# fabian tract 364
## educating for uncertainty

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This pamphlet, like all publications of the Fabian Society, represents not the collective view of the Society but only the view of the individuals who prepared it. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving the publications which it issues as worthy of consideration within the Labour movement. Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW1. October 1965
1. the need for further education

Since the turn of the century numerous schemes have been proposed, both by individual educationalists and government commissions, for the extension of part-time education to all young workers in the period of two or three years after they have left full-time education. That these schemes have uniformly been abandoned is principally due to the superior claims on scarce resources of primary and secondary education. Social scientists, themselves in scarce supply, have similarly concentrated on the full-time educational structure, at primary, secondary and university level.

There is every reason to think that this period of neglect is coming to an end. Firstly, the primacy of part-time education for the manual worker is becoming established de facto by the rapidity of technological change. Secondly, the struggle to establish the comprehensive principle has been won intellectually, if not administratively, in secondary education: the next stage must be its extension to the further education system. Thirdly, the inter-dependence of the various sub-systems of education is much more clearly recognised than before, so that changes in one sub-system are now expected to affect the total structure. The danger is that resources are not made available to meet the needs that result from change, even though its effects are anticipated in theory. This danger is particularly clear in the likely impact of the Newsom Report on the field of further education.

two assumptions

This pamphlet stems from two assumptions: the first is that the Newsom Committee were correct in stating that “when the school leaving age is raised to 16 for all, there will be a fundamental change in the whole educational situation, and the schools must be equipped, staffed and reorientated in their working to meet it. If they do their job well, the colleges of further education will have to meet rapidly increasing demands for courses by older school leavers” (Half Our Future, p8, para 23. HMSO 1963). The second assumption is that the Crowther Committee were correct in recommending that the introduction of county colleges, or compulsory part-time education for all until the age of 18, should be planned in three stages. But Crowther then went on to say that “the first stage, which would take place while the Ministry and the local education authorities were heavily engaged with preparations for raising the school leaving age, would be concerned with the development of the voluntary system (of further education), with the assistance of strong encouragement from the Government.” The second stage would be the introduction of compulsion in a few carefully selected areas. This should follow hard on the raising of the school leaving age. “This experimental stage would feasibly take about five years... The third stage in the introduction of further education for all would be the progressive extension of compulsion to the whole country...” in a “phased programme spreading in successive years from region to region” for which “three or four years might be needed” (15-18, vol 1, pp188-189, paras 242-294, HMSO 1959). On the basis of Crowther, therefore, we cannot expect a compulsory, part-time, paid system of further education for all until the 1980s, while the needs of Newsom demand that it should arrive by the mid-1970s.

The Newsom assumption means that further education is integral, not merely incidental, to the chances of Newsom's proposals succeeding. But the Newsom Committee were prevented, by their terms of reference, from making proposals for the further education system as radical as those made by their Report for the secondary modern system. Hence, the Crowther proposals for further education assume tremendous significance, all the more so because, while Crowther was right in his “three stages” proposal, he was wrong, from the Newsom point of view, in his timing. Insofar as the Newsom proposals work, boys and girls in secondary modern and comprehensive schools who have previously been either apathetic towards or hostile to the idea of school, are going to be stimulated and interested by a different kind of educa-
tion which relates much more closely to their work, and to their personal and social development, than the present, narrowly "subject tied" approach. The extra year is the basis for this re-orientation.

Yet, if this education stops at 16, it is probable that more harm will be done than if the system remains as it is. False hopes will have been generated, only for the quick return of cynicism on entry to the labour market, if educational links are not maintained. Unfortunately, this is essentially what Crowther's timing will involve for the first and most crucial decade of the Newsom re-organisation. On the basis of Crowther's timing, the regional experimental stage would begin with the exit from the schools of the first age group to leave at 16, in 1971. Lasting five years or so, this stage would take us to 1976, when phased extensions of further education by compulsion spread regionally to cover the whole country, this stage lasting three or four years at least, and taking us to 1980. Allowing for the usual time lags, we cannot, on the basis of Crowther, expect a national part time further educational system for all up to 18 until well into the 1980s.

This does not simply mean that we are abandoning virtually half a generation to the present inadequacies of the post-secondary modern school system: it means the strong probability that the "head of steam" generated by Newsom will fizzle out, since the demand for further education which it stimulates will not be met.

underlying assumptions

By "Newsom child" we mean the "Jones" and the "Robinsons", the two middle and the lower quarters of the secondary modern age group as assessed by reading ability, and not the "Browns", the top quarter in ability as assessed by reading tests, who are really grammar school boys manqués, who go on much more frequently than the rest to white collar and skilled manual jobs, day release and apprenticeships, and who are more likely to be middle class in origin.

The theoretical essence of the Newsom Report is to be found in the work of one of its witnesses, Basil Bernstein, of the Institute of Education. Bernstein's work ("Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning" (ed. Floud, Halsey and Anderson), Education, Economy and Society, 1961), centres, in brief, on the "linguistic deprivation" of the lower working class child of average or below average ability, whose parents typically have had no education themselves beyond the old elementary stage and neither of whom is of middle class origin.

Bernstein contends that this sort of child is socialised into communicating solely by "restricted" language, the vivid and direct, but limited, language of everyday working class speech. The middle class child, by contrast, is taught to respond not only to this "restricted" language, but is also socialised into the use of "elaborated" language, the vehicle used for concept formation. We are not concerned here with accent, pronunciation, or with class linked quirks of address; but simply with the extent to which the two codes "carry" differing potential for the elaboration of the child's linguistic and intellectual apparatus in the future. "Social class factors have been shown to affect not only the level of educational attainment, but also the very structure of ability itself," according to Basil Bernstein ("Research for the 'Sixties", Twentieth Century, Autumn 1963, p92).

The logic of this approach of Bernstein's is that the middle class child is extended linguistically far more than the working class child, in range, diversification and complexity of symbols and thought. This lays the essential groundwork for the smooth entry of the middle class child to the school, and the more tentative and less sure footed entry of his working class counterpart. Subcultural differences are progressively widened by differential parental encouragement, streaming, availability of books, and so on, so that by the age of seven or eight it is axiomatic
that each middle class child will be performing academically better than any working class child of equivalent ability at entry. (see J. W. B. Douglas, The Home and the School, 1964, and B. Jackson, Streaming: An Education System in Miniature, 1964.) While the weightings to be adduced to each of these variables are not yet agreed upon, their operation works cumulatively in the same direction and towards the same product: the severity of the handicaps under which the working class child competes with his middle class counterpart for restricted educational opportunities.

There is an obvious danger that Bernstein's work, unlike that of Douglas, Jackson, Floud, Halsey and others, will be misunderstood as locating the source of educational "failure" purely in "faulty" or "inadequate" socialisation, rather than in conditions stemming from far less subtle social and economic inequalities.

Access to an "elaborated" code only frames the conditions under which conceptual thinking becomes possible. Possession of an "elaborated" code does not guarantee higher intelligent or creative thinking: thought is not indentical with language, and from the quicker retort of lower working class boys to physical aggression might be inferred the frustration of thinking imprisoned within a restrictive code. There is no necessary correlation between speed or depth of insight and sense or fluency of expression: and too often in education inability to think is inferred from a failure to communicate. An "elaborated" code in language cannot prevent the stereotypy and rigidity of thought deployed at the typical Tory Women's Conference. Nor should concern about "linguistic deprivation" deflect attention from the brute economic inequalities and differences in parental privilege, attitude and ambition referred to above.

By the age of 11, the typical "Newsom child" is formed, not only in his vocabulary and linguistic ability, but in his disassociation from academic education. It is at this point that he is "selected" for the secondary modern or the diluted comprehensive school.

**extending awareness**

The appointment of the Newsom Committee in itself indicated recognition of the secondary modern system's failure to undo the damage inflicted on the "Newsom child" by throwing him into an educational structure based on criteria he was ill prepared to meet. Their job was to propose the appropriate education to enable these children to overcome the cultural "gulf" which increased with age between them and the system of formal education.

Briefly they proposed a set of ideas basically designed to extend the Newsom child's awareness of choice, and by implication to extend his range of choices both educationally and occupationally. Their chief notion was that the content of the traditional disciplines should be re-examined and taught through and in terms of the culture with which the working class child has most direct and intense experience, and that this content should be expanded to cover issues and themes relevant to the child's own personal and social development. This is not to say that the working class child is to be hardened in his own culture: simply that it must be the basis for engaging his energies and attention in the first place. Nor is it to say that the working class child is to be "bourgeoisified" and taught to share middle class values and attitudes: simply that the school should aim at imparting the middle class child's linguistic and intellectual range and awareness. New thinking on the teaching of English and Social Studies combined is abundantly provided. Typical of the new approach are Reflections, a textbook for teaching English to 14 to 18 year olds, by Simon Clements, John Dixon and Leslie Stratton, and the ideas contained in The Popular Arts by Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel. In the field of political and "constitutional" history, Philip Abrams has recently attacked the smug circularity and arid parochialism of the major text-books in use at all.
levels. Sterility in this field is particularly disturbing, and underlies the ease with which even the best intentioned “liberal studies” course degenerates into mere “civics” (P. Abrams, “Notes on the Uses of Ignorance”, Twentieth Century, Autumn, 1963, pp66-77). Not surprisingly, the young voter typically inclines to political quietism (P. Abrams and A. N. Little, “The Young Voter in British Politics”, British Journal of Sociology, June, 1965). A new awareness can only be achieved via a re-organisation of the syllabus which makes for flexibility and sensitivity to local as well as national concerns, and which is possible only on the basis of compulsory full time education for all to 16. The cse examination, which started this year, could—if imaginatively used—be the vehicle by which the Newsom proposals begin to work.

other attempts

The task of the Newsom Committee was essentially to solve a theoretical problem, the cultural gulf between the school and the child of average and below average ability, and an organisation problem, how to build this “solution” into the curriculum within restricted terms of reference.

The task of the Crowther committee, on the other hand, was to set the terms of reference for the English educational system for the next two decades, by exhaustive research and the sifting of priorities at the 15-18 stage. As the first major enquiry into the education system since the 1944 Education Act, the main impact of the Crowther Report’s findings focussed on how effectively the reconstituted system was working. Here the Report was generally, if guardedly, optimistic: it concentrated on assessing the under use of the potential of the status quo, rather than on criticising its basic structure. But inevitably the Report was also charged with deciding how best the unimplemented sections of the 1944 Act could be put into operation. The 1944 Act, and the debates which surrounded it, called for the raising of the leaving age to 16, and the introduction of part time compulsory further education for all, as soon as possible after the raising of the leaving age to 15 in 1945. In 1945 it was assumed that these sections would be operative by the early 1950s.

The idea of releasing young people in industry for one day per week to attend technical college classes dates from long before the 1944 Education Act. The Fisher Education Act of 1918 required authorities to establish “continuation schools” for young people between the school leaving age of 14 and the age of 16, and enforce their attendance for 320 hours per annum. P. I. Kitchen in From Learning to Earning, describes the disappointing story of the failure of these schools. Rugby has been the only authority to carry out, continuously since 1919, the intention of this Act. Similarly the 1944 Education Act made provision for continued education in “county colleges” on a part time or full time basis, to the age of 17 and, subsequently 18: again, this section of the Act remained unimplemented. Very few county colleges, as such, have been established, and nowhere, save Rugby, is release compulsory.

The onus on the Crowther committee was to analyse the reasons for this stagnation, and press for politically and financially acceptable ways of introducing this long neglected reform. However, despite Crowther’s support for the implementation of the ideal as soon after the raising of the school leaving age to 16 as possible, and despite the Report’s criticisms of the system which, 40 years after the Fisher Act, still left 70 per cent of young male employees without any further education after leaving school, the prospect of any legislation in the foreseeable future to enforce these recommendations is strikingly absent from the political scene.
2. where Crowther went wrong

To some extent, the seeds of this abandonment were present in the Crowther line of argument. Firstly, Crowther’s timing of the introduction of compulsory further education was illogical. Secondly, it gave the county college concept a “liberal studies” non-vocational gloss which was at odds both with the intention of the 1944 Act and with the subsequent Newsom proposals. If the term “liberal studies” is used here pejoratively, this is not to denigrate the field, whose promise we are in essence recommending, but to reflect the emptiness with which the term is currently used and associated. What minor experiments currently exist for further education with semi-skilled and unskilled young workers are termed “non-vocational day release”, a concept quite contradictory to the intention of Newsom, but inherent in the separate development of technical further education in the 1950s, welcomed by Crowther. This suggests a watered down academic education for those who need it least, and have rejected it since the age of five.

Crowther’s timing was the real basis for the neglect now threatening his recommendation for further education. He gave four main reasons for making experiments with compulsory further education follow, rather than precede, the raising of the school leaving age.

As 15 year olds would soon be staying on full time, Crowther thought that to provide for them temporarily in part-time further education would be “wasteful”. This point has already been partly undermined by the implementation of another Crowther recommendation, the abolition of the Christmas leaving date. This means that, in effect, most leave at 15½: the “gap” between leaving and part-time further education is therefore reduced to a matter of a few months for most, and cannot be described as harmful. In other words, if compulsory part-time further education was brought in for 16-18 year olds before the raising of the leaving age, it would not necessarily have to provide for 15 year olds.

Secondly, Crowther hoped that raising the leaving age to 16 would automatically mean just as many staying on to 17-18 as had previously stayed on to 16. Therefore, further education would only have to cater for 1½, as distinct from 2½, age groups. Apart from the fact that this assumption seems over optimistic, since staying on tendencies cannot be extrapolated so readily from one age group to the next, the idea of restricting further education to 1½ age groups runs counter to the intention of the county college ideal.

Thirdly, Crowther thought that staff engaged to deal with 15 year olds might have difficulty switching to 17 year olds when the leaving age is raised. This assumption is very dubious; teachers are not that inflexible, and 15 year olds will have to be catered for anyway if Newsom’s proposals for spells in further education during the fifth year at school, are widely implemented.

Last, it was thought that full time education for the 16th year was infinitely preferable to part time education for that year. This assumption is valid, but should not be used as an argument against the need to experiment regionally with compulsory further education before the raising of the school leaving age. At least three of the arguments used by Crowther for postponing even a regional experiment with compulsory further education for all until after raising of the leaving age are value judgments loosely based on the magical qualities of a fifth year unrelated to a re-organised further education system. Yet, Crowther goes to great pains to stress that both are needed, and Newsom makes it adamantly certain that further education for all must rapidly following raising the leaving age to 16.

County Colleges

Apart from the negative implications of the Crowther case for postponing the introduction of further education for all, the report further weakened that case by accepting the tripartism of secondary education at further education level. This represented a retreat to the idea of essentially non-vocational further education.
for those outside the technical college, a notion contrary to the intentions of the framers of the 1944 Act. The Report defined the county college as: "a term sometimes used to cover any institution which might be attended by young people receiving part-time compulsory education, and sometimes to refer only to an institution designed to provide for those whose education at this stage will not be mainly vocational. Except where otherwise stated, we use the term in the more restricted sense" (p507). Crowther points out the "confusion in usage about the term county college. There is no doubt that the Act of 1944 provides for attendance at county colleges by all who are not receiving full time education.... There might thus be a widely different curriculum for apprentices and for routine process workers, though both would be attending county colleges. In much common speech, however, the term "county college" has been used as if it excluded most of what now goes on in technical colleges, that is, as if it applied only to institutions designed to cater for the great number of young workers who neither need, nor could benefit from, a strictly technical education.... In what follows, the term...is to be understood in this more restricted sense" (15-18, pp163-4, para 251).

The implication of this crucial passage is quite simply that Crowther endorsed and accepted the tripartite system at the 15-18 stage. By doing so, and by scaling down the "county college" concept to essentially non-vocational, if occasionally "practical", education, Crowther effectively placed the issue of further education for all at the bottom of the heap of educational priorities. The build up of technical colleges throughout the 1950s, the White Paper on "technical education" in 1956, which set out a five year plan of development for technical education, and pressed home the need for colleges of advanced technology first recommended by the 1945 Percy Report, had both legitimised and institutionalised the trend for technical education, as well as "academic" education, to be separated from the rest. (See M. Argles, South Kensington to Robbins: An Ac-

Crowther failed to swim against the tide, and even strengthened it by insisting that the county college ideal, which the report had shreded of any real relevance, was viable only in spanning new buildings with teachers called "tutors". Words like "leadership" and "pastoral care" were invoked to convey the relationship desired between teacher and pupil. Nor could the linking of the county college concept with the Duke of Edinburgh's award scheme and the Youth Service have been conducive to confidence in the idea of further education for all by hard-headed employers who had to foot part of the bill (15-18, paras 298-301). The concept was now linked in social thinking with the wooliest kind of "liberal studies" education. Not surprisingly, it has proved infinitely shelfable.

recent developments

Developments since the Crowther Report strengthen the view that there is very little prospect of any radical improvement in the voluntary further education system in the foreseeable future. What has happened since Crowther is that education is becoming more stratified, not less, and these trends show up exceptionally clearly in the further education field. We are moving towards a meritocratic system catering for four broad, but clearly distinct strata, with tremendous inequality in the investment of resources at each level.

At the top we have the expanded elite, catered for by the Robbins Report, and in turn meant to cater for our needs for administrators and technologists. The next stratum is the apprenticeship layer, at present covering the bulk of skilled workers, and now extended upwards to take in technician grades. These two strata practically accommodate all boys of middle-class origin and above, if we include black coated workers with apprentices. The third layer is largely prospective, designed to make up for the
inadequate numbers in the second layer and overlapping considerably with it. The third layer takes in those skilled workers and top level semi-skilled who are not accommodated by the creating apprenticeship system, and who are to be catered for by the Industrial Training Act 1964 and the Henniker-Heaton Report proposals for doubling numbers in day release over the next five years. This layer has yet to emerge, but will do so in response to our need for more skilled labour. The fourth layer constituting over 40 per cent of the 15-17 age group, is simply the rest, perhaps a third of whom will, in a decade, constitute an unemployable rump, unless rapid and radical changes are made to their prospects and education at both secondary and further levels.

the Industrial Training Act

The danger is not only that we treat this fourth layer as expendable from the further education and training point of view, but also that we imagine that the provision for the second and third layers is adequate. The deficiencies of our apprenticeship system are indicated below, but they set the tone for the whole further education system. It was in response to these deficiencies, which underlay our chronic shortage of skilled manpower, and helped to perpetuate under employment, demarcation and restrictive practices in industry, that the Industrial Training Act and the Henniker-Heaton Committee were conceived. But the Industrial Training Act is aimed at the limited training and re-training ends demanded by the current estimate that by 1970, ¼ million less unskilled, and ¼ million more skilled workers will be needed; even if successful beyond current expectations, the Act will only give a narrow practical education for a limited number of skills; and the Henniker-Heaton Report simply recommended an increase in numbers to be granted day release which was inevitable anyway.

It is clear from the publication of the Levy and Grant proposals of the first Industrial Training Boards, 1965/66, that the worst fears of some educationalists about industrial training will not be realised. Further education seems to be a definite requirement in all schemes of training on which grant is to be paid. But it is also quite clear that industrial training is not, nor can it be, any substitute for compulsory day release or its equivalent for all young people not in full time education between 15 and 18, as envisaged by the 1944 Act.

The further education to be included in industrial training schemes will take the form of packaged courses, all with a strongly vocational flavour, even in those areas of work where there can be little purely vocational skill to be acquired. Again, while some benefit may come immediately, or fairly soon, to the “brighter” Newcom children, the middle and lower ranges, the Jones and Robinsons of the report, may not be affected by operative training programmes for a long time to come. They will be the last in the queue, though eventually they may be covered. The very fact that their needs are primarily educational in the broadest sense, that is, they need to be stimulated into further intellectual growth, means that a scheme of education organised by industries is singularly inappropriate. Young workers at this level have far more in common, culturally and in their social needs, than they have with others in the same industry; and an attempt to produce an educational scheme based on the needs of their industry may in fact reinforce the very lack of flexibility which it is one of the aims of industrial training to overcome.

The more formal the education and training these students receive, the more it seems associated with what they did at school, the less there is of personal choice and the meeting of personal needs and preferences, the greater the tendency for these students to drop out of education and training altogether. These are points which may not always be apparent to the outside observer, particularly one who is concerned with the problems of industry, productivity and manpower. Industrial training may therefore be
either a step towards a genuine expansion of further education and of educational opportunity for Newsom children out at work; it may equally well become an obstacle to the development of the kind of education they so desperately need. It is for this reason that, however successful the Industrial Training Act may prove in practice, it is really necessary to have an alternative scheme in actual existence to demonstrate the difference between the complete response of the 1944 conception and the partial response of the Industrial Training Act to the needs of the young people themselves.

The need for more skilled manpower has been used as a pretext to bypass Crowther and Newsom. In effect, we have now legislated in the compulsory fifth year for those who would not have stayed on voluntarily, only to leave the situation after that fifth year completely unchanged for the same population. The further education recommendations of Crowther have been shelved, if not deliberately abandoned, and without them the promise of the Newsom proposals is seriously threatened.
3. The case for rapid change

The principal inadequacy of the present system of voluntary further education, whereby those whose employers do not encourage them to take advantage of day release facilities are dependent upon evening only education, is that far too few of the population “at risk” benefit from it. This applies particularly to “Newsom children”—by our definition. An unpublished study carried out in 1964 by Peter Willmott in Bethnal Green gives a representative picture. Of 148 boys aged 15-20, who had been to secondary moderns, including a few who had been to comprehensives, 55 per cent had had no education since leaving school at 15. 26 per cent had experienced or were undergoing some form of day release, and an additional 19 per cent some form of evening only education. The Benniker-Heaton Report (Day Release, appx A, table 1(a), p36, HMSO 1964) on day release similarly showed that 28 per cent of boys aged 15-17, and not in full time education, were granted day release. Even these rational figures are, misleading, for they take no account of courses discontinued, failure rates and non-attendance. The wastage in evening only education is especially severe, amounting to almost 50 per cent by the end of a course (15-18, p168, para 258). Obviously these figures show that the present system is coming nowhere near voluntary implementation of the section of the 1944 Education Act which calls for part time education for all till the age of 18. Yet the merits of expanding the voluntary system are constantly invoked as an alternative to a framework of compulsion.

Lack of provision

The system is even unsatisfactory for that minority who achieve day release. The bulk of the students work part time for the qualifications of GCE, the National Certificates (ONC and HNC) and City and Guilds. The National Certificates are gradually outstripping the rest as the system gears itself to catering increasingly for the “ability” students, since the “Higher National” is virtually synonymous with professional status for engineers, who form the majority of entrants.

The failure rates in both ONC and HNC examinations are notoriously high; about 12-13 per cent of those embarking on ONC finally achieve HNC standard four or five years later (depending on whether they were exempt from the first stage of ONC by virtue of possessing enough GCE “O” levels) (Ethel Venables, “The Reserve of Ability in Part Time Technical College Courses,” Universities Quarterly, vol 17, pp60-75). The failure rate for ONC alone is 75 per cent, though this is reduced to about 55 per cent if those failing at the initial stage are excluded.

Figures of this magnitude indicate waste of both ability and resources on an immense scale. This wastage will grow as the system becomes increasingly geared to strictly vocational competence and the criteria appropriate to professional status. In 1960-61, of about 86,000 part time day students on ONC courses in England and Wales, roughly 75 per cent were in electrical and mechanical engineering, while the obvious goal was associate membership of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers (AMIMechE).

It is doubtful, however, that this is either the best way to pursue the professionalisation of engineering, for which the “sandwich” course and a Dip. Tech. is more appropriate, or the best use of existing resources in further education, which should be evenly aimed at catering for students of all levels of ability and aspiration. As it is, those who have most need of the part time route are “selected out” as rigorously as they were from the full time route.

The present system of further education is neither intended for, nor used by, the “Newsom child”. He is left to fend for himself in the labour market and, in the largely responsibility free period between leaving school and marriage, he invariably relishes his “freedom” from “school” and any adequate system of vocational guidance. However, earlier marriage and its inroads on means and mobility, brings boys in “dead-end” jobs face to face with the finality of their educational shortcomings at an increasingly early age.
As Alan Little and John Westergaard have pointed out ("The Trend of Class Differentials in Educational Opportunity in England and Wales," British Journal of Sociology, vol 15, pp301-316), the 1944 Education Act has made for increased opportunities for social mobility, but only through education: "career mobility", or mobility via routes other than the school system, have contracted proportionately.

Those who do not make it at school do not make it at all: mobility, the opportunity to attain even skilled manual status, is a process which is increasingly peculiar to the adolescent and pre-adolescent stages of the life cycle. Since the war, boys in "dead end" jobs at least had the capacity of temporary high wages and an abundance of opportunities within the same stratum, throughout the life cycle; but even this certitude will likely disappear by the mid-1970s, with a shrinking opportunity structure at the "bottom of the heap" and the closure of access to upward mobility for those without qualifications or the intellectual and practical means of acquiring new skills. Once in the labour market, the only potential avenue to skilled employment for the majority of "Newsom children" would be a vastly expanded system of part time further education.

no short term economic incentives

The case for compulsion as the necessary framework for an adequate system of further education remains the lack of any clear cut, short term economic incentive for either employers to allow, or young, non-skilled workers to demand, part time further education on a voluntary basis. The case for compulsion in further education is essentially that for compulsion up to age 16 in full-time education. Moreover, the two stages are interdependent: the one cannot succeed without the other.

The real trouble, however, is that the present system relies not so much upon the employer's consent to young workers participating in further education: it depends upon his active encouragement of them to pursue it. This is not only a wrong headed assumption to make about the majority of employers: it is a wrong headed role to impose upon them in the first place. Only employers with joint consultation agreements to keep, or with the need to maximise technical ability of a fairly high order, will take advantage of day release facilities.

day release and the small firm

At present, small and medium sized firms are the most inefficient in their training and granting of day release. Hence the provision in the Industrial Training Act for a levy to be imposed on firms evading their training obligations: the large firms resent the disproportionate burden they carry in training skilled manpower, and the "poaching" of that manpower once the costs have been met. The focus here is strictly on vocational skills rather than all round further education. Even so, a recent study in Leicester (E. T. Keil, D. S. Riddell and C. B. Tipton, "The Entry of School Leavers into Employment," British Journal of Industrial Relations, vol 1, pp408-411) found that 70 per cent of young male entrants to industry took their first jobs in firms of less than 250 employees. By contrast, only 45 per cent of the total male labour force is employed by firms of this size. In other words, the firms that give the worst training, even within narrowly defined limits, attract a disproportionate supply of young entrants.

It is not only that the smaller and middle sized firms attract a disproportionate number of young male entrants to industry, whether they are apprenticed or not, and that they have far less access than those entering large firms, of 1,000 persons or more, to both adequate in-training and day release as a result: it is also that the smaller the firm, the greater the likelihood of "drop out" for even that minority who do attend college (C. L. Ashton, "Enrolment and Examination Success of Day Release Students by Size of Firm", British Journal of Industrial relations, vol 3, pp90-94). If these firms
give the most inefficient training in a
strictly technical sense, their record in
meeting requirements for a voluntary
system of “liberalised” further education
would be even worse.

This situation is not unique to Leicester.
A recent study in Willesden, London.
Joan Maizels, “The Entry of School
Leavers into Employment”, British Jour-
nal of Industrial Relations, vol 3, pp 77-
89) showed that 62 per cent of boys’ first
placements were in firms of less than
100 employees, as against 54 per cent in
Leicester. In Willesden, only 25 per cent
of all males aged 15 and over are em-
ployed in firms of this size, compared
with 54 per cent of all boys under age
18, and 74 per cent of secondary modern
boys in their first placements. Even where
the boys gained apprenticeships, it ap-
peared from an analysis of placements
by the local Youth Employment Bureau
that one in three secondary modern ap-
prentices were placed with firms of ten
persons or less, while less than one fifth
of apprentices from selective schools,
grammar and technical, were placed
with firms of less than 100 persons, and over
one half of the latter were placed with
firms of 1,000 or more persons. “Presum-
ably this asymmetry reflects the discrim-
ination of the larger firm in favour of
applicants for apprenticeships who have
secured some “O” level passes in GEC.

This implies, because of difficulties asso-
ciated with training facilities in the small
firm, that boys who have already ob-
tained selective education, are more likely
to receive favourable training opportuni-
ties, including that of day release, which
the large firm can usually provide” (p83).
It also implies that, although many of
the vast majority of secondary modern
boys who enter industry via the smaller
firm eventually move to the large firm,
thus “leaving their former jobs to the
fresh generation of school leavers” (p86).
they do so in general only after they
have outgrown the age at which the
training opportunities of the large firm
would have been available to them.

Nationally, as locally, the short term
economic incentives to press for further

education for all are lacking. The picture
is one of stretched labour resources, par-
icularly of skilled manpower. Hence the
“hoarding” or skilled labour, and the
enactment of the Industrial Training Act.
This is the current picture: but it has
been projected to 1973 at least by the
first report of the manpower research
unit of the Ministry of Labour (The Pat-
tern of the Future”, HMSO, 1964). With
the fall in numbers of new entrants to
industry due with the “valley” in the
size of adolescent age groups in the late
1960s, and with the raising of the school
leaving age in 1971, the unit states that
“up to 1973, the likely picture is . . .
one of stretched manpower resources”
(p35). They envisage the employment of
an additional one million married women
by 1973, although this is partly a response
to the expected drop, of half a million,
in the numbers of single, widowed and

**manpower utilisation**

In short, full employment and scarcity of
manpower will be as prevalent a decade
hence as now. Unfortunately, the unit
reported strictly on the basis of past and
present trends, with little regard for the
commonplace findings of industrial socio-
logy: that full employment is bought at
the expense of endemic under employ-
ment, that the latter is already pricing us
out of world markets, and that another
decade of the same practice will bring us
problems much more severe than a short-
age of cheap labour. Ironically, the Re-
port also notes that “the falling off in
the number of young people entering the
labour market . . . will call for adjust-
ments, while at the same time making
for a less adaptable and flexible labour
force” (p35). It may be that this is where
the logic of our current economic situ-
a tion is taking us: but it remains a pre-
scription for stagnation and eventual de-
cline. As the Report also calls for the
“efficient manpower utilisation . . .
(which becomes) even more essential . . .
with a labour force which will be smaller
in relation to total population” (p35), it
must reject the equation of full employ-
ment with the under employment, inflexi-
bility and immobility of labour to which we are currently training new entrants to industry.

**long term economic incentives**

If the argument above is valid, then one conclusion is plain: that the factors underlying opposition to further education for all, such as stretched labour resources and pursuit of short term at the expense of long term goals are identical with the factors underlying our relatively poor economic performance as compared with countries at a comparable stage of economic development. This makes us hopeful that the decision to implement the 1944 proposals for further education to the full would contribute towards an undermining of those forces most resistant to necessary changes in our social and economic structure. These fall under five main headings: a flexible and adaptable labour force; a mobile labour force; as little under employment and “synthetic” overtime as possible; more voluntary staying on in full time education; and improvement in the technical and general education offered by local technical colleges.

The case for radical improvements on all five criteria must be synonymous with that for part time further education for all within a framework of compulsion on both employer and student. The terms “flexibility” and “adaptability” have been used by both Crowther and Newsom, and have been assimilated into the “conventional wisdom” long before they have emerged in reality. As concepts, they rest on the assumption that the constellation of technological changes referred to as “automation” will involve, for the majority, an increasing frequency of “bridging” between occupational roles throughout the life cycle (J. H. Smith and L. Broom, “‘Bridging’ Occupations”, *British Journal of Sociology*, vol 14, pp321-334).

However, the very occupational roles most vulnerable to “de-skilling” and redundancy for their occupants are also those with least potential for “bridging”, as their job content is not transferable to other roles. As recent American experience has shown, the blow will fall most heavily on those already at the “bottom of the heap”. Feasibly, we need a further education system capable not only of socialising new entrants to industry to an awareness of this likelihood, and geared to providing them with a diversity of skills, but also one which functions as a “bridge” for those adults who in the future find themselves stripped of their “one skill” income producing role.

The same arguments apply to any call for an increasingly mobile labour force, “mobile” at least in the occupational sense. A corollary of immobility is under employment: while this is too complex a problem to be discussed in any detail here, it can at least be noted that the “cheap labour” represented by non-skilled and female, as well as apprenticed, manpower is one of the principal supports perpetuating the under employment of adult workers in industry. As long as the flow of entrants into industry from the schools is unchecked, while the adolescents concerned are untrained and only semi-educated, their exploitation as “cheap labour” to cover up for under employment and low productivity will continue. The uses to which 15 year olds were put in industry served as one of the main arguments for raising the school leaving age to 16: it still stands as such for part time compulsory further education to 18 and beyond.

**“dead end” jobs**

At present, although “cheap” in comparison with adult male workers, non-skilled adolescents in “dead end” jobs receive relatively higher wages than ever before: this is the incentive for the adolescent who has suffered at the hands of the school system as an academic “failure” to leave and enter the labour market. Yet more full time education is obviously desirable: the more complex needed and marketable skills become, the longer the period of full time education needed to acquire them; and the critical awareness of our society that is to characterise
secondary education if Newsom succeeds will take longer to convey. Crowther hoped for a natural increase in “staying on” voluntarily, yet the main improvements to date are slight, except for that produced by the elimination of the Christmas leaving date. However, if part time further education was a necessity for all, and education was not so much brought to a halt as “tapered off” by leaving as early as possible, the impetus to stay on full time would be much more concrete. The way to encourage more full time staying on is not to leave the post school leaving situation open, but to enforce part time further education.

Hence the long term economic incentives for further education for all are considerable. Pressures would be generated on employers and unions alike to cut down on restrictive practices, the most marked of which are systematic overtime and institutionalised under employment due to demarcation and anti-dilution agreements. With a system geared to maximising labour mobility and adaptability, the fears which underlie these practices would begin to be eroded. There is no doubt that the Industrial Training Act aims at similar ends: but the population at which its provisions are aimed is much more diverse than that for which further education would cater.

local technical colleges

An additional point is that compulsory further education for all would mean a shake up for the present further education system: it would be a spur to “broadening out” the present narrow focus on either purely technical or purely “non-vocational” education. As one study has shown, too many local technical colleges are as out of touch with current and prospective manpower needs and industrial requirements as the small and medium sized firms from which they draw too few students (P. F. R. Venables and W. J. Williams, *The Smaller Firm and Technical Education*, 1962).

Unlike the Colleges of Advanced Technology and the Regional Colleges, the evolution of the local technical colleges is very similar to that of the small firm. Their staffs, and the degree of interchange between those staffs and local industry, are inadequate to meet even local needs. It is doubtful whether these problems can be solved without the drastic overhaul implicit in the complete transformation of the local technical colleges into colleges of further education for all.

In short, the under employment position in industry, and the misuse of resources in many technical colleges, means not only that there is a great deal of slack to be taken up via an expanded system of further education, but that long term economic benefits should accrue if it was taken up in this direction.

apprenticeship

As at present organised in this country, apprenticeship functions mainly as a buttress for the protection of the skilled worker against the semi-skilled and unskilled: it serves as a means of regulating entry into skilled trades, and this function vitiates its effectiveness as a vehicle for industrial training. It reduces choice, by insisting on 16 as the maximum age of entry for school leavers; it promotes early leaving, by the same token: it embodies no general standard of attainment, mere time serving is enough; and it perpetuates training for “one skill” jobs. Moreover, the insistence in general on the five year term is at odds both with industrial realities and the existing practice of most European countries.

In brief, it functions principally as a surrogate for civilised industrial relations and control: and this role militates against its use as an educational and training avenue. Further education for all would be a vehicle for at least modifying the worst features of apprenticeship, since to eliminate it would be unlikely until more enlightened labour relations and income security conditions prevail. A full scale part time compulsory further education system would by-
pass the need for apprenticeships, and modify its worst side effects.

**no provision for girls**

Although the Crowther Report drew attention to the startling disparity between the provision of day release and other forms of further education for girls and the provision for boys, there has been very little progress since 1959 in extending facilities for girls. An ambitious project, sponsored by the YWCA in 1961-62 in collaboration with the LCC, that was based on the assumption that a major factor in the lack of girls' further education was the shortage of suitable accommodation, met with very little success.

On the other hand, it established beyond reasonable doubt that the main obstacle to the expansion of further education for girls was the attitude of employers, especially their objection to the devotion of working time to general education. The provision for girls in part time further education is nothing short of a public scandal; only 8 per cent of girls "at risk" receive day release at present. (Day Release, appx A, p36), and their needs are almost totally ignored by the present voluntary further education system.

Any scheme of compulsory part time further education must include girls, who are even more likely than boys to be used as "cheap labour" for the purposes analysed above. There are also a number of special problems attaching to the further education of girls. Early school leaving is much more marked amongst girls than amongst boys, and even amongst girls who stay until 16, substantially more who would be intellectually capable of taking a sixth form course choose to leave rather than continue in a school atmosphere. This urge to leave school and to go out to work is often closely related to the fact that a girl in her late teens sees her prime role in life as a wife and mother, and at that stage is less interested in the possibilities of a long term career, even though she may be as intellectually capable of following one as a boy.

At present, many girls are used well below their intellectual capacity in routine jobs in offices and other work, filling in time until they get married. They may subsequently return to employment after a period of child bearing, but with only limited skills and experience to offer. If we are to help not only the Newsom girl, but even some of the girls above the Newsom range, to make their full contribution to the economy and to attain a larger measure of personal development as mature women, they need a further education which, while it may contain certain elements, such as the commercial skills, shorthand and typing for example, must also contain a personal element which for many may be related to the home, while for others it may be an academic subject, a science or a social study, or an aesthetic or cultural pursuit. Even more than in the case of the boys, it is essential that this element of personal choice should be present in the girls' curriculum.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that when studies or activities relating to the home are included in a girls' curriculum, at this stage they must be seen as a vehicle of real expanse of education. Housecraft must not become a disguised form of industrial training, but a real and living experience that can be used to promote further literacy, discrimination and development of mature judgment. It is also essential to ensure that while a girl may be able to choose as the personal part of her education something relating to her home and her future role as wife and mother, it must not be restricted to this range; where it is possible for her to undertake further personal academic pursuits, she should be encouraged to do so.

What we are concerned with here is the preliminary training upon which further training and education may be given when, as a mature woman, whose children are at school, she returns to work. The pamphlet, *Youth's Opportunity*, published in 1947, suggested that not more
than five eighths of a young person’s day should be entirely taken up with material deriving from his job. Certainly for girls it is most important that there should be this balance of time devoted to personal education. Yet under the Industrial Training Act, where office staff of the lowest grades are to be brought into schemes of training and education, they will be encouraged to take the Certificate of Office Studies which, in its present form, is at most unsatisfactory means of meeting the professional and personal needs of girl clerical workers.

Four subjects have to be taken, three are compulsory: English, Office Practice and Calculation (or Accounts), and one other subject, from a list that includes, amongst others, Law, Social Studies and Accounts. For this certificate to become an appropriate vehicle for the genuine education and training of the Newsom girl, the compulsory subjects would need to be limited to two, English and Office Practice, the list of options extended to include some purely personal options, and the syllabuses of all the subjects to be looked at really carefully with the individual students rather than the subjects in mind.

Finally, the first priority of the Industrial Training Act remains that of improving and extending the training offered to potentially skilled workers in the staple productive industries. Its scope is huge even by this definition: it is to cover workers at all levels, of all ages and of both sexes. But it would be foolish to pretend that, even by the early 1970s, equal attention and investment will be allocated to the skilled apprentice in engineering and the non-skilled female shop assistant or factory operative. The Act was aimed particularly at the young, male, potentially skilled worker in firms not pulling their weight in the industrial training field; and if it achieves a level-up in this sector in the next decade, it will have achieved a great deal. But those adolescents, and particularly the girls, with whom we are most concerned, are not likely to be covered by that date: they will be last in the queue, non-skilled and often outside the productive sector in routine distributive or “service” jobs.

And even when they are covered, it may well be inappropriately, as we suggest above: their range will be extended along one narrow dimension only. On both counts, that of priority and that of content, the Industrial Training Act seems unlikely to be the answer for the Newsom girl in the foreseeable future.

The question of provision for girls, therefore, raises in most acute form the deficiencies of an “industrial training” solution to the problems at issue. We believe that the resources at the disposal of the Industrial Training Boards could best be used in re-training adult workers faced with “de-skilling” and redundancy prospects: for adolescent workers, the problems should be faced in the context of a radically re-organised system of further education based on compulsory day release, though the emphasis on levying firms to provide concurrent on the job training of an acceptable standard should still be as vigorously pursued as now.

**no middle class support**

It has been argued above that children of middle class origin are, broadly speaking, already effectively catered for by existing arrangements, from which they have benefited proportionately much more than the children of semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins. Hence, the biggest barrier to any scheme for further education for all it not necessarily shortage of resources, but the structural implications of the fact that the middle classes have nothing to gain from the extension of part time education to the whole age group.

It is likely that the extensions of voluntary technical and further education over the last decade have taken place largely at the behest of those sections of the middle and skilled manual working classes whose needs were not met by the narrow intake into selective grammar and higher forms of education. This makes any extrapolation of the expansion of the last decade in the voluntary system into the future extremely hazardous. It also
means that there is little hope of active support from the most vocal and articulate sections of society for improvements in the education of the Newsom child.

another route to higher education

As education comes to monopolise the capacity for social mobility in our society, so the doors to “higher” education become increasingly closed to those outside the formal education system, even though the volume of mobility experienced by those within it might increase. Unless we can devise alternative routes to higher education, the differentials in access to it will increase between those “staying on” and those leaving “early” who subsequently seek re-entry. As our present system of further education is merely echoing this stratification, it serves at present not as an alternative route to higher education for those outside the selective system, but as an alternative form of higher education, for those within it.

The extension of further education to all would open up just such an alternative route as is becoming increasingly desirable for Newsom children who have the ability, but realise it far too late. A corollary is obviously that we expand the base of those entering higher education though not necessarily the apex of those who continue in it.

As a recent study has shown (M. Cooper, “Why Some Prefer CAT’s,” New Society, 4 February, 1965), entrants into colleges of technology are marginally more likely to be skilled manual in origin than middle class: the cultural factors which working class adolescents and their parents share involve a “dissociation” from university education as more appropriate to “them”: as we cannot expect these factors to disappear in the short term, we must counter the elitism of older universities by evolving institutional routes to forms of higher education more conducive to attracting working class entrants. The “city college” is one such concept. Moreover, the work of Ethel Venables (op. cit.) has shown the pool of ability among the abler boys in local technical schools as measured by non-verbal intelligence tests. There is no reason to suppose that similar potential is absent from those not currently being educated beyond the age of 15.

vocational guidance

At present the Youth Employment Service contacts the school leaver for his first job, after which the young worker resorts to it with dwindling frequency for each successive change of job (M. P. Carter, Home, School and Work, 1962). Except for boys in that minority of schools employing a careers adviser on a full time basis, this is the sole extent of vocational guidance offered to the adolescent, who feels that the Youth Employment Service has little to offer beyond routine placements. Psychological testing, systematic contact and recording for each school leaver finds no place in the current Youth Employment Service structure.

Joan Maizels found an imbalance in the investment of resources, in at least one bureau, between first and subsequent placements, and in secondary modern applicants over those from selective schools, and concluded that “the aims of the service are frustrated by the type of employment registered if, as in the case of Willesden, it more frequently represents (particularly for boys) the unskilled or semi-skilled manual work in the very small firm (op cit., p89). However, if the local office of the Youth Employment Service was built into the local county college, continuity of both access and contact would be ensured. More sensitive and individualised advice could be given. Moreover, this kind of vocational guidance, though expensive to administer, would both enhance the mobility of young workers and resurrect the Youth Employment Service as an agency of relevance for the young worker.

At present, since large firms are investing disproportionately in granting their best adolescents day release, they would stand to lose promising manpower rather
than the reverse: their opposition to such a scheme operating within the present system of further education would be inevitable. But with all firms sending all their young workers to county colleges for a minimum of one day in five, large firms would stand to gain, as well as lose, promising manpower. Within the context of further education for all, there would be no obstacles to re-integrating the Youth Employment Service into the young worker's frame of reference.

**delinquency**

Delinquency, as measured by court appearances, is assumed to be more prevalent among Newsom children, by our definition, than among any other section of the population "at risk": this assumption has recently been confirmed in a paper by the National Survey of Health and Development. At present, however, delinquency in this country is mundane rather than extremist, its genesis lying in a process of drift and "dissociation" rather than in oppositional and contra-cultural values. David Matza recently argued that delinquency of this type is generated by "status anxiety" (the relative lack of access to legitimate achievement or "exploit" in an "achieving" society); "preparation" (socialisation in a milieu supportive of, though only rarely committed to, law breaking); and "desperation" (the perception of a lack of self-control over one's own "life chances") (Delinquency and Drift, 1964). Insofar as this analysis holds true, the propensity to delinquency will increase as disparities in "life chances" grow, or become more visible.

Over the next decade, and despite the movement towards comprehensive secondary education, these trends appear exceptionally likely to crystallise around the transition from school to occupational and income producing roles. In this situation, a radically re-organised system of comprehensive further education for all becomes a structural pre-requisite in delinquency prevention, not in order to forestall "maladjustment", but in order to reduce differentials in both educational and occupational opportunities at the most crucial transitional stage of the "life cycle".
4. the need for an experiment

The basic fallacy of Crowther was to assume that, because the joint aims of raising the leaving age to 16 and introducing compulsory further education for all were not possible simultaneously, then plans for the introduction of each should be drawn up separately, and the case for each should be made on differing bases. We have tried to show that the logic of Newson demands a joint plan, and joint arguments, for both stages. If they cannot be implemented simultaneously, they at least need to be implemented as simultaneously as possible, and to wait a decade or more would be disastrous.

The need is for a full scale regional experiment in part time compulsory education for all to begin before, not after, the raising of the leaving age to 16 in 1971. If this assumption is made, certain preferences follow: the region chosen must contain all the problems about which decisions have to be made, such as whether further education is based on work or home residence, and what happens when a teenager changes jobs; the region chosen must be a focal point, not a backwater; it would best be in the south, since the north is still too handicapped at the secondary level to undertake a full blown regional experiment. On all criteria, London is the appropriate choice: it contains numerous "problem" areas, such as Notting Hill, Highbury, and parts of the East End; it has the commuting problem; it also has the finest base for pioneering technical and further education for all. It was one of the areas to attempt to do so in 1918. The timing must be at the end of the 1960s to benefit from the "valley" in age group size, before the vast increase in numbers in the 1970s. Greater allocation of resources is the obvious priority, but if these were granted, the experiment is workable. It may be desirable for two or three experimental regions to be chosen: London, and regions in the North (for example, Newcastle) and the West Country (for example, Bristol).

The mechanisms devised for approaching LEAs and the regions about such a scheme must be flexible, must maximise their advantages, and be politically acceptable. A working party should be set up at once to draft such plans in detail: but the ignoring of the Rugby experiment since 1919 is a warning to those who advocate piecemeal LEA experiment. This leads on to the fundamental requirement that Newson children should not be "siphoned off" for further education to institutionally separate county colleges. An institutional form must be evolved to accommodate further education for all.

The local technical colleges could well be the basis for this, but must not be maintained as separate, selective establishments. The general pattern of day release on a one day per week basis must not be rigidly adhered to. The current trend to extend block release and sandwich courses for technicians and top level skilled workers must be extended as far as possible to non-skilled grades. But it may well be that day release is the best pattern for workers who are at present rated as non-skilled, though preferably on a two day rather than a one day basis, since they may be hostile to prolonged, continuous periods in further education. Also, further education should not stop at 18, but be extendable to 19 or even 20.

student attitude

The Fisher experiment in compulsory day release in the early 1920s failed for two reasons. First, there was sustained opposition from both employers and from students and their parents, and secondly there was gross inadequacy of resources; neither buildings nor equipment nor teachers were available in sufficient quantity. This last factor led to the opening of schemes for compulsory day release at different dates in adjoining local education authorities, and the discrepancy that existed from one area to another was a further cause of great dissatisfaction.

The opposition of the employers would not have been sufficient to kill the scheme had it not been actively reinforced by reluctance on the part of students to
attend and the unwillingness of parents to support the idea of continued education. This experiment was, of course, terminated by the Government economies embodied in the notorious “Geddes Axe”. Many people still fear an unholy alliance of employer, parent and young person will kill any attempt to implement the “county college” provision of the 1944 Act. It is quite true that attitudes towards education shade off through the population from enthusiasm at the upper levels through indifference in the middle ranges to mistrust and open hostility at the bottom.

For most of the children in the Newsom group school and education has not been an experience of absorbing interest and excitement unless they have been exceptionally fortunate in their teachers. If what they encounter in further education is merely a repetition of an unsatisfactory experience at school then their attitude is likely to be one of suspicion and eventual hostility. If they meet a new curriculum that relates directly to their life as they see it, that seems both to encourage and make possible their personal aspirations, and, above all, treats them like responsible adults, they may respond very differently.

Yet the position today is quite different, in that while employers might still be reluctant to release students who were not going to train for skills that could be immediately employed within the firm, the prospective students themselves and their parents are much more alive to the value of continued education. Students, too, are older. The Fisher scheme was concerned with day continuation from 14 to 15, and the general level of sophistication of young people in the 1920s was much lower than the present time. The further education to be provided in county colleges was to be for students of 15-16 after the raising of the school leaving age, until 18, and today’s young people, thanks to the continuing period of relatively full employment, are much more independent.

There is at present in many technical colleges a firm belief in the unwillingness of students to attend college unless there is a clear vocational carrot. Many teachers are convinced that students will reject education that is not clearly vocational in character, and they doubt the success of both courses in general education and the general studies portions of existing technical courses. Studies that have been made of students’ reaction to day release seem to confirm the prevalent view. These studies invariably ignore the actual provision of general education and of general studies, and its unsatisfactory character in many colleges and the effect of bad courses on students. Student reluctance to participate in any kind of course is not an absolute quality but depends upon what is provided and how it is provided. We know that the characteristic attitude of Newsom children is that they wish to leave school as quickly as possible, but it was the hope of the authors of the Newsom Report that if the principles underlying the curriculum that they suggested were adopted, then this eagerness to leave school might be overcome.

If similar principles can be introduced into the provision of further education courses then the alleged reluctance of students to enter further education willingly may well vanish. Experience in a number of further education colleges confirms this point of view, and the best teaching in further education at the present time, whether on the technical portions of courses or on those sections devoted to general studies, would appear to embody the characteristics that Half our Future says should mark the new style of secondary education, that is that it should be vocational, practical, realistic and should offer the student the possibility of choice.

choice of course

It is necessary to comment upon the word “vocational” in this sense. In practice a vocational course usually means a course sanctioned by an employer or a trade or professional organisation, such as a National Certificate course or a City and Guilds course, or one of the courses
sponsored by the retail trades. Other work not falling within the scope of these courses or their attendant examinations is lumped together as general education. Much of what is studied in these “vocational” courses bears little relation to the jobs which are actually being undertaken by the students, or, in some cases, ever likely to be undertaken by the students. Many of the items which might appear in the general studies portions of, for example, a general engineering course, such as a discussion of systems of authority with relation to the role of foremen and supervisors or a consideration of problems arising from conditions of work or from the human relationships at a place of work, may have far more relevance to a young person’s immediate life and future prospects than the mathematics and engineering science and workshop processes of the rest of the course. “Vocational” used in this sense may well be applied to any portion of a course in which a student perceives a relevance between what he is studying and any adult role he envisages himself playing in the future.

There can be no hard and fast line drawn between the kinds of courses at present being provided in local technical colleges and the kinds of course which may be devised to meet the operatives who will be coming into the colleges under the terms of the Industrial Training Act, and, eventually, all the young people to whom the 1944 Act promises “day release”. The elements may not always be as specific in a vocational sense as the present very tightly drawn courses are, but apart from the basic subjects of education ensuring literacy and numeracy, there must be provision for the mechanical skills that will lay the basis of possible further adaptation and development of the students at a later stage.

In at least one college there has been an attempt to give expression to these principles. The timetable has been so arranged that it is possible for students to choose between what is offered in all the departments, and to make up a timetable consisting of elements drawn from subjects with an academic content, subjects of a more personal character, and subjects which have a direct bearing on the student’s work; for example, a typist may take a purely “vocational” course of shorthand, typewriting, office practice and English, but if the only commercial skill she was interested in and that her employer required was typewriting, she might have a programme consisting of typewriting, dressmaking, film study and chemistry (“O” level). These are actual examples of timetables being followed in the College. By offering subjects and activities at different levels, it is possible to make a tailor-made timetable for a majority of students. If thought were given to the existing interests and possible lines of development of the New som children, who are at present excluded from day release, it should be possible to devise courses within a timetable of this pattern. Students could then choose a combination of subjects and activities that would seem to them relevant to their life and pertinent to their interests.

In this particular college the timetable consists of three sessions of two hours and one session of an hour. All follow the same pattern and therefore the possibilities of combinations of subjects and activities drawn from different departments is enormous. Where necessary two periods of two hours can be allocated to a given field of study and three hours are still disposable for other choices.

**not too bitty**

Some critics condemn the day release pattern because they say it is too bitty. The rival attractions of full time and block courses seem so much greater to the casual view that some teachers may hesitate to recommend any extension of the existing provision of day release courses. This is unfortunate because from the student’s point of view day release is not always so bitty as it might seem. A regular attendance at an intelligently run institution throughout the year will be keeping him in touch with an educational atmosphere that will seem, not something special and extra, like going
off to attend a block course, but an essential part of the pattern and fabric of his ordinary life.

Education alongside work can be especially effective for the type of young person we have in mind, especially if there is close collaboration between the firm and the educational institution and the Youth Employment Officer. Teachers who have not experienced teaching in an institution that is mainly concerned with day release students may believe that it is not possible to establish a satisfactory relationship with different groups each day of the week. To some extent this is illusory. A teacher who teaches for 20 or 22 "contact" hours during the week on a programme of the kind outlined above would meet 10 or 11 different groups in a week. Some full time specialist teachers in secondary schools do this already, in much shorter teaching periods. Full time teaching under such conditions can be very much more bitty than teaching day release classes.

local colleges for all

A further thought arises which deserves the most serious consideration, especially at this moment when schemes for the reorganisation of secondary education are being laid down that will set a pattern for the next half century. Even if selection for type of school is abolished at 11, a comprehensive system cannot be truly comprehensive if at the age of 16 one group of pupils leaves school to follow part time, or even full time, education in another institution, while the selected minority continue in the highly privileged atmosphere of a sixth form. The very existence of a sixth form within a school already introduces a measure of differentiation well below the level of the sixth form between those who are going to stay and those who are going to leave. This differentiation will be reflected not merely in a difference of curriculum but in the reciprocal attitudes of staff and pupils.

If all the young people leave school at 16 and proceed to a local college, some of them to undertake full time courses and some part time education side by side until 18 or 19, several advantages would ensue. Many young people, especially girls, leave education at 16 because they have outgrown the atmosphere of school and the teacher pupil relationship characteristic of it. It is difficult to modify this relationship within an institution that contains children of 11 and 12 years old as well as young people of 16 to 18. The establishment of an appropriate relationship is much easier within a college designed specifically for young adults. This is the familiar argument for the junior college. It is immeasurably strengthened if we include within the college not only the traditional sixth form courses, but elements to be found within the local colleges such as pre-apprenticeship courses, pre-nursing courses, secretarial courses, full time and block courses, and all the day release courses, both those already in existence and those eventually to come.

As has already been found in many further education colleges, students on GCE courses profit considerably from the contacts they establish through education, alongside young people already at work. Transfer from one course to another would be facilitated. A student, finding himself on an academic course which did not satisfy him, could transfer to the alternative technical or commercial route within the same institution. The transfer would be easier than at present and would not involve a loss of status or a sense of failure. The process would also operate in reverse. Early leavers who later regret their departure from full time education, and who at present often find it difficult to return, could move easily back into the type of full time education best adapted to their developing interests.

The abolition of sixth forms would entail the disappearance of the "experience of leadership" which a minority of sixth formers enjoy, and on which head teachers, especially those in grammar schools, place such store. Experience of leadership within what tends to be an authoritarian hierarchy, however liberal its tyranny, may still not be as valuable as
the genuine democratic experience a good local college could provide.

Finally, a careful examination of this proposal might reveal unexpected but substantial economies that could be made, both of plant and of teaching power. The teacher student ratio in further education is very favourable when compared with the ratio in primary schools, but many sixth form ratios, because of the points system by which the establishment is calculated, may be even more favourable in fact than in theory. A scheme of local colleges, which would use in some cases new buildings and in others former grammar school buildings made available by the development of comprehensive schools and the elimination of sixth forms, would permit slightly larger and more economic teaching groups than often obtain at present, while still keeping classes down to reasonable levels of, for example, not more than 20-24 pupils.

incentives and sanctions

If the problem of students’ attitudes could be regarded as being solved, the problem of resources in short supply is still very much with us. Unless a target date is fixed, however, when a scheme for compulsory day release is to be adopted, resources will never become available. The Industrial Training Act can either become a milestone on the way towards a compulsory scheme, or it can prove a major deterrent to its establishment. While no doubt industrial training may provide incentives for learning for most of the young people involved, the fact that those most difficult to motivate will be excluded from its operation may lead to the neglect of the problem of incentives, so that even industrial training may not achieve all it could do. Its value as a stage on the journey to compulsory day release for all may be minimised unless there is a experiment in compulsion that can act as a control.

How can a student be compelled to attend? Compulsory attendance cannot be enforced as attendance at school is enforced at present by laying the onus on the parent to ensure attendance. Today’s young people are often quite independent of their parents and not only would they regard any such provision as abhorrent, but their parents might be quite incapable of enforcing their attendance against their will.

The most effective way of ensuring attendance would be to regard attendance at an institution of further education as an integral part of employment until the young person had attained the age of 18 and to lay the onus to ensure attendance on the employer. Absence from college would be notified to the employer as is done for the students at present attending under the voluntary scheme. Absence from the college would amount to absence from work and would carry with it the loss of a day’s pay, and this would be the simplest and the most effective sanction that could be easily devised.

where to experiment

We need to show what can be done with a completely non-selected group of students attending a local college. We need to experiment on a large scale with teaching techniques, programmes and syllabuses that may have been found useful in other colleges, and therefore we need to select an area in which an experiment in compulsion can be tried which is big enough to provide a viable experiment, and which is sufficiently self-contained to minimise the friction that might occur on the margin between the area of compulsion and the area of voluntary further education.

An obvious area for first consideration is the Greater London Council. The GLC is a unity in a sense that its constituent boroughs are not. The problem of accommodation, while it is a very difficult one, would not be insuperable if we do not think in terms of wishing all students in new buildings. There would need to be some new building, but not all of this need be at the local college level. New secondary schools would release, as they are doing at present, older buildings
which, though far from ideal, could be adapted as further education colleges for the time being, and if all the boroughs were to establish, or even to begin to establish, the local colleges which they should be building, many of the students who at present travel in to the LEA area to receive their further education would be able to follow home based courses.

teacher shortages

The problem of teachers is a much more difficult one. If the GLC were selected as an area in which to try a compulsory experiment, a large percentage of the total age group would be covered. This fact, which makes the proposal so attractive, might also be the reason for not accepting the GLC as a trial area, because it might involve the commitment of too large a volume of resources.

An alternative suggestion would be that two much smaller areas, but of differing character with different problems, might be selected; for example, the north east region or some portion of it, and the south west region or some detachable portion of it, such as Bristol. The same problems of accommodation and teacher supply would present themselves as in the GLC, but perhaps not to the same degree of severity. The investment of resources in educational facilities in the north east region, which is a development area, would probably be met by some new building, by taking over the margins of secondary accommodation as they fall vacant, and by an imaginative use of unorthodox accommodation following up the lead, for example, of the YWCA who, some years ago, proposed that their hostel accommodation might be used for the promotion of day release schemes for girls. Unfortunately, this scheme did not receive the success it deserved because of the reluctance of employers to release girls for anything but the narrowest vocational courses (F. D. Flower, "Failure of an Experiment", Education, February, 1965).

In all areas, the main problem would be the shortage of teachers. Teacher short age is a growing problem for education as a whole, and can only be solved first by an expansion of supply through an extended secondary education and an expanded programme of higher education. It might be mitigated by the introduction of teaching machines on a large scale, not in order that machines should replace teachers, but that they might so organise their work that larger classes could be divided between tutorial work with a teacher and more formal routine work on a machine. Improvements in the remunerative and professional status of the teacher would naturally also assist in recruitment.

The short term problem of a substantial increase in further education teachers in the areas selected for compulsion could be met by a planned expansion of places in the technical teacher training colleges for teachers, especially earmarked for these areas. A scheme of unorthodox recruitment is needed that would accept suitable applicants into the profession and provide courses of in-service training based on the senior technical colleges, and involve a careful reconsideration of the academic standards which are regarded as a minimum for entry into further education. It should not be impossible, if these steps are adopted, to provide the number of teachers required to man the scheme in the selected areas proposed.

These proposals would call for not more than 3,000 full time teachers for the scheme in the GLC area or for 300-500 teachers in each of the other two areas. Present practice would seem to be that colleges are expected to cover at least 25-30 per cent of their work by part time staff, and it would be possible to increase the amount of work covered by part time teachers to well beyond that percentage. In coming decades, we shall inevitably employ increasing numbers of part time teachers. Whether or not their excessive use in schools would lead to adverse consequences, there is no doubt that they have a positive role to play in further education, where in any case it is easier to find a satisfactory niche for them than in schools.
The presence of university institutions in all three of the areas proposed for the experiment suggests a limited source of supply for part-time teachers among post graduate students. The increased provision of practical activities of all kinds would suggest other sources of part-time teachers of a quite different kind. It must be emphasised, however, that the core of any scheme of this kind, if it is to be successful, must be a team of experienced and dedicated teachers who must be assembled in good time in the institutions which will form the kernel of any experiment in compulsory day release.

CONCLUSION

We have argued that the success of Newson's proposals rests to an as yet unrecognised extent on early implementation of the Crowther proposals for compulsory, part-time further education for all until the age of at least 18. A regional experiment should, therefore, be started up before the raising of the leaving age to 16. Preferably, this would be scheduled for 1968-9, and would cover the Greater London area and/or two other regions such as those centred on Bristol and Newcastle. Even if this were accomplished, further education for all on a national scale would still lie in the late 1970s. Unless this possibility is re-opened, however, prospects for the Newson child are gloomy, since his fate will be left to the free play of the labour market in an increasingly uncertain economic future, and no protection will be afforded him by the combined operation of an enlightened further education system and a re-oriented secondary education.
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