, Buckinghamshire (28,000+) is considering an experimental scheme in one area, Devon (27,000+) has two comprehensive schools and is contemplating more, the North Riding (22,000+) has three bilateral schools and is reviewing the position. Warwickshire (36,000+) has provided extended courses in all modern schools which are now known as 'high schools' (See FORUM Vol. 6 No. 1). Reorganisation is under consideration in Notts. (34,000+), Worcs. (27,000+), Glos. (25,000+), and Lincs. (Lindsey) (22,000+).

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THE SWING TO COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION

2. Lancashire

JOAN SIMON

When, in July 1964, Lancashire Education Committee resolved to introduce a form of comprehensive education, 29 districts—each comparable in size to the average county borough and covering a total population of over 2,200,000—were brought into the movement towards providing secondary education for all on equal terms. Most Lancashire county boroughs are also considering changes and, as is well known, the two largest, each with a population of over 700,000 have planned to 'go comprehensive'. Manchester is now discussing plans with the interested parties, but Liverpool has submitted a scheme to the Secretary of State for Education and Science. Since this last involves the closure of some existing schools notices were posted in mid-November under Section 13 of the Education Act, allowing a two months' interval for objections to be voiced. The minister's decision is expected a month or more after this, in late February. This is a key moment in the development of the educational service.

The main authorities now embarking on the re-organisation of secondary education are very conscious of producing fresh development plans, plans to replace those of the late 1940's which were based on an educational outlook since proved to be false in theory and harmful in practice. An illustration of the temper abroad is a phrase used by the

Chief Education Officer for Lancashire (in the journal *Lancashire Education*) when welcoming the passing of the 11+, that 'archaic monstrosity' whereby little boys and girls are allocated to schools like apples to baskets. *A Re-Appraisal* of the position in Preston, published over the name of the Chief Education Officer last April, is prefaced by the finding of the U.S. Supreme Court: 'We conclude, that in the field of public education the doctrine of "Separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.'

A new climate

The corollary is a comment in a memorandum submitted by Liverpool teachers' organisations to their education committee: remarking that two selective schools might always be preserved to take 'the minority of really gifted children at 11+', they themselves wash out the suggestion with the proviso—'this, however, seems out of the question in the present climate of educational thinking.' A similar feeling was expressed in somewhat different terms by pupils of a secondary modern school who marched to the Liverpool Education Office behind a banner inscribed 'Comprehensive Education Now not Never' and handed in a petition headed (in a design incorporating the letters 'O' in a set of traffic signals): NO Tradition, NO Distinction, GO Comprehensive.

A plea for serious consideration of the educational issues at stake was made in a letter to the *Liverpool Daily Post* (10.11.64) by a middle-class parent—the product of a grammar school and with children at grammar schools now—who referred to the social attitude fostered by selective schools. 'This was well illustrated by a young Liverpool lady interviewed by ITV after a march of grammar school pupils when she said in the fruitiest "Scouse" accent "comprehensive education means we would have to mix with ordinary people!"' There is now a Committee for the Promotion of Comprehensive Education active in Liverpool, counteracting what this parent calls 'the shrill emotional propaganda' of the Parents' Protest Committee.

These various points illustrate the extent of the change that has come about. Parental objections to 11+, advances in schools providing for the majority

Continued from page 61

In the next category, Dorset (17,000+) has four comprehensive schools, Somerset (14,000+) has one, and both are considering more. One district of Oxfordshire (11,000+) is comprehensive, Cambs. (10,000+) has a bilateral school at Impington Village College and is reviewing the situation. Schemes for certain areas are apparently being considered in Cornwall (19,000+), Northamptonshire (18,000+), Shropshire (18,000+), Wiltshire (17,000+), Cumberland (15,000+), Berkshire (10,000+). No plans have been announced from East Sussex (15,000+) or Norfolk (14,000+), but the East Riding (12,000+) has a near comprehensive system with general and bilateral schools.

All the remaining L.E.A.s cater for a secondary school population of under 10,000 one of the smallest being the Isle of Man (2,000+) which, with Anglesey (3,000+), was the first district successfully to introduce a fully comprehensive system with four all-through schools.

of children, the decision to raise the school leaving age, the Robbins recommendations for enlarging the scope of higher education—these are among the chief influences which have turned onetime supporters of tripartitism into advocates of reorganisation. The tripartite system was, of course, tailored to the view that the grammar school is an ultimate educational good which must be preserved intact. The argument is still used by those who no longer find it politic to defend 11+ directly, but otherwise the values of grammar school education are necessarily questioned, together with all the other assumptions underlying selection. In short, attention, for so long devoted to fitting children into given types of school, according to a given pattern, is now concentrated on the potential for development and how it can best be realised.

Re-appraisal in Preston

The Preston pamphlet, for instance, points out that 40% of those selected in this county borough for a 7-year education in grammar schools have in fact left at 16 after an incomplete course. On the other hand 5-year secondary schools have provided much more varied opportunities for those leaving at 15 and 16, while they have also retained a growing number beyond this age—and registered some remarkable successes with children written off at 11+. Taking into account the lessons of the past and the challenge of the future, it is concluded that the present organisation of secondary education no longer satisfies the needs of the individual or the community.

The suggested solution, which could be applied with the minimum of disturbance in Preston, is to transform all secondary schools into comprehensive schools for those aged 11-16 and to centre advanced courses in a sixth form college. To do this would provide in advance for the raising of the leaving age and it is envisaged that the C.S.E. may well become the general school leaving examination for all—the G.C.E. 'O' level being due for elimination, leaving the 'A' level as the objective for the sixth form college. If this were so, each grade of school would have a clear objective for which to work—and, most important, there would be no school with pupils leaving in bulk at different ages.

Possibly those going on to sixth form college would not even take the C.S.E. but wait to take 'A' level G.C.E. There can be little doubt, it is suggested, that children progressing through school in this way would be much better educated than those at present pressed through 4-year courses to 'O' level and then on towards 'A' level on a narrow front. The sixth form college could make allowance on equal terms

for a variety of courses besides the traditional academic ones—courses for those looking to full-time higher education in art and music, technology and business administration, teachers' training colleges and training for various social services.

If this end is to be achieved a new building would be needed, but it could be provided at little more cost than that already envisaged for other projects which could now be scrapped. If it is assumed that 25% of an age group would transfer to the college for not less than two years, and that half of these would remain for a third year, a college with some 500-750 places would be required. This could be provided by 1970, but reorganisation could easily be undertaken before this, by converting a grammar school temporarily to the purpose, and achieved in 1966-67.

The plan described covers only 60% of the school population in Preston, the remaining 40% being accommodated in what is effectively a separate, Roman Catholic, system. But this could be adapted in a similar way and again the only new building needed would be a sixth form college. These proposals have aroused widespread discussion, by no means all of it constructive. But more thoughtful reactions are now beginning to be voiced and there is promise that a decision may soon be forthcoming which will allow advance to the stage of detailed planning. The question as to whether or not 11+ should be abolished has receded into the background in Preston. The point now at issue is how and when reorganisation to effect this should take place.

Progress in the County

This is the matter now in hand in Lancashire, on a much larger canvas. Since the Education Committee decided in principle on a comprehensive system steps have been taken to seek the widest consultation at various levels. But the decision itself was only taken after preliminary enquiries of Divisional Executives about possible ways of abolishing the 11+. This matter was originally mooted in 1963, before the present Labour council took office, and was the subject of a special report to the Education Committee in February last. After consideration of this the Chief Education Officer was instructed to conduct an administrative exercise to assess the practicability in each area of one or another of three schemes for reorganisation: (i) the all-through comprehensive school, 11-18, (ii) the two-tier system with a break at 13 or 14, or (iii) with a break at 16.

The resulting summary showed that 23 of the 29 Divisions might be able to operate a comprehensive system in one form or another within the next four years—with or without the participation of the

denominational schools. It was on this basis that the Education Committee resolved last July: 'that the Divisional Executives, the teachers and the representatives of the Voluntary schools be informed that the Education Committee proposes, after full consultation with all interests concerned, to introduce a system of "comprehensive" education in all Divisions of the Administrative County where this is practicable.' An additional resolution invited comments and announced a general meeting of those directly concerned, as above, which took place in mid-November.

The Education Committee made clear at this point its intention to safeguard the salaries and status of teachers, on lines adopted elsewhere and recently set out in a document circulated by the N.U.T. and Joint Four. The stage has now been reached when each Divisional Executive has been invited to set up a working party, composed of its own members and elected representatives from teachers' associations, to survey the position in the area and recommend a scheme. This, when approved, will be recommended by the Divisional Executive to the county Education Committee; schemes have been asked for before October 31, 1965.

Denominational problems

Some questions must be handled, at least initially, from the county office, notably discussion with the denominational interests; Lancashire covers three Roman Catholic and four Church of England dioceses. But there will also be consultations locally with governing bodies, including those of a number of non-denominational grammar schools in the voluntary-aided category—for the most part old foundations which lacked sufficient endowments to become direct grant. Representatives of the county office will be available to assist in ensuring that schemes for adjacent Divisions dovetail together—in some cases a joint scheme may be indicated—and to advise on particular problems. Much thought is being given to these; for instance the need to ensure a balanced catchment area for each school and to ease the changeover by gradual introduction of the scheme in the light of the accommodation available.

At present Lancashire has only five comprehensive schools, four in the new town of Kirkby which houses Liverpool's overspill population, and one Roman Catholic school in Lancaster. But there are interesting plans in hand to meet the educational needs of another new town, Skelmersdale. This will have four main housing complexes, to be built in turn, and it has been calculated that each will need provision for a 15-form entry at the secondary stage; to cover this two schools are planned, 8-form and

7-form entry respectively, which will share such facilities as swimming baths. These four 'twin' schools in each quarter of the town will be for the 11-16 age range and there will be a large, centrally-situated, sixth form college providing—an important point—both full-time and part-time courses in separate sections.

The task of reorganisation is far less straightforward, not least because of the great variation in present provision, and it is recognised that not all Divisions will be able to proceed at the same pace. Lancashire now has just over 25% of selective places but this is an average figure covering widely disparate opportunities; in some areas the proportion is 15%. Moreover some 27% of secondary modern schools are in buildings inherited from elementary school days and there is one pocket of the county where 'Hadow reorganisation' has not been completed and all-age schools remain—though they are now scheduled for early replacement.

The resulting blatant inequality of opportunity, suffered for so many years, has helped to turn ideas towards a comprehensive solution. When the 1944 Act became law, for example, 65% of Preston children were still in all-age schools, denied any form of secondary education; plans for reorganisation had been advanced way back in 1936, only to be endlessly postponed, in effect until 1959. Today this county borough has 38 out of 45 form-entries in specially designed secondary schools, only 15% of children in below standard buildings; it has, as it were, leapfrogged from the rear to a forward place. The physical needs once met, thought has been free to turn to educational issues. Now the need is seen to do away with types of school planned on formalistic lines in favour of providing a flexible educational environment, a variety of opportunities to stimulate the development of abilities, and in directions that meet both social and individual needs. It is, indeed, a fresh educational outlook.

The Liverpool Plan

This is the outlook now shaping developments in Liverpool which is seeking permission to introduce a comprehensive system in September next. The sense of urgency here is, once more, a product both of difficult past experience and a lively sense of future needs. Nowhere, perhaps, are there greater contrasts in social living than in this city where there are areas which have never sent more than 6% of children to a selective school, by comparison with over 50% going from some suburban districts. But the face of the city is now changing; for instance, with large blocks of flats going up in Sefton Park to rehouse families from central districts, old social

patterns will be broken down. The schools must be planned accordingly to provide citizens of a new kind. It is this approach that has led to advocacy of the all-through comprehensive school, taking all children from 11 to 18 in each neighbourhood, and large enough to provide a wide variety of courses. With insistence on this objective have gone active steps to secure the necessary sites as housing redevelopment proceeds.

This is no snap decision, as has been suggested. It was first taken ten years ago under a Labour-controlled council. Before this Liverpool had operated a tripartite system—or, in practice, bipartite since technical secondary schools complained that under this name they were at a disadvantage by comparison with grammar schools, and all selective schools have since been classified as 'high schools'. Since then four new comprehensive schools have been opened—Gateacre (for 2,000 pupils), Stanley Park, Anfield and Highfield (each for 1,260)—the latter only last September. These now provide for some twenty per cent of children of secondary school age.

New schools planned

The fifth school originally planned, Paddington, was scrapped by the Conservative council which returned to office in 1961 and plans for two secondary modern schools substituted. But these remained on the shelf and after Labour had been returned again in May, 1963, the original plan was reinstated, so that another twelve-form entry comprehensive school should be completed by 1967-8. As a report by the Director of Education notes, this will transform the opportunities of children living in a district just east of the city centre, but there are inevitably some strong feelings that these new opportunities have been postponed by changes of plan; it would have made an enormous difference had this school been available, as it should have been, in 1965. Two other comprehensive schools are also on the way, one at Speke, created out of two secondary modern schools, another for a new housing estate at Netherley. But more new buildings are urgently needed in the Toxteth, Lambeth, Everton, Princes Park and Edge Hill areas.

Meanwhile existing schools will be grouped to make up comprehensive units. This programme was initiated in July 1963 when the Education Committee, affirming a belief that comprehensive schools 'afford the greatest possible opportunities to boys and girls of all degrees of ability', resolved to re-organise secondary schools accordingly at the earliest possible date, so enabling the abolition of 11+. The Secondary Education Sub-Committee was instructed 'to prepare a scheme directed to these ends after

consultation with the teachers.' A further resolution in November declared the aim of introducing 'as many all-through comprehensive schools as is practicable'; elsewhere a two-tier system should be introduced as an interim measure depending on the nature of existing schools. Various schemes have been considered—including one produced by representatives of the teachers' organisations who were given time off and access to the files in the Education Offices to prepare it—and a final plan was approved by the City Council on October 19 last.

School grouping

This is based on the grouping of schools, usually in pairs, to form all-through comprehensive schools. To add to the four existing comprehensive schools, twelve more for the age range 11-18 will be brought into being in this way; the lower and upper departments will be housed in separate buildings. Elsewhere, more particularly in inner city districts, buildings will be grouped to make up twelve comprehensive schools, ranging in size from 750 to 1,200, for the 11-16 age range. From these, pupils may pass on either to sixth forms of other schools or to the sixth form colleges to be provided. For this purpose, two high school buildings, with 350 and 400 places respectively and situated in suburban areas, have been chosen; these, it is felt, can offer a different and pleasant educational environment to pupils from the city centre embarking on advanced courses until such time as new local buildings become available.

The comprehensive school is seen as essentially a neighbourhood school—and most will be co-educational—but catchment areas have been carefully delineated to ensure a balanced intake and that no school should be essentially underprivileged. There is only one area in the city centre where two schools must be grouped into an 11-16 unit (1,050) which would fall into this category. The ultimate solution, as clearance and rehousing proceeds, will be to build a new all-through comprehensive school drawing on a wider area. Meanwhile special measures are proposed: allowance will be made for a generous pupil-teacher ratio and parents in this area who wish to send children to vacant places in adjacent schools will be given priority.

The plan involves some alterations to buildings, many falling into the category of minor works, which are now being worked out in detail. It also involves, of course, asking the city's selective schools to forgo particular interests, and privileges, in the cause of securing the greater good of the greater number and an educational system to meet current needs. Since there are no large direct grant schools in Liverpool—only five denominational schools and

one G.P.D.S.T. school in which a few places are taken fall into this category—this means that schools involved in the regrouping described include some which have always been regarded as at the very top of the tree. Of the 19 selective schools, 4 have new buildings and 14 have had important extensions. These will go towards making up comprehensive units. For instance, the Liverpool Institute—which began life in 1825 as part of a Mechanics' Institute—is grouped with a 2-form entry girls' school and a mixed secondary modern school to make up a 10-form entry co-educational school. The comprehensive intake will be brought in at the bottom, in a lower school building, and gradually built up.

Catholic schools

It has been stated that the City Council's plan is meeting with violent opposition from both the grammar schools and the churches. But this is only half the truth. Discussions held with the Roman Catholic authorities have been friendly, frank and constructive. The Archdiocesan Schools Commission is now to discuss the matter with school governors, teachers and parents. It has no objection in principle to comprehensive schools, having recently provided two at nearby Kirkby. Catholic schools provide for two-fifths of Liverpool children and it is to be expected that a form of secondary organisation following that of the county schools will be preferred, if practicable. But there are difficulties to overcome.

Since voluntary schools were among the last to undergo 'Hadow reorganisation' considerable sums have recently been raised to build new schools and these are small 3-form or 4-form entry modern and selective schools. While county selective schools have places for 40% of boys and 36% of girls, in the Catholic sector voluntary aided high schools and four direct grant schools provide for 28% of boys and 27% of girls. This suggests that a two-tier system for Catholic schools might be the answer. Full consideration is being given to the difficulties and if a comprehensive system is launched in the city in September next, the Catholic sector will be assisted to run an 11+ examination for another year after that, while arrangements for reorganisation are discussed.

The draft plan for Manchester, now under discussion, is on broadly similar lines in that it proposes the grouping of buildings to create twenty-two seven-year schools and six five-year schools, these last leading on to a sixth-form college in the Burnage area. The position of the direct grant schools remains to be considered by the Education Committee; meanwhile comments have been invited from these

and the voluntary schools as well as county schools and teachers' organisations. The aim is to initiate the new system in September, 1967.

An educational change

There is a remarkable feeling of confidence in Lancashire, based on a firm belief in the *educational* necessity of the reorganisation now contemplated and the importance of achieving it decisively. The piecemeal developments of recent years have led to a somewhat confused situation. There has been latitude to build comprehensive schools on new housing estates, of which advantage has been very generally taken, resulting in a mixed system in many areas. But any further plans have been turned down if they altered the position of a grammar school, while at the same time there has been a readiness in pre-election periods to bow before objections to 11+. The result has been an uneasy compromise, some half-hearted schemes to 'abolish 11+' and a variety of other projects designed to outflank objections. Now, with the trend towards a solution in principle on educational grounds, the confusion is clearing and there is promise of a more unified system than before, on comprehensive or near-comprehensive lines.

If Liverpool has the most thoroughgoing plan yet introduced, other authorities in the north-west are equally firm that it is hypocrisy to talk about abolishing the 11+ *without* embarking on a fundamental reorganisation. The Lancashire Education Committee has now suggested a fourth alternative to its Divisional Executives, that is the two-tier system as originally introduced in Leicestershire. But this is clearly presented as a last resort if none of the three fully comprehensive schemes is practicable; for it is recognised that parental selection at 13 or 14 can mean, in practice, social discrimination and that there are disadvantages in leaving 14-year-olds not so selected behind in junior high schools. Leicestershire, which has been the pioneer in proving that reorganisation can work, since the first experimental plan introduced in 1957, intends, of course, to make transfer to grammar school automatic once the leaving age is raised.

Other County Boroughs

Ten other county boroughs, besides Manchester and Liverpool, are discussing or implementing various plans. Preston has already been referred to. In Rochdale reorganisation will be on Leicestershire lines, though there may not be automatic transfer to grammar school when the leaving age is raised. Here a scheme has been under discussion since last year,

all the head teachers of prospective grammar and high schools have been drawn into a working party and panels of subject teachers have been discussing different aspects of the curriculum to good effect; plans for altering buildings have already been put in hand so that everything will be ready for introduction of the new system in September, 1965.

Blackburn is also to reorganise on Leicestershire lines in September, 1966. As at Rochdale, the Roman Catholic authorities have agreed in principle, though stipulating that the change may have to await some new buildings, and the Church of England has agreed to amalgamate its two secondary schools (for boys and girls) into a comprehensive school. St. Helens decided earlier this year to follow what has become known as the Cardiff-Doncaster plan, that is, the provision of local schools for the 11-16 age range with transfer at 13 by parental choice to grammar schools providing courses up to 18; it is the intention to make the necessary arrangements and eliminate the 11+ by 1966 or 1967, and envisaged that the all-through comprehensive school may eventually develop.

Bolton City Council has called for widespread discussion of a report by the Chief Education Officer which sets out and evaluates, in relation to local conditions, the various forms of comprehensive organisation with some useful visual aids. Hitherto new secondary schools have been provided on four bases, each of which has one selective and two non-selective schools with a total roll of some 1,800. There would be no major difficulty in transforming these into comprehensive units but the position is much less straightforward in the Catholic sector. Wigan Education Committee decided in February last 'that the principle of comprehensive education be adopted for county schools within the borough' but these constitute only a third of secondary schools, a third being under Church of England control and the remaining third Roman Catholic. A working party, composed of members of the education committee and teachers, has now been set up to consult with all the bodies concerned, examine all the possibilities and report back in about a year's time; meanwhile secondary modern schools will be encouraged to provide a wider range of courses. At Bury there will be consultation with representatives of the teachers as part of a review of arrangements for secondary education, Salford and Southport are also discussing reorganisation.

Oldham Corporation, on the other hand, has been waiting for the rest of the country to catch up, having proposed a system of small comprehensive schools (of 1,000 pupils) in 1946. Realisation of the plan has been held up by poor allocations of major building projects but it has now been decided that,

even if some old buildings must be used, the 11+ shall go by 1966. All secondary schools will then offer a full range of subjects up to 'O' level, but not always the same range at the outer limits, and parents will be free to choose the school they prefer. During the transitional period, until new buildings come into use, courses to 'A' level will only be offered in certain schools to which transfers will be arranged. It is envisaged that ultimately sixth form pupils may be regarded as a common student body, free to attend courses at any school in the town; only in this way can there be individual access to less sought after subjects which can only be adequately cultivated in one school. It would seem that, of the seventeen county boroughs, only Barrow-in-Furness, Blackpool, Bootle, Burnley and Warrington have as yet made no move.

These various plans show that the denominational schools do not offer an insuperable problem, though there are many practical difficulties. In particular, Roman Catholic direct grant schools, which provide a considerable number of the available secondary places, are usually single-sex and run by religious orders which are relatively autonomous; it is a question whether these will be prepared to come into a comprehensive system. This is a problem that must properly be left for internal solution, but with the Catholic church itself now undergoing an agonising reappraisal, hopes are high that a solution will be found.

Other direct grant schools face a similar challenge. The subject is discussed in some detail in the report covering Bolton where five direct grant schools admit between 5% and 10% Bolton children in the relevant age group. If the regulations are not amended to enable these schools to adapt themselves to the local system, and they continue to stand apart, education authorities are bound to consider whether to forgo taking up places as Bristol has already decided to do. The grounds are that to select children for these would be signally unfair to other schools, indeed directly at odds with the principles on which the secondary system is being reorganised. Moreover it would defeat the aim of freeing the primary schools from examinations, one of the chief ends in view in reorganising secondary schools.

So far as professional safeguards for teachers affected by reorganisation are concerned, education authorities are disposed to make generous terms without cavil. But some teachers' organisations, notably the Joint Four and the N.A.H.T., are particularly perturbed not only by modification of the grammar school but also the disappearance of headships and deputy-headships when schools are amal-

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FORUM visits the German Democratic Republic

EDWARD BLISHEN

Last Easter, four members of the FORUM editorial board—Raymond King, Jack Walton, Edward Harvey and I—spent ten days in the German Democratic Republic as guests of the official teachers' newspaper, the *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung*. These were ten breathless days—like a continuous running conference, during which we noted thousands of words, asked scores of questions and waited for the answers to emerge from thickets of translation: and saw schools, factories, clubs, teachers' centres and training colleges. We were most struck by the eagerness with which teaching staffs assembled in staff rooms and elsewhere to talk to us, staying often long after the school day was over. Again and again what began as a process of information very quickly became a debate—either on common problems or on fundamental points of difference: there were, after a time, recognisable lines of discussion that led inevitably to certain good-humoured radical exchanges, and we enjoyed the amused lift of the eye-

brows with which our guide, Dr. Wolfgang Reischock, would signal our arrival at such a point in a discussion.

It is hardly possible to give an adequate report of such a complex experience in 2,000 words. What we have done, therefore, is to print an account of our main impressions that appeared in the summer in the *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung* (with one or two unimportant small excisions made necessary by considerations of space). For something strangely stage-German in the style of this piece of writing we apologise: it was written soon after our visit—which, pleasant in every other particular, in the matter of language was like living inside a rather bad dictionary.

A note on polytechnical education in the schools is necessary to a full understanding of what follows. The philosophical basis of this element in East German education is complicated: to put it rather over-simply, they believe that the class system in

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gamated. The Liverpool teachers' organisations, for instance, countered the authority's plan for all-through comprehensive schools with one which, stressing the virtues of the smaller school under its own head, favoured a two-tier system with a break at 13 or 14. But this last has its disadvantages for the pupils, and also for some schools which must sacrifice newly developed sixth forms. Nor is the sixth form college a universally popular solution, for this reason, while a particular difficulty is that the present salary structure is heavily weighted in favour of older pupils. Modification of this now seems called for, just as buildings designed to serve a tripartite system need adapting. Here it may be noted that the N.U.T., in its recent evidence to the Plowden Committee, declared for reorganisation on comprehensive lines, on educational grounds—the primary factor to be taken into consideration.

What tends to be lacking, in areas which have no experience of the comprehensive school, is what the headmaster of one of the London ones recently referred to (in the N.U.T. *Higher Education Journal*) as 'an image of the enthusiasm and pulsating life which . . . (is) the central feature of this great

adventure . . . the most exciting experience in contemporary English education'. If plans for reorganisation are to rise to the opportunities, it is essential to capture something of this promise in the light of which practical problems fall into their proper place. Attempts are being made in this direction. In Liverpool courses to study how the new educational aims of the comprehensive school may be realised are always heavily oversubscribed. In Rochdale, 40 per cent of teachers in the schools concerned have taken part in discussions about reorganisation. The importance of drawing on the experience of teachers at all levels of the service is generally recognised, as also of getting representative views from parents—though this is by no means easy.

All in all Lancashire, despite having to contend with difficulties of every kind, is ahead of many southern counties in its educational rethinking. In this connection readers may like to know that a correspondent of their journal is welcome wherever educational reorganisation is under way. FORUM has gained a reputation for informed discussion of what are now generally recognised as the central educational issues.

modern capitalist society rests on the division between brain work and manual labour, and that to prevent this from arising in a socialist society *everyone*, at some stage in his schooling, should have some experience of technical work. In the seventh school year, therefore, all children have a 'day of training in production', in which they go into factories or farms or into apprentice workshops attached to factories, actual work with machines being very closely associated with lessons in technical drawing and economics. We were told that teachers sometimes asked how relevant this was to the training of a barber, say, or a lawyer. The answer given by Dr. Reischöck was that 'in a socialist democracy the people themselves have to make decisions about economic planning in a factory department, or in the life of the nation as a whole: and to be able to make these decisions they must have had fundamental experience of the problems involved'.

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I think we must begin by saying how extraordinarily difficult it is, within the space of ten days (however breathless and busy), to grasp anything so complicated, sensitive and elaborate as another country's educational system. We all treasure a moment during our very happy journey when someone said to one of us who was smoking a pipe, 'Ah . . . the delightful smell of English tobacco.' Actually, the tobacco he was smoking was made and bought in the GDR. Subjective judgments of this sort are bound to occur whenever there is a meeting between people from different societies. We apologise for any subjective absurdities there may be in what we write about our visit.

Let us begin by saying what impressed us. First, the very real sense that everyone was working towards a single aim, clearly focused: that aim being to knit education closely to life and to draw everyone into its processes at the highest point possible for each individual. Our own system has many riches, many virtues: but it is still largely based on a social philosophy that leads, in the schools, to much waste of ability and much frustration. We found it immensely useful to look at a system that is, in many respects, free of these old social bars to individual development.¹ You see very clearly that the schools (backed up by other social institutions) must try to remove from children such handicaps

as may lie in differences between their environments—between the good home and the less good, and so on. We ourselves are engaged in the very keen struggle in our own country to bring about just such a vision of the general philosophy that ought to lie behind a national system of education. In this struggle we were heartened by much that we saw in your schools. Differences of political outlook there are between us: but our essential aims are the same.

We were enormously impressed by the glimpse we had of your polytechnical training. Let us say at once that when you formulate the attitude behind this as a belief that production is the most important thing in life and therefore production must be the cornerstone of educational thinking and planning, then our bourgeois eyebrows go up and we make (as we did during our journey) little notes of disagreement in our notebooks. We believe that to produce able workers is one of the ultimate aims of education but that there are others. On the other hand, we believe that you, too, feel the force of this qualification: otherwise there would be less music in the GDR, less art and drama, and you would not so magnificently have spent a great deal of money in rebuilding the Zwinger in Dresden!²

In England, we have been struggling in many ways to knit education to industry, to the world of work into which our children step when they leave school. You would say, we imagine, that our social philosophy makes this more difficult than it need be! The fact is that we have as yet nothing so good as the forms of polytechnical training that we saw during our visit. Some of us were half-inclined to believe that this must turn teachers into factory foremen! That fear did not survive five minutes inside the factory department in which we saw young people assembling washing machines. We were struck by the careful educational setting that was given to this work: by the very evident happiness of the children: by such strokes of imagination as the placing in each completed machine of a card saying the assembly had been carried out by such-and-such a class in such-and-such a school.

We could think of many children here in Britain whose attitude to education would be immensely improved if they could be given an experience as thorough and well-thought-out as this in the essential nature of modern forms of production. Your children, even if they go on to work elsewhere than in factories, know *in their bones* those labouring processes on which the very life of the community is based: it is a serious knowledge they acquire, to-

¹ By 1947, through the use of grants and allowances, the GDR claims that it has a proportion of working-class students in colleges and universities that coincided with the proportion of working-class people in the population.

² This extraordinarily beautiful early baroque building, the summer palace of the Kings of Saxony, was destroyed in the air-raids of February, 1945.

gether with understanding, and this must make for the health not only of the working community but of the whole society. We should perhaps not favour the introduction of such a system *in toto* into our own schools: but we feel most strongly that you are pioneering what must become an important element in educational systems everywhere. As one of us put it, standing in that factory department in Schwarzenburg, 'This is as much part of modern culture as music and art and language. Everyone should have a taste of it!'

It is difficult for us, in a short space, to list all the other things we saw that impressed us. As educationists interested in teacher-training, we spent very happy hours in the Pedagogical Institute in Dresden, listening to its enthusiastic principal, and very nearly bursting with admiration when he told us that his lecturers actually *taught in the schools*. The problem of bringing the lecturer in teacher-training closer to the schools—of generally removing a quality of abstractness and remoteness from teacher-training—is one that concerns us very much here in Britain: and we are already, and shall continue, boring our colleagues very determinedly with an account of what we saw in Dresden! We were greatly struck by the related advantage of this system, that lecturers and students would be discussing, not generalised children, but actual children they had seen and taught and observed in actual classrooms. This seemed to us an enormous stride forward. We enjoyed also our talk with students in the very fine hostel: we liked the fact that they had come to teaching from so many different backgrounds.³ As to the general health and vigour of their outlook, their conversation made that very clear indeed!

There were, I think, two main points at which, during our tour, we found ourselves differing from you. The first of these was a matter of political philosophy: we enjoyed arguing this out (and we believe those of you we met enjoyed it, too), but this is a field in which we may, at the moment, have to agree to differ. We find it impossible to agree, for example, that history can be taught as an objective science. The second problem, as we saw it, arose from a virtue of your system: your refusal to stream children into classes according to some estimate of their ability (in England it is usually their ability in English and mathematics). We are engaged here in a campaign against streaming, which research among us (as among you) has shown to be a self-confirming process: that is, the child in a low stream behaves and works and thinks of himself in accordance with this discouraging estimate of his powers, and achieves

steadily less and not more. So we are at your side so far as this general matter of non-streaming is concerned: however, we do feel that children work faster or slower, according to their temperaments and to their talents for any particular subject, and that general non-streaming ought to be accompanied by techniques of grouping and setting that make allowances for these differences in the rate at which children learn, as also for varieties of method: for while the child with a special mathematic gift may take well to swift, highly academic teaching, another child may respond only to slower teaching of a broader kind, in which abstractions must be replaced by practical experiences.

We were not too happy, either, about the stress on the specially able child—the child at the top of the class—as a means of spurring on the less successful ones. We thought this might discourage as easily as it might encourage.⁴ But we know these are problems of which you are very much aware, and on which you are working. And to our mind, if we may say so, they are growing pains in your movement towards an essentially healthy educational democracy: for you have taken the vital step we have yet to take—that of building into your system an understanding that intelligence is not a fixed quantity with which people are born, but rather a quality that is likely to flower fully only when, in his education, a person is not prematurely judged and separated from his fellows on the basis of that judgment.

There is so much more we should like to say: we should need a whole issue of the *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung* to say it. We admired the way you were tackling the problems of education in rural districts. We were struck by the many steps you have taken to open up channels of communication between schools and parents. (This again is one of our problems in Britain.) We were infected by the enormous enthusiasm of Professor Wolfram and his staff at the University of Halle, and were stunned into almost silent admiration by the work being done in the cybernetics department there. (We were glad at this point to have among us at least one engineer, who saved us from being quite at sea!) We admired your teachers' houses, and the varied and rich programmes with which they livened and heightened the leisure—and the professional understanding—of your teachers. I think one of the most impressive moments of our visit was when one of your Deputy-Ministers of Education (Dr. Machacek) quietly told us that you hoped to level out such inequalities as

³ The teachers-in-training in Dresden ranged in age from 18 to 40-plus.

⁴ In the entrance hall to one *Oberschule* (secondary school) we saw a montage of photographs of earnest faces, underneath being the caption: Honours Board of the Best Pupils.

remain in your system within the next five years.⁵ We enormously enjoyed our visits to the *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung* offices themselves, and admired the free and good-humoured play of criticism that went on at a meeting attended by a number of correspondents. Outside the schools, we had many good moments: an hour or so in a youth club in Weimar, for example—the young people were so immensely lively without being in the least rowdy. We enjoyed being serenaded at one school with a performance of ‘My Bonnie Lies over the Ocean’—one of us, who had been moved to tears by this song when he was himself a small boy at school, had to bite his lips hard, fearful of presenting his hosts with the spectacle of a middle-aged Englishman weeping!

Finally, let us say how grateful we were to have been invited to the GDR, and, when we were there, to be treated with such friendliness and candour. Differences of outlook there must be between us: but we were rather more struck by the similarity of our aims in education, and by the fact that we share a great many problems. We have returned to England full of ideas. We hope this will not be the end of a very fruitful exchange of impressions and experiences. Among the forces making for unity in the world is surely the struggle, in which we are both involved, to draw out through education the best qualities of the young human beings who will take over our world from us.

★ ★ ★

Footnote

From a recent letter from Dr. Reischock:

‘At the moment we are sweating over the Nr19 issue of our paper—20 pages including a new “conception of education” which will become fully effective in 1968 and be valid for the next 10 or 15 years. It is based on the present system, of course, but there is a number of significant changes. The general idea is to find a better educational answer to the changing world around (development of science, technology and society, more responsibility for the individual and higher moral standards in general, demand for creative power, etc.) There will be consequences regarding the organisation of the school system: it will be more unified. The 10-year school will be divided into three consecutive parts: the elementary stage (forms 1-3), the middle stage (forms 4-6) and the top stage (forms 7-10). After the 10th form (not, as hitherto, after the 8th) pupils may

choose the extended *Oberschule*,⁶ or be chosen for it according to ability: this for two more years (including elementary vocational training), or vocational training with further general education, also finishing after two years with the *Abitur*⁷ examination. For a smaller number of pupils it will be possible to finish the *Oberschule* after the eighth year, but continue general education at the factory’s facilities (factory’s academy, etc.) and have the *Abitur* after four years or later . . . The whole plan is now being published by newspapers and in booklets and will be under discussion for several months—it is still a *draft*.’

Dr. Reischock is an assistant editor of the *Lehrerzeitung*, and at the moment is teaching part-time and discussing in the newspaper his experiences of teaching. In another letter he writes:

‘When I held my first English lesson in the seventh form I started telling them something about Britain and the British people. I asked them: *Who knows famous Englishmen?*

‘The answer came promptly: *The Beatles* . . .

‘What I intensely intend to achieve is to overcome the old ways of “school thinking”, or rather to overcome it completely or nearly completely. When I was in the Elektro Apparate Werke (electrical appliances works) this morning and a lady in the canteen who wanted to speak to me shouted, “Herr Lehrer!”, my 13- and 14-year-olds burst with laughter: “Herr Lehrer, Herr Lehrer, hahaha, Herr Reischock, did you hear the lady shout ‘Herr Lehrer’?” I consciously discovered that the “Herr Lehrer”, educator of generations of German *Untertanen* (you know Heinrich Mann’s novel?) is dead, peace be with his ashes, present and future generations need not be afraid of him any longer.’

⁶ The 12-year school.

⁷ Roughly, the equivalent of our GCE ‘A’ level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FURTHER EDUCATION

‘Published Sources for the Study of Contemporary British Further Education’, by A. J. Peters, in the current number of the *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1964), is an extremely useful guide. The first part covers the literature under the headings: origin and scope of further education, aims, administration, types of establishment, particular branches. The second part will appear in the next issue of the journal. The same author has a book in the press under the title *British Further Education*.

⁵ This would, for example, remove the distinction between the ten-year and the twelve-year secondary schools.

Book Reviews

More Grist to the Mill

Streaming: an education system in miniature, by Brian Jackson. Routledge and Kegan Paul (1964), 156 pp., 21s. (paper, 10s.).

Until recently discussions about non-streaming could be brought to an inconclusive end by remarking that, of course, there is not enough information to go on. Now, material is beginning to accumulate and Mr. Brian Jackson contributes a welcome full-length study. His aim is not only to produce more facts but also 'to look at the values which create streaming and to consider some of the losses and gains which lie beyond statistical reach'.

He set out to sample one in three of the 3,000 primary schools in urban areas which are large enough to stream and ended up with a sample of 660 schools, 96% of which turned out to be well and truly streamed. Three-quarters of the children in this sample had been duly classified by the age of seven, recommendations and personal assessments by teachers playing a major part in the process. But, whatever the method used, the result turned out to be as much a matter of social class as 'ability'. Mr. Jackson produces figures illustrating that, in a two-stream school, the middle-class child takes 20% more than his 'share' of places in the A class, and that with every increase in the number of streams these above-average chances are enhanced.

Another matter on which he throws more light is the disparity in opportunity between children born in the winter and those born in summer. Finding a disproportionate number of the latter in low streams, Mr. Jackson looked for evidence that they are less intelligent but concluded that they are poorer in experience of life—at an age when a few months constitutes a significant part of the whole, particularly when the more specialised experience of school is involved.

It is the more disconcerting, then, to find the more experienced teachers in charge of 'A' classes. Mr. Jackson's figures give an average age for A stream teachers of 44 years, implying 22 years of experience; the corresponding age for the 'C' teacher was 34, implying nine years experience on average. Nine out of ten deputy heads in the sample were taking 'A' classes.

All these facts are immediately relevant to the current debate on streaming. Having obtained them, by means of a questionnaire, Mr. Jackson turned his attention to the more intangible part of his project and visited ten streamed and ten unstreamed schools in various parts of the country. He was impressed by many of the achievements of the former, even more impressed by the potentiality of the latter. Streamed schools, he thinks, produce a pre-determined number of gifted children, whose very giftedness is pre-determined; unstreamed schools, at their best, 'drew more of the child into class-

room activity and helped bring into life the multiplicity, the often odd mixtures of abilities that boys and girls had in them'.

What impressed Mr. Jackson about teachers, taking responses as a whole, is that they rarely know about teaching methods and forms of organisation outside schools in which they are teaching or which they attended as pupils. Most base their educational thinking on the belief that there is a very limited pool of ability and that children are of distinct 'kinds'. He tends, however, to take comments too much at face value. Admittedly some teachers made silly answers to parts of the questionnaire—or, at least, said some things which look silly out of context. But practising teachers are used to listening to all comers and to sorting out dynamic ideas from the gimmicks. Underneath the traditionally toes-dug-in position, Mr. Jackson himself detected signs of uncertainty.

The most popular reason given by teachers for streaming was that it helps the less gifted. But, when asked what would be the likely effect of non-streaming on standards, their thoughts flew first to the more gifted. While teachers of lower streams went on record for streaming, almost to a man, nearly a quarter of them said that their morale would rise in a non-streamed situation. If the majority thought that changes in organisation would not have much effect on discipline, one way or the other, 31% expected non-streaming would bring deterioration, but nearly as many thought that social attitudes would improve. There are certainly chinks in the armour.

There is no doubt that a diminishing need for selection at eleven will bring about a qualitative change in teacher opinion. For thirty years or more, it has been seen as a major purpose of the junior school to classify children and so long as selective secondary schools exist it is very difficult to abolish streaming. Yet some teachers have done just this, many more, who do not yet see the way to overcoming all the problems, are prepared to discuss it and so to think their way towards it.

Mr. Jackson's book will certainly assist this process by encouraging a re-examination of present assumptions, a reconsideration of the aims of primary education in a new and expanding educational order. I hope it will be widely read and discussed. GEORGE FREELAND.

Incitement to Revolt

Youth and the Social Order, by F. Musgrove. Routledge and Kegan Paul (1964), 163 pp., 21s.

This is an infuriating, and therefore stimulating, book. On the one hand it seems to be no more than a conventional academic exercise. Dr. Musgrove flexes his muscles, using the expected apparatus—historical, anthropological and sociological analyses of the chosen topic (in this case, adolescence), weight-lifting massive corroborative evidence, and agility displays with correlated questionnaire data. Nor does Dr. Musgrove hesitate to use the accepted ploy in the academic game, that superior conjuring trick by which a transitional

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process (here, adolescence, but elsewhere the Renaissance or the Industrial Revolution, or whatever) is made to disappear as an independent, separable epoch or entity.

Other than a desire to achieve originality by inversion or contradiction of the obvious, one of the most powerful motives for such intellectual sleight-of-hand seems to be a dread of logical discontinuities and pluralisms. What appears to be a series of metamorphoses in the development of the adult butterfly or the adult psyche-soma is to be explained as one smooth curve of growth.

This is not easy in thinking about adolescence. The physiological analyses of Gesell, Sheldon, and Tanner, and Piaget's and Inhelder's investigations into the development of basic cognitive processes suggest that adolescence is a recognisably distinct period of rapid and intricately synchronised maturational change. That this period of transition need not in all societies always entail stress we had learned from Mead and Benedict. Dr. Musgrove goes further. 'The adolescent,' he declares, 'was invented at the same time as the steam-engine.' Both have now outlived their usefulness. Moreover, adolescence was never a fact, despite the elaborate pseudo-scientific support for the concept provided by psychology. Adolescence is a myth that somehow we have come to believe in.

If this were all the book had to offer it would not have attracted the attention it certainly deserves. As academic sociology it is least impressive. The anthropological and historical evidence carries accumulative, but not decisive, weight. Indeed, it tends to suggest that the concept and the fact of 'youth', and 'adolescence', is escapable in complex, competitive Western societies. 'Role' and 'status' are central to Dr. Musgrove's argument, but their validity as sociological constructs is not critically discussed. Without them as a basic theoretical framework his chief experimental investigation of adolescent tension would collapse. On the basis of a small sample of answered questionnaires intended to assess the correlation between 'role conception', 'role expectation' and 'perceived role performance', and so arrive at a measure of 'role conflict', the author allows himself to speak of the 'extreme role conflicts of grammar school boys and girls', and of the 'grammar school pupil's comparatively unhappy outlook on life, society and himself'. The experiment is said to support the opinion that the grammar school 'humiliates its pupils, reduces their self-esteem, promotes uncertainties, ambiguities and conflicts in social relationships, a negative—even a despairing—outlook on life and society'.

It is passages such as this that rivet the attention, and display the passionately held value-structure that is implicit in the work. The techniques and data of the social sciences are used only to stoke and feed the polemical heat of the book. The author's anger is directed at nothing so vague as 'society' at large, but, with an almost obsessive intensity, at the 'mature', the 'entrenched gerontocracy' who, in all branches of society but most markedly in those educational institutions that the élite is selected to attend (the grammar school and university), see that the young are cowed into submission by segregating them from adult society and privileges, and by withholding from them the full adult

status they are competent to maintain. Cobbett's warning that 'if boys live only with boys their ideas will continue to be boyish' is endorsed. There is an adult plot, it is clearly suggested, by which political, sexual, and emotional maturity and responsibility are denied to the young. Lengthy education is intended to serve this end; its educational value is doubtful; its purpose largely ritualistic and expiatory. 'Biologically "the young" of this book are ever older; but with varying measures of success powerful attempts are made to make them ever younger.' The time has come, Dr. Musgrove suggests, to give full legal and political power to the young, and to hand over to them the offices held by the 'gerontocracy'. There should be a severe reduction in the length, and a radical change in the nature of formal education. The tenacious, wily 'mature' should be pensioned off at an early age.

This is an incitement to revolt, a manifesto for youth, a call to action. Unfortunately, as the author makes all too clear, the old are too crafty, and the young are too conventional and cowed to pay attention to it.

M. F. WELFORD.

A New Journal

Youth Review, No. 1, October 1964. (Schoolmaster Publishing Co. for the National Union of Teachers in association with the National Association of Youth Officers and the Youth Service Association.)

'In general, the picture that emerges is still one of random growth,' says Lady Albemarle, commenting in the first number of *Youth Review*, on the way the Youth Service has been developing since her committee reported. In the light of this, the debut of *Youth Review* is a timely one. The new journal has set itself the aim of providing a channel of communication embracing the whole of youth work—young people, researchers, teachers, youth-leaders, the professional bodies and training institutions. If it succeeds in its aim it will surely play a vital role in the evolution of a unified sense of direction in the Youth Service.

The first issue contains contributions from the pundits—Albemarle and Newsom, from teachers and youth-leaders, from an American visitor looking at our Youth Service, and a report of a research study conducted by a trained club leader. Heather Loyd's research study, which sets out to answer the question, 'Who are the unattached?', is a hopeful sign that the Youth Service is becoming less and less the sphere of the 'inspired amateur'. Although the study was conducted on a modest scale, the results are particularly interesting inasmuch as they show a clear differentiation between those who use youth clubs and those who don't. An even more interesting point is that it was carried out at all, and could have been carried out by any youth leader. Leslie Button, in his introduction, stresses the need for 'real information . . . to guide our decisions; . . . the exact recording of background, events and experiment which may help us to evolve general principles . . .' Heather Loyd's study shows a way to fulfil this need.

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