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THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL STUDIES
IN
TECHNICAL COLLEGES:

with particular reference to the North East

C.C. HEBRON

Thesis for the degree of M.Ed.
October 1965.

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ABSTRACT

It is shown that the movement to introduce a classroom liberal education component into technical courses up to Ordinary National Certificate arose from the rethinking of the role of education under the influence of psychology and mass democracy after the First World War. The application and institutionalisation of the resulting concepts is traced, through the Spens Report, the 1944 Education Act and subsequent pamphlets, the Crowther Report, and Government White Papers and Pamphlets, together with related City and Guilds and individual developments. The present rationale of the subject, and the courses based on it, are shown to have as objects the enlargement of socio-cultural awareness and the inculcation of desired social attitudes rather than the acquisition of specialist knowledge.

In the chosen sample area, North-East England (excluding the North Riding of Yorkshire), the influence of national directives on social studies teaching is shown in some Authorities to have resulted in a coherent liberal education policy, but otherwise to have led only to a series of revisions of technical courses, dependent upon L.E.A. size and wealth, local cultural and educational tradition, and geographical position. Effective teaching at college
level is found to depend upon both individual staff contributions and Local Authority policy, and especially therefore upon appointments and departmental status policy. The effectiveness of this teaching is evaluated by means of tests of cultural span and social attitude, completed by a group of 112 control and 38 experimental students from five colleges, covering all levels of student and methods of teaching. Results show that social studies teaching is not in itself a significant factor in effective scoring, but enhances other significant factors, by increasing the scores of the better students, in particular, Technicians and O.N.C. students. Social studies teaching itself varies significantly in effectiveness with college, method, and student interest.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Liberal education in technical colleges (of which the title subject of this thesis, social studies, is one part) is, as far as the public at large are concerned, a quite new affair, and a good deal of confusion exists as to exactly what it is trying to do, and how it should do it. This confusion is, if anything, heightened by an inconsistent use of terms in talking about the subject, so that, for instance, the liberal education component of technical college work is variously referred to as 'liberal education' 'liberal studies'; 'humane studies'; 'education' (solus), and various other terms, while 'liberal studies' is also frequently used as the term for a classroom subject, which may, or may not, be equivalent to the classroom subject variously described as 'social studies' (the term used in this thesis title), 'general studies' (also used, again, to describe the liberal component as a whole), or as the name of a college department), 'combined studies', and several other things. This thesis will attempt a description of the origins and rationale of the field, and of the work that is actually going on in a particular sample area (the North-East), in an attempt to demonstrate that the subject, contrary to common belief in the technical college world,
is in fact the result of a fairly consistent line of development, and is therefore capable of a consistent rationale and methodology. In addition, an attempt will be made to set up some measure of the effectiveness of the subject as at present constituted and taught in meeting this rationale.

1.2 Origins of the Study.

The study proposed above, which forms the subject of this thesis, had its initial origin in a situation which faced the author when he came into technical education from the Colonial Education Service in September 1962. Appointed to an area technical college to teach English to engineering students, he discovered on taking up duty that he was in addition expected to teach a subject which was referred to in the college prospectus as 'Social Studies', to the same general group of craft and technicians classes. A certain number of suggested schemes and topics, put out by the City and Guilds of London Institute, who appeared to have initiated the subject, existed, but those appeared to be curiously vague and disorganised, both in intention and in subject discipline: the subject appeared to be capable of including almost anything other than the purely technical studies (craft practice, craft theory, engineering drawing, engineering science, etc.) The author, upon enquiring of his
colleagues, as to what the nature and purpose of the subject was, was surprised to find that no generally accepted opinion of these things existed. The subject, he was informed, was a very new introduction into the technical college world: everyone seemed to be in the process of developing their own definition of it. In practice, this seemed to mean that everyone did what they felt like at the time, and no-one really knew what it was they were supposed to achieve.

The author found this situation extremely unsatisfactory, perhaps because of his own academic background of teaching English as a foreign language, a subject which has quite clear objectives and content, despite the fact that it may include all sorts of cultural fringe material. In any case, it seemed to him unlikely that the subject could be taught efficiently in this sort of methodological chaos. As a first step towards a consistent rationale of the subject and its teaching, therefore, it seemed necessary to discover how the subject had come into existence, what its 'official' rationale was - if indeed there was one - and what was being done elsewhere, especially in other colleges in the author's own area, where it seemed likely that there would be similar technical courses and levels of student. It was from the reading and consultation with other social studies staff
involved in this that this thesis grew: its purpose may perhaps best be described as to 'clear the decks for action', by determining what social studies is intended to do, how it originated, how it is currently being taught, and what its effects are upon the students to whom it is taught. It is only when we know this that we can decide what ought to be done in the subject.

1.3 Scope of the Thesis.

From what has been said above it follows that this study is rather descriptive than critical. Little attempt is made to criticise what is being done - at least, in terms of the general principles that govern liberal education: what criticism is to be found here will mainly be concerned with logical inconsistencies in official or academic statements about the subject, with failure by individual institutions to meet the requirements or suggestions placed upon them by official policy-making bodies such as the Department of Education and Science or the City and Guilds Institute, and, especially in Chapter Seven, with an attempt to deduce from measurements of the subject's effect upon students whether or not it is succeeding in practice in meeting its theoretical objectives. This is commensurate with the preliminary character of the study: it is obviously necessary first to determine what exists and what effects it has,
before we can begin to consider why those effects occur and what should be done about them. In addition - and this also springs from the original situation in which the author found himself - the study will concentrate upon those aspects of liberal education in the technical college world which take place in the classroom, and will restrict itself to the field in which the general liberal subject of 'social studies' or 'general studies' has its existence, namely courses not higher than O.N.C. The more general area of liberal education covered by college societies and extramural activities will not be considered in detail, as to do so would make the scope of the subject too wide for effective coverage, although naturally it will be necessary to refer to this area from time to time: and the general studies component of higher-level courses, usually divided into a number of specialist disciplines - communication, economics, management studies, history and philosophy of science - related to the student's field of work and his position in society, will also not be considered, except again incidentally. These limitations will be referred to in the remaining chapters of the study as the 'Terms of Reference'.

The organisation of the thesis will be as follows: Chapters Two and Three will attempt to trace the movement
towards the inclusion of liberal teaching subjects in technical education, and the development of the ideas governing it. Chapter Two will be concerned with the origins of those ideas in the traditional body of liberal education; the rethinking of liberal education in the light of the industrial revolution in the 19th Century, its further rethinking by people such as Dewey, Whitehead and Russell in the light of psychological discoveries and the emergence of mass democracy in the first third of the 20th Century, and the summing-up in this country of these ideas in the Spens Report of 1938. It will also examine the origin of the term 'Social Studies' as the name for a general teaching subject, in the late 1930s, under the influence of Zilliacus and the work done in the University of Melbourne. Chapter Three will take up the story with the implementation of the Spens Report's ideas in the 1944 Education Act, and show that the subject subsequently went through a consistent development, along both liberal and political lines, falling into four distinct periods: a period during which it was believed that County Colleges would come into force, a period of private writing and experiment, characterised by the writings of Professor Fred Clarke and Ottaway, and the experimental work of Dr. Chapman at Hatfield College of Technology, a period of political adoption, beginning with Sir Anthony Eden's
Bradford speech on 18th January 1956, and finally a return to a more liberal outlook, coupled with a period of growing institutionalisation, following the publication of the Crowther Report in 1959. Chapter Four will examine the present position reached in the subject in the light of official policy documents of the Department of Education and Science and the City and Guilds, and will demonstrate that a consistent rationale of its aims and scope already exists in the writings of Garforth ('Education and Social Purpose'), and that the current policy documents and syllabus suggestions remain consistently close to this. It will be shown that the primary objectives of the study are the enlargement of the student's awareness of the society around him, and the creation of a free citizen type, and that its field is a general selection of material concerning human institutions and thinking.

Chapters Five and Six will then proceed to examine the extent to which these ideas are carried out in practice, in the author's own area, North East England. Here again, for reasons of homogeneity of courses and industrial background, important to technical college atmosphere, a restriction will be placed on the area, in that the North Riding of Yorkshire, commonly included in North-East England, will be omitted. The area will thus comprise the administrative
Counties of Durham and Northumberland, and the County Boroughs which form enclaves within them. (Newcastle is counted for this purpose as a County Borough.) Chapter Five will examine the origins and nature of Local Authority policy, and will show that the effectiveness of this policy is dependent upon a number of social factors, prime among them being size, wealth, position, and local cultural and educational history. Chapter Six will describe the actual organisation and teaching of the subject in a group of colleges within the area, and will examine provision of equipment, college policy, and the function and status of staff. It will be shown that, because of the nature of technical education, effective social studies teaching depends upon both the contributions of the individual staff and the existence of a definite local authority policy, a situation quite unlike that obtaining in liberal education in schools, and that therefore the key factor in effective social studies teaching would seem to be the local authority's policy over appointments and departmental status. The difficulties of implementing such a policy, because of the peculiar qualities needed in a liberal education specialist, will also be discussed. Finally, Chapter Seven will describe a method, based on the work of Richmond and Getzels and
Jackson, for measuring the effectiveness of social studies teaching, and will attempt an interpretation of the measurements thus obtained. It will show that the subject does not have a significant overall effect upon students, but appears to improve the awareness - and to a lesser extent, the attitudes - of those students who are already among the more aware and socially responsible. In particular, it will be shown that the subject is to some extent effective upon technician and O.N.C. students, but of little or no effect upon craft courses, perhaps because the craft courses concerned have not been well selected by City and Guilds. It will also be shown that the effectiveness of social studies teaching varies with the progressiveness of the methods of teaching employed, although the results are less sensitive for the higher grade classes. It will also be shown that the score is sensitive to college atmosphere and organisation and to the existence of student interest in the subject, as well as to certain environmental factors in the students' own background. It will thus be seen that the subject as at present organised and taught is not as effective in obtaining its aims and objectives as might have been hoped.

1.4 **Definitions.**

At the beginning of this Chapter, it was mentioned that investigation of the subject was rendered difficult by
the very loose way in which terms were invented or taken over to describe different aspects of it, apparently at random. It will, unfortunately, not be possible to escape altogether from this, since some of these terms appear in official policy documents which must needs be quoted. However, the author will throughout attempt to restrict his own use of terms as follows:

'Liberal Education': the entire educational component within a technical college, which is concerned with the production of individual or social excellence, or the extension of personality, rather than with the acquisition of a skill or a specialist body of knowledge. This will include student activities, societies, etc.

'Liberal Studies': that part of liberal education which involves a course or courses of study, as distinct from societies etc.: this includes the next term, 'social studies', and also the study for interest of individual recreational or humanist subjects.
'Social Studies': that part of liberal studies which consists of a general course in class time, not restricted to a particular subject disciplines, given mainly to engineering students of the levels being investigated, and primarily concerned with examining the student's relationships with his environment and the nature of that environment, but not in sociological terms or as a strict discipline.

'General Studies': 1. social studies courses which have officially been named as this in syllabusses or policy documents.
2. social studies courses which also include a reasonable amount of cultural (artistic) material.

As far as possible, the terms "non-technical studies", 'non-vocational studies', 'combined studies' etc., will be avoided, except where they appear in the usage of a particular document or writer being discussed. Other uses of the terms quoted above, except in the names of college departments, will wherever possible be explained where they occur. This applies in particular to the special definition of these
terms by Stygall for use in the sourcebook 'Liberal Studies', discussed in Chapter Four.
CHAPTER TWO

The Origins and History of Social Studies as a Technical College Subject: - 1: before 1944.

2.1 On the face of it, that part of the Liberal Education content of Technical Education known variously as Social, General or Non-Vocational Studies would appear to be of comparatively recent growth, and to have little or nothing in the way of a rationale: indeed, this is the opinion expressed by many teachers of the subject in Technical Colleges I have visited in the course of preparing this thesis. The facts, however, are quite otherwise, that they are not more widely known being due largely to the curious isolation which exists in many places between Colleges, each jealous of what small portion of autonomy their status as Institutions of Further Education allows them. In this and the next Chapters I shall endeavour to show that the revolution in educational philosophy which took place in the late 1920s and grew out of the impact of scientific psychology and the emergence in the Western world of genuine popular democracies, together with the technological and economic changes arising out of the Great War, caused a massive rethinking of the nature of both liberal and technical education, which found its expression in the Spens Report
of 1938: that the thinking of this report, both as regards ends and as regards means, found expression in the Education Act of 1944 (including those parts of the Act that never became effective law), and that further examination of these same liberal aims and objectives took place, both in and outside Technical Education, in the period immediately following the Act: that the changing economic position of the middle 1950s led to further rethinking of technical education, in which already existing liberal concepts were made use of (perhaps in a manner not entirely valid) for a basically economic purpose: and that these two complementary strands of thought were united in the City and Guilds subject revisions of 1957 ff, the Crowther Report of 1959 and its subsequent White Papers, and the Industrial Training Act of 1964 as interpreted in the relevant City and Guilds pamphlets, which are the latest official statements as to the nature and purpose of the teaching of this subject in Technical Education. (I ought perhaps to add at this point that the City and Guilds of London Institute, as the prime certificate-granting body in Technical Education below the level of Ordinary National Certificate, has since 1957 acquired a policy status in this, as in other subjects, second only to the Ministry itself, and in not a few cases of more practical effect, despite its declared intention of giving
Colleges complete freedom of thought and work within the subject. This is particularly true in those courses where a Principal's certificate of satisfactory completion of a College Social Studies course is one of the requirements for the award of the relevant craft or technician's certificate: for example, in Mechanical Engineering.) Thus, although it would be untrue to say that Social Studies courses as at present constituted date from 1938, or that there has been no change in thinking as to the means and aims of the injection of a liberal element into technical education since that date, there is a clear and relatively consistent line of development of the subject from the Spens Report to the present day and it will be seen, as these two chapters progress, that the concepts of what should be done, and how it should be done, have become enlarged over the period concerned but have not changed fundamentally, except by a certain degree of systematisation.

2.2. The 1938 Report on Secondary Schools.

This report (the Spens Report) was in fact a follow-up of the earlier Hadow Report (The Education of the Adolescent, 1926), which called for Secondary Modern Schools and a general 'organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of eleven plus' (1) The terms of reference of this report were not (1) The 1938 Report on Secondary Schools, Preface, Sec I, p. xviii
in fact intended to include Technical Colleges as then constituted: however, they did include Technical Schools, which they recommended should be housed in Technical Colleges and associated with them as specific Departments of such Colleges (2). Thus what the 1938 Report essentially suggested was the formation, later undertaken in many cases, though not in the form of a Technical School, of Junior Departments of Technical Colleges: and the present position regarding junior and craft courses in general, and liberal education within them in particular, can be seen as an extension of the principles suggested by the 1938 Report into the field of further education, once it became realised that the educational processes, in twentieth century society, could not be completed by fifteen plus. The essential note of a liberalising of technical, as of other forms of education, was struck very early in the Report. The Preface called for Technical High Schools (a new term) and Technical Colleges to be associated, and to be concerned with the maturing of the individual as well as with specifically technical education. (3) Their curriculum was to include general education, and 'an intellectual discipline ... of a variety of related principles' (4) - engineering science was quoted as an example of the latter - plus economics

(2) Ibid., Chapter VIII, Para.10
(3) Ibid., Preface, Section III, pp. xxvi ff.
(4) Ibid.
(a favourite Social Studies subject in later years) for students above the age of 16 (5). An adult approach to the students was called for, and this point was made several times, in quite specific terms. The Preface also called in all types of Secondary School for what is now known by the catch-phrase 'Education for Citizenship': 'all teaching', it declared, 'should contribute to this end' (6), the 'end' being defined as the production of citizens capable of fulfilling civic duties and taking advantage of civic opportunities. Here again, it was felt that national and international politics as a study should come after the age of 16, but some information on these should be given, and a study of local government should certainly be undertaken, before that age. In addition, all types of Secondary Education were to place emphasis on the value of logical thought in all fields of life. Speaking of the mental development of adolescents, the Report stated:

(5) Presumably such students would be members of a 'technical sixth form', preparing for entry either to engineering degree or to technical college diploma courses: Spens seems to suggest this idea in several places, but nowhere makes it completely clear.

(6) Ibid., Preface, Section VI, pp. xxxvii ff.
"We urge that children should, so far as possible, be trained at school to think and reason for themselves in order that they may be in a position as adults to examine carefully and appraise in a judicial spirit the many forms of mass suggestion which will inevitably meet them in later life" (7). This remarkable passage, which we shall see owes a great deal to the thinking of Bertrand Russell, is however, one must remember, aimed not at 'students' but at 'schoolchildren': Spens prefers Modern History to Civics as a teaching subject, and proposes to inculcate respect for logic through problems arising in the life and working of the school (8): but he nevertheless admits the need 'to reflect about political, social and economic problems', and calls for a liberal attitude on the part of all teachers of all subjects (9). We shall see, later, that both these concepts are persistently repeated as the movement to Liberal Education gathers strength within the Technical College world proper: and many actual parallels of wording will be found, in such important documents as, for instance, Ministry of Education Circular 323 of 1957: for example, in such a passage as this, dealing with methods of broadening the treatment of subjects:

(7) Ibid., Chapter III Part II, The Mental Development of Adolescents, page 129.
(8) Ibid., ff: also Preface pp. xxxvii ff.
(9) Ibid., ff.
"Students should learn something of the history of their particular subject, and of the significance of its social and economic impacts on human society. This calls for teachers who, in addition to high qualifications in their specialist fields, need to be men of broad outlook and experience." (10) It is for reasons such as this, and because it is the earliest official document in which these, and kindred concepts which I shall discuss directly, are gathered up together and clearly related to a form of technical education directed at adolescents not only as industrial coffer but also as individuals, that the Spens Report may then be considered as the initial point of departure for a coherent movement towards the liberalising of technical education in this country.

2.3 When the Spens Report turns specifically to deal with technical education as a separate part of its terms of reference, what it has to say is even more significant. Technical Education is seen throughout as a historically continuing growing 'substitute for part of apprenticeship' (11) - a point of view which was itself forward-looking for 1938, as the description of the average attitude to technical

(10) Ministry of Education Circular 323, (Liberal Education in Technical Colleges), dated 13th May 1957: Sec.10. The points of correspondence with Spens' wording have been marked by me with italics.

education in the 1930s stated in the City & Guilds 'Further Education' pamphlets of 1965 (which will be discussed later, in due course) will show (12). In addition to this vision of technical education as an essential part of the economic system, however, Spens also sees it as never having been (except by default) different in objective from other forms of secondary education. It is pointed out in the same Chapter of the Report that earlier reports from 1884 onwards have stressed that an equally liberal attitude is to be called for in both technical and conventional secondary education.

"(there should be both) intellectual training and personal discipline . . . even culture is not an end in itself: it makes the private person of more value to society and to the State . . . Every profession . . . is a craft, and all crafts are arts." (13)

(12) cf. 'Further Education for Craftsmen', City & Guilds of London Institute, 1965, Appendix A: Historical Note, p.19: in this note it is clearly stated that, prior to 1944, City & Guilds craft courses at least had primarily been taken in their spare time by craftsmen wishing to 'get ahead' that is, by an unusually competent minority who were not intending to remain craftsmen and did not regard their technical studies as part of their apprenticeship as such. In addition, it should be remembered that day release was scarcely undertaken at all at this period.

(13) 1895 Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, quoted in Spens Chapter I. Cf. paragraph 2.4, note .(19)
Spens rightly calls this 'a remarkable passage': and, although it was not in fact followed up, either in the Education Act of 1902, or in the Regulations for Secondary Schools of 1904, the existence of this, and other passages like it in other reports (also referred to), is certainly adequate justification for the 1938 Report's claim that in conceiving technical education as including a definite liberal content, it is merely bringing up to date a continuing attitude on the part of progressive educationalists to technical training. Indeed, the same Committee had said as much in the earlier Hadow Report (of 1926). In this document, technical education was described in the following terms:

"the half-conscious striving of a highly industrialised society to evolve a type of school analogous to, and yet distinct from, the Grammar School, and providing an education designed to fit boys and girls to enter the various branches of industry, commerce, and agriculture ... at the age of 15." (14) The 1938 Report quotes this earlier definition as part of its terms of reference, and then proceeds to define for this new alternative form of educational provision a general aim. This is

"the provision of a liberal education (based on a ... realistic and scientific curriculum) ... for those who

intend to enter industrial occupations." (15) (It should be remembered that the Report is talking here about technical schools, the only general educational provision of the kind at the time: once again, the extrapolation of this aim to technical education in Colleges, when it became generally acceptable as a normal part of further education, is a relatively easy and obvious matter. The part of the quotation in brackets, incidentally, is a separate sentence in the original).

The Report points out that all subjects are capable at least in theory of becoming the vehicle for a liberal education, and for evidence on this point, it quotes Dr. Tildsley of the New York Board of Education on the desirability of leading the pupil to look to the wider human and social background of what he is learning (always, from this time on, to be presented as a main aspect of liberal education in technical schools or colleges). The objective of this 'wider view', it is stated, is nothing less than,

"the unfolding of all the powers in the man, the making of them usable to the utmost degree in the special phase of production or the special phase of living in which he may chance to be engaged". (16)

(16) Ibid., Para. 3
This objective, and this concept of the inculcation of a liberal attitude through technical subjects, in fact came, as we shall see, to dominate the earlier part of the main Liberal Studies movement in College level technical education during its first phase, in the late 1950s, and formed one of the main recommendations of the Ministry Circular 323 which has already been referred to in the last Paragraph: that they were later eclipsed by the tendency to timetable specific periods for 'Liberal', 'Social', or 'General' studies has been thought by some to have been a retrograde step. In actual practice, however, neither time available nor quality of staff seem to have been such as to admit of a genuinely liberal approach to technical subjects in themselves except in a very small minority of cases, most of which seem to involve block release courses. (See Chapter Six, below; Section Seventeen).

But in any case, the timetabling of extra subjects (also referred to in Circular 323) was quite clearly foreseen by the 1938 Report also. In Paragraphs 5 and 9 of the Chapter referred to above, the curriculum for technical schools, based on the premises already quoted, is given. It is stated, perhaps a little optimistically, that the 'present' (i.e., 1938) curriculum was the basic broad engineering sciences plus what are termed 'English Studies': this combination is seen
as thoroughly desirable, and the same paragraphs lay down that the technical curriculum for pupils of thirteen-plus onwards 'should be designed to provide a liberal education with Science and its applications as the core and inspiration'. The following paragraph (number 10) makes the proposal already referred to, that technical schools should be associated with Technical Colleges and housed within them, having the status of Junior Departments, and the Chapter ends with a discussion of the more limited form of education currently being given in the Trade Schools, which it says, must be such as to develop versatility because of the rapid pace of technical progress (17). This additional economic spur to liberal education in technical training is also to be echoed in much later literature on the subject, notably the White Paper on Technical Education of 1956 (paras. 8 ff. q.v.).

To conclude this examination of the proposals of this seminal Report, it will be sufficient to notice certain of the Summary Conclusions (not already dealt with) which also will be found to bear upon the later development of the subject under review. The figures in the list which follows refer to the numbered Summary item. It will readily be seen that, by reading down this list, a fair description of the Report's attitude towards liberal and technical education can be obtained.

(17) Ibid., Para, 19.
56. The object of education is the achievement of individual development in and through the life of a society.

57. The national tradition is the basis of effective education.

58. Secondary education must in particular cater for the needs of the adolescent.

59. The curriculum by which this is done is to consist of 'activity and experience'.

60. Both the conservative and the creative elements in the activities of the society are to be represented in this: the school is to both mirror and prepare for the 'great society' (one is tempted here to wonder whether the echo of Toynbee is deliberate).

61. The school is to be brought into closer contact with life.

63. New systems of teaching — for instance, the tutorial system — should be tried. (This has in fact become a mainstay of much liberal education in technical institutions, as succeeding material will show).

109. One object of technical education is 'to provide a good intellectual discipline altogether apart from its technical value'.
These paraphrase and summarise the conclusions about technical education, aims and curricula, and administration already discussed in detail in this Paragraph.

This, then was the attitude adopted, and these were the proposals made, by the Spens Report of 1938 as to technical education and its liberal content; part of what was said had been said before, but this was the first time that any coherent systematic approach had been made to the subject as a whole by a body having official standing. How these proposals were modified and applied, as it became increasingly impossible for the educative process to be completed by the age of 15, to technical education in the Technical Colleges themselves, will form the subject of most of the rest of these initial Chapters. First, however, we should examine in rather more detail exactly what the 1938 Report means when it talks about Liberal, Secondary, or Technical Education, and from where, precisely, its thinking is derived. Fortunately, the Spens Committee themselves were quite explicit on this point.

2.4 The Sources of the Concepts contained in the 1938 Report.

The sources of the concepts quoted above, and the meaning of the term 'liberal education' as used by the Spens Committee, are defined in Appendix II of the Report.
Committee make it plain that they consider themselves in direct line of descent from the Classical, Renaissance and Nineteenth Century educational writers, but equally they make plain the fact that they consider that each new change in the economic and social circumstances of society - or at least, each new major change - makes it necessary for the educationists of that period to rethink the application of ideas as to the nature and content, and the purpose, of such education. Thus they, like their proposed teachers, see themselves as both conservative and creative - a feature which is also to be characteristic of much later thinking on the subject. Basically, their argument runs as follows:

The concept of 'liberal education' had its inception in the Greek idea of the education 'fit for a free man': we find in Aristotle's discussion of the subject that this was to be education that tended towards the acquisition of excellence of spirit, and most emphatically not training narrowly confined to equipping the pupil for earning a living - the pupil, of course, as a free citizen, would in any case not require this 'banal' skill; trade and industry were carried on by 'metoikoi' or resident aliens, approximation to which class would be degrading: thus, in his discussion of music teaching in Book VIII of the 'Politics', he makes the point that music is 'liberal' if it is taught for its
own sake, or for 'the right use of leisure' (Burnet's translation), but 'banausic' if it is taught for the purpose of enabling the pupil to earn his living as a musician. Basically, then, liberal education should tend towards the extension of the human spirit, and should not be under any circumstances the mere learning of a trade or technique. This is the Greek view, and the dichotomy between liberal and banausic, although it has been questioned since, not least in the Appendix Ham discussing, has never really been overthrown; the fact that such an institution as the Liberal Studies Period exists at all is sufficient proof of its power.

This attitude — essentially the education of an elite — was codified, the Appendix continues, by the Alexandrians of the Hellenistic period into the study of the subjects of grammar (which included literature), music, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, rhetoric and dialectic: the Roman writers, such as Cicero and Quintillian, accepted this codification (as they accepted so much else Alexandrian) as it stood, altering it only by placing the central emphasis upon law, and the study of rhetoric (essential for a magistrate dependent upon election, but dwindling in the later days of the Empire to a dry and abstract study). Essentially unchanged, it was taken up, once Christianity had become the state religion of Rome, by the Church: the later Latin
rhetorician Cassiodorus, by confusing 'liber' (a free man) with 'liber' (a book) as the derivation of the term, passed down to the Schools of the Middle Ages the concept of liberal education as essentially 'bookish': the 'trivium' of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic (by this time construed largely as another name for syllogistic logic), followed by the 'quadrivium' of the other four subjects, and centred on logic rather than on rhetoric or grammar. The Renaissance educational thinkers, however, returned to grammar and rhetoric as central studies, by basing their curricula upon 'eloquentia' (style) plus 'eruditio' (the miscellaneous literary learning required to understand – and to imitate – ancient authors). The terms 'understand' and 'imitate' were equally important: the whole tenet of education, though no longer dominated by logic, remained literary. Thus, by the eighteenth century, a 'liberal education' had come to mean 'a literary classical education'.

But the social and economic changes of the following century were to make it necessary to revise this concept very considerably. There were two main reasons for this: in the first place, the growth of the concept of representative democracy, which as the century wore on steadily eroded the class basis of traditional liberal culture, though until the twentieth century it nowhere replaced it (some would claim it still has not); and in the second place, the
scientific and industrial revolutions, with their opening of entirely new fields of knowledge for both liberal and banausic purposes. The first of these changes led, initially, to a return to a more nearly Greek concept of liberal education - the 'culture generale' of Cousin, or 'Allgemeine Bildung' of Wilhelm von Humboldt, or 'meohumanism' of Matthew Arnold, the object of which was 'to release the potentialities of the individual in the interest of a self-governing community of fellow-citizens' (18); 'to carry us to a knowledge of ourselves and the world . . . we should all have some notion, at any rate, of the whole circle of knowledge . . . the secondary school has essentially for its object a general liberal culture' (19). But the enlarged governing elite for whom this was conceived was, with further franchise extensions, virtually to disintegrate.

More important, perhaps, was the argument from technology, for the inclusion of practical and scientific studies.

2.5 Gradually, as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continued, as the importance of science and technology became more obvious - with the Great Exhibition of 1851, for instance, or still more with the Paris Exhibitions of the 1870s and 1890s, in which Britain no longer dominated the entire technical world, - educational opinion came more and more to absorb scientific subjects into the secondary school curriculum.

(18) The 1938 Report, Appendix II.
(19) 1866 Report of Schools Inquiry Commission, quoted in Spens App.II
more to urge the inclusion of practical and scientific studies into this 'general culture' (the position, indeed, which the dissenting academies had reached some hundred years before.) The antithesis between liberal and technical education, it was felt, was unreal: technical education was itself a discipline (e.g., of precision) and a means of self-achievement (e.g., of a skill), and therefore had moral effects analogous to those of traditional liberal education. Thus we find Latham writing in 1877; in 'The Action of Examinations':

"... Liberal Education and Technical Education coexist in any actual educational scheme ... Liberal Education concerns itself with the good and cultivation of the pupil ... Technical Education ... is careful not for the workman but for the work."

and quoting, as an example of this distinction, the purpose of teaching Art being (in liberal terms) to produce an 'eye for beauty and truth', and (in technical terms) to 'produce good pictures.'

It can be argued that this concept of a sort of coexistence between liberal and technical elements within the same subjects is rather a statement of what the author would like to obtain than a statement of what does obtain: it is very doubtful whether any evidence can be found for contending that
training in precision in (say) surface grinding makes the student any more aware of the value of precision in (say) language - at least, unless the parallel be pointed out to him by a liberally minded teacher: In this connection it is worth noting that the Spens Report is actually asking for Technical Education to be a continuation of general education, only with a 'core subject' of engineering science, rather than the bookish liberal subjects of the traditional Grammar School curriculum. In this respect, too, they are following one line of development of the subject - that of the pragmatic educational philosophers of the United States.

The United States' educational systems had had to face, in the earlier years of this century, the same problems relating to the impact of technology and scientific discovery as had England's: but, unlike England prior to the Representation of People Acts, they had also had to answer the question, what form of education should an egalitarian society, believing liberty and 'the pursuit of happiness' (and of success) to be 'inalienable rights' of the entire population, provide for that population? Thus, in the United States, it had become apparent, not only that the inclusion of the sciences in the curriculum was a necessity, but also that the nature of liberal education was still tied as firmly as ever to the nature of the citizen body: traditional liberal forms were a class education, intended
to produce a responsible elite, but in America, the elite
had become a mass. To Dewey, in 1922, for example, it
had become obvious that the traditional 'liberal' curriculum
of Europe, or of the Eastern States with their stratified
cultures based on Europe, was essentially historical and
social in origin: a class education for those capable of a
life of reason, who would once have formed the governing
minority. "The Problem", he wrote, in 'Democracy and
Education', "of education in a democratic society is to do
away with the dualism and to construct a course of studies
which makes thought a guide of free practice for all and
which makes leisure a reward of accepting responsibility for
service rather than a state of exemption from it" (20).

The two strands of thought, that of Latham and that of
Dewey, are united in Whitehead, and it is on Whitehead that
the Spens Report's concept of the nature of Liberal education
is most directly based. In 1929, in 'The Aims of Education',
which Appendix II of the 1938 Report quotes at length,
Whitehead lays down:

(a) that all adequate education must be both technical
and liberal; that technical education may be defined as
that which aims at producing technique, and liberal education,
as that which aims at producing intellectual vision.

(20): Dewey, Democracy and Education, 1922, quoted in the
1938 Report, Appendix II. A critique of this, and
similar 20th Century attempts to modify rather than
replace the traditional concepts of 'education for a
free man', will be found below, at 2.15). The similar-
ity with Clarke's ethos, as discussed in 3.5 below,
should be noted also.
(b) that within this twofold content there are three basic curricula, the literary, the purely scientific, and the technical; but that each speciality should include some of the other two to ensure 'the best balance of intellect and character.'

(c) that every form of education should include technique, science, scientific ideas, and aesthetic appreciation.

It is to this definition, as we can see, that the Spens recommendations most nearly correspond. But one must beware of pressing it - or them - to the length of insisting that technical and liberal elements co-exist in every single subject, as passages in certain documents discussed in the next Chapter (especially Circular 323) seem to imply. This clearly is not so.

2.6 Spens' basic concepts are set out in the next Appendix, Appendix III by Dr. I.L. Kandel, on the Secondary Curriculum and the purpose of education in the twentieth century. 'It was recognised' he says, by all nations after World War I, 'that elementary education alone provided inadequate opportunities for the development of the potentials of the individual' (A) 'and insufficient preparation for living in the complex civilisation of the twentieth century' (B). Thus we have two main purposes of education, one (labelled A above) being concerned with individual excellence, and the other
(labelled B) being concerned with socialisation of these individuals. Neither objective, clearly, can exist without the other.

Kandel then goes on to point out that under twentieth century economic conditions and developing technological pressures 'adolescents' (i.e., without further education) 'will become increasingly unemployable, which means that society must extend its educational guardianship over them'; and also, that 'if the function of education is the preparation of citizens . . . an extension of education becomes inevitable' (21). We now see, then, that aim B above has been broken down into two sub-aims, which we may call B1 and B2: education for socialisation must include both (B1) education to uphold the economy (providing technically trained cadres), and also (B2) education to uphold the democratic state (providing a citizen type). This second sub-aim, which we may refer to simply as the 'political' purpose of liberal education, we shall find to be very greatly stressed in further developments in England after 1945, and particularly in the writings of Fred Clarke, who, however, regards this as really being the inculcation of a cultural and social ethic — defining, as Kandel does not, in what sense the 'liberal citizen' is 'good' — and thus uniting both aims A and B.

(21): 1938 Report, Appendix III, passim, as also the 'four requirements' quoted below.
In the third phase of his definition of purpose, Kandel concerns himself specifically with this political aim. The results are rather surprising. He lays down, as following logically from the pattern of current egalitarian society (Kandel was, remember, an American) four requirements of the 'citizens'. These are, in order,

(i) to be 'intelligent to the world around them'
(ii) to be 'conscious of their duties and responsible'
(iii) to be 'equipped for the work they are best fitted to undertake'
and (iv) to be 'trained to the extent of their interests and abilities to enjoy the cultural and spiritual things of life.'

If we analyse these requirements closely, a very curious fact emerges. Kandel is, remember, concerned with the requirements necessary to the fulfilment of aim B2. But the first two of his requirements are in fact so nearly identical with the definition of 'general culture' and its aims given in the 1866 Report quoted above as to be virtually indistinguishable from it. Thus the traditional liberal aims are included in this new political objective, the provision of an egalitarian citizen-type. But more is to come: for the third requirement indeed involves specifically the training of selected technical cadres (now on political rather than economic grounds) that is implied in the sub-aim B1 quoted above:
thus we are forced to regard B1 as alike being implicit in B2. And finally, the fourth requirement is equally specifically the objective of the training to be given in the pursuit of aim A, quoted first of all. We are inescapably led to the conclusion, therefore, that the political objective of liberal education, even in this vastly extended and altered version, is paramount, and that the traditional-liberal and the economic aims alike are but subsidiary aspects of this overriding objective, the production of trained and socialised individuals capable of supporting to the full the complex life of a twentieth century democratically administered technologically competitive state.

2.7 Thus the dichotomy between the political and the traditionalist attitudes to liberal education, as that between the political and the economic attitudes, does not really exist: where it appears to exist (and we shall find it apparently emerging in a fairly large number of cases), it does so because the objectives of, or motives for, extending liberal education within the technical field are either too narrowly regarded or insufficiently thought through. But essentially, the various aims are at one, especially since in England the national tendency of political education has, at least until very recently, been in fact to ensure the continuation of a traditionalist establishment-elite overall
political climate despite the emergence of a mass-franchise democracy (whether this tendency is in fact a desirable one is a question on which I shall have cause to comment later: what is important at this moment is that it exists). Thus the shifts between political and liberal (traditionalist) in emphasis of aims within the Liberal Studies movement in technical education, which we shall later discover, are rather between the 'expedient' and the 'idealist' moral justifications of this one overall tendency, than between any two distinct tendencies. It is as well to be fully aware of this before we proceed any further.

2.8 The immediate precursors of the definition of the purpose of education, which we have just been considering, are all that are necessary to complete the chain of evidence to show that the conception of technical education as containing a liberal content is a logical development of the traditional conceptions of education in Western society under the pressures of technological and political change. This link is also provided by Dr. Kandel in the same Appendix, where he quotes as the starting point of the Spens conception the following extract from the 1916 Report of the Conference of the Council for Humanistic Studies:

"The first object in education is the training of human beings in mind and character, as citizens of a free country, and any technical training of boys and girls for a particular
profession, occupation or work must be consistent with this principle."

The extent to which this definition of the purpose of education derives from those of the Schools Inquiry Commission of the preceding century, and its close similarity in intention to the more detailed definition of Dewey, then still six years in the future, will be obvious. On this definition, according to the Appendix, is based the following comment from the Hadow Report, which Kandel appears to regard as constituting one aspect of Spens terms of reference:

"A humane or liberal education is not one given through books alone, but one which brings children into contact with the larger interests of mankind." (22)

And finally, Dr. Kandel quotes as his most immediate source of ideas regarding technical education and its purpose the following rather optimistic extract from Board of Education Pamphlet No. 83 of 1930, which is clearly in the same broad line of development as the others:

"The Training given in the Junior Technical Schools ought to be, and in actual practice is, a truly cultural education."

One feels the links binding the Spens recommendations, revolutionary though some of them were by contemporary standards, to the main body of developing educational though could not

readily be much more complete.

2.9 We have now established that Spens, in continuity with current trends in educational thought, gave official voice to a growing body of recommendations for the liberalising of all forms of education, including what today is known as Technical Education - or, at very least, its immediate precursor: it remains to show that this liberal education was in fact intended to approximate to the content of what is now known as 'General Studies', the 'Social Studies' of City and Guilds curricula. In the same Appendix, on pages 425-7, the content of such a course - what Kandel calls the 'essential material of liberal education' - is listed in some detail. I quote this at present without further comment: as this Chapter, and the next one, progresses, it will be seen that these items correspond very closely indeed with the items propounded by Ministry and City and Guilds publications as material for Social Studies or General Studies courses, (increasingly regarded, since 1957, as the central 'core' of liberal education in technical colleges, though in progressive colleges not as the whole of it), as well as with the theoretical analyses of what such a subject should logically involve undertaken by various writers, especially Garforth (23) whose analysis I shall, for various reasons to be dealt with later, be using as in some degree a touchstone in considering the content of such courses. The list is (in abbreviated (23): in 'Education and Social Purpose', Oldbourne, 1962
form) as follows:

a) command of English - clarity of expression.

b) appreciation of literature.

c) understanding of social, economic and political questions, at home and overseas; knowledge of how these have emerged.

(history and geography, brought up to date and related to actual development of peoples.)

d) understanding of the economic and intellectual effects of science on society.

e) practical mathematics (24)

f) some training in foreign languages related to their practical and aesthetic use. (25)

g) training for leisure - but arts 'subjects' (e.g. music) only if the students will profit by it. (26)

(24): it will be recognised that, in Technical Education, this subject, included in Kandel's general list, will already largely have been dealt with in the actual technical curriculum: for this reason later schemes will be seen largely to ignore it.

(25): this rider on the study of foreign languages, mirrored in Ministry Circular 323's call for 'contact with institutions abroad' (q.v., below), is particularly interesting, in that it is also found in Russell's 'On Education' of 1926, a book which Spens does not quote, but to which I believe both Spens and the Liberal Studies movement in general to be considerably indebted, not least in its application of psychological advances of the period: this point will be discussed in 2.10 - 2.14 ff.

(26): in this rider can be seen the germ of the concept of College autonomy in course construction and choice of material and form of assessment in accordance with students' or industry's local needs which is visible in the City & Guilds and Ministry syllabus material from 1957 onwards, and more particularly after 1962.
h) sound health and physical education.

Kandel also adds the rider that any subjects are to be included only if they fall within Nunn's definition of general culture, which he quotes:

"differentiated modes of intellectual activity thought of, not statically, but dynamically, that is, intimately related to and significant for the environment for which they aim to prepare . . . and for the interests and abilities of the pupils."

2.10. Bertrand Russell: 'On Education', 1926

One other major source of thinking about liberal education in a scientific and egalitarian culture remains to be considered: Bertrand Russell's famous treatise 'On Education'. This book was not officially quoted by Spens as an originating work for its ideas on the subject, for reasons which I believe I shall at any rate be able to suggest in paragraph 2.14 below: but the general introduction makes it clear that the book was written in response to the social changes, and changes of our knowledge of education, of the 1920s. (27)

(27): 'There must be in the world many parents who, like the present author, have young children whom they are anxious to educate as well as possible, but reluctant to expose to the evils of most existing educational institutions . . . for wage-earning parents nothing suffices except reform of the elementary schools . . . To come to a more fundamental cleavage; there can be no agreement between those who regard education as a means of instilling certain definite beliefs,
and those who think that it should produce the power of independent judgment. Where such issues are relevant, it would be idle to shirk them. At the same time, there is a considerable body of new knowledge of psychology and pedagogy which is independent of these ultimate questions, and has an intimate bearing on education. Already it has produced very important results, but a great deal remains to be done before its teachings have been fully assimilated.'

- Russell, 'On Education', Introduction pp 7-8 (all page references in these notes are to the 1960 Unwin Books edition). It should be remarked, by the way, that Russell subtitled his book 'Especially in Early Childhood'; but he does not in fact restrict himself to this age alone, and we shall be concerned with his remarks on the later stages of education, and on education in general, in what follows.
Its origin is thus cognate with that of the Hadow Report, and hence with the Spens Report which was in fact an extension and development of Hadow. (28) Russell's ideas have in fact greatly influenced the development of educational thought in this country: and much of both Spens and the 1944 Act is indebted to him, along with Mannheim, Whitehead and Dewey, for a great deal of their basic philosophy. Unlike the others, who have been quoted above, Russell does not deal specifically with Technical Education; thus those sections of Spens, and the documents arising from the 1944 Act, with which we shall be concerned do not quote him: but in his comments on the aims of education, on the general principles governing education, and on the conduct of education (other than University education) after the age of 14 (Chapters II, XIV and XVI of 'On Education'), there are to be found expressed a large number of the basic ideas, which, as we shall see, have motivated the movement for extending the scope of liberal education from Spens onwards, and given it historical and philosophic 'shape'.

2.11 In Chapter II of this book, then, Russell defines what he believes to be the main aims of education. The prime aim is the 'scientific temper', (similar to the 'critical opinion' of Clarke some twenty years later) (29), to be contained in

'excellent individuals' (30). The more 'highbrow' excellences (e.g., poetic sensibility) are now specifically excluded from this definition as impractical, and a list of basic excellences is given: vitality, courage, sensitiveness, and intelligence. (31). The first is seen to be a mixture of good health and aroused interest, and the second, not bravado but a victory of the mind over irrational fears (and thus, psychologically, closely connected with honesty of statement and objectivity of vision), and again essentially a virtue derived from aroused interests and active intelligence. And sensitiveness, too, is seen as connected with both of these, and involves not only emotional but also social and moral sensitivity, to such 'abstract' events as cancer statistics, war, colonialism, or social and industrial evil in remote countries. (32). Finally, intelligence is seen as involving - inter alia - both the ability to co-operate with others in the pursuit of social, intellectual or technical advance, and the ability to make mature, independent judgments in those spheres which are one's special competence.

2.12 On these basic aims, Russell proceeds in Chapter XIV to build up the general principles which in his opinion should govern all intellectual education (as distinct from the education of character). His argument, which occupies pages 131 to 140 of the 1960 edition, is too complex to admit of quotation without distorting it: but it may be summarised as follows:

(31): Ibid., page 35.
(32): Ibid., pages 39-41
The training of character, ideally, is to be completed by the age of six, and the following years of education are to be concerned primarily with the acquisition of intellectual knowledge, which is not, and must not, be governed by 'moral' considerations. (i.e., knowledge must not be confused with or distorted by propaganda). In the teaching which helps the child to acquire this knowledge, the three main elements are the stimulation of curiosity, the satisfaction of curiosity, and the acquisition of skills to this end. Morbid curiosity, it should be remarked, where it exists, is to be cured by full explanation, rendering the subject emotionally neutral.

The aims of such intellectual education will thus, in general, be the arousing of a ruling sense of urbane curiosity about life, and the fostering of open-mindedness, and of a belief that 'knowledge is possible though difficult' (33); and specifically the acquisition by the pupil of the characteristics of patience, industry, concentration and exactness. These aims should be overriding: the concept of knowledge as banausically useful should be strictly supplementary to them. To encourage an atmosphere in which such aims may be achieved, freedom of thought will be essential, but it is stressed that this is not the same thing as freedom of action on the part of the pupils: necessarily, adults must impose certain limits or restrictions upon the actions of the young, for their own good; though these should be no more than are absolutely necessary.

(33): Ibid., Chapter XIV, page 133.
Concentration, ideally, should be prolonged, intense, and voluntary. It is to be acquired by the training of the attention under the stimulus of interest: patience and industry are to be stimulated through the pupils' own sense of their achievements, and the pleasure derived from achievement. Accuracy, a virtue essential to the integrity which Russell values so much, is of four main types, each of which has its own specific mode of training. Accuracy of body is to be stimulated by games; accuracy of sensibility, by formal aesthetic training, limited in the early stages to traditional set patterns so that differences and departures may be seen easily; accuracy of fact is to be stimulated by subjects requiring factual knowledge, for example history or geography, and accuracy of logic - the last and most abstract type of accuracy - is to be stimulated by a training in mathematics.

In all these subjects, the impulse to the pupils' education, as has been said, is to be the pupils' interest: but Russell is under no delusion that the entire educative process can be made easy. Finally, he points out that for various reasons the teacher should not be the parent, and ends by reiterating his belief that the basic stimulus to intellectual education should be the child's own sense of adventure.

It should be noted that this analysis is intended to apply to all levels of formal education, and to all subjects: but the stress on curiosity and open-mindedness, on freedom of
thought and on accuracy and integrity, and on the place of observation, logic and interest, makes it clear that the prime object of such education is envisaged, at/levels, as a fulfilling of the individual, rather than as any form of narrow training. What Russell is describing, in fact, is the production of the liberal individual. Aristotle himself would have recognised the type.

2.13 The application of this interest in individual growth to the last years of education (14 plus onwards), in Chapter XVI, leads Russell to a number of specific pronouncements. Some of these are more relevant to Sixth Form specialisation, but four points are made which deal quite clearly either with students of the craft and technician level or with all students. They are as follows:

1. Vocational training should not begin before 12, and should not take up the whole time of any pupil. (34)

2. All pupils should be taught human biology 'to the extent that is likely to be required in adult daily life' and social studies relating to Parliament and the Constitution (35).

3. Teaching should be varied, involving both exact detailed study and lectures and assignments, and should include individual work, initiated by the students, for which adequate laboratory and library facilities should be provided. (36).

(34): Ibid., Chapter XVI, Page 150.
(35): Ibid., page 151.
(36): Ibid., pages 151-2
Current 'controversial questions of importance' should be treated, and these should be viewed from all sides, discussed and debated, with the following objectives:

'It is a good thing to make pupils feel that their education is fitting them to cope with matters about which the world is excited . . . What I should do is to put before them the ideal of a scientific attitude to practical questions. I should expect them to produce arguments that are arguments, and facts that are facts. In politics, especially, this habit is as rare as it is valuable . . . I should wish the fundamental political passions to be constructive, and I should try to make the intellect serve these passions. But it must serve them genuinely, not only in the world of dreams. When the real world is not sufficiently flattering we all tend to take refuge in an imaginary world, where our desires are granted without great effort. This is the essence of hysteria. It is also the source of nationalist, theological, and class myths. It shows a weakness of character which is almost universal in the present world. To combat this weakness of character should be one of the aims of later . . . education. There are two ways of combating it, both necessary, though in a sense opposites. The one is to increase our sense of what we can achieve in the world of reality; the other is to make us more sensitive to what reality can do in the way of dispelling our
dreams. Both are comprised in the principle of living objectively rather than subjectively... For this reason, I should encourage the habit of intelligent controversy among the older boys and girls, and I should place no obstacles in their way even if they questioned what I regarded as important truths. I should make it my object to teach thinking, not orthodoxy, or even heterodoxy. And I should absolutely never sacrifice intellect to the fancied interest of morals... What I am saying is no more than this: that I should cultivate the scientific spirit. Many eminent men of science do not have this spirit outside their special province; I should seek to make it all-pervasive'. (37)

I have quoted what I may call this final conclusion of Russell's not because it is a fine and noble act of intellectual faith in Man (although I believe it to be such), but for two reasons: first, because it is so very different from Kandel's (and later, Clarke's) concept of educating for a sort of social stability within change, and yet paradoxically is the education of a citizen where 'thought is a guide of free practice for all', and second, because these concepts, and even a repetition of parts of, or words from, these statements, will be found in more later literature on the subject than I can give references to in detail at this point.

(37): Ibid., pages 153 to 155.
This book of Russell's, then, along with those of Whitehead and Dewey, is one of the seminal works on Education which appeared in the 1920s. If it is not quoted in the Spens report, this would seem to be due

a) to the fact that it was not specifically dealing with particular systems of education, but was philosophical and general in nature, and

b) to the fact that it is more concerned with education for the individual, rather than education for society as we now understand it.

However, we can see Russell's influence at work, in the Spens report, in many places: to particularise (although clearly these are far from the only places indebted to Russell), we may note

Preface VI (xxxvii ff.) - the emphasis on logical thought in all fields of life. (See Note 6 to para. 2.2 above)

Chapter III Part II p.129 - the comment on the development of independent judgment quoted above (paragraph 2.2 and note 7)

Summary Conclusions 56, 59 and 63 (see the end of para. 2.3 above).

We shall also, as I suggested in the last paragraph, see many of Russell's ideas repeated (sometimes almost verbatim) in much of the later literature on Liberal and Social Studies.
2.15 **A Critique of the Motivations of this form of Liberal Education as revealed in Kandel's monograph and other places.**

Before continuing to trace the development of the subject from this point of inception, I feel I should comment upon a certain degree of contradiction which seems to me already, at this early stage being described, to be implicit in the nature and objectives of any reform of education along the liberal and democratic lines suggested by Kandel and the others: in a sense, the contradiction is I suppose a dialectical one; at least, it springs, I am inclined to suspect, from the historical nature of the movements concerned, and their background in the society in which they exist and which they are trying to reform by serving. It has to do with the stated objective of so much of modern liberal educational reform - making all persons of all classes as far as possible 'free men'.

This - making all classes 'free men' - effective citizens of a democracy, and hence self-directed by reason - is essentially the objective not only of Spens but of the whole later Liberal Studies movement: but, because of the traditional nature of his own education, and its influence on his scale of values, such enlargement of the liberal field inevitably involves the reforming educator in a rearguard action - trying to ensure that the new 'free men' will choose to live in the same sort of way that the elite they replace have found desirable. Hence,
reason, the 'new liberal disciplines' and citizenship, and 'traditional liberal' attitudes (e.g., about art and appreciation, or about tradition itself), are inextricably inter-involved, and confusion may arise between the aims (both valid) of enlarging the total social area of human free will, reason, sensitivity and generosity on the one hand, and making elegant individual craftsmen/technicians on the other. The Spens report and (as we shall see) Circular 323 both do this, when they assume more 'traditional liberal' elements in technical engineering studies than syllabus requirements and modes of teaching in fact allow to exist (or indeed than the real nature of the subject, at the level under discussion, would seem to entail): the 1956 White Paper on Technical Education and the Crowther Report do the same (from the other end), when they assume that giving a man a broad rationalist general education (in itself a valid enough objective for the individual) automatically makes him a more technically adaptable worker. And both groups of thought, from Dewey and Russell onwards, because the original liberal education was frequently an education of, among other things, the relatively intelligent, tend to produce liberal schemes which may expect too much of the students' powers of abstraction. Adult franchise democracy after all implies rule among other things by the elected representatives of the relatively stupid: perhaps it would after all be better if educators stopped deluding them-
selves that there is any discipline that will make a man able to outstrip his basic limitations. It is, in fact, remarkable what potentials of generosity and interest the 'relatively stupid' have, if one stops trying to push them forward into abstract learning-situations which they are unable as often as unwilling to be interested in. In this connection, recent Operatives Courses syllabi of City and Guilds are well worth studying, and will be discussed in detail in the appropriate section; and, although this is perhaps out of its correct place in this thesis, it is worth mentioning that the present author has found it perfectly possible to introduce Mechanical Engineering Craft Practice students of Secondary Modern general stream origin to basic management concepts, provided these are discussed within the practical context of their own firms and not as formal abstractions.

2.16 The Origins of Social Studies as a Curriculum Subject.

Kandel, in his account of the purpose of education, is clearly thinking of leading his liberal individuals in the process of creation to study the society in which they live. We saw in 2.9 that he desires them to come to an understanding of 'social, economic and political questions, home and overseas; a knowledge of how these have emerged: (history and geography brought up to date and related to the actual development of peoples.)' But how is such material to be made real to the secondary pupil; how is it to be related to his experience of life and his environment? Already, by 1938, considerable
thought had been given to this problem, particularly in the United States, where one of the purposes of state education had been from a very early time, as we have seen, to amalgamate the diverse racial fragments which made up the American population into one coherent nation conscious of its responsibilities and exercising its rights. In Britain and the Commonwealth, progress in breaking down the old formal subject barriers had been more slow - we have seen above that Spens itself prefers a study of recent history to the introduction of a broad subject-grouping such as Civics (38) - but nevertheless, British educational opinion, already influenced by psychology as to the value of breaking down formal subject-groupings in the earlier stages of education, was gradually beginning to come round to a similar attitude towards the place of informal 'mixed disciplines' (as they are now called) in later education: in the same year that the Spens Report was published, L. Zilliacus published his essay 'The Race Between Education and Catastrophe', in which he proposed a wide subject grouping, based on American practice but something more intellectually rigorous than merely a 'civics' or a 'social activities' course, to which he gave the name of 'social studies'. He said of it, in that essay (39):

(38): The 1938 Report, Preface, VI, pages xxxvii ff.: See 2.2 above.

'The old separate subjects are done away with, or rather fused in the single subject 'Social Studies', where political and cultural History, Economics, and Geography simply become the different angles from which to view the single problem of understanding some phase of the life of Mankind. This definition, clearly, is open to abuse: it is almost certainly intended as a definition for a school subject, and is only too liable to interpretation (as indeed it has been interpreted by many Secondary Modern Schools) as 'the place where History and Geography meet': But a closer inspection of what Zilliacus actually said will reveal that his definition need not bear this meaning at all: rather, it would appear to consist of taking, for the pupils' study, a single major problem, or interrelated group of problems, of the human situation, and the techniques now using/of the geographer, now of the literary or art or fashion critic (all of whom are cultural historians, sooner or later) to make it clear to the pupil as far as is possible in all its many-sided humanity: and such a problem may be the problem of an entire society, or a problem common to the individual in his relations with society, so long as it is 'some phase in the life of Mankind', and so long as it is treated rigorously, practically, and as a whole. Looked at in this light, it comes very close, as we shall see in the next Chapter, to the 'Social Studies topic' of the City and Guilds schemes of the later 1950s.
With the further development of Social Studies as a school subject I shall not much concern myself: although interesting, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, one particular development, in Australia, provides so interesting a parallel to the type of teaching envisaged later in Technical College syllabi that I believe it should be mentioned, despite the fact that it falls outside the scope of this Chapter by one year.

2.17 Australia, paradoxically (for its educational system in the 1930s and 1940s was in many respects less advanced than that of the United Kingdom) appears to have been a particularly fertile ground for educational experiment along the lines laid down above. No doubt this was partly due to the fact that it was less affected by World War II than was Britain; and clearly it was also partly due to the fact that the New Education Fellowship Conference of 1937, which was concerned with ways to make the school curriculum more effective, and which led to research and experiment in various countries, including the publication of the book referred to in note 39 above, was held in that Dominion. One of the effects of this Conference was the setting up by the Victoria Education Department of a Standing Committee on Social Studies Teaching, in collaboration with the University of Melbourne Institute of Education: in 1945, this Committee published an official handbook called 'The Teaching of Social Studies in Secondary Schools.'
handbook was published by Melbourne University Press, and was freely available here in Britain under a joint imprint with Cambridge University Press, being reprinted from time to time, as recently as 1961. Although it is intended for Secondary Schools, page 21 of the handbook makes it clear that in Australian Secondary Schools this subject is taught (in some schools at least) up to the age of 17 plus, as part of a 'Post-Leaving Course', which occupies the year after the School Leaving Certificate (the Australian equivalent of G.C.E. 'O' Level) and is designed to fit the pupil for entry to the world of industry or commerce, and of adult personal relations; schemes for just such courses are discussed, which clearly cover the same age ranges as British 'School' Technical College courses (e.g., M.E.C.P. 1,2; M.E.T. 1,2; G.1,2; Ga, G.C.S., P.C.O.S. and many others), and appear to have virtually the same educational purposes as such 'bridge' Technical College courses in this country as P.A.B., G1, G2, Ga and G.C.S., which are intended to close the gap between the world of school and the world of work. Here, then, we would seem to have the germ of the transition of Social Studies (or perhaps we may now refer to it as General Studies) from a school subject to a further education subject.

It is not easy to prove the existence of a direct link between this handbook and the Social and General Studies schemes which I shall be discussing in future Chapters, except in the
in the general terms just mentioned. So far as I have been able to ascertain, no person or official document concerned with the later development of Social Studies in Technical Colleges in this country formally refers to it. However, there is a striking similarity between the aims, methods, and modes of assessment quoted for these 'Post Leaving' courses, and indeed for others, and the aims, methods and modes of assessment quoted by the Ministry of Education and the City and Guilds. Possibly this is a massive coincidence. More probably the similarity is inherent in the nature of the material: that this is the only way in which these educational postulates can be worked out in practice. But nevertheless, the book has been freely available in the United Kingdom since 1945, and it seems at least a little unlikely that some of the many persons concerned in the formulation of social or general studies schemes in technical colleges would not have made use of it. Just how close the similarity involved is, can be seen below. I give, in tabular form, the aims, methods and modes of assessment proposed in the handbook, with cross-references to near-identical English material on the same subjects, in the form of notes. The reader may judge for himself.


**Aims**

Page 2: understanding of the community (40) (43)(44)(45)(46)(47)(48) (49)

good social relations (40)(43)(44)(45)(46)(47)(48)
understanding of present-day problems (43)(45)(46)(47)(48)(49)
critical awareness of historical growth (43)(44)(45)(46)(47)(48)
of understanding/the unity of civilisation (43)
clear thought (40)(42)(43)(45)(47)(48)(49)
ability to use sources of information (40)(42)(43)(45)(47)(48)(49)

communication and clear expression (41)(43)(45)(47)(48)(49)

(40): Also quoted in the University of Melbourne Handbook of Public and Matriculation Examinations.
(41): Quoted as based on the University of Melbourne Handbook.
(42): 'General skills of especial importance to the engineer' (Social Studies in Secondary Schools, page 3.)
(43): Quoted as an aim by Ministry Circular 6/1946 ('Youth's Opportunity')
(44): Quoted as an aim by Ministry Circular 8/1947.
(46): Quoted as an aim by Ministry Circular 323/1957
(47): " " " City & Guilds, following 1957 syllabus rev'ns.
(48): Quoted as an aim by Crowther Report, 1959.
Methods

pp. 14 & 19: Centrifugal, working outward from the individual and basic groups, or from the basic essential 'core' of knowledge. (53)(54)(56)

Page 15: Democratic atmosphere.

pp. 15 - 18: Variable and flexible teaching: the use of 'topics' covering a wide range of formal 'subjects' (52)(53)(54)(55)

Page 19: Student-directed work, within these limits. (53)(54)(55)


Page 29: Individual projects (less formal in presentation than an 'assignment') (50)(51)(53)(54)(55)


Page 33: Use of source books and library work. (50)(53)(54) (55)(56)


Page 39: Bringing in outside lecturers. (50)(53)(54)

Page 39: Arranging for the students to make relevant visits to back up studies. (50)(53)(54)(55)(56)


Page 47: English work to be informal and related to Social Studies content. (51)(53)(54)(55)(56)

Modes of Assessment (pp. 49 - 54)

Wide choice of questions. (57)

Many short questions to be set. (57)
Objective tests should be used where possible.

For assessing the important objective of moulding the students' attitudes, examinations are of no use, and should be replaced by some other means of assessment. (57)(58)

(50): Method suggested also for Junior High (Secondary) Schools.

(51): " " " Senior High (Secondary) Schools.

(52): The examples quoted of these topics are very similar to those suggested in the City and Guilds syllabi published after the subject revisions beginning in 1957.


(54): " " " " " 323/1957.

(55): " " " City and Guilds in syllabuses following 1957.


(57): Mode of assessment favoured by City and Guilds, according to policy interview quoted below.

(58): This comment on assessment is virtually identical in intention with those on Page 11 of 'General Studies in Technical Colleges'.
3.1. In the previous Chapter we were concerned with the main ideas and documents from which the concept of a liberal education relevant to, and part of, education for a technological society arose. These ideas, in Britain at least, were held in check for the next six years by the stresses of a great war: but from the formulation of the Butler Education Act of 1944 onwards, they began to be put into effect. This Chapter will attempt to trace that process, which is still in the course of being completed, from the taking effect of the Butler Act on April 1st, 1945 to the completion, with the publication of 'Further Education for Craftsmen' in early 1965, of the City and Guilds survey of proposed developments in technical education under the Industrial Training Act of 1964 - a period of almost exactly twenty years.

We may see this twenty year period as falling into four main parts. The first, from the effective date of 1st April 1945, is characterised by the setting-up of the basic machinery to make an efficient expansion of further education possible, and by the assumption that what is to
come about (and, like the rule of the Saints during an earlier great social revolution, to come about almost immediately) is a general expansion of further education, free and compulsory if part-time, in which specifically technical education will be only one part, although admittedly an important one. It may be called the 'County College' period: it ends, apparently in failure, with the signing of the 1947 Order in Council, without fixing any date whatever for the operation of Part II Para 43 of the Act. The second period is a period of private experiment: technical college facilities do improve, particularly after 1951, and these improved facilities certain forward-looking individuals do in fact make use of, experimentally, to introduce a liberal element into the curriculum. This period lasts from approximately 1948 to the revival of official interest in 1956: it is important in that certain of these experiments (particularly that of Dr. Chapman at Hatfield) had come to the notice of official bodies, such as the City and Guilds, and formed a basis on which official policy could be formulated. The third period, which we may call the 'Political' period, is fairly short. It begins with a policy decision, first expressed in Sir Anthony Eden's (the then Prime Minister's) speech at Bradford on 18th January 1956, that in the face of overseas economic challenge it is politically necessary
for Britain to invest in Technical Education. In the White Paper and policy statements that follow, it is considered politically expedient, on a number of grounds such as the need for adaptability in the face of technical change, to include a small but significant element of liberal education in the courses. (That this political argument rests upon two confusions of thought, one about the nature of the students and the other about the nature of the subject matter, has already been pointed out in 2.15 above, in the last Chapter.) In the direct educational field, this period is characterised by attempts to find liberal material within the technical studies themselves, by reforming the methods of teaching (on the whole, rather unsuccessful: see 2.3 above, in the previous Chapter), and by the formulation by the City and Guilds of the first official course of Social Studies (now called General Studies), in the 1957 Mechanical Engineering Craft Practice syllabus, including, like the later Building Trades General Studies course, suggestions so detailed that they have been 'received' (much against City and Guilds', intention) as an actual teaching syllabus by many Colleges. This third period comes to an end with the publication of the Report of the Crowther Commission in 1959: The fourth period therefore dates from 1959 to the present day, and there are not as yet any signs of a significant change of outlook, although the full implications of
the Industrial Training Act 1964 have yet to be felt. It is dominated largely by the Crowther Report and policy statements stemming from it which, while they accept to some extent the 'political' arguments of the previous period, also return to the more basic liberal-humanist attitudes of Spens, Russell and the 1944 Act. Significantly, the County Colleges are once again seen as an ideal still waiting to be attained, and the introduction of a 'County College Year' in existing Technical Colleges is thought of as something quite easy of attainment almost immediately. Educationally, this period is characterised by three things:

1. A massive expansion of Further and Higher Education, still going on, and likely to continue at least until 1970.

2. The 'institutionalisation' of liberal education in technical education, with the growth in many Colleges of Departments of Liberal or General Studies, or the equivalent, the production of textbooks and teachers' sourcebooks for use in the field, the inclusion of a General Studies period in many courses, often far beyond those for which its inclusion is a City and Guilds requirement, and in one course at least (the Certificate in Office Studies) the inclusion of both Social and General Studies syllabi and external examination papers - this last felt by not a few to be a retrograde step;
and 3. A change on the part of City and Guilds, apparently deliberate, away from giving any formal suggestions for such courses, especially after the publication in 1962 of the Ministry of Education pamphlet 'General Studies in Technical Colleges,' and towards complete College autonomy in the organisation of such courses, even to the extent of not requiring any form of examination in such courses, unless the College concerned wishes it. (It should however be pointed out that the City and Guilds does, and always did, require a certificate signed by the Principal of the College concerned, in courses where Social or General Studies is compulsory, to the effect that the students in such courses have completed their course to the College's satisfaction: in the absence of such a certificate, in courses to which this regulation applies — mainly MECP, MET, and G Courses, plus a few others — the technical award concerned will be withheld (and City and Guilds have confirmed that this has been done in the past). Thus, the autonomy granted to Colleges in the matter in fact extends to

(a) the exact content of the courses concerned

and (b) the exact mode of assessment on which the Principal's certificate is awarded:

and this is further narrowed by the suggestion that Colleges should base their practice on the recommendations of 'General
Studies in Technical Colleges,' which proposes a folder assessment system. They do not however require such a system to be used, and a number of Colleges use other systems. Some, in fact, still use formal examinations, which City and Guilds accept, but as we shall see later do not like.)

3.2 Chronological Summary

I shall now consider in some detail the various developments effected by the major decisions and documents of these four periods, beginning with the Ministry Circulars interpreting the 1944 Act in relation to further education. First, however, I feel it would be as well to give a brief chronological survey of the main events, since the timetable involved is at times both complex and crowded, and the reader may need some sort of time chart to which he can refer. Briefly, then, the main events of the period 1945-1965 with which I shall be concerned are these:

On April 1st 1945, the Education Act of 1944 (the Butler Act) became effective law. Part II Para. 7 of that Act stated that 'it shall be the duty of the Local Education Authority for every area, so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout' (Primary, Secondary and Further)
'stages shall be available'. Para 41 of this Part further laid down that it was no longer a permissive function (as it had previously been) but a duty of such L.E.A.s to secure 'full time and part time education for persons over compulsory school age'; and the same paragraph also stated that the L.E.A. had a duty to make provision for 'leisure time occupations in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.' We shall see later that this section is important in so far as it is officially interpreted as reflecting aims identical with those within the liberal education movement in general: and in practice the more progressive technical institutions do make facilities of precisely this kind available to their students to supplement liberal 'tuition' received in the General Studies period which is normally regarded, as has been said, as the 'core' of liberal education in these institutions. Para 42 (4) declared that in furthering these objectives it was the duty of the L.E.A.s to consult other agencies involved in further education in the area or near it; then followed the famous Paragraph 43, setting up County Colleges to carry out these educational commitments at a date to be fixed by Order in Council not later than April 1st 1948, by
providing for 'young persons who are not in full-time
attendance . . . such further education . . . as will enable
them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and
prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship'.
Education at these County Colleges was to be compulsory
up to the age of 18, was to include residential and block
release courses, and was to involve a year of 330 hours (the
'County College year' of which we shall hear more later.)
It was the failure of the 1947 Order to assign any definite
date to the coming into operation of this Paragraph which
brought to an end the first period mentioned above. Para.
53 of the same Part made a further provision requiring
L.E.A.s to provide 'adequate facilities for physical recrea-
tion and social training'; and finally, Para. 8 (1) pro-
pounded the dogma . . . originally intended to be applied to
school education, but later extended, as we shall see, to
apply to the field of further education also - that the state
has a responsibility to provide for all citizens an
education 'desirable in view of their different ages, abilities,
and aptitudes.'

Under Part I Para. 4 of the 1944 Act, the Central
Advisory Council on Education in England and Wales was set
up, in 1945, to survey the state of education in the
country and report and make recommendations from time to
time, as required by the Minister: it was this body that
produced the Crowther Report. Simultaneously, the
Percy Committee was set up, specifically to review the
situation in Higher Technical Education (which at this time
in practice meant Technical Colleges, as distinct from
such Technical Schools and Junior Technical Institutes as
had come into existence following the Spens Report). This
Committee reported in 1946, and its findings were endorsed
in Ministry Circular 87, which called for Regional Advisory
Councils for Education in Industry and Commerce to be set
up, under Part II Section 42 (4) of the 1944 Act, already
quoted, consisting of representatives of the Universities,
the L.E.A.s, the Technical Colleges themselves, and industry,
'to maintain an effective and continuous survey of the
educational needs of the area, and to recommend sound and
economical ways of meeting them.' (1) These bodies came
into existence from 1947 onwards, by stages, and were
eventually co-ordinated in the National Advisory Council for
Education in Industry and Commerce, which also commenced work
in 1947 (2). Meanwhile, industry had been organising a
system of National Joint Apprenticeship Schemes from about
1945.

(1) Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 8 of 1947, Para.17.
The Ministry of Education published two pamphlets, during this first period, outlining and interpreting policy towards further education under the 1944 Act. These were Pamphlet 6 of the 1946, 'Youth's Opportunity: Further Education in County Colleges,' and Pamphlet 8 of 1947: 'Further Education: The Scope and Content of its Opportunities under the Education Act of 1944.' Because of the failure of the Order in Council made in the same year under Part V Section 119 of the Act to name any date for the coming into operation of County Colleges, it is the second of these two pamphlets which is the more important. The first period effectively ended, as had just been stated, with the failure of the County College scheme.

The second period was one in which the further development of liberal education in Technical Colleges and Colleges of Further Education was carried out mainly by private individuals. The most publicised of these developments, although not really germane to this thesis, was Cambridgeshire Village College scheme, which was being developed systematically between 1947 and 1955. In this scheme, devised to suit the needs of a predominantly rural area with a scattered population, institutions known as Village Colleges, sited in the largest villages (Bassingbourne, Impington, Linton etc.), fulfilled a multiple purpose: during the day they were small rural comprehensive
schools, at night they functioned as Colleges of Further Education, and at the weekends and during school holidays they were used as community cultural and recreation centres. This experiment was bold and imaginative, and certainly an example of an attempt under difficult conditions to carry out the liberal spirit of the 1944 Act. But the conditions of Cambridgeshire were special conditions, and despite the publicity the scheme attracted at the time and for some time afterwards, it could not of its very nature be influential on the main stream of further education, which was working under quite other circumstances. (3)

More relevant, but less spectacular, was the work being done at Hatfield. In 1952, it was proposed to open a College of Technology at Hatfield. The man who was been appointed Principal, had for many years previously, and particularly during the time I was planning the programme for the College been struck by the fact that 'great benefit would accrue by introducing ... Social Studies into the curriculum of this College' (4) and this was accordingly

(3) This resume of the Village College experiment is based on the author's personal acquaintance, during the period 1953-5, with the scheme and various members of staff involved in operating it, in particular staff of the Fine Art Department at Bassingbourne.

(4) The above quotation, and other information about the Hatfield experiment, is derived from a letter from the Principal to the author, dated 1st September 1964.
done. Every student in the College had about ten percent of his time given over to this form of study. Initially some resistance was experienced from students, certain employers, and 'even from some of the teachers of engineering' (4), but this was gradually overcome, and the scheme, which is still running, now meets with general acceptance. So far as I can ascertain, this is the earliest scheme of its kind in the country: but its importance for the development of Social or General Studies as a Technical College subject is more than that alone. It happens that the Principal of Hatfield along with a colleague of similar opinions at the City and Guilds Institute (herself a Social Scientist), had for some time been connected with the Institute's Advisory Committee on Engineering subjects. (The Institute maintains no liberal education or Social Studies panels as such, and has never done so. The inclusion of liberal material in its syllabuses is therefore the responsibility of the various Advisory Committees for the different technical disciplines.) Both of these people were anxious to start some sort of general, official scheme which would include liberal material in the Institute's courses (5). Thus, when in 1956-7 official interest in technical education, and especially in the liberal content of technical education, once more

(5): This information, and that immediately following was obtained by direct interview at City and Guilds, London, on 24th July 1964.
revived, and the M.E.C.P. syllabus was being revised in any case, because of other changes in technical education occurring at the same time, opportunity was taken to introduce into the syllabus a liberal classroom subject - Social Studies, as it was then called (now General Studies) - with an approximate time allocation (no set number of hours was ever given, but 40% of the time of the course is to be divided between Craft Theory, Related Studies, and Social Studies) similar to that of the Hatfield experiment, and a set of suggested topics derived from discussions in Committee (6) to which both the persons referred to above contributed (5).

The City and Guilds point out that this was not the only scheme of its kind to emerge during this period, although it was this scheme that directly affected the introduction of a liberal element into their courses: they understand that other private schemes of this type were being carried out fairly extensively throughout the period (7). Only one other scheme of this type, however, is of sufficient importance to this thesis to be quoted separately; that introduced in Billingham in 1954. This scheme, which initially made use of the College as a community centre for cultural activities outside College hours, while building up a General

(6) Letter from City & Guilds to the author, 1st May 1964.

(7) Letter from City & Guilds to the author, 13th May 1964. See also various articles on private experiments in this field published in 'Vocational Aspect' between 1952 and 1955.
Education department (i.e., G.C.E. Courses etc.) within the College, and then, in 1956, introduced Social Studies for full-time engineering and commercial students, and later for part-time students also, is mainly of interest on the local level: it was part of the original Durham County scheme prepared following the publication of Pamphlets 6 and 8, and when the County College movement collapsed it was used as a pilot scheme for the general introduction of liberal education into technical colleges within the Authority. It appears to have been quite independent of national movements, other than Pamphlets 6 and 8, and there is no direct indication that it influenced any other authority, except just possibly Darlington. However, it is of great importance in discussing the development of liberal education within the North-East Region, and will be discussed in detail in the appropriate Chapter.

It is thus obvious that, although the authorities were silent during this second period, the movement towards the liberalisation of further education was by no means dead: and during this period also, a number of books were published, two of which in particular will be worth examination. The first is that now standard textbook of Professor Fred Clark, 'Freedom in the Educative Society'. This book is no more entirely concerned with our subject than was
Russell or Kandel: but when it treats it, and when it speaks in general, it seems to crystallise the general ideas on education that had been in the air during 1944/5/6/7. It is, if you like, the systematisation of the ideas - or rather, of one set of ideas - characteristic of the first, 'County College' period. It comes, understandably, at the beginning of the second period, in 1948. By contrast, the other book, 'Education and Society', by Ottaway, published by Routledge and Kegan Paul in 1953, looks forward to the need to reorganise further education in the face of a changing technology which was to characterise the third, 'political' period.

This third period should perhaps be dated from late 1955 rather than early 1956. At some time around then (the exact circumstances will not be able to be known until the twenty-five year embargo on information about Cabinet meetings is up), the Government of the day took the decision to embark on a vastly enlarged programme of technical and technological education. That this was a political, rather than an educational decision, is certain: Sir Anthony Eden's speech at Bradford on 18th January 1956, which has already been referred to, made that quite clear:

'The prizes will not go to the countries with the largest population. Those with the best systems of education...
will win . . . but if we are to make full use of what we are learning, we shall need many more scientists, engineers and technicians.' (8) However, the 1956 White Paper on Technical Education, in which the detailed proposals to which Sir Anthony Eden had referred in his speech were published, also included a number of proposals, in general terms, for the liberalisation of the curriculum of these new Colleges: political reasons were given for these, but political reasons of a type (similar to the political arguments in Kandel) which suggests that some liberal enthusiast at the Ministry of Education may have been at work. At the same time, the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce published a report on Sandwich Courses, in which it stressed also the importance of introducing a liberal content into technical studies (9). The problem was raised, by both the Report and the White Paper, of how this broadening of treatment should be carried out: it was discussed at various meetings of the Ministry, and as a result one of the H.M. Inspectors of Schools prepared a memorandum on the subject for the then Minister. This memorandum, after consultation with the National Advisory Council, the teaching


(9): This information, and that immediately following, is contained in letter T.555/3321c of the Department of Education and Science to the author, dated 15th October 1964.
associations, and the National Council for Technological Awards, became the text of the now famous Ministry Circular 323 of 1957: 'Liberal Education in Technical Colleges,' which proposed in some detail methods for liberalising technical courses, including the liberalisation of technical teaching, the encouragement of corporate and cultural activities, and the inclusion of periods devoted to additional liberal subjects. Meanwhile, the City and Guilds, affected by other proposals of the 1956 White Paper, had begun revising their Machine Shop Syllabuses, and as we have seen had introduced a new course, Mechanical Engineering Craft Practice, which included one such subject (or rather, subject grouping) - Social Studies. Understandably, this method of dealing with the introduction of a liberal element into technical education, and this type of subject, very soon became regarded as standard (although properly it is only one component - albeit an important one - within liberal education) the more so since, as I have indicated in the previous Chapter, the situation as regards College staffing facilities, and timetable allocation in the late 1950s made the other suggestions all too frequently impracticable (indeed, in many places it still does): it is not surprising therefore that the City and Guilds state with some pride that their new syllabus preceded Circular 323 by a short period. The Government's proposals, it may be added, had one further
effect: in 1958, the following year, a further Council, the Industrial Training Council, was set up, with members from the F.B.I., the T.U.C., and the Nationalised Industries. This did not ideal directly with technical education, but is interesting as the first two of its constituent bodies were also directly connected with the Crowther Report, which appeared in 1959.

The Crowther Report, which opens our fourth and last period, was a report of the Central Advisory Council on Education in England and Wales which, as we have seen, was set up under the 1944 Act. It is subtitled, '15 to 18', and is concerned both with further education up to the age of 18, and with Sixth Form education (which does not greatly concern us here). It is a long and complex document, including a great deal of statistical material, but as far as the matter of the liberal aspect of technical education goes it is quite clear. It accepts the political arguments of the 1956 White Paper, but goes beyond them, to revive the concept of County Colleges, and to lay down four 'strands' of adolescent education, citizenship, ethics, the right use of leisure, and technical skill, which clearly derive from the main liberal tradition we have been observing in Spens. The Report does not actually propose reviving the County Colleges: but it does propose among other things the County College Year, extensions of residential courses and block release,
and that 'in future, at least equal importance should be given to ' (the) 'wider social purposes' (of education) (though . . . not necessarily . . . equal time.' (10). It should perhaps be mentioned that this Report was made with considerable assistance from the City and Guilds, who are frequently mentioned in it.

Two years later, in 1961, the Report's proposals, after discussion with the L.E.A.s. the teaching profession, both sides of industry, and the City and Guilds (11), were given official sanction in the 1961 White Paper, 'Better Opportunities in Technical Education.' Courses in Technical Colleges were again reorganised, new courses were introduced, and for the first time it was laid down as a general principle that courses for craftsmen and technicians should contain 240 hours of technical instruction, plus a further 90 hours General Studies. (12) This was the first occasion on which any definite time allocation had been laid down officially for the subject. The work of revising syllabuses to include it was officially given, in the White Paper, to various bodies, primarily the City and Guilds, and this revision is still (1965) going on, the next group of courses

(10): The Crowther Report: 15 to 18: Para. 275


(12) Ibid., Para. 50
due to be affected in this way being the Motor Vehicle Engineering group (with effect from September 1965), and the Ministry Inspectors as a matter of routine policy now attempt to ensure that Colleges are in fact making such provision even in those courses which have not yet been revised, although this is not always effective. (At South Shields, for example, it is effective: at Gateshead it is not.)

This White Paper was officially endorsed by the British Council of Churches in a pamphlet called 'over 15' in the same year (1961), and in the following year came the official Ministry Pamphlet on content and method, 'General Studies in Technical Colleges,' to which later City and Guilds Syllabi largely refer, and the teaching and source book 'Liberal Studies - 1' by Stygall et.al. (followed by a second volume in 1964.) These two publications are virtually the main handbooks in the subject now in use, and together with a work - 'Education and Social Purpose' by Garforth, Oldbourne 1962 - which seems to sum up current thinking on this and a number of other subjects in much the same way as Clark's book sums up the thinking of the mid forties they will be considered as the starting point of Chapter Four, which attempts to analyse the nature and self-consistency of the subject-grouping known as Social or General Studies today. Finally, the same year (1962), saw the publication of another related document, also in part derived from the Crowther
Report, Command Paper 1892, Industrial Training: Government Proposals, which, while it did not directly affect liberal education, except in so far as it seemed to promise an enlarged supply of pupils, was, in its final form as the Industrial Training Act of 1964, the occasion for a final series of policy statements by the City and Guilds on further education for Craftsmen, Operatives, and Technicians, which between them complete from the examining bodies' standpoint the development of a systematic, operative policy regarding the inclusion of General Studies material in technical courses, which complements that of the Ministry of Education. With a consideration of these three documents I shall close this Chapter.

Against this brief chronological explanation of the development of Social and General Studies from a general idea in a report to a systematic technical college subject with official support and policy statements, then, we are now ready to begin a discussion of the nature of the main documents involved.

3.3. Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 6 of 1946: 'Youth's Opportunity: Further Education in County Colleges.'

The aims of the Spens report were incorporated in the paragraphs of the Education Act of 1944 already quoted: but an Education Act in itself is what the logicians would term 'necessary but not sufficient'; that is, it makes it permissible
for education authorities to do certain things, or compulsory
for them to do certain other things, but it neither legislates
nor leads as to the spirit in which they should do them, nor
does it suggest, except in the most general terms, what their
aims and methods should be in doing them. To do this — to
lead and to suggest — is the function not of legislative Acts
but of executive policy documents, in this case the Ministry
pamphlets and circulars.

The first of these leading circulars to be published
interpreting the 1944 Act, as far as our subject is concerned,
was Pamphlet 6 of 1946, 'Youth's Opportunity'. It was con­
cerned with proposals for further education in the new 'County
Colleges' which never in fact came into existence: but
although its practical applications were therefore slight, its
theoretical importance is very great. Indeed, in one sense
at least, it would scarcely be too much to say that the whole
later liberal education movement was an attempt to do by other
means the job which should really have been done by the County
Colleges. For it was in these County Colleges that the
liberal ideology of the Spens Report was most clearly embodied
within further education.

The Spens Report, as we have seen, had a lot to say about
the interrelations of liberal and technical and general
education: but almost all of what it had to say, in 1938,
was concerned with School education, i.e., education before the
age of 15. True, the connections between the Secondary Technical School in particular and the Technical College were to be close to the point of interanimation; true too that what the Spens Report had to say about the educational and spiritual needs of adolescents was not—could not be—subject to an arbitrary line drawn at the age of 15: if it was true at all, it was as true in the five years after 15 as in the five years before it. But the fact remains, that Spens was talking primarily about the education of children in schools, and society in general, before World War II, was not ready to regard the educative process as extending to the years of apprenticeship and later adolescence, except for the fortunate few who, for reasons of birth or intelligence, were in a position to attend University. As the City and Guilds put it, in their 1965 Report on Further Education for Craftsmen, before 1944, craft courses in technical colleges and evening institutes had been taken, on the whole, in their spare time by craftsmen desiring to 'get ahead'; that is, by 'more than usually competent men who would not remain as craftsmen and were seeking to remedy deficiencies in their earlier education' (13). But social beliefs and circumstances change rapidly in a technological society, and nowhere more rapidly than during a great war. By 1944, it was generally accepted, in a way that it never would have been accepted in 1938, that

education could not be completed by the age of 15, either in the technical or the general sense, and that accordingly the liberal education of the free citizen, and the technical education of the producer, would have to be continued beyond this age. Beyond question, the first of these — liberal education — was mainly to be instilled through the County Colleges, new institutions to be set up under Part II Para 43 (1) of the 1944 Act already quoted above, at which all young people between the ages of 15 and 18 were to attend for two days a week (or equivalent block release or short residential courses) up to a minimum of 330 hours per year (the 'County College Year' already referred to). These, again according to Part II Para. 43 (1) of the Act were to provide, for 'young people who are not in full-time attendance . . . such further education . . . as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship'. The italics are mine.

The pamphlet 'Youth's Opportunity' set out to explain in more detail just how this should be done. The aims stated in Para. 43 (1) of the Act were enlarged and clarified in Para. 105 of the Pamphlet. (14)

(14): For a detailed analysis of the degree of correlation of aim between the various pamphlets, policy documents, reports and books which have influenced the liberal studies movement, see the table at the end of this Chapter.
The aims here were classified under three headings, which we may call the physical, the social, and the moral. Under the first heading there were two main aims: to help young people to understand how to live a healthy life, and to give opportunities for physical education and recreation. Under the second heading, eight main aims were proposed. Most of these will be seen to lean pretty heavily upon the thinking of the Spens Report, and especially upon Dr. Kandel's appendix to it: of them all, the first and the last are most immediately inline with this thinking, and the first aim is also very close to the famous objective of Russell:

'a belief that knowledge is possible, although difficult'. The eight aims are: to foster a systematic attention and concentration on work to be done; to draw the students to explore new fields of leisure interest; to provide an imaginative stimulus through arts and science; to improve the students' ability to express themselves; to lead them to an understanding of the place of the family in the community; to lead them to an understanding of current social conditions and how they can be improved; to enlarge their knowledge of other countries; to inculcate good citizenship. Finally, the pamphlet sets itself two groups of moral objectives, both of which are reminiscent more perhaps of Russell and Dewey than of Spens itself, but are still clearly derived from the general tradition of liberal humanist thought: they are the moral virtues of
honour, tolerance, and integrity, and the intellectual virtues of independence of mind and balance of judgment. It is perhaps a pity that the first of these terms, 'honour', is not defined more exactly, as it is not quite clear what the writers of the pamphlet had in mind precisely: but one can scarcely expect a Ministry Pamphlet to be a philosophically precise document, after all; it will I suppose be reasonable to presume it to lie somewhere between the Christian's 'conscience' and the scientific humanist's 'magnanimous self-regard.'

In Paragraphs 61 to 72, the Pamphlet proceeds to explain in what buildings and under what curriculum these aims are to be carried out. The building is to be 'dignified and beautiful, as well as suited to '(its)' purpose.' It is to include an assembly hall, which will also function as a theatre: but there is to be a separate gymnasium. The building is to have a well-equipped library, and the pamphlet is quite explicit in mentioning that this library is to be used not only as a place from which books may be borrowed but also as a place in which students may learn about books, make research from books, or simply, if they so desire, work quietly. There is to be a Students' Common Room. There are to be craft rooms of all types that may be required. There are to be classrooms which include facilities for making use of radio and visual aids.

The curriculum is to fall into four main parts. These
will be, Physical Education, Practical Activities (which includes crafts but does not seem to include technical training in a specific trade, which is dealt with in a separate Pamphlet, q.v. below), General Studies and Elective Activities - periods in which the students shall have a completely free choice to do what they will, so long as it is educational in the broad sense of the term: presumably acting, making or showing films, making music or listening to records, taking part in debating, literary, or even political societies, working on Student Union business, or simply talking out the world's problems, would all come under this heading of 'Elective Activities', as of course would be a great deal more.

The General Studies curriculum is the subject of Paras. 119-121. It is to occupy a quarter of the total time, and its syllabuses are to be related to the needs and interests and experience of the students. They are to include the background of the students' own life as a subject of study, current affairs, discoveries, applied science, local industry, and local culture and history: and they are to include the use of visits, visual aids, and extensive use of the library.

Finally, the methods by which such a syllabus is to be taught are discussed in paragraphs 126 to 134. In practice, the General Studies time allocation, it is suggested, could be broken up into periods devoted to English, to what is
called 'Combined Studies', and to single subjects such as Mathematics which would be better treated separately (not all mathematicians, I believe, would necessarily agree with this). English is to be treated informally. It is to include discussions and debates, drama, reports and notes and letters relevant to the rest of the syllabus (i.e., springing out of the 'Combined Studies' material and necessary to accomplish assignments in it), and a study of dialect and standard speech, headlines, advertising, and, in general, the social uses of language as a mode of influencing our thoughts. Literature is only to be included in the course if the students in the class desire it: presumably (though the Pamphlet does not say so) its normal place would be in a Society, or as an Elective Activity. The Combined Studies period is then defined, and turns out to be in fact what was later to become known as Social Studies. Local surveys are to be undertaken in this period: in addition, large topics (for example, Transport), which cover a variety of disciplines - engineering, history, simple economics, simple sociology etc. - are to be studied from various aspects, possibly as group projects. Finally, the single subjects, such as Mathematics, are to be as closely related to the rest of the course and to various aspects of the students' life as possible. Art and Music, and similar other 'highbrow' subjects, may be included among these if the College desires, but require very careful handling, if they
are not to become too academic or too far over the students' heads: their normal place, once again, is felt to be among the Elective Activities, or in College societies.

Thus this pamphlet, as will be seen, proposes a very detailed scheme of general liberal education, both in the classroom and through societies and activities, for young people of the levels that would normally go not into higher education but into apprenticeships in industry. It presents, for the first time, a detailed practical realisation of the concepts contained in the Spens Report, as applied to the age-range 15 to 18 which changed circumstances after the War had made it necessary to include in the educational net. But, as we all know, it never came into actual practice: the County College Order was indeed signed, in the following year, but no effective date was given. Just how important has it been, then, in its effects?

Directly, it has clearly not had any effects: it could not. Consequently, there is a tendency to regard it, and the County College proposals in general, as a pretty but ineffectual piece of utopianism: to point to the sections calling for 'dignified and beautiful buildings', for example, or to the call for 'Elective Activities' and say, 'But where are they?'

In fact, however, those Authorities which initially took the County College proposals seriously - in this Region, primarily Durham County - have in fact produced Colleges of
Further Education with 'dignified and beautiful' buildings: notably, in the North-East, in Durham itself, at Billingham, and at Peterlee (Easington Technical College). In fact Colleges such as Durham, Bishop Auckland, South Shields and Ashington do have halls with operative stages, and produce meritable drama; Durham, Billingham, Peterlee, and Ashington (Northumberland), like many other colleges throughout the country (though regrettably, there are exceptions to this - Gateshead for one in this area), have well-stocked libraries, not only on technical but also on general subjects, and encourage students to work in them: Durham and Darlington both have separate gymnasia, and Gateshead is in the process of building one; a list of the radio, T.V., and audio-visual facilities of North-East Colleges will be found in the Chapter on Colleges in this area; and those Colleges in areas which took the County College proposals seriously - including most of those mentioned above, plus Hebburn and I understand Consett - have made it an item of College policy to form Student Societies for practising (extra curricular) elective activities: Billingham, as stated above, began this scheme in 1952; Darlington and Ashington both run schemes whereby part-time students can profit as fully as possible from the sort of activities that are normally available most easily to full-time classes; Hebburn includes craft and recreative activities in its daytime curriculum; and the part played by these Colleges
in the cultural life of the region may be seen from the following entries taken at random from the North-East Association for the Arts' Diary of Events for the specimen month of January 1965:

12th January Opera for All: La Traviata: Easington Tech. Peterlee.
14th January Film: Dead of Night: Tech. Coll. Durham.
14th January Film: Fidelio (Beethoven's Opera): Tech. Coll. Consett.
15th January Films: Knife in the Water (Poland).
           Max Beckmann; Ballet in Jazz: C.F.E., Darlington.
16th January Opera for All: Cosi Fan Tutte: Marine & Tech. South Shields.
18th January Opera for All: Cosi Fan Tutte: Tech. Coll, Consett.
22nd January: Films: Stereo recording of Prokofiev's Classical Symphony; Knife in the Water; Hotel des Invalides: Marine & Tech., South Shields.


30th January: Opera for All: La Traviata: C.F.E., Darlington.


5th February: Films: Stereo recording of Walton's Facade Chopin Ballet; Viennese Carousel; Tales of Hoffmann: Marine & Tech. South Shields.

Thus, although the actual administrative and teaching scheme of the County Colleges has been lost, the idea of the scheme has not: it has influenced buildings, facilities, and student activities to a much greater extent than might have been supposed. This is partly due, no doubt, to the same ideas having been taken up again in 1957 and in 1962, as we shall see: but the influence is none the less real because it has been transmitted through two or three documents instead of directly from the original one; the fact that the later documents resurrected these ideas proves that they were influential, if nowhere else, in the minds of the Ministry's pamphleteers: and in the case of those Colleges whose buildings or student societies date from before 1956 (e.g., Billingham), this influence is obviously a direct one.

In the case of the General Studies curriculum and methods the same points are to be made. The practical effect of this Pamphlet No. 6 (and the accompanying Pamphlet No. 8, which I shall deal with directly) was no doubt limited, except in one or two places (Hatfield, Cambridgeshire, Billingham); but, when we come to examine the stated aims of liberal education (including social/general studies) in technical colleges, as the table at the end of this Chapter will show, we shall find a close correspondence between this pamphlet and later ones; the 1961 White Paper requirement of 90 hours General Studies out of a total of 330 hours in fact slightly exceeds the one
quarter time allocation proposed in Pamphlet 6; the approach to 'Combined Studies' through topics and examples is echoed in City and Guilds syllabus suggestions in 1957 and again in 1961 (MECP, MET, FS, G); and the general syllabus content and treatment of English proposed in the scheme is to be found, as we shall see in the next Chapter, almost exactly over again in the Pamphlet of 1962.

This pamphlet, then, was not only the first detailed exposition of the educational practice implied in the Spens recommendations, as far as further education is concerned. It also had certain practical and tangible effects, even though the County Colleges themselves did not come into existence; and more important, its ideas are to be found repeated in various other later writings on this subject, which have clearly been influenced by it.


The pamphlet directing the setting up of courses in County Colleges as we have seen, was the main expression of the form to be taken by the new extension of general liberal education into later adolescence: but there was also the question, in the years immediately following the War, of the similar extension of technical education (as distinct from simply industrial apprenticeship - learning 'on the job') to be
considered, and this was covered in the second main policy
document of the first of our periods, Pamphlet 8 of 1947. These
two questions, of general and of technical education, cannot
of course be divorced from each other: we have already seen
Spens insisting that technical education must include liberal
education, and indeed is in some sense and to some extent
a liberal training, if it is rightly taught; and in the year
that intervened between the publication of 'Youth's Opportunity'
and the Pamphlet with which we are now concerned the opinion
seems to have grown in the Ministry that the County Colleges
would concern themselves, at least during part of their daytime
work, with technical as well as general training - that they
would in fact be what we now call Colleges of Further Education.
Thus this pamphlet 8 is not intended to be read separately
from 'Youth's Opportunity': it expands and complements it,
and the reader is periodically referred to it. This pamphlet
completes the picture, by being primarily concerned with
existing technical institutions, and those to be built along
the same lines rather than as County Colleges, with day
release, and with adult education centres. The possibility that
all these, and County College activities, might be going on
in the same building or complex of buildings is even envisaged;
the pamphlet covers a certain kind of educational activity
rather than a certain kind of building or institution.
Thus, before we proceed to examine the pamphlet's statements, there are three points to be borne in mind. The first, which has already been sufficiently made clear, is that this pamphlet enlarges the 1946 Pamphlet, but does not supersede it: it was written before the decision not to include any operative date in the 1947 Order in Council had been taken. The second is, that since this pamphlet refers to technical institutions of a type already in existence, its effects, unlike those of Pamphlet 6, were direct. The third is that, technically at least, it is the policy interpretation of an Act of Parliament which is still in operation, and therefore may have been enlarged or modified subsequently, but in the areas to which it refers at least has not been cancelled. Thus, later documents extend the amount of liberal studies teaching and the type of course, but for the courses which are envisaged as containing a liberal element in this pamphlet, the type of work discussed will still be found to hold good.

The Pamphlet falls into three main sections, Introductory, Preparation for Work, and Learning for Leisure. The Introduction quotes A.N. Whitehead 'The Aims of Education' (it will be recalled that this book was a major source of the ideas in Appendix II of the Spens Report):

'The life of man is founded on technology, science, art and religion. All four are interconnected and issue from his total mentality.' Paragraph 1 then proceeds, on the
basis of this quotation, to lay down the objectives of further education in general. It argues that there are three parts of life, work, the society, and individual activity: the object of education must therefore be the production of efficiency at work, the constructive mature use of leisure and personal life, and the inculcation of a spirit of service to the community. These three aspects, which recall again those of Kandel's Appendix to Spens, are to be harmonised and integrated. The object of this integration, however, is stated in a phrase which clearly owes as much to Russell as to Spens; 'there will be a falling short of excellence unless some measure of synthesis has been achieved . . . We must plan for a balanced community of well-balanced men and women'. And the second paragraph then states, for the first time, the proposition, already tacitly acknowledged and acted upon in 'Youth's Opportunity', that the aims and training proposed by Spens can no longer be attained by the age of 15:

'The training and preparation appropriate to the times must and can extend far beyond the statutory school leaving age'.

We are to see, in the following sections, that 'far beyond the school leaving age' does not simply mean 'to the age of 18': and the third Paragraph continues to support this point by reference to the 1944 Act, which this Pamphlet is to interpret for us as far as technical and adult education goes, with a
statement that clearly implies that the state now conceives itself as having a responsibility to the young worker to continue his education, both general and technical, and that it is determined that this shall be met by various means: 'The Education Act of 1944 . . . lays down that it is no longer a permissive function, but a duty of local education authorities to secure "full time and part time education for persons over compulsory school age"' . . . and the same paragraph also states that the authority has a similar duty to provide general cultural and leisure facilities.

These objectives are to be met, the pamphlet continues, in two ways. In the first place, day release from industry (a feature of technical college life with which everyone is now familiar, but which was then a new thing) is to be enlarged. These day release courses should contain some general studies, although the pamphlet gives no clear indication of what, or how much: 'for young workers there is also, some daytime instruction in general studies which have no vocational bias'. (15).

Part of the reason for the vagueness of this pamphlet over general studies content now emerges, in Paras. 13-15: it is quite clear that the authors expect County Colleges to be set up in the very near future, and that they will cater

for a large amount of this kind of work, and the reader is at this point referred to 'Youth's Opportunity' for detailed schemes: although in the year since that pamphlet was published the interesting development has taken place that it is now presumed that the organisation of these Colleges will probably involve mainly vocational studies during the day, with the cultural studies being held in the evening. That is to say, the County Colleges are now envisaged as something much more like the Colleges of Further Education which did in fact come about (which involves the interesting implication that the evening activities detailed in 3.3. above may be even less removed from the 'Elective Activities' of the original pamphlet than one would think). Finally, the first part declares unequivocally, in Paragraph 20, that it is the job of the Local Education Authority 'to assume leadership in the co-operative enterprise of community education', and that the purpose of the pamphlet is to indicate the main lines along which this can be developed.

The second section, 'Preparation for Work', is devoted to explaining the arrangements for the introduction of day-release courses on what was then an unprecedented scale (16). The main part of this section, naturally enough, is concerned with the arrangement and technical content of such courses.

(16): See 'Further Education for Craftsmen' (City and Guilds 1965), discussed later in this Chapter.
There are however two paragraphs which concern us here. The first, paragraph 22, states once again the twofold aim, economic and cultural, which was found in Kandel, and derives from it a suggestion which once again gives force to the connection between these two pamphlets and evening society or elective activities such as have been described above:

'Our need is twofold: to produce both skill and social leadership... In addition to possessing technical knowledge, however, men and women must also have an understanding of everyday human relationships... To a very much greater degree than in the past, therefore, it is necessary to foster a corporate life in our colleges, and through self-governing student societies and the assignment of responsibilities to extend the students' range of interests and their social powers'. The other interesting paragraph is para. 36: this deals with the liberal content of technical courses, and suggests once again what has already been suggested for the County Colleges themselves: a parallel growth of technical courses during the day and liberal courses at night - 'places where men and women can learn not only to work well but also to live more fully.' This perhaps rather unrealistic suggestion will be discussed more fully in a moment: it - or rather reaction to it - may have been more important in shaping the present form of technical college liberal education, built round daytime general studies courses, than is at first sight apparent,
The third Section is entitled 'Learning for Leisure'. It begins by quoting the extract from Part II. Para. 41 of the 1944 Act quoted in 3.2 above dealing with cultural and recreative education. Paragraph 102 then outlines the four aims of an adult education programme - aims, it may be added, curiously like those of liberal education for adolescents - as: to develop maturity of judgment and outlook; to increase the responsibility and awareness of the individual; to evolve a philosophy of life; to make effective use of leisure. Clearly, these are much the same aims as are suggested for the liberal content of the technical courses for young people that have been considered: and, remembering that the liberal part of such courses is to take place in the evening, we may be pardoned for wondering if the same courses will serve both ends. Paragraph 106 suggests that that will indeed be so:

'Adult education must seek to attract to liberal study as many men, women and young people as are able to benefit from it'.

(17). The matter is thus fairly clear: what is being proposed (17): In addition, between paras. 90 and 120 generally, the physical provisions required are indicated: these - a hall, a stage, a gymnasium, a library, audio-visual equipment, and a good staff-student ratio with a sufficient number of specialists - turn out to be virtually the same as those required in County Colleges (subsequently defined in Building Bulletin No.5). Thus further weight is lent to the possibility that the writers of this Pamphlet visualise the same facilities being used for County College and Technical College work, with technical courses predominating during the day and liberal courses at night: that is to say a position similar to that which has actually obtained in Colleges of Further Education subsequent to the abandonment of the County College scheme later in the year in which this pamphlet first came out.
is an enlargement of facilities for technical education during the day. This technical education will be intended to include a liberal element; but this liberal element will take place separately at night, in the same — or similar — courses as are attended by adult 'recreational' students on the one hand, and possibly County College students on the other, though this last is implied rather than stated. Thus the student will be expected in addition to his day-release studies, to enrol in a liberal night-class, or for a liberal evening activity.

Considerable vestiges of this stage in the development of liberal education remain to be seen today. The most obvious is of course the existence of Colleges of Further Education, and of day-release courses within them and within Technical Colleges proper: but more germane to our subject are the existence, in both types of College, of evening courses in general education, in languages, and in recreational subjects, in which anyone, including students also attending day-release courses, may enrol, and the continued existence in several colleges in the area of schemes whereby the day-release students are required to enrol in a further evening course of a general nature: at Gateshead, for example. day-release O.N.C. students who do not possess a G.C.E. in English Language are required to attend a night-class course leading to such a qualification, while at Ashington similar students must enrol for one G.C.E. subject at night, but may choose which one they wish. The
main demerits of this scheme however are first that it will only function as a compulsory scheme - students will rarely enrol voluntarily - and second that the courses involved, being tied to a strict examination syllabus and in the case of English also required by City and Guilds for endorsement purposes, are scarcely 'liberal study', in the sense in which the writers of the pamphlet intended the term, though no doubt they are better than nothing.

The main things to note in this pamphlet, then, are three: first, that for the first time we have a Ministry policy statement which endorses the concept of liberal education of technical trainees (as distinct from, but as complementary to, the general enlargement of liberal education which County Colleges would have involved); second, that the college in which these young people receive technical training is also conceived of as a cultural centre, just as much as the County College, and may indeed even by the same institution (i.e., we have now reached the stage of having Colleges of Further Education which will combine County and Technical College functions); and third, that the daytime education given in

(18): In fact, in some of these courses a sufficiently generous time allocation has been given for the subject to be treated fairly liberally. The present author, for example, was given an allocation of 2½ hours/week for O.N.C. language courses at Gateshead, as against the 2 hours/week usual for G.C.E. night-classes, and was thus able to treat the subject fairly liberally, introducing discussion of books, films, politics, advertising, the press etc. into the course. Not all G.C.E. courses are as amenable to this sort of treatment as English Language, however; and even under these conditions, the method of treatment - and most important, the informal atmosphere - of a true general studies course is lacking.
these institutions is to be primarily vocational, while the liberal element is to be injected partly through a Student's Union and College Societies (which still flourish in every College in the North-East region which has returned information to me, with the exception of Gateshead and West Hartlepool), and partly - perhaps primarily - through additional time spent by the students in pursuit of liberal and leisure activities during the evening.

I referred to this final aspect of this pamphlet above as being 'perhaps rather unrealistic'. In fact, it was so, because it was based - as further experience in almost all Colleges has shown - on three over-sanguine assumptions. The first was, that students, if given a free choice, would in fact return for these additional classes. Paragraph 36 of the Pamphlet stated: 'An improvement in our educational service should evoke a widespread demand for many kinds of general education, often unrelated to vocation.' In fact, this was not so - or not, at least, to the extent envisaged - so that the additional evening courses, where they came into existence, had, as at Gateshead and Ashington, to be made compulsory, which immediately negates the intention of the Pamphlet's proposals. The second over-sanguine assumption was that the learning load on a technical student would indeed leave him with time to take on a further course of study properly, while spending the rest of the week at work. Had County Colleges,
with their proposed two days release per week, come into existence, this might have been so: but as it is, the situation has developed where the student works four days a week from (usually) 7.30 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. with time for lunch and breaks at mid-morning and midafternoon, and on the fifth attends a technical college for a day which, with breaks, may last from 9.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m., in the course of which he may expect to receive three homework assignments, or possibly more, for the next week. Remembering that the student is physically tired during four other evenings, that he is probably not one of the quickest workers academically speaking, and that his social status is often that of a young man, courting seriously, and sometimes even that of a young married man, it will not be too surprising that most students consider the learning load they have undertaken to be quite sufficient as it is, without enrolling in any further courses. And if they do so enrol, the third over-sanguine assumption comes into operation, which is that, in an age preoccupied with material and social status, students of proletarian background will (with a few exceptions) voluntarily enrol in cultural or liberal subjects which they tend to find unfamiliar, which they do not find — indeed, to which they find resistance — at home, and some of which they consider in any case either antipathetically bourgeois, or hopelessly unfashionable, or both, rather than for the obviously useful paper qualification, endorsement subjects of a G.C.E.
course. Indeed, the commonest form of student resistance to any general studies course, all Colleges have averred, is a suspicion that it may have neither social nor industrial value: that it will be "of no use to them": and, unfortunately, it would seem, as we shall see in Chapter Six, as if employers' attitudes may tend to encourage this notion, even now.

But paradoxically, it is possible to argue that the very impractical nature of these suggestions led, in part, to the developments which took place later, in 1956 and 1957. There is some evidence, though it is by no means clear, that the later insistence on the inclusion of social studies, or the equivalent, in the technical courses proper, as the basic (occasionally the only) form of liberal education, sprang in part from the fact that simply making the courses available, as extracurricular activities or evening classes, had already been tried and had failed. Thus the Principal of Hatfield, in the letter quoted above, says that he had been, in 1952, revolving in his mind for some time the need for inserting such courses into the day-release curriculum itself. He does not say precisely why: but the 1956 White Paper, makes the interesting admission (in Para 11.) that 'a place must always be found in technical studies for liberal education... We cannot afford either to fall behind in technical accomplishments or to neglect spiritual and human values.' I have already said that the 1956 White Paper is a political document, in large
measure: but this, with its curiously 'afterthought' flavour, reads as if the unknown officers of the Ministry who drafted this for submission to Parliament had been struck by the fact that their earlier provisions in tackling the problem had indeed caused them to fall behind in just such a way, and that the matter would now have to be put right (19). The report of the National Advisory Council in 1957, proposing Social Studies in Sandwich Courses, may be viewed in the same light. Certainly, by the Crowther Report, opinion has swung completely away: Crowther makes a distinction in principle between social and recreational studies, which in 1947 did not exist.

3.5 The Educational Writers of the second Period.

We have seen that the circulars and policy directives which were issued while the original County College scheme was still expected to run played a not inconsiderable part in shaping the policies and developments that were to come later in the field of liberal education in technical colleges: but we (19): The problem had in fact by this time been exacerbated by changed economic conditions, among them full employment, which had brought about a political need for workers and management to work together in the face of competition from abroad, and it was felt that a general studies course would help this: but the undertone of failure, of 'we should have inculcated this corporate spirit before now' is still present. The matter will be discussed more fully below, in the appropriate Paragraph.
must not neglect the fact that the influence might have been much less, and in particular the momentum towards further attempts at liberalising technical education might have been much less, despite the private experiments - and indeed some of these private experiments might never have taken place, while others might have met with very much less acceptance - had it not been for the fact that the ideas presented in these pamphlets were taken up and systematised in a number of influential educational works published during the period 1947-56. Of these, unquestionably the most influential (indeed it has now become almost a standard textbook of educational philosophy) as well as one of the earliest, was Professor Fred Clarke's book 'Freedom in the Educative Society', which was published in 1948. Almost the whole of this work is relevant to the concept of liberal further education, in one way or another: in this context, probably the best thing to do will be to precis his main line of argument, pausing every so often to point out the implications for the liberal education movement of particular steps or points. But it should be understood that it is the gestalt of his total position, rather than any one point within it, that has done most to establish the continued importance of the liberal idea in further education. The strength of Clark's book, is that it is a patterned and coherent whole - a position, not simply an argument.
Clarke's book (it is really a sort of extended monograph rather than a book) contains five chapters, which deal respectively with the nature of the Educative Society, the nature and effects of culture in such a society, the relationship between theory and practice in education, the specific cultural and educational nature and effects of the 'English tradition', and a Conclusion. I shall examine each of these five chapters in turn.

In Chapter I, Clarke defines the Educative Society as that form of society the prime purpose of which is the production of a given type of citizen, towards which task its activities and organisation are directed: he believes English society, since World War II, to have become a society of such a type (this is an interesting concept in itself, as an alternative to the more usual theory that the extension of education into the later teens during this period is a product of technological change - the fact that there is now more to learn, and more economic need to learn it). The earliest example of such a society - the Republic of Plato - he argues, demanded for its existence acceptance of a concept of absolute good as in some way possessing a real existence other than simply as a second-order abstraction: by contrast, modern attempts at such a society are faced with the difficulty that modern scientific thinking has produced not only a material but a linguistic and metaphysical distrust of absolute Forms, or theories based on
the premises of their existence (20), so that our citizens are to be required to decide, severally and for themselves, such knotty problems as: Are morals absolute or relative? (and in any case, what do these terms mean when applied to morality?); can there be such things as relative moral laws, corresponding to the relative physical laws of science? Is there a basic 'law' within the nature of the being we know as Man? and many others. Hence, need automatically arises for further education, to continue moral and civic guidance to an age when 'critical reflection . . . becomes possible' (21). With this extension of the educative process, however, as with the moral co-existence of separate individual frames of reference, the inherent moral tension between the individual will and the social demands of other men upon that individual will becomes inevitably more noticeable: thus, it follows that we need some considerable degree of planning in our education of our citizens, as in their lives as citizens: but, this must be planning so arranged that

(20): John Holloway, for example, in 'Language and Intelligence' has since produced arguments for believing that actual concept, as distinct from statement, is linguistically incommunicable per se, and that consequently second-order abstractions are meaningless in discussion, unless their immediate application in terms of exterior situation and action be defined at the time of speaking. Arguments such as this drive home Clarke's point still further than he himself would have imagined in 1948.

it leads our citizens to acquire the ability to live in freedom without ignoring the social restraints inherent in whatever moral frame they may have elected to accept (which, Clarke concludes, such amorphous educational formulae as 'playway' will not do.). To this planning he gives the name 'Planning for Freedom', which he borrows from Karl Mannheim's 'Diagnosis of our Time' (1947), where however it bears a quite different meaning, that of political planning in a mixed economy.

In the second section of the Chapter, Clarke examines the problems which may make for difficulty in attaining the desired end of the production of these self-directed citizens: economic changes, particularly those involving leisure, economic equality, and inflation; cultural changes, if these are so rapid as to be difficult of assimilation; and, within this context, the persistence of ideologies based on either class or status. Thus, like Kandel, he recognises the primary function of education as the production of a given type of political individual, and the economic functions of the educative process as secondary to, and depending for importance on, and indeed assimilable with, the cultural purposes. But the fact that there can no longer be reliance on a received way of doing things renders it essential that this education be continued to the age at which the critical faculties of the educands are awakened. This is further underlined when he points out, in the third section, that the prime objective of such an education
education will be the production of individuals possessed of conscience, which he defines as a sense of moral integrity coupled with the recognition of the fact, implied by the existence of such a sense, that the relationships between man and man, or man and his universe — between us and 'not-us', in fact — is essentially a moral relationship: that activity involves recourse to moral law, although a moral law in which the function of the moral individual is to consider the nature of right and wrong on each case of action presented to him on the basis of that particular case (that is, he accepts the existence of moral principles and relationships as the physicist accepts the existence of mathematical principles and relationships, but declares that these are relativist in nature); and that the prime field of operation of such an education will concern human culture — one of the essential distinguishing features of mankind as a species. And again here, the importance of liberal disciplines in technical education is to be seen when Clarke indicates that one major field in which present English culture has gone wrong is the divorce within the industrial and urban societies of the present day between basic cultural activities which are meaningful to the individual either morally or emotionally — 'life' — and work.

The second Chapter opens with an attempt to define what is meant by 'culture' in these circumstances, and includes the famous definition of culture as 'what it feels like to human
beings to live in a certain way'. It is the common mode of life in which the child grows up - its language, coinage, religion, manners, and many other things: it is also, the child's social inheritance, and thus includes all activities, including the menial ones. (Thus the divorce between 'work' and 'life' does not place work outside culture: it indicates that there exist cultural attitudes towards work which are positively bad, in that they reduce the total moral and aesthetic potentialities of the individual and thus make him either less socially adjusted or less self-directed, or both.) It also, of necessity, includes a minority of individuals capable of fashioning the higher activities (in the sense that they require a greater degree of intellect, or creativity, or interpretive skill) of serious art. These individuals will inevitably be in a minority: but again, minority high-level culture should not be excluded from the common culture; it grows from it and enriches it, and without such interchange the minority culture becomes a clique and the common culture sterile and lacking in new ideas. (This situation is exactly parallel to the minority activity of research science in relation to the majority activity of industrial engineering: neither, in the present state of society, or indeed in any state of society except for a very short period in the 17th and 18th Centuries, can exist without the other). Hence,
it is necessary that culture and vocation should be connected - and once again we see emerging an argument for the liberalisation of technical training so that, among other things, the student's work and his leisure activities are seen as parts of one organic existence and in the context of the society within which he lives.

Again, in the second section of this second Chapter, the cultural and political aims of education are identified: the greatest danger, as Clarke sees it, is a failure of culture to keep pace with technological change, and this may show itself either in lack of change, or in too wholesale and unthinking change, or in strain between organised groups and interests within society, some of which have changed and some have not, leading ultimately perhaps to a supersession of the claims of a cultural whole by the claims of a group within it - a sort of dialectical contradiction in which the negation is not negated, and in which there is consequently no synthesis, no new total cultural pattern emerging. We shall see that it is a similar fear of sectional loyalties and partisanship overshadowing thought of the common good that underlies a significant part of the White Paper of 1956, to be discussed below.

Thus, the main needs of society, says Clarke, are the closing of 'the gulf between work and leisure' (22) and the

(22): Freedom in the Educatve Society, Chapter 2. Section 3. This concept is not original to Clarke; it may be found for instance, in Leavis & Thompson, 'Culture & Environment' (1933), who in turn quote George Sturt & D.H. Lawrence.
placing of the main educational emphasis upon the common culture which it is desired to strengthen. This in turn has a number of implications. First, education for leisure (as set forth in Ministry Pamphlet No. 8) (23) is not in itself enough: education must also include work. Second, there is a need for what Clarke calls 'a common body of knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes' (which he does not exactly define at this point, understandably enough), and education for this must logically be in two stages: the communication of these beliefs, in school, and their critical appraisal, in further education. In this connection, it is to be noted that a number of later writers similarly call for a critical appraisal of tradition (see Table, Para 3.13), and City and Guilds have claimed in interview (referred to above), that it is one of their objectives. Thus, the following types of further or adult education become necessary:

a) criticism of the 'standard of life' - philosophic, historical, economic.

b) checking and moderating what Clarke describes as the 'patterning' of thought by the student's vocation (specialisation).

c) maintaining a cultural continuity in the liberal arts and sciences: presumably evening activities are

(23): These comments clearly refer to that Pamphlet, but Clarke does not in fact quote it specifically by number. The connection is mine.
included here.

d) (probably to a fair extent the function of University rather than technical education, though the lines must needs be blurred) allowing a cultural elite (essential to direct society) to emerge independent of social class, and not cut off from the mass of common culture by intellectual snobbery.

and e) a levelling up of mass culture through interest in the aim of detailed enjoyment.

It is clear that Clarke has in fact summarised here the very things which the movement towards liberalising the curriculum and content of technical education seeks to bring about: but the importance of his book is that it goes beyond simply the restatement of general aims which we have already heard repeated almost to boredom. Hitherto, almost all thinking on the subject of liberal education has started from the assumption that it is good per se, since it is good to be free man; (24) where the basis of such education has been questioned, it has been tacitly assumed that the need is simply to accommodate freedom to a changed social order, in some general context such as 'technological change' or 'the rise of democracy'. Now, that it is good to be free, is clearly what the Thomists would call an 'apparent good' (i.e., the individual likes to be free);

(24): Spens, for instance, places its suggestions within a tradition, but does not question that the tradition is still acceptable - only the mode by which, and the persons for whom, it shall operate,
what Clarke does is to define in precise terms, as no-one (except perhaps Dewey) had done so far, what is meant by a 'good' free citizen of a modern society (Russell had equally precisely defined what was a 'good' free individual, but that is not quite the same thing), and to suggest a code of social ethics towards the inculcation of which education could work, based on the axioms (observable from experience) that the individual exists and the culture exists; and then, in the light of this, to analyse the nature of the particular (20th C. English) cultural tradition within which this education is to be applied (not the same thing as 'democracy' in general or 'technological civilisation' in general, even if these second-order abstractions are regarded as having absolute meaning of some sort), to point out the current danger-spots of this tradition, and to suggest educational countermeasures which can be taken. Thus, the special importance of this book to the advancement of ideas about liberalising technical and further education is that, in Chapters 3 and 4, they acquire an ethical purpose which, although it is not philosophically fundamental (no social ethic can be fundamental), is both clearly defined and clearly relevant, rather than simply assumed, and that they are set in a clearly defined local national and social context. The three major objections of the technologist to the inclusion of liberal education in technical schemes have always been, "I simply don't accept your scale of values", 
'Arguments ultimately drawn from Greek society, no matter how clearly defined two thousand years ago, are not really relevant now, and your attempts to accommodate them are so much reaction', and 'You don't define the terms you argue with ('free-man', 'citizen', 'democracy', 'good', and so on) in the context of everyday life.' By meeting all three objections, in the course of Chapters 3 and 4 - and from the nature of its own argument rather than as a defensive action - 'Freedom in the Educative Society' thus makes the call for liberal education make precisely defined ethical and political sense, as well as providing a set of educational objectives which, because they are ethical standards, stand outside the 'liberal' - 'banausic' pattern of what learning is to be considered valuable for what purpose by what class of person, and the degree of attainment of which can to some extent at least be observed. His main argument now follows.

Clarke begins this third Chapter by stating that the basic ingredient in maintaining a free society is conscience: the citizens must be men of social goodwill. The bases of this good will are instruction and discipline: these were until recently drawn from the total past culture and handed on as a stable cultural and class nexus; but this led to neglect of what was being handed on, and since the culture is no longer stable, we must now be quite conscious of what it is we are handing on, and the philosophy of our educational system
must be both explicit and comprehensible to the ordinary citizen. He then criticises the then current doctrine of 'development' as neglecting the effect of cultural context upon the learning choices of the individual, and as resting upon a confusion of thought between free learning and the adult freedom which learning is intended to produce, and then the current actual practice by which much of learning became initiation into a partisan cultural code sufficiently strong in many cases to exclude freedom (still a problem, and, as I suggested in 2.15 above, an unwitting but effective error of many of the schemes of liberal education being considered in this thesis). He then suggest, by way of alternative, the following possible bases for an educational philosophy:

The objective of education is to be considered as freedom, but, because a man is also a citizen, this freedom is in fact a form of moral responsibility: this sense of responsibility is to be obtained by training judgment and powers of decision through disciplined learning aimed at the creation of an ethos and the attainment of sufficient knowledge to allow this ethos to operate. Consequently, the object of liberal education may be considered as the setting up and communication of a critique of correct culture, the presentation of the world to the pupil as an ordered universe which includes the basic moral tension between desire and order which is referred to in Chapter 1 of Clarke's book, and which he considers essential to the
nature of man as a socially responsible being, being in fact both the effect of, and the justification for, conscience; and the inculcation of the social ethical principles that there can be no freedom without a condign responsibility, that the right to employment and social security demands that work should be considered not as a necessary financial evil but as the duty of a citizen (though this naturally may involve a reform of working conditions, as we cannot hold that a man can have a duty to degrade or dehumanise himself), and that the freedom to assert one's talents equally means that self-assertion in the form of service to society through peculiar talents becomes a duty.

This quite specific set of ethical tasks, then, becomes both the work of the educational service and the yardstick by which its success is to be judged. But this task is not to be performed in some vague vacuum: it is to be performed within a specific cultural situation, that of England in the second half of the twentieth century; and this situation Clarke now proceeds to analyse in Chapter 4.

The English tradition, he argues, within which the desired citizen type is educated and within which he lives, is a non-rational, varied tradition: it is subject to periodic rationalisation, but the non-rational elements are nevertheless liable to persist: they consist of a set of ceremonial symbols (e.g., the monarchy), which together define a cultural gestalt which is
communal and quasi-historical, in the sense that it is past-rooted. This cultural tradition is, of its own nature, liable to be threatened in two ways, no matter what other forces may be at work upon it: and since it has already been pointed out that a sense of cultural continuity is a necessary prerequisite of the realization of moral responsibility, it is the job of the educator to take countermeasures against these threats to break down the tradition, or cause it to become irrelevant or dissociated from reality (politically, the positions respectively of the ultra-revolutionary and the ultra-conservative.)

These two ways in which the tradition is threatened by its own nature are the result of the dichotomy noticed above - that the basically non-rational tradition contains within itself a minority rationalist tradition (for example, the Puritans in the Seventeenth Century), which in times of stress may tend towards extremism. Hence we can observe on the one hand a tendency towards the type of radicalism which equates all change with progress, and on the other hand the tendency to 'live through' rather than 'think through' an experience - to 'muddle through', in fact - and to provincialism and lack of system in the direction of public affairs. On balance, the second danger is commoner than the first, but both require the educator, in pursuance of the aims discussed in the previous section of the book, to attempt to encourage critical self-
awareness and the analytic imagination, and to try (especially in the present international circumstances) to include a concept of external national duty - to the U.N., to the underdeveloped nations, etc - within the group of attitudes which make up the strong national tradition of patriotism, such, for example, as Clarke points out has already been accomplished in regard to relations with the Commonwealth. In this context it is perhaps worth noting that although Clarke is much concerned with what I have called the 'political' aim of producing a desired citizen type, he maintains that formal politics is in fact secondary to culture, since it is changes in culture (in the sociological sense of the word) that determine changes in political thought, whether on national or international issues, rather than the other way about: society, in fact, is for Clarke more important than the formal institutionalisation of it which we call the state, and thus the 'citizen' may in the light of / be defined as a man capable of living well within a certain kind of society, and therefore, by derivation, of partaking in the activity of the state appropriate to that society: on this argument, for instance, full employment would be a significant change in society requiring adjusted attitudes from the citizens; such formal political moves as rail nationalisation probably would not. (Thus Clarke is concerned with 'education to prevent workers from striking too much', but not in the narrow sense in which he has sometimes
been accused of this,)

We shall see, interestingly enough, that this implication of Clarke's remarks about society and state is reflected in the wording of the 1956 White Paper, which is itself a political document, but one concerned with a social, not a formal political, change. It is also interesting that another implication of Clarke's remarks - one which, indeed, he goes out of his way to state fully - that education springs from society, not a Ministry in Whitehall, and must continue to do so - may well have been the beginning of the idea of college autonomy in liberal education which has since become so significant a part of liberal studies teaching.

In addition, Clarke sees two further dangers arising from the present industrial dissociation of culture, the rise of pressure groups (Unions among them) which interfere with, or usurp the functions of, the genuine community, and the rise of a sterile, because dissociated, individualism (the sort of thing which has more recently been portrayed in Sillitoe's novels). Again, he sees part at least of the answer as lying within the province of education, this time by the strengthening of communal recreations and the continuity of the liberal arts: an aim which lies within liberal education, at technical college level, one feels, although perhaps outside the Social Studies period, except that the Social Studies teacher can encourage the students to think about this problem, and how to meet it.
The conclusion Chapter (Chapter V), as its name suggests, sums these main points up. It repeats that the main difficulties of modern society lie in the field of culture, that they are a disharmony between the inner lives of men and the form of present civilisation, and that they are thus amenable to education; and that the requirements which such education is to produce are, the humanisation of work, the avoidance of the sterility of a cash society, and a sense of continuity with past achievements.

It then redefines the part of education as:

- to show the relevance of the past to the present;
- to show that 'relativity' in art and morals is not the whole truth;
- to attempt to produce disciplined consciences which are free but not disunited;
- to show and teach a common culture;
- to show and teach the existence of ultimate standards, 'authoritative for all alike' (25), implied by the fact that we can criticise society and ourselves, and can presumably only do so by reference to something else;
- to work out what it is we are in fact doing.

In fact, Clarke is not perhaps quite fair to relativity in his comments here, nor is he as philosophically exact as he has been in his detailed analysis. The laws of physical

relativity are themselves invariant as mathematical expressions - as laws it is in their application that variety occurs, because their nature is such that they cannot be applied without reference to the particular local frame in which the events being described take place, or the operations concerned are carried out. A genuine relativist ethos or aesthetic would obviously be both invariant ('authoritative') and pliable in precisely the same degree, and for precisely the same reasons - that/event to be considered, or the operation (choice) to be made, can only be considered to have meaning in the context of its occurrence. Thus we would criticise ourselves, or society, by reference to some statements about the relationship of action to existence, or function, or form to content, or personality to personality, or relations between personalities, ideally itself an inductive generalisation, which is permanently valid as a statement - a set of symbols which may usefully be manipulated - but derives particular value (moral or aesthetic meaning) only when the frame of reference, the particular circumstances of the case, be considered. In fact, the statement is an 'ultimate standard', in the only sense in which this can be more than an already existing cultural datum (which Clarke has just said it is not), and yet its application is relative in the strictest possible sense of the term: and it is through this relativity that it becomes useful as a basis for disciplined choice of apprecia-
tion or conscience. And in skirting round this Clarke is being unfair also to himself, because in fact his contention earlier that every case is to be judged on its merits is saying precisely this, in simple terms. Thus I am not going to attempt to argue that Clarke has propounded an ethical basis for liberal education which is final or completely satisfactory in philosophical terms: but it is undeniable, I think, that the effect of this book was not only to summarise ideas about liberal education and further education of the period, but also to systematise them to a much greater degree than had hitherto been done, and place them much more exactly in a specific cultural context; and the effect of this cannot but have been to make them more popular, because more comprehensible and detailed in significant application.

Only one other book of this period is important to us in this context: Ottaway's 'Education and Society', published in 1953. This may be summarised much more briefly: it makes much the same points, but five years further on, at a time when technological change, and especially the growth of reliance upon advanced technologies, and a scientific and managerial class, has grown still greater. The Chapter which concerns us is Chapter V ('The Educational Needs of Future Society'). Ottaway's scheme calls for two main types: a large number of intelligent planners, specialists, etc., and 'productive workers who enjoy their lives'. The educational requirements for this are a
liberal background, especially in linguistic culture, a preparation of students for democratic citizenship, a study of the problems of the relationship between science and culture - much more obviously acute than when Clarke wrote - and a study of society itself. These points look forward very much more closely to the 1966 White Paper, as we shall see directly:

but, like Clarke, Ottaway finds that the main justification for liberal education is a moral one, not a matter of technical efficiency alone:

'It is some ideal of a better civilisation, even in the minds of a few, which is the real justification for a general liberal education. Our technical society, as such, does not demand it. The machines could be worked by conditioned robots or ignoramuses; the cleverer people could mend them, and cleverer ones still invent them. But this would be a slave society. If men are to be democratically governed, they must take a share in responsibility, and understand what is going on in order to make personal judgments. This means we must understand the world we live in outside our small circle of personal activities. But this is not all. The knowledge which makes us politically free might still leave us ignorant of the arts, and in this sense vulgar . . . A democratic society can be vulgar. The arts are necessary to make us more agreeable, or more interesting, or happier, or whatever else comes from being more expressive, gaining emotional experience, and using
imagination. All these things come from creation in the arts and humanities, or from the recreation which is called appreciation.' (26)

Two things are to be noted here. The first is how many of the ideas in this quotation have their origin in statements on the one hand of Bertrand Russell and on the other of Clarke, both now taken for granted as obvious truths - we must be excellent, we must make personal moral social judgments, and so on. The other, is the way in which the technological revolutions of the intervening five years - automation, computer technology, and so on - have changed the emphasis on immediate reform. The first thing to be done is to make our society technologically viable: this is a matter of life and death, almost. Liberal education - the educative culture - is still important, but it is important as a sort of additional benefit, which makes us morally and aesthetically better once we have secured our initial technological existence. We do it, so to speak, as an added objective, while we are about the prime job of reforming our technical education system to produce the higher grade technologists and the larger numbers of productive workers. It is, as we shall see, within just such a context of technological urgency that the third, or 'political period of the development of liberal and social studies gets under way.


It is this prime purpose of technological reform that motivates the next important document to deal with liberal education in technical colleges: the Government White Paper on Technical Education of 1956. As already remarked, it had its origin in what appears to have been a Cabinet decision, late in 1955, to introduce massive changes of policy regarding technical education, in the face of increasing competition in the technical field from overseas. This decision was first made public in Sir Anthony Eden's Bradford speech of 18th January 1956, which has already been quoted, and the quoted extract from which opens the White Paper. The Introductory section then goes on to point out the increased interest in technical education which had arisen consequent upon the 1944 Act (27) - increased building, closer connections with the three types of school, and the setting up in 1947 of Regional and National Advisory Councils 'to bring education and industry together to find out the needs of young workers and advise on the provision required' and 'to secure reasonable economy of (such) provision.' (28) The needs to which this refers were presumably largely considered in terms of industrial technical training, but the general 'educative society' concept is still present, and it is worth noting that one at least

(28): Ibid: Cap. 1
of these reports - that of the National Advisory Council dealing with Sandwich Courses - just about this time did also stress the inclusion of a definite liberal element (29). But despite these improvements, the White Paper continues, the country still faced a technological challenge from Western Europe, the U.S.A., and Russia, a challenge from its own economy, and a challenge from its commitments overseas and its overseas markets, for example, in the Commonwealth. (30).

The bulk of the Chapters that follow are concerned with the administrative planning of technical education to meet this challenge (the same challenge that Ottaway had pointed out three years earlier) by means of a general expansion of technical colleges, and the introduction of Colleges of Advanced Technology (whose courses are outside the scope of this thesis): but the four paragraphs that immediately follow the list of 'challenges' are peculiarly important for our purposes. They open with a declaration that we must now accept constant technological change as a permanent feature of our national life, at least in the foreseeable future, and redesign our technical courses accordingly, to promote not only technical skill but also adaptability of temper:


(30): 'Technical Education' Paras. 3 to 7.
'Technical education must not be too narrowly vocational or too confined to one skill or trade. Swift change is the characteristic of our age, so that a main purpose of the technical education must be to teach boys and girls to be adaptable.' (31)

This, of course, had been foreseen some twenty years earlier, by the Spens Report (Chapter VIII Para. 19): but now it is to be regarded not as planning for the future but as a matter of immediate vital concern.

The White Paper, however, goes on to underline another, equally revolutionary feature of our age. For the first time, virtually, in our industrial history — and as a direct result of a government policy which is itself the expression of a cultural revolution, the growth of a concept of social responsibility of the sort Russell, the 1944 Act, and Clarke had been concerned with — the nation had full employment; and this in its turn brought out into the open the innate tensions within society, between Unions and management, to succumb to which could mean (and in practice very nearly has meant) the downfall of the British economy. To avoid this, technical education must again be enlarged, so that the young workers come to have some understanding of the economy within which they have become so powerful, and of the human relationships proper to making it, and the culture of which it is (31): Ibid., Paragraph 8.
an expression, work:

'Total employment brings new problems which are more likely to be soluble the wider is the understanding of how our economy works. Such subjects as economics, business management, wage systems and human relations must now be given more prominence.' (32)

I have already pointed out in 2.15 above that this involves the unstated premisses that the workers concerned will (or should) want to make the present economic and cultural system work, and that they will be capable fully of understanding it, either or both of which may prove to be false: but this is, remember, primarily a political document of an administration with a philosophy and a mandate both requiring that they should make the system work: and in any case this conservative element has already been shown several times to be an inherent part of liberal educational thought, for various adequate cultural reasons, even though it may, strictly logically, be lacking in proper consistency.

These points, however, are in a sense only additions to a restatement of the theme which we have seen dominating technical education for a hundred years, that in general the distinction between (liberal) education and (technical) training is - or should be - unreal. Here, it is once again restated in the light of the new technological requirements (32): Ibid., Paragraph 9.
'all technical progress rests upon the common foundation of language . . . moreover a place must always be found in technical studies for liberal education. The time available often limits what can be done in the way of introducing into the curriculum subjects such as history, literature and the arts, but in any event a wide treatment of scientific and technical subjects is essential if students who are to occupy responsible positions in industry are to emerge from their education with a broad outlook. We cannot afford either to fall behind in technical accomplishments or to neglect spiritual and human values.' (33)

This, in a new political and technological context, is yet another of the attempts to deny the 'liberal' - 'banausic' contradiction in education, as old as Western culture; none of which, as I have said, have ever quite succeeded (the subject references themselves show that). But here, it is also a clear reference to the State's responsibilities as envisaged by the authors of the 1944 Act: in this way, the White Paper at this point looks forward to the Crowther Report to come three years later (the last sentence also sounds rather as if one of the people who drafted the White Paper had been reading Ottaway's book): and these responsibilities are in themselves an extension of the basic principle that the State is to provide for all citizens an education 'desirable in view (33): Ibid., Paragraph 11.
of their different ages, abilities and aptitudes' applied to school education in Part II Para. 8 (1) of the Act, and taken so much further by writers such as Clarke. Once again, it seems to be impossible to divorce the traditional liberal objectives of this type of education and the political objectives from each other to any great or lasting extent.


Both the White Paper of 1956 and the report of the National Advisory Council of the same year stressed the importance of liberal education: and the problems of how this necessary broadening of the treatment and content of technical courses could be effected was discussed at various meetings within the Ministry of Education. (34)

It was clear, that at this stage, only full-time and sandwich courses were under consideration, although the document finally emerged has been regarded as definitive (at least until 1962) for part-time courses also, in many colleges. The credit for initiating schemes for part-time courses, however, belongs definitely to the City and Guilds of London Institute. (35)

(34): the information contained in this paragraph is derived from letter T.555/332lc of the Department of Education & Science to the author, dated 15th October, 1964.

(35): See 3.8 below. But Circular 323 does suggest that some of its methods 'may be applicable to part-time . . . courses' provided that 'a lead is given by the examining bodies' (Para 3.)
One of H.M.'s Inspectors of Schools prepared a memorandum for the Minister on the subject of liberal education in technical colleges: as recorded in 3.2 above, this document, after various consultations, was issued by the Ministry as an official policy directive. The document in question was Circular 323 of 1957: Liberal Education in Technical Colleges.

The Circular begins by referring to the White Paper, and (significantly) also to the 'fairly general discussion and experiment' which it states has been 'going on in technical colleges and elsewhere'. Its stated purpose is 'to stress the importance of introducing a liberal element into technical education, and to set out a number of ways of doing so' (36)

Thus, it is regarded by its authors as being derived from both the White Paper of 1956 and the independent experiments and writings of the second of our periods: and, more important still, it is regarded as an official statement that liberal education is to be included in technical college studies: a polite but formal directive to colleges to this effect - the first such to be formulated within the period under study. But it is not intended to be restrictive: colleges are asked to discuss and experiment 'to try out various ways of liberalising technical courses', and 'the Minister would welcome any information and views from colleges where these or other

ideas are actually being put into practice' (37). Thus, we see the germ of the present autonomy of colleges in this respect already present in implication in this first directive: 'Under the wide range of conditions to be found in technical courses, no one method of "liberalising" technical studies is likely to be universally possible or desirable.' (38)

The stated aims of the circular are those with which we have by now become familiar: inculcating a broad outlook and a sense of spiritual and human values (39), learning how to exercise a wise control over others and to appreciate issues which affect the national economy (40), imbuing students with a critical outlook, familiarising them with the history of their science, and the significance of its social and economic impacts on human society (41), and leading the students towards objective judgment, good standards and broader interests (42). The pursuit of these objectives, it is suggested, will require the co-operation of all members of staff, of employers, who are

(37): Ibid., Conclusion, Para. 14.
(38): Ibid., Para. 2.
(39): Ibid., Para. 1.
(40): Ibid., Para. 5.
(41): Ibid., Para. 9.
(42): Ibid., Para. 11.
seen as already having an interest in the production of workers capable of understanding the issues which affect the national economy (though in fact it is questionable whether employers have shown very much interest in either social general/studies or liberal education, however interested they may be in training students who will appreciate that man-hours are lost by strikes, and potential shop-stewards not wildly antagonistic to management policy - which is what this comment seems to mean) and not least of the students themselves, through their activities: again the 'sufficient evidence to show that the students themselves desire to broaden their outlook' which the circular mentions, seems, at least on testimony from liberal studies teachers in the North-Eastern area, to have been somewhat oversanguine, unless the circular is restricting itself altogether to the highest-grade type of full-time student. The setting up of departments or lectureships in liberal studies is seen by the circular as a thing to be encourage but only providing 'such members of staff . . . set themselves to learn a good deal about the technical background of the students and the courses they are taking, so that their teaching may be effectively related to that background.' (This, presumably, implies that many of the teachers will be Arts graduates: though on this the Circular is a trifle inconsistent). And the fact that 'certain professional institutions' (by which, apparently, is intended the City and Guilds) 'are showing
interest in the ways in which the content of the courses for their examinations may be broadened' is praised, and it is suggested that 'this desirable lead' ought to be 'followed by other institutions" (43). Thus, virtually every element of the present liberal studies situation - Departments, integration of liberal studies and technical staff, student activities, and the formulation of definite course requirements by examining bodies, is to be found, in detail or in embryo, in this Circular.

Against this administrative background the methods of introducing the subject are considered, in Para. 7. They are five in number: including additional subjects, broadening the treatment of existing subjects; increased use of libraries (which had already been the subject of a circular earlier in the same year), the encouragement of corporate life; and the development of contact with institutions abroad. Of these, I have been unable to find any evidence that contact with institutions abroad was ever attempted on any serious basis, at least by colleges in this Region, the encouragement of corporate college life, while an essential part of liberal education, strictly speaking falls outside the scope of this thesis, and evidence from colleges in this region seems to suggest that attempts at broadening the treatment of the technical subjects (other than by improvements in syllabuses and teaching method) foundered in practice upon the rock which (43): Ibid., Paras. 3 to 6
the authors of the Circular had themselves seen, but which they had hoped it might be possible to avoid: the fact that 'Engineering students have been conditioned . . . to concentrate narrowly on taking as many technological subjects as possible in the shortest possible time.' (44). Thus the main burden of broadening the courses has fallen upon the inclusion of additional subjects - the liberal, or social, or general studies periods, variously so named. Paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Circular indicate what this period is supposed to include: Human Relations, English and Communication, Economics, Evolution of Industry (with special local reference) and subjects selected where possible from a wide range of optional 'interest' choices. The connection of such a curriculum with the White Paper is obvious, and the connection with the 'combined studies' of the earlier Pamphlet 6 will be noticeable in the emphasis on the direct study of local topics connected with industry and its development. Connection with the 'social studies' concepts examined in Chapter II becomes obvious in the light of such sentences as 'Biographies and well-written accounts of great scientific and technological achievements should provide a background adding a fresh dimension to the student's technical studies' (45), even though the metaphor employed is a somewhat mixed one. In paragraph 9, it is suggested that in a full-time or sand-
which course the time-allocation for these subjects 'might add up to as much as 15 to 20 per cent of the course time.' This indication is a useful one: but it is not yet a definite time allocation.

Thus, as worked in practice, the recommendations of the 1957 Circular boil down to the establishment of a social or general studies period time-allocation, of uncertain duration, but involving a definite, although broad, course of study, similar in several respects to the suggested 'combined studies' of the proposed County Colleges, and to the 'Social Studies' of Zilliacus, as actually worked in 'post-leaving' courses in Australian schools and publicised in England, plus (less certainly) an expansion of corporate liberal activity. Against this background, the Circular finally makes a number of suggestions regarding acceptable methods of teaching these additional subjects, which correlate very closely with what in fact obtains in colleges at present, with Pamphlet 6, and with the Melbourne/C.U.P. publication already referred to. A list of the suggested methods completes the survey of this Circular: the figures in brackets refer to the paragraph in the Circular in which the method concerned is quoted, followed by 'Y' for similar listing in Pamphlet 6 and 'S' for similar listing in 'Social Studies in Secondary Schools' - the Melbourne/C.U.P. publications.
Varied methods, according to time and students  (2; Y.S.)

Student Research  
(2; 7c: Y.S.)

'Centrifugal' treatment - related to the student's background and arising out from it  
(3: Y.S.)

Reflection and free enquiry (implies discussion)  
(3;7c:10a: Y.S.)

Student activities: corporate life  
(6;7d;12: not listed)(46)

Use of library  
(7c; 11: Y.S.)

Tutorial system to be used  
(7c;11: not listed)(46)

Projects  
(7c; 11: Y.S.)

Contact with institutions abroad and exchange visits.  
(7e: not listed)

Critical examination of material by students (arts and sciences)  
(8b: Y.S.)

Visits  
(8d: S.)

It is noted, incidentally, that although this list contains items which do not appear in the other publications (or sections of publications) referred to, that there are no significant suggestions about method in those earlier listings which do not appear again in this list. The 'non-listed' 

(46): strictly speaking, this, and the following 'not listed' entry, are either implied, as far as Pamphlet 6 is concerned, or listed elsewhere than in the section dealing with 'combined studies', to which these listings refer. Only 7e below is not listed at all in Pamphlet 6, either under some other section of the syllabus or by implication. But all three are not listed directly, as 'combined studies' methods.
suggestions are in fact additional; thus the degree of correlation is, as I have said, much closer than might at first appear.


The Circular 323 laid down conditions for the introduction of what was in effect Social Studies into full-time and sandwich courses, for the first time: it is thus a highly important document. But the same Circular also referred to existing work which had been done in the field by professional institutions. It is often overlooked that, at the same time, the City and Guilds was quite independently introducing requirements for extra subjects - in this case, actually labelled 'Social Studies' in the syllabus, although the name has since been changed to 'General Studies' following the publication of the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet of that title - into part-time day courses.

The first course to be so revised was the 'new' Mechanical Engineering Craft Practice syllabus, which appeared in 1957. I have already described above (3.2) how, as a result of other administrative decisions of the 1956 White Paper, it became necessary to revise the old Machine Shop Engineering syllabus, and how advantage was taken of this by various committee members of City and Guilds, to introduce an element of liberal education into the course. This
revision was in fact printed and published six months before the Circular 323, and it was only afterwards that the City and Guilds learnt that discussions had been taking place within the Ministry on the same topic.\(^{47}\)

The present version of this syllabus has been slightly modified, and teachers are referred to the 1962 Pamphlet, which will be dealt with in the next Chapter; but the original 1957 version contained a definite statement of the City and Guilds aims in introducing the subject (See Appendix I). These may be summarised as, to make the student broadly educated, to make him effectively articulate, to arouse his interests, to make him aware of his social environment, and to make him a responsible citizen.\(^{48}\) In a later letter, the institute has indicated that the reference to 'broad education' is intended to include criticism of imaginative art, and also a widening of knowledge of the students' own local environment\(^{49}\). Colleges are originally required to set examinations at the end of the 2nd and 4th years of the course, but many of these examinations were found to be unnecessarily academic in nature\(^{50}\), and in the 1964 regulations the relevant sections (4.1 and 14) were replaced by:

\(^{47}\): Letters from City & Guilds to the author, dated 13th May and 2nd October 1964, reference T/193/19(F1)

\(^{48}\): Letter from City & Guilds to the author, T/193/19(F1) dated 1st May 1964 and enclosure from 1957 M.E.C.P. Syllabus.

\(^{49}\): Letter from City & Guilds dated 13th May, 1964.
The Institute will not set examinations in General Studies'. In Section 1 the word 'not' was printed in bold type. It was in any case never the Institute's policy to assess these examinations, but from the inception of the scheme in 1957 the subject was made obligatory, in so far as it had to be included in the Principal's Certificate of eligibility to sit technical examinations, and the Institute has consistently refused to allow students certified by their colleges to be unsatisfactory in this respect to sit the examination: 'unsatisfactory' here is defined as meaning 'unsatisfactory to the college in the light of their chosen system of assessment' (50).

This earliest syllabus (or, as the City and Guilds prefer to call it, 'suggestions'), was constructed in the form of topics and examples, 'provided more as a guide than obligatory requirements' (48), from which the College was at liberty to depart if it so desired (51): later syllabuses have tended to include more of a set of general subject headings under their general studies notes, or even simply to refer the reader to the 1962 Pamphlet, although there is apparently no consistent policy involved in this, as City and Guilds has no General or Social Studies Panel as

(50): Letter of 1st May 1964, quoted above, and interview of 24th July 1962 (See App. II)

(51): Interview with City & Guilds Institute staff, 24th July, 1964.
such, so that the wording depends upon the individual technical advisory committees (48). Broadly, the 'topics and examples' (which will be discussed in detail in the next Chapter) cover the same general material as Para. 8 of the 1957 Circular: in practice, the students appear to respond better to the more 'practical' social topics (of which they can see the point) than to the rather woolly cultural material, in the narrow sense, against which there are class prejudices, and for which, except on block-release courses, there is often scarcely adequate time. These, as we shall see in Chapter Six, seem to 'come across' better when treated through College societies and general liberal activity.

These objectives, and this material, were consistently included, from 1957 onwards, in other syllabuses also, notably the Building Crafts subjects, Gas Fitting, Aircraft Engineering and Fabrication of Steelwork: new syllabuses initiated later carried them as a matter of course (3.10 below). Within this same group of syllabuses, there were also suggestions about methods, which stressed Projects, Discussions, a variable approach, English and the use of the Library, and visits, all of which are to be found in Circular 323 also. Curiously, the remaining methods suggested in Circular 323 were not included, even in revisions after 323 had been published: City and Guilds maintain that this is largely fortuitous, but that to some extent the difference can be explained in terms of suggested methods being selected which were
particularly realistic in view of the cramped time-allocation the subject would probably have in Part-Time Day and Evening Courses (51).

Thus, to sum up, there was in existence by the end of 1957 a body of reasonably consistent regulations and suggestions requiring the teaching of a liberal studies subject during class time in all full time and sandwich courses, and selected part-time courses, in the latter case under the specific name of 'Social Studies'.


The provisions for the expansion of technical education contained in the 1956 White Paper, were according to Cap. 3 Para. 55 of that document, to cover the years 1955-61: Further consideration was to take place in that latter year. In the intervening period, however, the Central Advisory Council of Education for England and Wales, a body set up under Part I. Para 4 of the 1944 Education Act, issued a report on the educational provision for young people between 15 and 18 in general — usually referred to as the 'Crowther Report'— which dearly had most important implications for the first three years of training in technical colleges. The effect of this report in brief may be described, as far as liberal education in technical colleges is concerned, as realigning the emphasis of the subject on a philosophical rather than a political and economic basis.
The general argument of the report regarding the objectives of teenage education in general is contained in Chapters 4 and 5. 'The teenagers' it claims, in terms reminiscent of Clarke, 'need . . . to find a faith to live by'. It is the job of education not to indoctrinate them (note again the similarity with Clarke's ethical concepts), but 'to show them where to look and what other men have found' (52). As to what these teenagers will be doing, for the most part, the Report is quite clear: scientists, technologists, and technicians 'will still remain a . . . relatively small fraction of the total working population'. Clearly, as the 1956 White Paper made clear; the State has a duty to train these people; but 'in addition . . . there seem to be three main needs which can be identified'. These are, respectively, 'a need to ensure that the generality of educated men and women can comprehend the impact of technology upon society and to demolish the barriers of language and modes of thought that tend to separate those who have been trained in a scientific discipline from those who know nothing of it . . . to this proposition there is the natural corollary that greater efforts should also be made to see that the scientists and technicians are exposed to the radiation of humane letters' (again, one thinks of Clarke's call for the common culture, and also, by this time, of C.P. Snow's Reith Lectures), 'that every citizen should be able to use the fruits of technology and to do so intelligently' (also defined as 'a modicum of mechanical common sense'), and finally, training (52): The Crowther Report of 1959, Cap 4. Para. 66. p. 44.
for adaptability and not merely fixed mechanical skill. Thus, the education which the Report envisages goes beyond that envisaged by the 1956 White Paper to include 'the development of human personality . . . teaching the individual to see himself in due proportion in the world in which he has been set' (53). These aims, remember, are those of teenage education as a whole - both in and after school.

Turning to education outside school, the Report proceeds to examine the major failure of the 1944 Act - the downfall of the County College scheme. The relevant parts of Part II Para 43 (1) of the Act are quoted: 'young persons who are not in full-time attendance . . . such further education . . . as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship'. This is carefully distinguished (as Pamphlets 6 and 8 did not distinguish it, as we have seen) from 'community centre' work: it is specifically a task for the further education of young people in training; and the point is made that technical and other colleges have already been built in many places with facilities for this general training in due course. (54)

(53): The Crowther Report, Cap. 5 Paras 77 & 81pp. 51ff.
The last sentence quoted, again sounds not altogether unlike the call for the preservation of elite culture and social order in an egalitarian age. See 2.15 above.

(54): The Crowther Report Cap 16, mPara. 250, p.163: see also Chapter V, below.
In the absence of this provision having come about, the Report continues, there is a need for further education in 'knowledge', discrimination, and values', plus the use of leisure and 'social education' in general (55).

'Values', here, is declared to mean specifically, guidance in the forming of personal ethical schemes. If there were any doubt remaining at this point that the intention of the Report, as far as liberal education is concerned, is to return to the philosophical and cultural objectives suggested by Clarke in particular, it is put to rest in Para 274. This is probably the most famous single paragraph of the Report, and we shall find it quoted verbatim in various later writings on the subject. In it, the Report's authors define the task of further education in terms of 'four strands'. These 'four strands' - reminiscent of many other previous writers, from Whitehead to Dewey and Kandel- are set down on page 179 of the Report:

(1) the task of helping young workers, many of them of limited intelligence, to find their way about successfully in the adult world in such matters as earning and spending, understanding the Welfare State, and citizenship(56)

(55): Ibid., Para. 266

(56): It is perhaps significant that the first two of these examples are actually used as topic headings in Stygall's source books on Liberal Studies, which will be discussed in the next Chapter.
(2) 'helping them to define, in a form which makes sense to them, a standard of moral values'
(3) 'helping them to carry over into their working life the pursuits and activities, physical and aesthetic, which they practised at school and too often abandon'
(4) technical education in general.

Thus, the task of further education, as envisaged by this Report involves training in technical subjects, and education for citizenship, ethics, and leisure: the first two of these three may be regarded as forming - and by the 1962 Pamphlet and Stygall are so regarded - the material proper to the Social or General Studies period, with communication super-added; opportunities for leisure pursuits within the social studies period will necessarily be limited, and these may be regarded as the proper task of liberal studies and activities - including corporate activities - in general. Thus, the Social Studies period should exist within a general framework of liberal activity. In the most progressive Colleges that have been examined, as we shall see, this does in fact happen; Stygall's time allocation and subject analyses make it clear that it should; and this division of subject material has the backing both of the 1962 Pamphlet (q.v., below), and of later sections of this Report. The very next section (para. 275) makes this quite clear. 'At present', it states (i.e.,
in 1959), 'day release . . . is dominated by the purely technical aspect of . . . studies. In future, at least equal importance should be given to these wider social purposes' (a remarkable statement, and one that has never yet been fully implemented) (though . . . not necessarily . . . equal time.' It refers to the incidental treatment of liberal or social subjects arising from the students' technical studies, the sort of thing envisaged in Paras. 7b and 10 of Circular 323, but which seems to have since proved rather impractical in many cases - and then continues 'But . . . some direct teaching will have to be done', suggests social studies periods of the type already proposed by the City and Guilds, who gave a great deal of assistance with the Report's preparation; (57), plus short residential courses, which so far as I have been able to ascertain are not carried out in ordinary Technical Colleges in this Region, though they are elsewhere; and finally warns that the students must be satisfied that the vocational part of their course is not being interfered with, before they will 'listen to anything else'. Throughout, in fact, this Report is noteworthy for being at once philosophical and practical - an unusual combination, not least in education.

That part of the Report with which we are now concerned closes with a set of specific suggestions for improving technical education, in Cap. 32, Paras. 527 ff. It proposes (57): The Crowther Report Part I p.479; letter T/193/19(F1) of City & Guilds to the author, dated 2nd October 1964.
that more block release courses (courses in which a period of study equal to a normal year's attendance on a one-day-a-week basis is undertaken as a consecutive whole, usually about 13 weeks) should be operated, that the 'County College' year of 330 hours of study should be implemented as soon as possible, because current time allocations on Part-Time Day courses lead to too high a wastage rate and give little or no time for general studies, that all courses should be broadened both in the ways that Circular 323 and the City & Guilds subject revisions proposed, and also so as to include additional practical work on common technical topics not related to the students' crafts - cars, for example, or radio sets - (58), that courses should be reorganised so that they can start at 15 (before the beginning of actual apprenticeship), and thus be 'end-on' with school, and finally that, while the employment of non-graduate teachers in technical colleges, in appropriate workshop and other subjects, is not in itself a bad thing, as little use as possible in any subjects, ought to be made of staff who are part time or untrained.


In 1961, two years after the Report just discussed, the Government issued the second White Paper on Technical Education, as it had proposed in 1956. This was almost (58): The Crowther Report Para. 531.
entirely devoted to implementing the Crowther Report, to which it referred throughout. The White Paper was, as it states in para. 13, 'prepared in consultation with the representatives of the Local Education Authorities, the teachers in technical colleges and schools, the professional institutions, both sides of industry, and the City and Guilds of London Institute . . . account has been taken of the recommendations on further education in the Crowther Report, and of advice received from the National Advisory Council for Education in Industry and Commerce.' But the actual form which the reorganisations it proposes is to take, as far as the number and kind of courses to be offered in technical colleges are concerned is, says para. 1, because of developments in industry. Thus, the thinking of the White Paper is that of Crowther: the product of that thinking, has however been examined pragmatically, in the light of what the revolutions in industry since 1956 may require.

The main administrative proposals may be stated briefly enough. Craft Courses are now to start from 15, and include special pre-apprenticeship courses, so as to be 'end-on' with school, as suggested in Crowther. The craft courses themselves are no longer to form the only type, or almost the only type, of technical education for students below O.N.C. level: at a lower level, there are to be more courses for Operatives; at a higher level, but still below O.N.C., are to be courses of a new kind - the Technicians' Courses - which
are to be of approximately the same level of difficulty as O.N.C., but of more practical bias. These courses are to be preceded by two-year diagnostic courses - the General Courses in Engineering and in Science respectively, which will take students at 15 straight from school and 'set' them for transmission into Craft Technicians, or O.N.C. courses respectively at the age of 17. In some cases, students coming from a Grammar School at 16 may cover courses of the same type, in one year only.

Thus, a systematic scheme is laid down for the whole of technical training below the technologist level: and in the details of that scheme, liberal education is, for the first time, included not only incorporate activities but as a clearly required course element, with a definite time allocation for classroom teaching (i.e., in Social or General Studies periods), set down as officially as the minimum time requirement for the technical subjects. Paragraph 26 of the White Paper, for instance, speaking of Craft Courses, states that they 'should be broadened. This is necessary on general educational grounds, and to make the students more adaptable. It means in particular finding more time for English and other general studies . . . about 240 hours/year are usually required to cover the technical subjects . . . 300 hours should be the standard year for all Part Time Day courses.' It is interesting, that this figure is 30 hours less than the amount recommended by Crowther; but the discrepancy is rectified,
though at the cost of some internal inconsistency within the White Paper, by Para. 50, which is also far more explicit about a definite Socialist Studies time allocation: this paragraph states that the Ministry of Education has 'suggested to the responsible ... bodies, that in revising and planning part-time courses for craftsmen and technicians they should proceed on the assumption that there will be some 240 hours for technical subjects alone.' It goes on to state a hope that as 'a firm aim of policy' a further 90 hours per year (my italics) will be available for English and General Studies, totalling 'something like 330 hours as recommended in the Crowther Report', and looks forward to experiments in the curriculum and teaching of General Studies, as the subject is now to be called. (the odd phrase 'something like' may reflect the authors' realisation of the inconsistency with the 300 hour year quoted in Para. 26; but more probably, I suggest, it means that the White Paper regards 330 hours as optimum, but is indicating that, where there is resistance to this, the Ministry will be prepared to accept a course figure of 300 hours or above, provided that the balance of time over 240 hours be definitely allocated to general studies work.)

Another highly relevant group of paragraphs give the proposals 'teeth', as it were. In Para. 43, we read: 'The City and Guilds ... have expressed their willingness to provide' (G Courses) 'examinations.' And ten paragraphs earlier (Para. 33), 'City and Guilds ... are discussing the
introduction of technicians' courses with' (various)
'industries.' Thus, the proposals are immediately institution-
alised: the City and Guilds are, so far as I can ascertain for
the first time, formally associated with the Ministry, and
time-control of the nature, content, time-allocations, and
examinations of these courses is provided for: in the case
of general studies, as has been said, a loose control, but
there none the less. It is no doubt within this same
context of construction that the Ministry and L.E.A., Inspectors
began to press for the inclusion of General Studies teaching
in other courses also, not yet revised by City and Guilds,
as will be discussed more fully in Chapter Six.

Finally, as the speed and authority of the arrangements
might lead us to imagine, a note of urgency is struck. Para.
66 declares: 'A paper like this can only suggest the general
pattern within which the many bodies responsible for the
actual planning and provision of courses should do their work.

In the case of Craft and National Certificate courses
this will be mainly a matter of modifying courses which
already exist . . . The Government are sure that no time will
be lost in undertaking the experiments which have been
suggested in earlier paragraphs.' (Again my italics). And
Para. 67 restates the aim: 'skill, knowledge and adaptability'
(of trainees) 'are as much wanted by the nation as a whole
as the development of their capacities and interests is
essential to their own satisfaction as individuals.' The exact reason for this sense of urgency would seem to be a little obscure: clearly the repeated voices of the liberal educationalists have at last had their effect; clearly, too, the Crowther Report, as a document, showed up some glaring inefficiencies, not least in technical education (this matter will be discussed further in the next Chapter of this thesis), and was not entirely without shock effect; but I would incline to attribute the urgency chiefly to the fact that by 1961 technological change, and the need for changes in technical training, was even more acute than it had been in 1956, and the Government was beginning to be dogged by a feeling that nowhere near enough had been done. Direct evidence on this point, other than from the Crowther Report itself (in Paras. 527ff. discussed above), is understandably difficult to obtain; but one thing at least is clear, as far as our subject is concerned; general studies, as an official teaching part of the technical curriculum, had finally arrived.

The Ministry's comments were, as is usual in this country, 'suggestions' or 'hopes for a firm aim of policy': but, especially with the active support of the City and Guilds - support going back to 1957, remember - these polite democratic phrases concealed what was virtually an order. The change effected may be instanced by examination of City and Guilds subject syllabus No. 13, Gas Fitting. The syllabus for 1962-4
was published in May 1961: that is, before the White Paper (published in January) could have had any effect. The revised 1965-7 syllabus was published in July 1964. The changes in regulations relating to General Studies teaching are quoted below, in parallel column: they are, one feels, significant:

1961 version

The contents of the syllabuses which follow may necessitate a five-year part-time course, with 180 hours of study in each of the years.

(Para 1 Page 5)

1964 version

The content of the syllabuses which follow has been based on 720 hours of study in the Intermediate grade, and an additional 480 hours for the Final Grade . . . Courses of study are also expected to include General Studies and an additional 90 hours per year should be devoted to them.

(Para. 1, Page 5)

1961 version


... To a great measure, success in this broader education depends on the skill of the teacher in bringing out the underlying relationships;

1964 version

10. General Studies . . .

... To a great measure, success in this broader education depends on the skill of the teacher in bringing out the underlying relationships;
this is essentially a field for individual development and experiment by teachers. There will be no examination in any of these broader topics. Although they are important, the time and effort devoted to these broader topics should not be such as to prejudice study of the main subjects which will form the basis of the Institute's examinations.

(pp. 7-8)

The final sentence, omitted altogether from the 1964 version, was, one feels, a little silly anyway: in practice, very few students would be found who would permit their 'study of the main subjects' to be damaged by general studies time allocations: if anything, the boot is on the other foot.

What I have described above as the 'institutionalisation' of General Studies was almost immediately continued by the publication by the Ministry of Education of the Pamphlet 'General Studies in Technical Colleges' (July 1962). This, as has already been stated, will be discussed in detail in the next Chapter, since in practice it forms one of the four
main groundworks on which the teaching of the subject is at present based. The Pamphlet, although following the 1961 White Paper and referring to it (59) was in fact itself a report - of the advisory committee on general studies set up by the Ministry Working Party on Reorganisation of Part-Time Technical Courses as a result of the 'County College Year' and general studies experiment recommendations of the Crowther Report (60). It is based on the same assumption of 90 hours per year, divided into '2½ to 3 hours per week' (60): it may also however, it is suggested, be useful to colleges having a more limited time-provision. It is concerned primarily with General, Craft, and Technicians' courses: but again, 'it may also stimulate constructive thinking about the possible forms in which these studies may play their part in the more advanced courses'. (61)

To go further into the content of this document in detail would be to usurp the function of the next Chapter: but it is important to our purpose here (of stressing the institutionalisation which was taking place) to note that the sections of the pamphlet cover: The Students, The Purposes and Nature of General Studies, The Content of General Studies, Some Observations on Teaching, Assessing the Work in General Studies, and an Appendix instancing the detailed working out (59): General Studies in Technical Colleges, HMSO 1962, Introduction, Page 1. Note 1.

(60): Ibid., Page 1, text and N.2.
(61): Ibid., Page 1 Para 2. In fact, Stygall's sourcebook includes just some further thinking,
of some specific themes - Communities and Relationships, Commercial Television, Trade Unions and Industrial Relations, and Personal Relationships. It is thus, in effect, a handbook of suggestions for teachers of the subject, and has in fact been received, both in Colleges and by City and Guilds, who refer to it in many syllabuses (62), as precisely such a handbook of suggestions, with all the force that that implies within the teaching profession, and in the minds of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

Finally, it may perhaps be of interest, as an example of the public willingness to accept the provisions of the 1961 White Paper and its related documents, to note that the British Council of Churches' 'Over 15', published later in the same year, wholeheartedly endorsed the new general studies proposals, with the comment 'This extra time may well be used for the general social and moral education of young people', and asked for the scheme to be extended to GCE, Day General Education, and Operatives 'Courses, in Para. 39 of its report, and in Paras 51 to 53, compared the 'four strands' of the Crowther Report with the aims stated in Para. 105 of Pamphlet 6 of 1946 ('Youth's Opportunity', examined above).

(62): 287 (General Course in Engineering), 24 (Chemical Plant Engineering), 154 (Metallurgical Technicians' Courses) Yrs 2/3, 309, 311, 312 (Instrument Production and Maintenance) indeed contain only reference to the Pamphlet, and no other instructions are thought necessary in view of this.
pointed out similarities and divergences between them, and supported not only Crowther, but the (by now half forgotten) Pamphlet 6, where it went beyond Crowther.

3.11 Command Paper 1892 of 1962: Industrial Training: Proposals (text of the Industrial Training Act of 1964) and Related City and Guilds Reports.

One further step was needed, in order to make this institutionalisation of general studies and general systematisation of industrial training fully effective: the ensuring that the majority, if not all, of the students intended to be affected by the proposals of the 1961 White Paper would indeed be so affected. This step was taken by the Government with the publication of Command Paper 1892 of 1962, which eventually became the Industrial Training Act of 1964. (The related City and Guilds reports mysteriously refer to this document as the '1963 White Paper', which seems to be due to the fact that it was published very late in December 1962, and while the House was in Christmas recess, and was therefore not discussed until 1963). This was not, let it be stated, a document which in itself dealt with liberal education or general studies periods at all; neither did it attempt to bring about the compulsory part-time education still theoretically possible by Order in Council under II 43(1) and V 119 of the Education Act of 1944, but by now in effect a dead letter, although to a small extent revived by its quotation
in Cap. 16 Para. 250 of the Crowther Report. Its main proposals may be summarised very easily. It has only one Part, and the proposals which interest us are contained in Paras. 7, 9 and 14. In a nutshell, it was proposed to set up Training Boards for particular industries, on which all relevant bodies, including Unions, and Employers' Federations, would be represented. These Boards have the power to make training policy, set down standards, work out tests, establish qualifications for instructors, and may themselves in addition to the existing channels of technical education either run training courses or make grants to firms enabling them to do so. (63).

The intention of this Paragraph is clear: again without any formal compulsion, industry is to be put in a position where it will find itself concurring with, and implementing, the provisions of the 1961 White Paper for as many students as possible, either by release to technical education, or training in works schools and training groups such as that already mentioned in note 63. Paragraph 14 in addition specifically charges these Boards with the duty of paying special attention to the problems of the first year after leaving school - again, a point much made by the Crowther Report. Finally, we may extract from Paragraph 7 indications (63): Cmnd. 1892 of 1962, Para 9. I have been verbally informed that the present Mid-Tyne Training Group, which antedates the passing of the Act into law, was regarded as one pilot scheme in this direction; it does in fact seem to conform fairly closely to the sort of thing intended by this Paragraph.
of three objectives - to relate decisions on the scale of training to economic need and technical development; to improve the quality of training and establish definite standards; and to deal with the cost involved. The motives for the new Act are stated in the Preamble (Paras. 1 to 5 of the Command Paper): they are the (now usual) need to keep up with other countries, and in addition, the need to match the projected 4% growth rate of the Government's economic policy by having an available supply of skilled manpower.

The interest of this Command Paper for us lies in the City and Guilds reaction to it. As a result of the changes proposed, which it was felt would lead to a large increase in the number of technical students and of courses being run, it was decided to publish a group of pamphlets, dealing with technical education for Operatives, for Craftsmen, and for Technicians respectively, laying down in some detail what was the considered policy of the Institute with regard to training at that level. (64) The first of these to be published was 'Further Education for Operatives', in March 1964, as by D.E. Wheatley and M.H. Taylor. (The other pamphlets were published as 'by City and Guilds of London Institute', and the name of the author was not given.) The provision of such courses dated, it will be remembered, only from 1962, and the Pamphlet opens by pointing out (Para. 1) that only (64): Further Education for Operatives, Wheatley and Taylor, City & Guilds 1964, Forward.
about twenty such courses are currently in existence, but (Para. 12) that there is 'likely to be a large and rapid expansion of this type of activity'. As far as general studies is concerned, it remarks, in Para. 8, that 'the promising recent development of introducing a small general studies component into vocational part-time courses has special relevance to the educational needs of young operatives. Industries making arrangements for their operatives to attend courses should ensure that the time allowance is adequate for the inclusion of general studies'.

This quite clear indication that general studies is now, as far as City and Guilds is concerned, to be regarded as forming part of all courses is followed by an analysis of a typical course (Boot and Shoe Manufacture, No. 137) in Chapter III, page 10. The objectives of such a course are stated, according to the National Joint Council for the Industry; as including:

'(iv) to develop a degree of versatility in the trainees'

and

'(v) to continue general education, including the development of an understanding of the social communities in which the trainee lives and works, and his responsibilities within those communities.'

The Basic Training Scheme for this course is quoted as Appendix E to the Report: it will be analysed in more detail in the
next Chapter, but it should be noted now that the general studies 'component' (to use the report's term) includes a settling-in course in the first term, involving talks by relevant officials on industrial topics, a practical course on 'adult responsibilities' including safety and first aid, the police and emergency services, local industry and local government, and general 'earning and spending' topics, and an 'individual development' section, dealing with assorted leisure and simple cultural pursuits. It is obvious that much of this is simpler and more practical than the sort of study we have been discussing in, for example, Circular 323 or the City and Guilds MECP syllabus of 1957 (the operatives, it is clearly felt, will not be of an intellectual or academic level to profit by more abstract material), but the ground covered is similar, though restricted. (65) Appendix F, which deals with Iron and Steel courses, refers colleges to the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet, which it is presumably intended that they should apply on this practical level: but in this connection, it should be noted that Chapter VI p. 15 points out that some of the successful pioneering work in General Studies, acknowledged by the Crowther Report, was carried out in connection with Iron and Steel Operatives.

(65) It should be noted that this course meets more fully the objections raised in my last Chapter, Para 2.15, than perhaps any of the others:
Chapter VI lays down in detail what is to be City and Guilds policy regarding Non-Vocational Studies (66). It quotes the 'four stands' of the Crowther Report, and then goes on to make the following points:

(i) General Studies is desirable: it should be student-based, and include Current Affairs and expression work.

(ii) Because of this student-based orientation, there will be no set Institute examinations.

(iii) Not enough Operatives' courses as yet include this general studies component to make satisfactory completion of the course a formal requirement, as in the Craft courses.

(iv) However, the Institute wants all courses to include general studies, and urges industries to ensure this.

(v) Industries and Colleges, in general, are referred to the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet.

The two other publications, 'Further Education for Craftsmen' (1965) and 'Further Education for Technicians' (October 1964), largely reiterate, in a more concise and systematised form, the policies which have already been discussed. Non-Vocational Studies were inserted in the Craft Courses during revisions of syllabuses to 'develop the "whole

(66): These constant changes in nomenclature for these courses are somewhat confusing: unfortunately, the organising bodies themselves are inconsistent in this respect.
man" during these formative years of his career' (67). The objectives are stated on the next page: they do not vary from those quoted in the earlier syllabi (Para 3.8 above). Chapter VII pp. 15-16 again quote Crowther, and then proceed on an analysis of policy very similar to that in 'Further Education for Operatives', except for a reference to the original Social Studies 'suggestions' of 1957 as 'pioneering work' and a statement that 'in certain craft courses in which it has become standard practice, general studies has been made a formal requirement for entry into the Institute's craft examination'. It again stresses the absolute freedom of colleges and teachers, and the fact that the Institute does not assess courses, calls for a general encouragement of this work in all courses, and refers interested parties to the Ministry Pamphlet. 'Further Education for Technicians' in Cap. IX. p.26, makes the same general statements as Chapter VII of the Craft pamphlet, except that it does not quote Crowther, and gives a greater emphasis to the encouragement of the student's ability to discuss and think clearly, as well as to handling of written reports, as part of the technician's industrial equipment. It also refers readers to the Ministry Pamphlet, and states that satisfactory completion of a (non-assessed) college course will be a requirement for entry to the City and Guilds examinations.

(67): Further Education for Craftsmen, City & Guilds 1965, Cap I p.6.
This is stressed again in Chapter III page 14, and p.12 of the same Chapter quotes objectives of general studies, identical in form and - largely - in phrasing with those of the Ministry Pamphlet (68).

It is, incidentally, Appendix A p. 19 of 'Further Education for Craftsmen', that contains the historical analysis of the development of craft courses which has been referred to earlier, particularly in Chapter 2 (note 12 to 2.3), in the course of which the point is made that the revisions of the Mechanical Engineering courses on which the City and Guilds were working when Social Studies was first introduced in 1957 were due to the fact that at that time it had become necessary to reorient these courses to cater for a larger quantity of students of lower potential, and to provide for the training of competent craftsmen for whom this would probably be the final stage of education; instead of the unusually able individual who, as before the war, had taken these courses in order to get ahead to a higher than craft-level job. This itself was due partly to the effect of the provisions of the 1944 Act - which gave better school and further education opportunities to the unusually able student, and partly to the Government policy of the mid 1950s (which we have already examined) in bringing about a growth of day release from employment. In this

context, remembering the climate of thought involved, it becomes clearer than ever that the inclusion of general studies was, as still is, part of an overall revision of courses which now sees them as an education for a place at work and in society, rather than as an examination-ladder for promotion.


I said, in the initial sections of this Chapter, that the systematised and institutionalised character of technical training in general and social studies in particular did not seem to me to be likely to change in the immediate future, now that policies connected with the 1964 Industrial Training Act have been laid down, except perhaps by an increase in the number of students. When much of the research for this Chapter was being done, the General Election of 1964 had not yet been fought: however, the measure of agreement between the two parties on the need for social education was and is so great that no matter what happens in the next few months or years, the policy as detailed so far seems likely to continue. In this connection, the following extracts from the 1964 Party Manifestos make interesting and instructive reading:

The Conservative Manifesto (pp.20-21):
'Our view of education' (is) 'at once a right of the child, a need of society, and a condition of economic efficiency'.

'Our aim is to see that suitable education or training is available to every boy and girl up to at least 18'.

'Conservative policy . . . is to encourage provision . . . of opportunities for all children to go forward to the limits of their capacity'.

The Labour Party Manifesto (p.14)

'As the first step to part-time education for the first two years after leaving school, labour will extend compulsory day and block release.'

The Labour Party was understandably more 'cagey': after all, it was under their administration on that it had been found impossible to implement II 43(1) and V 119 of the 1944 Act. However, the return by both Parties to what is virtually the provision of County Colleges (with the concept of social education such a move necessarily implies) gives one food for thought.

Nevertheless, one professional body concerned with the education of technical personnel has expressed doubts about the wisdom of such institutionalisation. On the 22nd and 23rd March 1963 - over a year before the election manifestos discussed above - the Institute of Mechanical Engineers held
a conference on the Education and Training of Engineering Technicians, the Proceedings of which were subsequently published. Most of the material of this publication is concerned with the technical and scientific aspects of this training, as might be expected. However, in the paper entitled 'A Technical College View', the Principal of Southgate Technical College Middlesex, had occasion briefly to touch upon the liberal component of these courses. After referring to the extent to which this had been written up elsewhere (presumably by the City and Guilds and in Ministry White Papers and other documents), he went on to deplore the institutionalisation of the component into social studies or liberal studies class periods, taught by separate service departments staffed by Arts graduates, a policy which he described as 'the icing on the cake'. (69)

He objected to this system partly on the grounds that the Arts graduate was per se no more 'liberal' a man than the Science graduate, partly on the grounds that it simply set up one more 'subject' (70), and partly on the grounds of confusion, both of time utilisation and of comprehension by


(70): i.e., the classical objection of lack of transfer of training - author.
staff and students of the objectives of this type of course. In its place, he proposed a return to a position nearer to the liberalisation through technical teaching suggested by the 1957 Circular: technical lectures (including science lectures) should be preceded by short talks on the historical background or social effects of the scientific discovery or industrial process being studied, while the liberal component of college work should, as far as separate timetable commitments were concerned, be purely liberal activities and communication work, plus non-industrial social history if this were thought desirable. In the discussion that followed his paper this view was largely endorsed.

Considering the status of the I.Mech.E., it is perhaps odd that these objections and alternative suggestions have had little or no effect: that they have had little or no effect is of course clear, both from the subsequent official publications discussed above and in the next Chapter and from the adoption by both parties of schemes approximating to the County College idea in the 1964 Election Manifestoes, as well as from the fact that, as the reader will discover in Chapter Six, no College in the area under survey which submitted information on its teaching gave any indication of using the methods suggested. The explanation is, perhaps, threefold. In the first place, the suggestions have a curious flavour of having one’s cake and eating it as well: they do not in
fact abolish the institutional element in liberal education, but merely change its arrangement and terms of reference. In the second place, as has already been pointed out above, in practice it is if anything even harder to find technical staff qualified to give the sort of background instruction in the history of science or in industrial sociology which the paper appears to suggest than it is to find Arts graduates with sufficient awareness of technology and its problems to service the existing teaching schemes in the subject (and, as will be seen in Chapter Six, this is difficult enough).

But most important of all, without doubt, is the fact that the construction of Engineering Technicians' Courses falls within the province, as is clearly indicated in the 1961 White Paper, not of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers but of the City and Guilds, who, with the Ministry of Education, are firmly in favour of the schemes for teaching social studies as part of a liberal component of technical education the origins of which we have already discussed and which will be examined in further detail in the next Chapter. Indeed, satisfactory performance by technician students in these schemes is now a compulsory prerequisite for entry to the City and Guilds' Part I and Part II Examinations. Nevertheless, the I.Mech.E's objections serve a useful purpose here: they remind us that, although we have, in the two last Chapters, been describing the origins and development of liberal education in technical colleges and of social studies
teaching in particular as the working out of one fairly consistent group of concepts, there is no inherent reasons for believing, without any additional proof, either that these are the only possible concepts or that they are necessarily the correct ones on which to base an attack upon the educational problems with which they are supposed to cope. We shall return to the question raised by this reminder - that of assessing the educational validity of the work currently being done - in Chapter Seven.
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OTHER AIMS:

| Aim, as in Garforth (analysis Chap. 4) | 1962 Stygall Pam. Guilds Pamphlets Crowther Report Spens '56 Report W.P. 323 |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| general arousing of interests          | Yes ........................... | Yes              | ........................... | ........................... | ........................... | ........................... |
| physical edn.                          | Yes ........................... | EK2              | ........................... | Yes ........................... | ........................... | ........................... |

KEY:

- a line of dots represents an aim absent, or not stated specifically.
- ?? represents an aim unclearly stated.
- numbers quoted refer to paragraphs, unless otherwise stated.

Note

- All these aims are also to be found in Clarke (except No. 8), and the Melbourne pamphlet, except Nos. 4, 5 and 10.
CHAPTER FOUR

The present position of Social Studies as a Technical College subject

4.1 In the preceding two Chapters we have been concerned with tracing the origins and development of that part of the liberal component of present-day technical education (of Ordinary National Certificate level and below) which consists of an actual course of study in class time, referred to by the terms 'Liberal', 'Social', 'General' or 'Non-Technical Studies', for which the term 'Social Studies' has been used in the title of this thesis. We are now to consider the present nature of the subject, in terms of aims and objectives, course content, and methods of teaching and assessment. To enable us to do this, there are four pieces of material that we must consider. First, we must consider current academic thinking about the aims of education in general and of liberal education in particular: as representative of this theoretical basis, I propose to examine Garforth's book 'Education and Social Purpose', published by Oldbourne in 1962. I do not by this intend to suggest that this particular book holds any specially authoritative place in the reading-lists or thinking of teachers of Social Studies in Technical Colleges: so far as I am aware, this is not so. It is, in fact, not specifically a book about technical education at all - it is quite simply one of the latest of that long and honourable line of books on the theoretical and philosophical purposes
of education which begins with Plato's 'Republic' and goes steadily onward to the present day. But, as a theoretical work, Garforth's book is particularly valuable on three grounds: first, that it was produced in 1962, the year in which interest in extensions of liberal education was at its peak; second, that, as the reader will shortly see, its argument sums up and deepens the current ideas about liberal education in very much the same way that Clarke's 'Freedom in the Educative Society' (after which one of its chapters is indeed named) summed up and deepened the ideas current in the late 1940's; and third, as I hope to show, because its lines of argument provide both a thorough logical basis for the subject of Social Studies and pointers towards both aims and content which accord very closely with the official Ministry pronouncements, and the other material: and, because this is an independent scholarly work, it is permissible to use its conclusions as both an underpinning for the structure of the subject and a touchstone against which other aims, methods, or content may be tested, in a way in which it would not be permissible to use official Ministry pronouncements, which inevitably (and quite rightly) reflect current political policy rather than philosophical or sociological consistency.

Second, we must consider the official Ministry policy regarding the subject: although it is mercifully not possible
for the British Minister of Education to look at his watch and say 'It is now ten o'clock: every student in a technical college is now doing Social Studies' (as a French education minister is apocryphally supposed to have done with Écœur students and Racine during the last century), nevertheless, as I pointed out in the last Chapter, the combined forces of the suggestions of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education and the recommendations of the City of Guilds of London Institute have in effect meant that the majority of Colleges follow pretty closely the suggestions contained in the HMSO Pamphlet 'General Studies in Technical Colleges', which I discussed briefly above, in 3.10.

Third, we must discuss the source-material currently available to teachers of the subject. By this, I do not mean the many textbooks of 'English and General Studies' now on the market: these are simply class texts of extracts for reading, intended to extend the students' powers of comprehension, and in addition to offer them some ready-made titles for discussion topics, and in some cases suggestions for projects. They are, under certain conditions, useful in class, and the fact that they exist at all is a mark of the extent to which the subject has become accepted and institutionalised. But their use is limited, and since they give the teacher himself no more help in organising his subject than any other textbook - and less than some, French or Science textbooks for instance -
a discussion of them would be more proper to the columns of the 'Technical Journal' than to the pages of a thesis of this type. It is the other kind of source-material with which I am concerned: the book intended for the teacher himself, and containing notes on topics for inclusion in the course, plus discussions of aims, syllabus construction, timetabling, method and assessment. There is at present only one such series which has achieved any marked degree of popularity; it is the series 'Liberal Studies', by Blackman, Stygall, Harries, Skan and Stygall, intended to consist eventually, I understand, of several volumes covering all the main 'core' topics of suggested courses, and at present consisting of two volumes, the first published by Cassell in 1962, and the second in 1964. This series is also important, in that it has the official goodwill of the Association of Liberal Education (a body founded to coordinate work in this field in Technical Colleges, with area Associations throughout the country, including one in the North-East), whose President (Professor Sir Willis Jackson) contributed a foreword to the first volume. (1)

(1): apart from backing this work, and sponsoring various research projects, and holding periodic regional and national conferences on relevant academic themes, this Association operates mainly on an area or regional basis: the views and policy of the North-East Association will be discussed in Chapter Five below. The Association is entirely voluntary, and has no official status in technical education as such. For this reason, a discussion of it was omitted from the last Chapter, which was concerned primarily with tracing the growth of official policy on the subject: the A.L.E., so far as I can ascertain, played no significant part in the official development of the subject, and by the time it was formed the period of private experiment was largely over. Its existence should be regarded as another example of 'institutionalisation'!
And finally, we must examine, in some cases with a fairly critical eye, the suggestions as to content and method contained in the syllabuses and regulations of the various examining bodies, primarily of course the City and Guilds of London Institute, most of the longer of which have been adopted by many colleges as at least a general approximation to a syllabus, despite the City and Guilds' repeated statements about freedom of choice, and one of which (the Certificate in Office Studies) is indeed a formal academic syllabus with an external examination - a curiously illiberal state of affairs, it would seem.


Any example of the practice of teaching may be investigated in four directions, the first and last of which are in a sense the same. It may be examined in the light of a system of educational philosophy; an account may be given of its relationship to the psychology of learning and teaching; it may be related to the educational sociology of the community in which it takes place; or finally, we may ask of it the pragmatic question 'does it work?': but, as I have said, this last question, except in the limited and obvious sense of 'is it able to be carried out in the classroom or lecture hall?' (the answer to which must needs be 'Yes' or we would not be observing it), is really nothing more than a measure of the extent to which the example concerned actually attains its
philosophical, psychological or sociological aims. This last question will form the basis for my final Chapter: the material for answering the first one - the aims of liberal education in and out of technical colleges, by comparison with which official policy and source material can be assessed - will now be considered.

I have already remarked above as to the reasons which make Garforth's book, 'Education and Social Purpose', peculiarly representative of current educational thought on the subject of liberal education: the basic logic of his argument, it seems to me, cannot well be faulted, although it should be remembered that this does not in itself mean that the proposals made as a result of this logic are necessarily desirable; this depends upon the premises on which the argument is based, as we saw in 2.15 above. In this case, however, we can at least say that the premisses of Garforth's argument are within the same general tradition as Russell, Clarke, and the other writers to whom I have previously referred: thus, they are, implicitly or explicitly, consonant with official and academic opinion and policy at the present time, and in fact the argument which Garforth (of the Department of Education of the University of Hull) bases upon these premisses is probably the most logically complete statement of that opinion, as well as one of the most up-to-date. It is intended to apply to all education; some parts specifically refer to further education, while other parts deal more - but never exclusively - with education in schools: but it is as
as well, in this context, that we should be reminded, just as Clarke reminds us, that the question of a philosophical justification for liberal education can never be a matter restricted purely to the technical college world.

Once again, as in Clarke's case, I feel the best way to deal with this argument, which once again is one and of a piece, is to summarise it in its entirety, chapter by chapter, commenting on each chapter in turn. In this case, however, as I have already pointed out, these comments will include the actual application of the points Garforth is making to social studies teaching in the form of aims and topics, implied or stated in the chapter concerned. Where the aims are numbered, the numbers will refer to the table quoted in the last Chapter (3.13).

4.3 Chapter 1 begins by pointing out that there are three possible interpretations of the word 'education'. It may mean 'instruction', in the narrow sense of the acquisition of information and skills; it may mean schooling - a wider term than instruction, because it includes the liberal elements of the course of study, and the school or college environment; or it may be defined, as it was by John Stuart Mill in his Essay on Education, as 'whatever helps to shape the human being; to make the individual what he is, or hinder him from being what he is not'. The first and narrowest of these meanings, and to a lesser extent the second of them, is largely a planned process; the third is largely unplanned,
and is the effect upon the individual of his society and environment: but both the second and the third meanings of the word imply that the educative process aims at socially desirable modes of behaviour. Hence there is not infrequently a conflict between education, in the second sense, and the society around it.

The aims of education will thus depend, as indeed I have suggested in 2.15 above, on what is considered 'desirable' by the educators: this itself, except in rare cases, is largely unplanned, and sociological or cultural in origin. Like Clarke, Garforth then embarks on a pragmatic analysis of what educators in twentieth-century Britain do in fact consider 'desirable'. He finds that these cluster around three focal points of the educative process.

The first of these is the individual: 'a living person, in contact with his environment'. But this catchphrase is meaningless, unless we make judgements about the nature of man, as in the third point, to be considered directly. And furthermore, the development of personality must be selective, and that selection will operate according to an external social standard: 'It is the task of the educator... to help the child to grow normally and to develop such potentialities as are desirable and curb those that are not'. (2)

(2): This, and other quotations in 4.3, unless otherwise acknowledged, are taken from 'Education and Society', Chapter 1.
The second focal point of the educative process, for Garforth, is society. 'Man', he quotes from Aristotle, 'is a creature so made as to need association with his fellow men'; and also representative democracy, if this is desired (and at this time in this country it is desired), requires children to be trained to use it rightly. The educator must aim at training children to live in the society of which they will eventually be adult members. And the third focal point is the 'content of reality', since the society within which the children exist is a technological and scientific society; but this is not to be interpreted as referring to the sciences alone: it also involves basic concepts of reality, questions of relativist or absolute morality, the nature of beauty, and, in short, all those intellectual percepts and abstractions (concepts) which create for a man the frame of reference within which he senses the universe around him.

From this first and most basic chapter, then we can deduce four basic aims of education which are relevant to Social Studies. They are:

1. the development of the highest aspects of personality; interests, creativeness, taste, and morals;
2. the development of the student's understanding of the society around him;
3. training for citizenship; and

4. a broad basic awareness of the universal aspects of a student's environment.

As I stated above, the numbers prefaced to these, and the other aims which will be discovered in Garforth's book, are those of the classified list in the last Chapter (3.13). In this first general chapter, we do not yet see any evidence of specific topics or course content.

4.4 Chapter two now takes up the specifically social aims of education in Britain today. Any modern society, Garforth points out, is in a state of dynamic balance between tradition and change. Tradition is necessary (especially in democracies, because of lack of external control), to ensure cultural continuity and sufficient social cohesion: but it should be noted that these are traditions of values and attitudes (e.g., tolerance, love of ceremonial, etc.) rather than mere external conventions. And, because of technological and social change in modern society, these traditions must also be subject to a continuing reinterpretation and adaptation.

Thus, we can now discover within the third aim of education relevant to Social Studies, training for citizenship in general, two rather more specific aims, which we may delineate as:

5. the handing on of the good values within the national tradition; and

6. the cultivation of the ability to criticise, adapt and change these traditions where changes in
the structure of society makes this necessary.

These two aims, operating together, will act to fulfill what the Spens Report called 'the unformulated but very real demand of the community that the young shall grow up in conformity with the national ethos' (3)

Of tradition, Garforth points out that it may be handed on through the study of History, Geography, and Literature, and through the student corporate life: of the adaptation of this tradition to the needs of current society, Garforth has this to say:

'it is a fundamental assumption of this book that education can and should be used... to change society as well as to preserve it' (4)

He compares these views with those of Jeffreys, F. C. Brown, and Dewey and then continues:

'education does not stop short at school but can be extended to the adult population to make possible that consent of public opinion which will enable the new ideals to be attained... education can be used to prepare for changes in society which will either certainly or very probably occur; it can be used to anticipate and prevent changes, or the effects of changes, which are regarded as undesirable (5)

(3): The Spens Report, pp. 147-148
(4): Garforth, 'Education and Society', Chapter 2 page 26
(5): Ibid., pp. 32-33
As examples of the probable changes, he instances the effects of automation, the increased percentage of older individuals within the population, and the growth of a surplus of males, with its attendant repercussions on the social and moral status of women. As examples of undesirable changes, he instances certain results of universal watching of television. The similarity of this argument to that of Clarke should be noted.

Finally, in this chapter, he suggests the forms of training which would be desirable under this situation. They are, training for initiative and responsibility, training in the ways of thought demanded as a result of the impact of science upon our society, preparation for membership of an egalitarian democracy, and the fostering of 'the spirit of invention and discovery, of constructive criticism which accepts what is valuable in the old and tries to incorporate it in new situations as they arise'.

The rest of this chapter, then, contains no further statements of aim, for these forms of training are towards aims which have already been either stated or implied: but in Garforth's illustrations and comments, we can see, if we wish, a list of some of the topics with which this education, already so like in its aims to the aspects of education discussed in the last two chapters, as the table on 3.13 will
show us (6), should deal. They comprise, as a first approximation:

(a) Social History, the Geography of given areas, Literature and other art, where relevant, the effects of Automation on Industry, Personal Relationships, T.V., Art Criticism, Logic and the Scientific Method, particularly as applicable to society.

For the sake of convenience, I shall not attempt to examine the correlation between these and actual Social Studies or General Studies course topics, until this analysis of Garforth's argument is complete, when the topics can be classified: but I may perhaps be permitted to remark that the correlation will then be found to be considerable.

4.5 The view of education so far presented, clearly, is of the kind usually called 'instrumental'. In his third chapter, largely concerned with meeting objections to this instrumental view of education, Garforth embarks on an analysis of the nature of what we call indoctrination. His basic argument may be summarised as follows:

The changing society in which we live requires new

(6): Of these first six aims of Garforth's, the Spens Report, Stygall's sourcebook (see below, 4.13-4.16), the City and Guilds policy statements, and Pamphlet 6 of 1946 include all, Pamphlet 8, the Crowther Report, and Circular 323 of 1957 include all except No. 5, the 1956 White Paper includes all except Nos. 3 (in formal terms) and 5 and the 1962 Pamphlet includes Nos. 2, 3 and 4 and, by implication in its choice of topics, though not formally by definition, 1 as well. See 3.13. Marshall & Griffiths, in 'Vocational Aspect' Vol XIV No. 29, give a list of aims preferred by teachers in Technical Colleges in N.W. England which is also very similar (Autumn 1962).
attitudes: at the same time, social pressures, such as
advertising and television, require toughness of mind and
selectivity in the members of this society. Both of these
are positive acts: thus they require presentation to, and
training of, the young, which must necessarily be undertaken
by the teacher. In this situation, however, we must take
steps also to see that indoctrination does not reduce the
power of the individual to think for himself. Thus, while
there may be an argument for censorship of children's
experience, so as not to risk the immature in contact with
socially harmful realities, representations or communications,
this is as much dependent upon the nature of those being
educated as it is upon the aims of such education, and censor­
ship in adult life, or for its own sake, is to be most strongly
eschewed. Furthermore, there must be pragmatic checks
maintained upon the validity of any indoctrination we wish
to undertake. We must ask ourselves, does it grow naturally
from existing society and without social disruption, does it
work in terms of improving society in general, and is it
sufficiently plastic to be capable of further change as
required.

To make these points, in a society which prides itself -
sometimes mistakenly - upon freedom from indoctrination, is
an act of considerable intellectual courage. Yet it is
difficult to see how the opponents of the instrumental
theory could ever have gained any really firm ground, unless by woolly thinking. Clearly, no liberal education can make sense unless it is instrumental, no matter what its adherents may maintain outwardly, since the moment you introduce terms for your objectives such as 'megalopsyche', 'libertas', 'le contrait-sociial', 'Allgemeine Bildung' or 'individual excellence' — along with the many others we have had occasion to notice in preceding Chapters — you are, at least implicitly, making moral judgements, and moral judgements must necessarily be purposive. And equally clearly, as Clarke pointed out, language itself may be regarded as indoctrination, since it carries with it a series of socially acceptable overtones which limit both our communication of experience and, in most cases, our thoughts about our experience. Similarly, the parent's commands to his child — 'Think it out for yourself', 'Settle your own quarrels', 'Stand on your own two feet' — are again both morally purposive indoctrination aimed at producing certain forms of behaviour, and linguistic commands which repeated sufficiently often, it is hoped will condition the individual's basic modes of thought.

Thus, in strict logic, Garforth's battle could almost be said to be won before it had been joined: but the opponents of the instrumental view of education, are, one supposes, still vociferous, even though strictly speaking they are conveying noise rather than precise information. From this chapter, in any case, we may derive a further aim, also a
more precise delineation of one part of what is meant by citizenship:

7. Cultivating a critical awareness of current social forces, as well as of past tradition and similarly, we may add a new topic of study to our list;

(b) the Study of current social structures.

4.6 Like Clarke, Garforth then turns, in chapter four to considering the present society, against which education will have to be measured. The first characteristic of society that he examines is the concept of democracy. This, he claims, rests upon a conception of each individual as having an unique intrinsic value, which is basically an act of faith. Upon this conception depends the idea that all mean and women are in a certain sense 'equal': but when stating this idea we clearly have to be very careful about what we mean. However, it is legitimate to deduce from this conception of equality the existence of a human 'right to freedom', limited in the first instance by the equivalent rights of others, and over and above this by the laws of nature, which presumably here include also the nature of man. But this 'right to freedom' depends upon the fulfilling of moral duty: 'the right to be a person... to develop that natural endowment of ability and aptitude which is a part of
our uniqueness... the right to self-determination in so far as this is possible... implies moral responsibility and freedom of choice'. (7) And, in order that freedom of choice shall be possible, it is necessary that agreements among men shall be by means of persuasion and discussion. For these - concepts and modes of agreement alike - it is necessary to educate, since most people are 'woolly' about them. Thus, from this first part of the chapter, we may deduce a restatement of the first of Garforth's aims for education plus another one:

1. Development of the highest aspects of personality; and

2. Development of the ability to express one's thoughts and also a group of topics for study connected with these aims:

(c) Creative Writing, Liberal Activities generally (not strictly our concern here, in the wider sense, as they are mainly the job of corporate societies), and the socially useful aspects of language ability - Reports, Discussions, Debates and Lectureettes.

The second, and longer part of the chapter, is taken up with an examination of current problems in society. The first one to be discussed is the question of the mass media of communication, under two main heads - radio and television,

(7): Garforth, 'Education and Social Purpose', Chapter 4, pp. 51-2.
seen as 'conducive to increasing standardisation, able to produce unperceived indoctrination, and not geared to the highest available standards for man; and advertising, which, by seeking to control the direction of our choices, seeks also to control our system of values, and can carry its motivations over from consumption of goods into such dangerous fields, for the freedom of the individual and all that implies, as politics (as in the 1952 U.S. Presidential Election) and social convention. Once again, the manipulation of others' choices from a desire for gain is immoral, and the implied standards of the 'admass society' are at variance with the highest available standards for man also. In each case, the educator's task is the same: to give a moral and social grounding in these 'highest available standards', to encourage critical alertness of temper (a phrase very reminiscent of Russell), and to encourage the study of advertising, psychology and logic. The aims deducible from this remain the same as before: this time, the topics are plainly set out for us:

(d) The Use of Leisure: Television and its effects upon society; and Advertising, together with the related topics quoted above.

The second problem Garforth refers to as 'the dehumanisation of man by his inventions': this has three parts. The first is the mechanisation and dehumanisation of work (already noted by Clarke), consequent of the fact that
machine minding, however skillful, is not fully a 'craft' in the original sense of that word: the proprietary relationship between the man and his material, which shows itself not only in skill but in care, is lacking, and there is consequently the danger of a submersion of personality in the repetitive element of modern work. (8) The second is the parallel mechanisation of leisure, with its concomitant danger of the loss of individual creativity. In each of these two cases, Garforth states, the educator should encourage, beyond the end of 'schooling', liberal studies and training in the uses of leisure. This should include recreational classes in Colleges of Further Education.

The third part of this second problem is the loss of individuality consequent upon living in a mass society. On page 61 of his book Garforth lists the training he believes to be necessary to counteract this: the assuming of student responsibility, expression work and work in ways of (legitimately) influencing others, respect for personality and training in 'clear thinking, and a scheme of values whose source is outside society'. Like Clarke, Garforth believes that this scheme should be Christian, and appears a little confused between relative and relativist moral schemata: but everyone (8): This danger is by no means theoretical. A student at S.3 Craft level at Durham Technical College expressed it to me, verbally, in the comment 'Only fools and horses like work: it would be different if you had something interesting, but who has a chance at that?' This was at a chance meeting and the comment was unsolicited: one presumes therefore that the youth - and possibly many others like him - was seriously disturbed in his own mind about this.
would in any case I imagine accept the need for a consistent ethical scheme, logically grounded in believable axioms, whether these be the assumptions of faith or the given data of self-evidence. The fact that it may be argued that the concept of human uniqueness is derivable either from belief in a Heavenly Father or from a consideration of comparative systems of ecology and the hermeneutic aspects of language does not essentially alter the fact that it is to be considered as an effective ethical premiss.

In this section, too, we find grounds for deducing those aims already mentioned: and again, we are provided with a fairly explicit list of topics with which the liberal educator should concern himself:

(e) Apprenticeship and Technical Education, and their purposes; Work; Liberal Activities and the Uses of Leisure; Expression Work, Clear Thinking and Personal and Social Morality.

The fact that some of these topics have occurred for a second time only serves to underline their importance in any curriculum of liberal study relevant to a technical society.

The third problem selected by Garforth as pressing is that of the interdependence of nations and the problems of atomic war. The nature of this problem is too general - and too dreadful - to need long analysis: in meeting it, the
aim is clearly proposed - 9. - of demonstrating to the students the essential unity of mankind, and training is called for in internationalism, involving the study of

(f) Other Countries and their Governments, International or ganisation and Problems, History, Economics, Trade, and the international aspects of the arts and of science.

In addition, in this section Garforth includes a number of comments on method: training in internationalism (for which Clarke also called) should make use of all the communica tion devices of modern society, as international relations themselves do: the teacher should make use of radio, television, clubs, pen-friends and exchange visits; and in addition, training in practical co-operation should again be provided through the corporate life of the school or college.

The fourth problem is that of the impact of science and technology upon our culture: and since this is one of the things that started off the whole movement towards including a liberal component in technical education it is again not necessary to examine it in detail here. Garforth sees three things as being necessary in this situation: the training of sufficient scientists and technologists; the training of the scientific outlook as a part of basic education (again vide Russell); and, because of the power of the scientist and technologist in present day society, the training of these people in making value-judgements - that is, in the
humanities. 'Indeed', he says, on page 66 'it would be better to cease thinking in terms of arts and science as distinct activities; rather they are different, but complementary, facets of that unity which is human experience; to neglect either is to be lopsided.' The first two of these aims do not concern liberal education in technical colleges: but from the third, we can deduce the final aim of the social studies teacher:

10. To demonstrate the essential unity of knowledge.

This completes the aims quoted in the table 3.13: and this insistence on the fusion of arts and science we shall have occasion to notice again in Stygall's sourcebook.

Finally, again like Clarke, Garforth discusses the problems involved in living in a welfare state. It is now as unthinkable that we should relinquish the welfare state as it is impossible that we should relinquish mass society (indeed, the first is to some degree the ethical ordering of the second); but it does carry with it certain dangers. It can whittle away the sense of personal responsibility, for instance, on which as we have seen the democratic process depends: it tends to blur the nature of work as a social duty, without which a sound economy is impossible (9); and

(9): Any student of Soviet education will be aware that the Russians have found it necessary to make education instrumental, even to the point of harshness, in attempting to remedy precisely this difficulty: the misconception, which one meets now and again, that this disregard of the social duty of work is the result of combining a socialist welfare state with a mixed, largely capitalist economy, I regret simply will not hold water.
it can lead to excessive controls. Thus the educator must stress responsibility and personal worth, and also teach the students sufficient economics to be able to demonstrate work as the true source of social wealth. This furnishes us with our final group of topics for liberal education which can be derived from this chapter:

(g) The Welfare State, Work, Economics (again), and Local Industries and their interrelations with the life and wealth of the area (again).

4.7 At this point, our analysis of the aims for liberal education which are stated or implied in Garforth's analysis of the functions of education in modern society is complete: but Garforth's actual argument continues for two chapters further, and while it does not provide us with any further basic philosophical objectives, it is important in that it gives as a further group of important topics which we shall see figuring in various other current curricula of general studies courses. (10).

In his chapter five, Garforth takes up in detail the aim of education for citizenship which he has already discussed. He suggests that it requires five things. First, all children need factual knowledge of national and local government, through lessons, visits, talks and local study projects (this is to say, organic, not rot© knowledge); (10): For the correlation between these various suggestions as to topics of study, see the table at 4.21, below).
next, they need active democracy in the school or college, to train them once again in the exercise of social responsibility; third, they need training and 'feeding' of the imagination, and the creative parts of the critical faculty; their education is to be for responsibility and chronoplasticity of temper. Fourth, on page 75 he suggests that this must also be continued in schemes of further education (this is stressed as very important). And fifth, paradoxically, education for citizenship also requires education of the potential leaders in the community for leadership.

This last point is now considered in detail. Education for leadership, Garforth suggests, is distrusted, because of current doctrinaire egalitarianism and semantic connections with fascist and nazi ideologies: but it is nevertheless necessary because complex modern societies require persons of high ability to decide on involved issues. What is required is 'the existence of a minority of individuals capable of securing, by the respect which their own qualities evoke, the adherence of the majority of men to higher standards than those they would create for themselves.'(11). But these leaders are to be democratic leaders: therefore they must be willing to discuss, tolerate differences, and delegate authority. Education should aim to create a 'free interplay of persons' (12), who are to be thought of as leaders in their own field of competence, not in everything.

(11): 'Education and Society' Chapter Five. The quotation is from Lord James, 'Education and Leadership'.
(12): Ibid. The quotation is from Reeves. Compare Russell 'On Education'.
At this point, Garforth becomes involved in a complex argument about the relative merits of public school, grammar, and comprehensive education in producing leaders of this kind, which is not relevant to this thesis. He ends with two basic requirements: first, everyone should be trained for leadership to the degree (however small) compatible with the limitations of their nature, since in a democracy leadership devolves (for example, in Trade Union affairs); and second, that 'the real need is to have the right person in the right place at the right time, willing and able to rise to the demands of the particular occasion, whether it be a crisis in international affairs or an industrial dispute or a row in a small rural council. It is necessary therefore to think not so much of leadership as of creating a fund of ability and character sufficient to meet whatever demands circumstances may impose.' (13). He concludes that this can best be done by training and informing everyone, thus including whatever potential leaders, at whatever level, there may be, who can then as the phrase is, "take it from there".

This chapter alone would be enough to justify an entire social studies course: but it is important to realise that it rests upon the philosophical analysis of all the preceding four. Again, we can see a group of distinct topics emerging: (h) National Government, Local Government, the Class Structure, Management, the Trade Unions, Labour

(13): Ibid., pp. 80-1. The italics are mine.
Relations in Industry, plus several topics, such as international affairs, that we have already met.

4.8 Finally, in chapter six, Garforth deals with Clarke's concept of the 'educative society', which he wholeheartedly endorses (the chapter is in fact headed 'The Educative Society'). Here, he returns to the third of the definitions of education which we examined in his first chapter: in this sense, he points out, the whole of society - school, home, work, the local environment - educate the young. Ideally, therefore, all these agencies should be harmoniously working towards the best ends, as these best ends have been suggested above. That they are not so working, he suggests, is because we do not legislate and educate sufficiently for parenthood and social commitment within a democratic, generous and creative society. He closes by suggesting a number of reforms, three of which are relevant to social studies teaching. They are: education for parenthood and in personal relations (cp. Russell); the continuation of education for citizenship into further education (here Garforth is quite clearly reflecting the same general current of thought which was simultaneously issuing in the Ministry Pamphlet on General Studies: this will be considered next, and we shall see that its aims and content follow this academic and philosophical analysis of the current purposes of liberal education very closely); and finally, that such education should be aimed at making the students aware of 'this formative power of the social environment and of the particular influences it thrusts upon us'. (14). This aim restates, in (14): Ibid., Chapter 6 Page 97.
essence, two of the aims - No. 3 and No. 7 - deduced above: and yet, curiously, it sounds more basic than either of them. In one sense, at least, everything we deal with in liberal education is concerned with 'the formative power of the social environment' as Garforth terms it. And, to conclude this summary of what seems to me to be the most representative philosophical analysis of the basis of liberal education as it is conceived in current General Studies publications, we must make one final addition to our list of topics, called up by Garforth's own list of the influences which work upon the education of the young, and therefore, need to be understood: (j) Personal Relations and Morality (for the second time); The Home; The Family; Education.


The genesis of this Ministry of Education Pamphlet, which has in fact assumed in the eyes of both many teachers in technical colleges and the City and Guilds, who refer to it frequently, the status of a handbook of suggestions, and in most colleges has almost entirely replaced the suggestions of Circular 323, was described briefly in the previous Chapter. It is a working party report, and is therefore intended to be a practical, not a theoretical, work: but we shall see, in the course of the next four paragraphs of this Chapter, that it does in fact follow the aims of liberal education in general studies periods, as derivable from theoretical writings on education such as that by Garforth discussed above, fairly closely and the topics of study derivable from the same theoretical
analysis more closely still. (15).

The field in which the Pamphlet's suggestions are intended to operate is defined in the Introduction on page 1:

'The committee was asked to draft notes for the guidance of technical colleges on the arrangements for and treatment of general studies when part-time technical courses are lengthened to make approximately 90 hours per year available for them. The observations and suggestions which follow are immediately relevant to the treatment of general studies in the General Course in Engineering and in part-time courses for technicians and craftsmen; they will also apply to general courses in other technologies.'

The pamphlet goes on to state, as was pointed out in the last Chapter, that this material, it is hoped, will also be relevant to part-time courses with a general studies component of less than 90 hours per week, and will help to stimulate constructive thinking about more advanced courses. It is thus, (Page 2) intended to apply to young men, aged mainly between 15 and 18, attending technical education on a part-time release basis from industry, of 'at least average' manual and mental competence, but of widely differing overall attainments and educational background, which will have to be taken into account in 'the design of an appropriate general studies curriculum'. (The extent to which this widely differing background does in fact affect the success of general studies courses will be one of the things which I shall attempt to analyse in Chapter 7).

(15): See the table at 4.21 below.
4.10 The next section of the pamphlet considers the aims and nature of the general studies course. As is to be expected of such a document at such a time, it refers explicitly to the Crowther Report, and in particular to the 'Four Strands' of Chapter 17 p.179, which it quotes to all intents and purposes verbatim. It will be recalled that these are concerned with introducing the students to the society in which they are living 'as consumers and citizens', to the evolution of moral standards, to the further development of 'pursuits and interests... begun at school', and the improvement of basic education. The two last of these four main aims are elaborated somewhat, later in the pamphlet: the improvement in basic education is seen, in the very next paragraph, as centering initially on an improvement of communication skills, basic to their entire future success, whether as workers or as individuals:

'The first need of the students in both the technical and general elements of their course is to develop their communication skills. They must be able to make themselves understood in speech and writing and, through listening and reading, to understand other people. Success in their technical subjects will directly depend on mastery of these skills; they are vital, too, for the students' development as individuals and as members of society.

It is for these reasons that the teaching of English and
general studies should be regarded as a single operation. English should be taught in a context - there must be a body of material involving discussion and written work in the course of which the student can practise the skills of speaking, listening, writing and reading.' (16). Thus the general studies period is conceived of as including and transcending the older practice of devoting part of the time to the study of what is called 'technical English': this now being merged in a study of communication in general. It should be noticed in particular that the new study, by emphasis on communication as a purposive activity of man, taught within an industrial and social context, makes it quite clear that it is not intended that this teaching should be of the formal, and rather sterile, technical English examinations type. It will be seen, in para 4.12 below, that this inference is further reinforced by what the pamphlet has to say on methods of course assessment, and para 4.19 will demonstrate that this attitude has also the full approval of the City and Guilds.

The third of the four strands is similarly expanded on page 5 of the Pamphlet, where its purpose is described as 'to awaken, stimulate, and nourish interests, and to make students aware of the opportunities... for taking these interests further'. Exactly how this is to be done will be discussed in detail directly, under subject content: meanwhile, as a glance at the table at 3.13 will show, these aims explicitly correspond

to aims 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8 of the list of aims for liberal education which can be derived from Garforth's theoretical analysis; it will be seen, when we come to discuss content, that the topics proposed in the pamphlet in addition imply at least a further two of these aims - Nos. 1 and 9.

4.11 The pamphlet now turns, on pages 3 to 7, to considering the content of a general studies course. The section opens with a long list of topics, not all of which will be repeated here (though they will all be found in the table at 4.21 below). These topics are classified under five general headings: the first is 'The Student and the College', including the organisation of the college and the nature and purpose of the courses it offers; the second is 'The Student and His Job', which includes such topics as training for industry, the firm and local industry (a general studies 'chestnut' of which many students, by the time they come to their third or fourth year, are completely and heartily sick), industrial relations, the economics of work, and the Factory Acts; the third section is 'The Student, His Home His Family and His Friends', which includes a study of the social function of the (presumably nuclear) family, sexual relationships and morality, 'earnings and spending' (to quote from Stygall), and general social behaviour; the fourth is 'The Student and the Wider Community', which includes the local community, national government and related topics, law, economics, international organisations, and the current world and racial problems; and the fifth section is 'The Widening of Horizons and the Development of
Personal Interests', and is divided into 'Man and Nature', 'The Arts', 'The Crafts', and 'Physical Education and Recreation'. All in all, then, the subject matter of general studies, as put forward in this pamphlet, may be summed up as whatever is relevant to the student (who is explicitly at the centre of all but the last of these five major divisions) within the total cultural situation in which he finds himself. In fact, as reference to the table at 4.21 will show, the specifically listed detailed topics of the 1962 Pamphlet include all those which may be deduced from Garforth's theoretical analysis except the social effects of television, automation, and the class system, plus a number of additional topics connected specifically with industry and with international affairs.

It is immediately obvious that such an enormous range of material cannot in its entirety be contained in any one syllabus: and the pamphlet goes on to make this point (and the equally valid point that, as the subject of general studies is the total cultural situation, 'all good teachers, in the light of their own talents and interests, and knowing their students and the resources of their colleges, will be able to add to it.') (17), and to suggest means whereby a syllabus may be derived from the 'storehouse', as it terms this list.

The criteria to be used in selecting material are laid down as 'relevance and appeal to the students' (18): it is

(18): Ibid.
pointed out that whatever scheme be devised will involve active student participation: the whole course, therefore, is to be basically student-centred. It then suggests that, to obtain a culturally balanced course, 'at least some of the topics in Sections II - IV should find a place... in each year of the student's course.' (18). But this, it would appear, is not a mandate for the sort of repetition to which I referred above in connection with the treatment of the student's firm, and to which we shall see in 4.18 below, some courses are unfortunately prone: the authors of the pamphlet (besides emphasising the needs for different methods of treatment at different levels) distinguish carefully between a 'topic' - an entry in the classified list of the 'storehouse', and a 'subject' - a particular area of human culture which the teacher and students together propose to investigate during a given term of the course, in a manner highly reminiscent of the suggestions of Zilliacus referred to in Chapter Two above. Thus, each 'subject' is to include 'topics' from different sections of the classified list; and in any one year, the choice of 'subjects' should ideally be such that each section of the classified list should receive approximately the same amount of course time overall. It is not necessary that the 'topics' should themselves be repeated, unless to do so would be to the advantage of the students (for instance, briefly as a lead-in to some other work, or in a case where the same 'topic', treated from two different points of view, happens to
relevant to two different 'subjects': industrial relations, for instance, is relevant both to a study of 'authority and the individual', and a study of 'earning a living', but the treatment in each case will be very different, probably to the extent that to the students it will appear to be a different topic altogether.

The two 'subjects' quoted above are in fact given in this section of the pamphlet as specimens of how a series of topics may be constructed: and the method employed in their construction is significant. Each one is intended to last an entire term, although most of the 'subjects' dealt with in actual technical colleges which have been studied for this thesis seem to be rather shorter, and I have myself carried out comparatively successful experiments with 'subjects' of up to a half-session in duration, with craft students of a low general rate of work (19). The construction of these two specimen courses, both of which are quoted on page 6 of the 1962 Pamphlet, is as follows:

**Authority and the Individual**

Discipline within the College ............... I (a)
Discipline on the Shop Floor ................... II (c)
Family Discipline ............................. III (a) & (b)
Civil discipline and the Law .................. IV (d)

In each of these courses, it will be noted that the organisation of material follows a definite pattern. It begins with the situation in which the teacher and students actually find themselves, examines it, and then works out from it. This is not, of course, the only way in which a 'subject' can be organised, but it is characteristic of the organisation of many — indeed, one might almost say, of the majority — of 'subjects' which are actually taught in technical colleges, at least in the area under study. It seems to follow naturally from the concept of the courses as student-orientated, as well as from the fact that many of the students, particularly in the lower-grade craft courses, have little or no span of social awareness, and are not initially likely to be interested in matters beyond the fringe of their familiar (but for all that still not clearly perceived) environment. To this method of course construction, many different social studies teachers have given many different names — 'accretion', 'expansionism', and a number of others. The Ministry pamphlet does not
explicitly draw attention to what it is doing, and therefore, does not give the method a name, but its advantages in dealing with the type of student for which these courses are designed are sufficient for it to have become a very important element in general studies teaching, and one which I shall have occasion to examine in some detail in connection with various other courses in subsequent paragraphs. Since it is, in essence, a procedure for working outwards from the student and his immediate situation, which is the initial centre of his own attention, I propose to refer to it as the 'centrifugal' method of course construction, and the degree to which actual courses exhibit this method of construction as their 'degree of centrifugality' (This may occasionally lead to phrases that sound like jargon but such a short-hand notation, I trust the reader will agree, is both needful and convenient).

To sum up, then, the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet first provides the general studies teacher with a large classified list of 'topics' for study, covering between them almost the entire range of human culture; it then proposes that selections of suitable 'topics' from this list should be combined, ideally in such a way that each main class in the list gets approximately equal treatment, into a series of two, three or more 'subjects', which should be areas of human life to be investigated, should be selected by reference to the students' needs and interests, and should between them constitute a year's scheme of work.
Because the separate schemes of work are geared to particular classes rather than particular sections of a college course in some craft or technology, there is likely to be only a general follow-on between years; but repetition of actual 'topics' with the same group of students in different years is to be discouraged, except for particular purposes and in particular situations. The scheme of work is to be centrifugal within each 'subject', and the 'subjects' themselves, as has already been said, are to be selected primarily by reference to the needs of the particular class being taught: although in fact, this last may prove a little impractical up to a point - it has been pointed out, among other people by the Head of General Studies at Stockton/Billingham Technical College, that there is in practice always a 'lag' between a teacher taking over a new class and his getting to know them sufficiently well to be able to assess their needs - which are not always identical with their wants, and of which they may not themselves be aware. This, incidentally, is a powerful argument against the widespread practice of employing part-time assistant staff for general studies work, and the less widespread but even more unfortunate practice, found in some Colleges of 'switching' staff from one class or student group to another during the critical first few weeks of a new academic year, usually as a result of inefficient timetabling (the plague of all institutions with a large number of part-time students). Finally, the Pamphlet suggests, part of the syllabus may well be covered
outside class time, in the form of activities by student societies (especially in the case of the 'topics' in Section V); and there should in addition to the regular general studies period with the whole class be some scope at least for personal choice of optional 'practical, artistic, or physical activity', which, it is suggested, might account of one third of the total general studies time allocation.

4.12 The discussion of centrifugality above leads us on fairly easily to what the pamphlet has to say about methods of teaching and assessment. These are contained in pages 7 to 12, after which there is an appendix in which the principles of the pamphlet are applied in detail to a number of particular 'subjects' actually tried in college schemes of work and found to be successful: from our standpoint this appendix is of interest in one regard only - the very large use it makes of films; radio, television and audio-visual aids in general. This is clearly connected with the informal nature of the subject, which has been emphasised several times already, and will be so again: we shall see in Chapter Six that the most progressive of the North-East Colleges also in fact are those best equipped with this sort of material.

The first point to be stressed by the section of the pamphlet headed 'Social Observations on Teaching' is the degree to which discussion is to form the basis of the course. It is not a preliminary; it is the very stuff of much of the course itself, though it must not, the pamphlet declares,
Dispense with the need for careful planning and preparation. In addition, it is an important means of communication, and is to be used to help the student improve his ability to express himself. A prerequisite for such a method is the splitting up of the students into groups 'small enough for all their members to play a part' (page 8); and also the existence of rooms suitable for seminar or tutorial use. In point of fact, unfortunately, these facilities are absent from many colleges (Durham is an exception); and in addition, as we shall see in Chapter Six, the younger and lower-grade students do not seem to profit by discussion pure and simple to the extent that this pamphlet seems to assume they will, partly because of their poor retentivity of material discussed, and partly because their minds are not well stocked with ideas, so that they need initial 'priming' as it were with material upon which discussions can be conducted. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, the emphasis on discussion found in this pamphlet does correspond to a real emphasis on discussion in most of the progressive teaching of the subject that was examined in those colleges within the North East Region which will be quoted in Chapter Six: naturally, not all the teaching in all the colleges was of the most progressive, as is usual in human affairs. That the emphasis laid upon this method in the pamphlet goes further than it has reasonably been found possible to take it in much actual teaching is due in part to lack of facilities, and in part may be considered another example of that tendency of the
liberal educator to make over his students in his own image which was discussed in 2.15 above.

The second point to be stressed, on page 8, concerns the written work. Written communication is important; but the form in which it is taught must be connected with work — once again, must be purposive — and must include the correct use of technical language, taught, it is suggested, in collaboration with the technical teachers, and closely linked to the student's industrial experience: in particular, where remedial work is necessary, the pamphlet believes that on no account should it be academically narrow, or restricted to grammar and set exercises. And, lower down on the same page, it is pointed out that the general content of the course also should be linked to the students' known experience (that is, in effect, should be centrifugal), otherwise it is suggested (and experience since has borne this out) that the student may be tempted to regard general studies as 'a waste of time for him and for his employer' (20): in particular, the student will it is suggested be prepared to accept help on how to study, how to write technical reports, and similar initial communications material of obvious usefulness. Clearly it is intended that these should be fitted into any such centrifugal scheme, as early on as possible.

The fourth section, on page nine, is concerned with more general comments on method. The students are to be encouraged to make 'full and constant use' of books and periodicals, which (20): General Studies in Technical Colleges, page 8.
should be freely available both in the library and in the classroom; audio-visual aids should also be used extensively, and this use should go beyond simply instructional material to include contemporary realistic drama and fiction as background and starting points for discussion and investigation. It is also pointed out that the width of the suggested material may make it difficult for the general studies teacher to speak with sufficient authority on all topics: in the absence of a large specialist staff, which is not common in technical college general studies departments, the pamphlet suggests that the widest possible use should be made of outside lecturers, especially from industry, and outside visits. It will be seen below that the main liberal studies sourcebook urges that the provision of specialist staff in general studies is a necessity, which should be brought into existence as soon as possible: but this suggestion has not had much effect on official staffing policy to date, in North-East technical colleges at least, and staff in those investigated did indeed complain that the students at times felt that the material was being presented in a rather dilettante fashion: the extent to which the suggestions of outside lecturers and visits were in fact followed up in an attempt to overcome this will be discussed below, in Chapter Six. The section on method ends with a call for the utilisation of college societies, and of staff and student specialist interests in a pooling of experience and skills.
The final two pages of the pamphlet proper are devoted to methods of assessing the course: it will be recalled that some form of assessment, in addition to being a necessary evil if the subjects studied are not to lose all rigour, is required by the City and Guilds in respect of craft and technicians' courses, if the signature required from the Principal on form M.E.C. that the college course of social studies has been 'satisfactorily completed' is not become an empty and hypocritical formality. The form of assessment is to be organic to the nature of the course: an external or assessed examination, it is felt, would therefore be most unsuitable, and in fact the working party is stated to have felt that any method of assessment which samples the material being assessed at only one point is unsuited to a course of this type: consequently, formal examinations, ideally at anyrate, would seem to be 'out' altogether. As an alternative, it proposes two things: first, that each student should keep the whole of his work over the course in a folder, which should be assessed, either entirely or in random selection, by college staff, with an external moderator if desired in respect of fluency and accuracy of communication, clarity of thought and care of judgement, and awareness of information sources and critical ability; and second, that each teacher of the subject should keep a continuing report upon the progress of the students under his charge, in particular regarding such matters as their ability to participate usefully in class discussions. It will be seen, in Chapter Six, that few colleges follow this scheme
in its entirety, and some not at all: it will also be seen in 4.19 below, that the comments of the pamphlet upon assessment methods have had a considerable bearing upon the City and Guilds current attitudes towards what it considers desirable and what it considers undesirable in college examinations or schemes of assessment.


The other main book on which ideas for general studies teaching largely depend is the symposium on Liberal Studies by a group of people, including the Stygalls, husband and wife, originally connected with Luton College of Technology. This book is intended to include source material for all the most common 'subjects', together with monographs on teaching aims, teaching methods, and curriculum design. Currently two volumes are available. The initial volume has a preface written by Sir Willis Jackson, the President of the Association for Liberal Education.

This preface makes the by now familiar points: the current increase in the applications of science and technology leads to 'sociological changes of various kinds - changes in the nature of employment, in the environment and pattern of communal life, and in modes of individual and collective thinking... it is particularly important that the young people now being attracted to careers in science and technology should be made conscious of the sociological impact which may well result from the work
on which they are now engaged... concern for likely sociological consequences will increasingly affect the nature of '... (the technologist's)... 'decisions and the manner in which they are best put into effect.' (21).

There is perhaps only one thing odd in these comments, and that is the insistence on the words 'sociology' and 'technologist'. The general philosophical point is valid enough, and is indeed the same one we have seen a number of times already: but one feels that somehow Sir Willis Jackson is a trifle out of phase with his authors: the Stygalls et.al. are talking about craftsmen, technicians, and O.N.C. students, not Dip. Tech. or (to use a current term), 'asterisk degree' technologists: one is forced to ask the question, to what extent can these rigorous and somewhat advanced aims legitimately be applied to craftsmen, or even, in their entirety, to technicians: how far, except through their Clarkian social duty of work, do craftsmen in particular affect social pressures? In this connection, the book gets off to an unfortunate start: one feels that a group of young technicians, such as the Gateshead first year Mechanical Technicians block release course of 1964 who defined their concern with work, during a general studies discussion, as being with the development of 'routine, variety and creative skill' had something to say rather more relevant to the actual content of the sourcebook and the liberalisation of attitude of the type of student for whom it is intended than (21): Liberal Studies 1, Preface v - vi.
the remarks of Sir Willis Jackson: although, to be fair, the social changes resultant from the technologist's work do affect all classes of worker, and young workers in many fields have declared themselves disturbed at these processes which they cannot stop, which they feel unable (from knowledge of their innate limitations which some of them know surprisingly objectively and well, or else from creative craft pride) to accept, and which they have not really, in too many cases, been shown how to comprehend. Thus the idea of using the general studies period to evaluate these problems is not a bad one (far from it, it is the very idea we have seen consistently put forward from Spené onward): it is the wording of the idea, in this preface, which tends to fly too high, and has as a result been known to put general studies teachers in colleges in the area under study off the book. However, the book is the only one of its kind available, it is widely read, despite the offputting preface, and it does in fact deal fairly extensively with the material covered in Garforth and the 1962 Pamphlet. It proposes, for liberal studies as a whole, a general aim which is in effect the arousing of interest quoted in the 1962 Pamphlet as being the third of Crowther's 'Four Strands': this is to be met by a composite course, consisting, like the 1962 Pamphlet's 'subjects' of a balance of studies, of three main types - social studies, communication or English studies, and what are called 'Arts studies'. Social studies proper are to form 32 - 37 per cent of the whole programme; Communication is to include a
further 20 per cent or thereabouts; Arts studies and corporate activities are to provide the remainder. The two volumes so far published are the first parts of an attempt to provide a definitive sourcebook and guide towards the accomplishment of this general objective: further volumes are due to follow and will include as they come out any emendations which it is thought necessary to make to material already published.

4.14 Book One opens with a section headed 'Principles and Practice'. The object of general studies (I use this term here as equivalent to all Stygall's 'liberal studies' work that can be undertaken in the classroom) is stated as creating people 'capable not only of getting more out of life, but of putting more into it.' This, the authors feel, includes three main aptitudes: the ability to keep oneself well informed, the will to think for oneself and act for others, and the ability to enrich one's own experience through the appreciation of art and the understanding of science. These three aptitudes, together, are to produce 'people who bear testimony to man's unconquerable mind.' Once again, one may perhaps be pardoned for wondering whether this objective is not perhaps a little too grandiose for craftsmen; it is only too easy for the writer on liberal education or general studies, unfortunately, to lose sight of the actual students with whom he is dealing, their precise potentialities, and their precise limitations. However, in practical terms it is fairly clear that the objectives proposed by the authors correspond to those of the Ministry pamphlet to
a fair extent; and the methods of approaching them are also familiar. The authors point out that, in addition to the 'liberal studies period' (22) there are four other possible ways of liberalising technical courses: the first of these is the liberalisation of the technical subjects. This was suggested in the 1957 Circular; but, here, as then, the problem of how this is to be done with current staff and facilities is not capable of ready solution. The second possibility which occurs to the authors is the compulsory inclusion of a study of subjects at the 'opposite end of the academic spectrum'; the third possibility is the study of current affairs alone, which has the obvious danger of being disconnected and lacking in rigour; and the fourth possibility is the study of the 'new humanities' of biology and anthropology. The authors reject all these, on the grounds that 'a liberal education is the antidote to specialisation, and should take every opportunity to reveal that there are no frontiers in human knowledge and understanding. (23). This is, one supposes, fair enough: though it may be a little mysterious to the reader of 'Liberal Studies' at this stage, when nothing has yet been said about the method or syllabus construction, just why the general studies period should be freer from these 'frontiers' than the technology,

(22): Liberal Studies - 1 - uses the term 'liberal studies' throughout for what the Ministry Pamphlet calls 'general studies' and the 1957 City and Guilds syllabuses call 'social studies', which was adopted as the term in the title of this thesis. It also uses the term 'social studies', but to refer to the student's study of what City and Guilds call 'general topics'. Once again, the problem is partly one of nomenclature.

(23): Liberal Studies - 1 -, Chapter 1, Principles and Practice.
biology, or (say) poetry period. The fact is, that this chapter does not mention at all the best reasons for avoiding the study of 'subjects at the opposite end of the spectrum' on the one hand or the 'new humanities' on the other: that the 'spectrum' of the first is not easily defined (poetry and chemistry, for example, or poetry and mathematics, do indeed meet, in all sorts of surprising ways, through imagery drawn from, or poems written about, technological change: and this despite the fact that few people would disagree with the suggestion that they are at 'opposite ends of the spectrum') and that the 'humanities' of the other are all too liable to turn, academically speaking, not only into panacea medicines but into panacea medicines with a considerable percentage content of cholesterol, if I may be allowed the technical metaphor: in short, they may lead to hardening academic arteries, just as the old humanities of classical literature did in the Eighteenth Century.

The early pages of the first 'Liberal Studies' sourcebook, then, by comparison with Garforth or the Ministry pamphlet, suffer more than a little from a woolliness of thought: but when the authors turn their attention to the more practical questions of method and course organisation they are on very much firmer ground. What they propose may be summarised as follows: there shall be a group of three or four 'social studies' courses (approximately similar to the 'subjects' of the Ministry pamphlet) in each year: these shall cover between
them a group of different fields, and, in addition, time allocations shall be given for Practical Criticism of books, films, drama, and television and for current affairs periods illustrating important immediate events and current applications of 'social studies' under consideration. The prevailing methods used in the course shall be those of group study projects, reports and surveys: where the students are sufficiently mature, the subjects of study shall be chosen by them. The objects of having such a scheme are to stimulate the interest of the students and to enable them to develop interpretations of information for themselves. The pace, approach, and coverage of the courses are to be student-centred, because of this essential development of interest (24). These proposals are hard-headed, and are in fact very similar to those carried out in actual teaching situations in the technical colleges I have observed, although it should perhaps be remarked that the time allocation for general studies in North-Eastern colleges usually seems to make the scheme workable in its entirety only with block release courses, for whom the general studies time provision is usually greater than it is for day release (there is some evidence in 'Liberal Studies' to suggest that the North-East education authorities may be rather unenlightened in this (24): In terms of the classification of methods of approach which will be used in Chapter Six, these proposals would be classified ABCEFG: see the table of proposed and actual teaching methods, in that Chapter, for the correspondences between the methods suggested by 'Liberal Studies' and those actually in use in North-East technical colleges. Similar information will also be found in that table with reference to the 1962 Pamphlet, the 1957 Circular 323, and the City and Guilds syllabuses.
respect: Luton, and other Southern authorities referred to by the authors, appear to provide considerably larger time-allocation as a matter of course); and also that the comments about group projects and student organisations, in the light of the practical experience of various North-Eastern teachers of the subject to whom I have spoken, would seem to work better with technicians courses than with craftsmen, as even the older craft student appears to tend to lack the maturity to make the choices involved successfully, (25). It should, however, be noticed also that from this far more hard-headed section we may deduce two main practical aims of 'liberal studies' teaching which make very much better sense than those previously stated: the engagement of the students with the society in which they live, and the demonstration of the links between different disciplines and fields of knowledge. The second of these does of course justify the claim made earlier that the general studies period is peculiarly suitable to crossing subject frontiers: but my quarrel was not with this idea, but with the rather woolly way in which it was (at that point) presented without explicit evidence.

Later Chapters in the first book deal with Arts Studies (Chapter 7), Current Affairs (Chapter 8) and the Curriculum (Chapter 9). The value of the arts, to the technical student, is seen as lying in a demonstration that there is more than one mode of human thought: it is suggested that little in the way of (25): Evidence collected from teachers at Darlington, Billingham and Gateshead.
practical examples will often be possible, because of limited time allocations, but that students should be advised to apply to their viewing or reading the famous 'Three Criteria' used by the late Nancy Spain in her film revue column: what does it say? how well does it say it? and, was it worth saying anyway? It is suggested that the proportion of time allocated to this could be larger in block release courses, and in courses where communication is not directly studied (on the Stygalls' scheme, this would include O.N.C.), and practical experience in North-East technical colleges would seem to bear this out.

The value of current affairs is seen as lying in the extent to which its material can be seen as extensions and applications of 'social studies' (26), and its objects are stated as leading in to the discussion of current areas of the human environment, giving a sense of the reality of history in society, and helping the student to learn how to weigh factors and formulate judgements (27). Finally, the chapter on the curriculum follows the 1962 Pamphlet in emphasising that general studies is not identical with English, but that self-expression is nevertheless one valid aim of the subject because of the need to clarify the students' thought and understanding.

4.15 Book Two does not make very many changes in this position; and its main difference is that in the intervening two years the

(26): an interesting example of this occurred during the Mechanical Technicians' course referred to in 4.13 above, where a study of government was illustrated by discussion of the formation of the (then brand new) Greater London Council, and this in turn led to discussion of the problems connected with overcrowding and high conurbation density in general and in South-East England in particular.

(27): 'Liberal Studies' - Chapter 8, Current Affairs pp.108/9
authors' ideas seem to have become more precise and less woolly. Thus the general objectives, to which I had occasion to object above as too high flown, are replaced, on pp. 2-3 of Book 2 by the 'purposive' aims, as the authors describe them, of the acquisition of general skills (analogous to the special skills of the technical subjects, but concerned with general ability: comprehending, communicating, computing, validating, etc. etc.) and a general map of knowledge (a concept traceable clear back to Allgemeine Bildung and the 'general culture' of the 1866 Report, but apparently influenced in this particular case to no little extent by C. P. Snow's concept of the 'Two Cultures' and the researches and comments of Richmond which followed from it (28)), and of helping the students to 'fulfill their social responsibilities', which are listed as: 1. Enjoying Social Relationships, 2. Keeping Fit, 3. Budgeting One's Income, 4. Keeping the Law, 5. Understanding and Serving Society, 6. Communicating Clearly and Pleasantly, 7. Discriminating, Initiating and Influencing, and 8. Using Leisure Appropriately. If anything, this is coming down to earth with almost too much of a bump: but it must not be forgotten that Garforth's book, with its plea for 'instrumental' education very like this, had appeared during the interval between Stygall's first and second volumes, nor that this last aim is not to be regarded as more important than general skills and general understanding simply because it can be readily listed (28): Richmond, 'Culture and General Education', Methuen 1963: see also below, Chapter 7.
out in more detail. A few of the items on this list are in fact new to Stygall: notably 4, 5, 7 and 8; and 2 would seem to be new also, if it had not appeared in the 1962 Pamphlet.

In addition, curriculum suggestions are further developed in Chapter 7: it is now suggested that the Art Studies should be given the same time allocation as the 'social studies', and that Current Affairs not only merit, but demand consideration (the italics, in the original, were the authors' own.) In addition, various points from the 1962 Pamphlet, either not stated in Book 1 or not formally stated there in so many words, are now raised: that use should be made of students' own experience where it is relevant, for instance, or that 'social studies' should cut across formal subject barriers (clear enough in Book 1 in practice, but for some reason never formally stated as such), or that teaching of English should be informal and form part of general communication work. The one really new point to emerge, which the authors claim is based on practical experience in the intervening two years, is that one can no longer put in a special claim, among the 'social studies' for what the authors call 'industrial and related topics': they are important, but not more important than any other 'social' topics. This last is something one must surely agree with, particularly since only about 40% of the average worker's time is now spent actually at work. The section on methods is less revised: mention is made of a controversy (which does not really seem to exist in North-East colleges, except perhaps in
Ashington) between treatment in breadth and treatment in depth where 'social studies' are concerned (29): but the methods actually advocated remain those of Book One.

4.16 Most of the other chapters, in both volumes, deal with source material for particular (social studies': but Book One, Chapter 9, on Preparing Curricula, gives a number of specimen schemes of work, which bear interesting relationships with the 1962 Pamphlet, with the City and Guilds material discussed below (4.17 - 4.19), and with other courses actually introduced by North-East Colleges. These suggestions are particularly interesting, because, unlike the Ministry's, they offer colleges detailed schemes of work intended to cover consecutive years of particular courses, and unlike the City and Guilds (who also suggest topics for study in consecutive years, in some syllabuses at least), they are fully ordered and organised. Thus, they form a ready made pattern for colleges in doubt, and in the comments that follow I shall endeavour to suggest, among other things, some of the actual colleges in this area on whose curricula they have been influential.

Suggested Curriculum 1:

A Three-Year Craft Course (e.g. M5CP2, 3, 4)

(29): all the North-East colleges examined, except Ashington, are firmly in favour of treatment in breadth: Ashington is divided between treatment in depth (in the General Studies Department) and treatment in breadth (in the Building Crafts Department). See Chapter Six. There is also some evidence that Rutherford College is in favour of treatment in depth, but as a College of Technology with mainly Diploma and Degree students, it is outside the present terms of reference.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Studies Topics</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Home and Family</td>
<td>Earning and Spending (6)</td>
<td>Three Generations</td>
<td>The World Since 1900 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Influences</td>
<td>Standards of Living (6)</td>
<td>Advertising (6)</td>
<td>Mass Media (6)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Running the Town (6)</td>
<td>Evolution in Building/Engineering (6)</td>
<td>Govt. of the People (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Theme of Year concerned</td>
<td>(The Economy of Life)</td>
<td>(The Changing World)</td>
<td>(The World Now)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Language</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td>Simple Instrs. 5-min. talks</td>
<td>Committee Meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>Vocab.</td>
<td>Common Errors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punctuation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehension</td>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>Prose, Written</td>
<td>Tech, Pubs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Note taking</td>
<td>Precis</td>
<td>Oral Precis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Essay</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Exposition</td>
<td>Argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Letter</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Application for job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Descrn</td>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>Processes</td>
<td>Tech, Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researching</td>
<td>Use of Lib.</td>
<td>Info, Retrieval</td>
<td>Info.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Retrieval</td>
<td>Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Current Affairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that the arrangement in each year is basically centrifugal (the general names for types of topics and year themes are my own, and are designed to bring out this point): but it should also be noted that there is connective
development of starting and transient points from one year of
the course to another: these two aspects are represented in
the diagram by vertical arrows (centrifugality) and horizontal
arrows (connectivity). Thus, as compared with other schemes—in
particular those of the City and Guilds—the problem of
repetition of topics from year to year is overcome without any
sacrifice of connectivity between years. Each course is a
comprehensible unit for students of that year, but equally,
students returning to each year in order find an orderly
progression of topics from one year to the next. The symbol @
in brackets, followed by a number, indicates that Durham
Technical College, the chief manufacturer (in the area under
study) of independent syllabuses, has made use of that topic
in the syllabus with that number: the proportion of such borrow­
ings will be seen to be sufficiently high for us to suspect that
the sourcebook may have been influential in the selection of
topics in this case.

The language work prescribed for the respective years is
comparable in content and layout both to the City and Guilds
Social Studies courses and to the Northern Counties' Technical
Examinations Council's Technical English Courses Nos. II, III,
and IV: but it is more clearly progressive from year to year
and also more clearly linked to the relevant social studies
topics. The essay arrangement in particular, as an
indication of the students' ability to write up topic material
and as an indication of centrifugal direction, is considerably
more informative of standards that the City and Guilds material: here again, one notices a clear progression. One might however query the order of tackling written and oral précis: or indeed the inclusion of formal précis work at all: presumably this aspect of the course is among those intended to be revised following the emendations in Book Two quoted above.

Suggested Curriculum 2:

3 Year O.N.C. Course

This course follows the same arrangement as the craft course, except that (a) there is to be no formal English: it is assumed that the students will have English qualifications of some sort by this time; and (b) the time thus freed will be used (i) for discussion of art forms; and

(ii) for a group project, in the course of which individual extended reports will be prepared.

If (and it is a big 'if') we may be allowed for a moment to equate this course, for which the City and Guilds make no suggestions, with the Technicians' courses, for which they do, at least in respect of general studies teaching - and in fact the abilities in this field of the students on both courses are remarkably similar, in the later years at any rate - we can remark of modification (a) that this is almost precisely what is said by City and Guilds of the Mechanical Engineering Technicians' Courses, except that these are not divided into years.
Of modification (b)(i), we can perhaps remark that this may be flying just a little high, even for O.N.C. students (again the fatal delusion of the liberal educator may be seen at work!): but (b)(ii) will one imagines be very useful and practicable at this level, though perhaps not really before, and this opinion is backed up by the fact that both Billingham and Darlington have in fact adopted this modification of approach with O.N.C. students - again a possible pointer to the practical influence of this sourcebook in this area.

To sum up, then, it would seem that not a few of the ideas of 'Liberal Studies' have in fact been put into practice in actual technical teaching, and that the sourcebook is better on practical issues such as curriculum construction and methods than on theoretical matters such as aims and objectives, which are stated more clearly and practically in the 1962 Pamphlet and more rigorously and logically in Garforth's book (the influence of which however must be to some extent an unknown quantity, though at least one public library in the area (Gateshead) has circulated its title to teachers, in its specialist list of educational works produced as part of general library publicity). Perhaps it would be as well to end by adding that 'Liberal Studies' also gives a series of suggestions for a Higher National Diploma course: strictly, this falls outside our terms of reference, but it is not without interest to note that the authors reserve to this course a number of topics - in particular Trades Unions, International Organisation, and National Economy - which other sources (City and Guilds in particular)
deal with very much earlier. Experience of the first two of these with technicians' courses, however, suggests that 'Liberal Studies' on this occasion may well be wrong and City and Guilds right: this is perhaps more true of International Organisation than of Trade Unions, oddly enough.

4.17 **A Consideration of City and Guilds Suggestions for Courses, and Certain related Courses in North-East Colleges.**

It has already been observed that, apart from works of reference such as 'Liberal Studies' or academic theory such as 'Education and Social Purpose', the two most likely sources to influence general studies teaching are the Ministry of Education, by pamphlets and Inspectorate suggestions, and the City and Guilds of London Institute, as main examining body for technical courses, through pamphlets, again, and course syllabi and suggestions. The first of these has already been discussed: it now remains to discuss the second.

The aims and objectives proposed by the City and Guilds for what they call 'social studies' and 'general studies' with about equal facility have already been discussed, in the last Chapter, and therefore do not need to be repeated here. The methods they prefer, and the modes of assessment they suggest, will be discussed below (4.19): it is now necessary therefore to give some account of the suggestions themselves.

City and Guilds syllabus suggestions (and the Institute stresses the fact that they are suggestions) are in no sense obligatory: but the mere fact that they have been put out by
the City and Guilds means that they are liable to be followed. Of the colleges examined in the North-East, only Durham was entirely independent of them, having a complete series of college syllabuses which will be discussed below, only two other colleges - Darlington and Ashington - had any other official syllabuses for any students whatsoever, and at least one college - Gateshead - officially claimed to stick to the City and Guilds topics as closely as possible (although in practice the general studies assistant staff seemed to follow the practice of departing from the official line when they felt circumstances justified it without making their departures too obviously public knowledge on the official level).

Broadly, the City and Guilds suggestions fall into three groups: a series of courses in which colleges are either referred to the list of contents of the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet, a group which only gives very broad outlines of general topics, and expects colleges to fill in the details for themselves, and a group which gives long detailed syllabus suggestions, broken down under classified headings and under years, and often containing detailed suggestions for such things as language work. The first group of syllabuses comprise the General Courses Foundry Practice (optional), Chemical Plant Maintenance, the Metallurgical Technicians Courses (years 2 and 3), Instrument Production and Maintenance Course, and Coal Mining Education (which however does not specifically refer to the Ministry Pamphlet); the second group consists of Gas Fitting,
Steel Fabrication and Mechanical Engineering Technicians' syllabi; the third group consists of the Operatives Course (3 months only), Building Crafts Courses Joint Syllabus, and Mechanical Engineering Craft Practice, Aeronautical Engineering Craft Practice, and Aircraft Engineering Electricians' Work, these last three being identical.

The detailed analysis of these courses will be found at 4.21 below. However, the following general summary may be of use to the reader. Those courses which follow the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet, as already stated, correspond very closely indeed to the theoretical list of topics derived from Garforth. The M.E.C.P./A.E.C.P./A.E.E.W. joint course - which is the oldest of the City and Guilds courses, and dates from 1957, also follows very close to the general type, although it is, as we shall see, somewhat disorganised and in places very repetitive, especially in expression work. It is this course, incidentally, because it is the oldest, which has become established in the teaching mind as 'the' general studies course, and which is consequently often applied to courses which have no City and Guilds suggestions of their own (e.g. electrical fitters and technicians, and motor vehicle mechanics at West Hartlepool): this is perhaps a pity, as City and Guilds themselves, in their latest group of policy pamphlets, refer to this course as has been pointed out in Chapter 3 above, as 'pioneering work', and in fact it has certain defects. The other two full courses, Operatives and Building Crafts, cover the same material,
except that they omit personal relationships and the uses
of leisure, for the most part, and the Operatives Course is
markedly practical, while the Building Crafts Course is markedly
architectural and trade-directed, especially in the detailed
notes for interpretation which are appended. The courses
which include only summary headings are, in general, the least
helpful to the teacher, who usually finds himself either following
the MECP course, or the 1962 Pamphlet: of these, the Mechanical
Technicians' Course omits personal relationships and expression
work, but more or less includes everything else; the Fabrication
of Steel course includes bits of various things but is mainly
centred round expression work, and a study of work and leisure
activities, while the most positively useless and illiberal
course of them all is the Gas Fitting course, which includes
the following topics and the following only:

Correct English, The Firm, Trade Unions, Labour Relations,
Apprenticeship Schemes, Local Government, National
Government, Current Affairs and a topic fatuously
headed 'The British Way of Doing Things'.

When one remembers that this set of suggestions, like the other
short summaries, is not divided into years, that it is expected
to cover a five-year course, and that none of the topics are
elaborated further, one can only conclude that they were written
down by an advisory panel that was supremely uninterested in
liberal education, but felt that since the Ministry of Education
had made its wishes plain, it ought to toe the party line and
get the matter over with.
The non-City and Guilds syllabi operated by colleges examined within the North-East Region may be briefly described, to complete the picture: they also will be found analysed at 4.21 below. Durham Technical College operates a group of eleven courses, each of which covers some of the material of each of the main divisions of the subject; along the lines suggested by the 1962 Pamphlet. With the exception of the last two of these, intended for colliery craftsmen and civil service day general education release respectively, they are designed to be taken in groups of two, three or four years as an interlocking whole, after the manner of 'Liberal Studies': thus the entire two, three or four year course in any one technology will cover as much of the entire list as is reasonably practicable.

Darlington by contrast, is more limited. It has only two non-City and Guilds courses: one for Pre-Apprentices and one general day-release course. Neither of these deals with personal relations; both deal with expression work incidentally, through the methods used to teach the general studies material, as suggested in the 1962 Pamphlet. The general scheme includes the uses of leisure, the firm, local industry, apprenticeship, and a fair number of social topics: the Pre-Apprentice course omits the uses of leisure, since these are catered for by Darlington's full-time courses' afternoon activities scheme, described more fully in Chapter Six, in which the students have a choice of no fewer than 48 recreational subjects. The only social topics covered are local and national government, the budget and discipline and law;
but a large number of topics connected with the students proposed work are included because of the nature of this course as a bridge between school and work (see the section on the Crowther Report in Chapter 3 above). In addition, there are two other local courses which have been examined: that of the College of Art and Industrial Design, Newcastle which includes all the topics except the specifically industrial, and that of Ashington, a somewhat academic version of general studies which is given to most engineering students and consists of a course centred round industrial history and dealing only with those topics that can be connected with it. Finally, there is one further course, organised on a national level, which has recently become prominent in Colleges of Further Education, namely the Certificate of Office Studies. This has two sections, one for English and General Studies and the other, an optional specialist subject, for Social Studies. Both sections have a set syllabus and are subject to external examination - a situation regarded by many teachers as retrogressive, and one which will be discussed more fully in 4.20 below. Broadly speaking, although there is some overlap, especially in Year 1, Personal Relations, Expression Work, and The Uses of Leisure are covered by the English and General Studies syllabus, which all students must take, and the remaining material is covered by the specialist Social Studies syllabus, which, despite being specialist, is not at all sociological in any precise or rigorous sense of the term.
4.18 A syllabus or scheme, no matter how well written down, is only as good as it is workable. By mid-1964 it had become fairly obvious to the author that objections could be raised to some of these syllabuses and suggestions on the grounds of vagueness, repetitions, and lack of centrifugality. These objections occurred partly as a result of close study of the suggestions as written down, and partly as a result of the author's own attempts to put them into practice as actual teaching schemes of work at Gateshead Technical College. It therefore became desirable to discover whether the same objections were felt by teachers in other colleges and, if so, what means were used to combat them (and also, in the case of Durham, whether these objections had anything to do with the formulation of a complete series of college syllabi. Accordingly, a circular letter was sent to the members of staff in charge of general studies at Gateshead, Hebburn, Billingham, Durham and Easington: all except Easington replied and Darlington was also circularised at a slightly later date.

The letter asked the following questions:

1. The MECP syllabus is very detailed and seems rather repetitive. Do you in practice find difficulties over students repeating work from one year to another and, if so, how do you overcome this? Or isn't there very much continuity from one year of the course to another?

2. The MET syllabus also appears to repeat various topics from MECP. Again, does this cause trouble from students coming up
from MECP, and how do you get round it? (Roughly what proportion of students transfer, in any case?)

3. The Building Crafts syllabus is also very detailed, but is not split up into years. However, in this case the teacher would seem to have to be a humanist, a commerce specialist, and a craftsman rolled into one. How do you split this syllabus up for teaching purposes, and do your staff in fact find it presents difficulties in teaching? How are these overcome?

4. The Gas Fitting, Steel Fabrication and MET syllabuses are very general in character, sometimes almost cursory. Since these courses are from three to five years in total length do you find the topics suggested insufficient either in range or depth? To what extent do you go beyond these topics in practice and what principles do you feel should govern the construction of a college syllabus or scheme of work for these courses?

5. The General Engineering and other similar courses (named in the original letter) do not give any syllabus suggestions at all, but refer teachers to the Ministry of Education 1962 Pamphlet. This in turn gives, not a syllabus but a 'storehouse' of topics from which selections may be made. I wonder if you could be so kind as to tell me what principles govern your selections from these?

6. All these courses are two or more years in length. Roughly what proportion of student continuity between years would you say there was in your college?
In answer to the first of these questions, about the MECP syllabus, Durham, Gateshead and Hebburn all agree that it was too 'thin', despite its detail, and tended to be repetitive. In practice, it was not followed over closely (most closely at Gateshead: least at Durham), and what repetition existed despite this was catered for by changing the lecturers and methods of treatment for different years of the course. Gateshead added that the students were of poor retentivity, so that the problem was perhaps less acute than it appeared: from my own experience of MECP students, I could not help feeling that in some cases at least this was not strictly true, however. Billingham met the objection rather differently, by following a general course based on student-lecturer relations within a very broad syllabus, but agreed that the problem existed (for areas of repetition, see 4.21).

Durham and Billingham both agreed that the second question, about MET Repetition of MECP material, did not matter: indeed they used one common syllabus for both courses (we shall see in the next Paragraph that this is not entirely to City and Guilds' liking): some trouble might be anticipated with downward transfer of students, but not otherwise. It should be pointed out, by the way, that the success of this 'common course' solution depends entirely upon the degree of centrifugality of the course involved: it will almost certainly fail to work when large numbers of students are taking all four years of both Craft and Technicians Courses. Of the other colleges, Gateshead
had experienced the problem to a very considerable degree, and had not in fact been able to resolve it successfully; but they pointed out that as it became more common to enrol MET direct from G2 rather than by transfer from, or end-on to, MECP, this problem would right itself: this was the form of enrolment envisaged by the 1961 White Paper. Hebburn claimed already to be in this happy state. Durham, Billingham and Hebburn in addition, all, used their own schemes for Building Crafts courses, and seemed to find the 'official' one unwieldy to the point of impracticability: Gateshead attempted to meet the difficulty by grading the sections in order of difficulty of material, in consecutive years, so that lecturers specialising in each section could be appointed to teach the relevant year. This had the disadvantage, however, that if the college was short-staffed, as it usually was, the system tended to break down, and also there was a danger that concentration for a whole year on one aspect of the syllabus could too easily prove boring. In general, the view was expressed that this was an excellent syllabus - for liberally educating the lecturer.

The answers to the remaining points were generally lumped together, and varied considerably from one college to another: but no college seemed to be able to calculate with any degree of accuracy whether or not it had any significant student continuity from year to year of a given course. Hebburn made selections and extensions of material by starting with a list based on the students' ability, which was then graded in order - of departure
from the local environment ('real experience') and thereafter treated completely centrifugally. Darlington avoided both repetition and selection problems by the neat device of making it the duty of each lecturer to report to the Head of Department within the first half term (a) what his students had done already; (b) what their interests and abilities seemed to be; and (c) how these fitted in with the lecturer's main interests. On the basis of this report, the Head of Department then approved a scheme of work for that class and year only, selected from the appropriate College or City and Guilds syllabus, and coordinated with the work previously done by that particular class. (What happened when and if the class ran out of new syllabus material interesting to both students and lecturer was not explained). Billingham adopted the same device as it had with MECP, of making the subject student-directed, although there was a possible danger that this might lead to unbalanced courses. Gateshead attempted to add relevant material to general topics, with the main objective of acquainting the students with knowledge of a practical importance to their understanding of industry and society outside: statistics and balance sheets were instanced by the member of staff in charge, but in practice members of the assistant staff appeared to interpret this much more widely. Durham based its selection entirely upon the 1962 Pamphlet, and there was considerable similarity to the courses quoted above, in 'Liberal Studies - 1'.
The Durham syllabuses were then analysed. The best group of syllabi was found to be that designed for the Building Crafts students (syllabuses 1, 2, 3 of 4.21): these did not correspond very closely with the City and Guilds syllabuses, but were very clearly centrifugal, with clear leads also from one year to another, as the following diagram will show: (the topics are not in the order printed):

```
1   2   3
```

- **Personal**
  - Course/Envmt. → Leisure → ? → Psychology
- **Work**
  - Job
- **Local**
  - Area/Local Govt.
- **Regional**
  - Welfare State T.U.s etc.
  - Finance
- **National**
  - Law/Government/Economy
- **International**
  - International Org'ns

The other main group of syllabi were those covering the Mechanical Crafts and Technicians Courses. The first two years of this was very good; but year three seemed rather repetitive and 'bitty', and year four, while on the whole a good syllabus, did not really seem to follow from what had gone before. The correspondence with City and Guilds suggested material, despite Durham's reply on this point, was in fact fairly close (21 topics out of 32), the main differences being in the order of treatment, and that Durham was less 'bitty'.

My own precise objections to the City and Guilds MECP course in particular in terms of centrifugality may at this point be stated fairly simply: clearly as the foregoing has
shown, similar objections are felt by other persons involved in operating them. The main one is that far too much political material is injected into the early part of the syllabus suggestions; and this part of the syllabus is definitely too crowded. It is suggested for example, that the student should deal with national government in Year 1: if the syllabus is operated centrifugally, it is difficult to see how he will get to this point, from his own initial environment, in one year: and matters are further complicated by the fact that the course suggests that 'Local Industry' be taken in Year 1 also, while 'The Firm', the logical starting point, is deferred to Year 2. Year 2 itself however, as the diagram will show, is a good deal better, provided one overlooks the topic 'The Civil Service', which does not seem to be connected to anything whatsoever:

![Diagram of course structure]

This would be a good scheme, if it were not for the fact that 'The Civil Service' has been injected into it, and that it really ought to be in Year 1, not Year 2. Possibly the ideal scheme would be something like the diagram below. The numbers by each item refer to the year of the actual City and Guilds suggestions, and show what confusion they are in. It is presumed that this scheme would occupy two years at 1½-2 hrs/wk.
as, for instance, in a block-release course, or in a part-time
day course approximating to the County College Year in length:
it would be rather cramped by many present part-time general
studies time allocations.

The greater elegance of this procedure is obvious at a glance.

The objections to the second half of the course can also
be briefly stated. Both years are very 'bitty', and some parts
of Year 3 follow quite well from Year 2, but there is little
holding the main topics of the public services, the press, and
trades unions together. One might perhaps follow on from the
family, with a new grouping 'Man and his groups'; or one might
follow trades unions on from the firm, and omit the rest; or
one might follow on from the local community, omitting the indus-
trial material: but all these procedures are open to objection
to some degree: and finally, much of the material of Year 4
Section 2 (Apprenticeship, Technical Edn., Personal Relations
etc.) should be much earlier.

The main objection to the course from the point of view
of repetition can best be demonstrated by the following list:
Expression Work: Never seems to get beyond letter-writing.

Local Industry: MECP yrs. 1.2.3 MET

Simple Management: MECP 3.4. MET

National Government and Civil Service: MECP 1.2.3. MET(2ce)

Social History MECP 1.2.3. MET (but this topic is probably broad enough to stand repetition!)

In addition, the following topics are not repeated within the MECP suggestions, but do occur again in MET: Trades Unions, Labour Relations, Local Government, Comparative Government, Local Geography.

It was stated above that the MECP syllabus general studies suggestions were 'bottom-heavy', in the sense of a lot of material being packed into the first year or two years. This, however, would be acceptable practice if, and only if, there were a very real danger of wastage from craft courses: that is, of young apprentices not completing the course. Unfortunately, however, the only clear figures I have been able to obtain on this, from the Crowther Report, do not support this possibility.

The figures are as follows (remember, the MECP course had already been going for two years when they were issued):

Table 2(ii), Crowther Report Part II p.216: Wastage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 Stage Courses:</th>
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<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Entering</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Entering</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Summary of Table 2(iii)

% of students repeating at least one year to Part I

- Electrical Fitters: 17%
- Machine Shop: 23%
- Motor Vehicles: 22%
- Carpenters & Joiners: 13%
- Plumbers: 13%
- Bricklayers: 10%

(the ONC figures on 15+ leavers throughout - from Table 4.3 - are comparable, up to Intermediate Certificate level, but are much better thereafter; ONC figures on later leavers are comparable except only those for the first year of five year courses, which are better).

It is clear that the figures quoted here do not justify repetition, in the sense of trying to 'pack' into Year 1 or even into Years 1 and 2, material later to be gone over again with the remaining students (a bad practice in any case); nor in the sense of allowing for students joining the course later, since, apart from first year exemptions, (a) all students continuing to any year after Year 1 have to have passed the preceding year's examinations; (b) except at the end of Year 1, the % wastage and the % repetition in any one year are broadly of the same order;
(c) the difference between students 'wasted' at the end of year 1 (i.e. at approximately 16 plus) and those 'wasted' later is to a large extent accounted for, as the Crowther Report itself pointed out, by change of trade or employer, when their pre-apprentice year is over, and they come up for indenturing. They are therefore likely to meet the subject again, on another technicians or craft course - or alternatively on an operatives' course, if they are unsuitable for craft training: as evidence for this, note the much better overall turnout of the Building Crafts Courses (which are four years in length), but nevertheless the very similar wastage at the end of year 1.

One could however make a case for regarding the general studies component of five year courses as being divided into two (non-repetitive) separate courses, of three and two years duration, to allow for students not wishing to proceed beyond intermediate level; but this is a different matter.

The logical requirement as a result of these figures would, however, be for the most basic material - skills of observation, apprehension and communication; basic enlargements of social awareness of the environment; comprehension of the effects of technology; use of leisure - to be dealt with in this initial period, but again the youthfulness of the students involved would have to be considered and the subjects dealt with fairly lightly. Thus some degree of repetition (along the lines we shall see below suggested by the City and Guilds)
might be relevant: but not of topics treated formally, not without moving forward in treatment, nor, probably, more than once - and certainly this does not apply to the MECP and MET courses, when these run end-on, because of the change in the slant of the course from factual to critical, as expressed in the relevant notes for guidance in the course syllabi (which could also form the main distinction between the three year and two year post intermediate - course suggested above). It should be noted, incidentally, that those forms of repetition which, on this analysis, may be acceptable, basically employ the centrifugal system discussed above.

In fact the entire scheme can not be worked on a one year basis, even if one wanted to, as the various analyses above have shown: but the figures on wastages would suggest that the first of the two initial years should include as much preliminary treatment of observation and application of the student's local social environment (including leisure facilities) as possible - e.g. through surveys - and plenty of expression work. Detailed studies of particular areas of these surveys can then follow in later years.

4.19 As a result of the investigations and analyses described in the previous paragraph, it was decided to arrange an interview with City and Guilds, to ascertain whether the Institute was sensible of these criticisms, what changes, if any, it was proposing to make in syllabus suggestions, and what its preferred policy was over methods of teaching and assessment. On the last
point, the Institute has stated that it has no official policy over methods of assessment, in a number of publications already referred to above: but, since it calls for (or at least, has called for, in the past) copies of college examinations or assessment schemes, it could be supposed that it would have both a large number of examples of current work in colleges outside the area under study, and that it would be able to give some indication as to what methods and assessments appeared to produce the best results. It had already been indicated, in the letters from City and Guilds to the author referred to in the last Chapter (30), that the City and Guilds disliked in particular the setting of formal G.C.E.-type examinations in the subject: and preference over methods had been indicated in various City and Guilds course syllabi and regulations, as summarised in the list below:

Group projects........ M.E.T. p.18; also Metallurgical Tech., Steel Fab'n, and Bldg. Crafts.

English and Use of the Library to form part of the course:
Most Craft courses including the subject.

Methods to be varied with interests and capacities of students: M.E.C.P. p.12; also A.E.C.P., and Bldg.

(30): See Chapter 3, Notes 6 and 7 and ff.
Lectureettes)
Debates)
Discussions)
Visits)
Visual Aids, Reports etc., Use of Student Interest: Building Crafts.

The full text of the prepared questions for this interview and a summary of the Institute's replies made on the spot and checked by the staff concerned will be found in Appendix II.

On the question of future policy, the Institute replied that it was intended to insert Social Studies or General Studies as a required component in all courses, as they came up for revision, but that in future the general pattern would be one of reference to the 1962 Ministry Pamphlet rather than continuation of the policy of quoting topics and examples: the Institute was most disturbed that these should be regarded as set syllabuses in any sense whatever, and stressed that they were purely suggestions, which colleges were quite at liberty to take or leave alone as they thought fit. Consequently, it was not intended to revise the M.E.C.P. notes in the immediate future, as any deficiencies in these—such as repetition, for example—could be avoided by modifications in the individual colleges, and in fact there was an 'escape clause' in the current regulations which allowed them to do this. In any case, re-examination of a topic at a different stage of the course and
for a different basic purpose could, under the appropriate circumstances, be a good thing. (This was similar to the 1962 Pamphlet attitude to the subject). The Institute did not mind college departures from the suggestions in the slightest, and in fact experiment in the field was welcomed; common courses for different technical groupings, such as obtained at Durham, were also regarded as good, provided they were workable: oversegregation within the college of technicians from craftsmen, or technologists from both, was regarded as a bad thing. Where a large syllabus, or the Ministry Pamphlet was being used, the college was empowered to make whatever selections for its own schemes of work that it felt desirable; no subject was regarded as more essentially important than any other, with the exception of practice in expression work, which was regarded as a very important element of these courses indeed, from the point of view of the students' performance in their technical examinations as well as from the point of view of liberal education. But this freedom of choice was not to be taken as allowing colleges to replace general studies by 'straight' Technical English, nor to ignore it altogether. The rule about students having to satisfy the college course requirements in a general studies course proper in order to qualify for admission to the Institute's technical examinations was intended to be applied fairly: rigorously, although it clearly depended for effective operation upon the honesty of the
individual college principal: in fact, certificates were being withheld on these grounds in the appropriate cases, and the practice would continue. On the specific question of the length and complexity of the Building Crafts syllabus suggestions, it was pointed out that these suggestions were intended not as a detailed list of topics, but as notes for the guidance of teachers, and similar expansions might follow in other syllabus courses if these did not refer to 1962 Pamphlet. It was expected that the teaching of these subjects would benefit teacher and student alike, and the idea of general studies being taught by craft teachers was a highly desirable one where it was possible. A total split between academic and engineering staff would be most undesirable. (Unfortunately, as will be shown in Chapter Six, this has tended to occur in practice in many colleges).

With regard to aims, methods and types of assessment, the Institute said that it would wish to encourage the idea of general studies being a form of indoctrination for cultural continuity, as put forward in Clarke and Garforth; it was essential to discourage the tendency of modern society to split into the two disparate cultures of C. P. Snow's lecture, and to attempt to integrate the student's technical studies with his life. It was also essential to encourage individual personal flowering; and criticism of society was, if constructive and informed, by no means at variance with this concept of education for cultural continuity: it was perhaps more important
that the student should be tolerant over social questions than that he should simply accept society as he found it. Consequently it was one function of the subject to provide the student with accurate information (truth, not emotional coloration), and on the basis of this information he should then be allowed to arrive at his own attitudes, which logically would then be reasonable ones. (One may, if one wishes, notice a slight tendency to fall into the trap criticised in 2.15 above in this answer.)

In connection with these general aims, therefore, the Institute liked courses linked to the students' life, imaginative in approach, and making full use of audio-visual aids and visits; it particularly deplored the abstract formal treatment of topics, and the placing of emphasis upon rote learning rather than understanding. Similarly, in the form of examination, it did not require colleges, in the latest revisions of course regulations to hold or submit a written examination: they were free to use other methods of assessment if they so preferred. Where examinations were set, the Institute liked topical questions, or questions linked to the students' environment, and deplored précis, sentence correction, 'watered down' formal topics, and academically worded questions. The existing papers from colleges in England, Wales and Northern Ireland were then produced from file for examination: they appeared in practice to be very variable, ranging from all the things the Institute deplored to all the things they liked. It was stressed that
no rulings were ever given to colleges on the quality of their examinations, as this would interfere with their freedom of treatment: the papers submitted were retained for information, and to help the subject panels with further revisions. (This is consistent enough logically: but one feels it may be ethically inconsistent. One could perhaps regard this as evidence of the Institute being a trifle embarrassed at the degree of responsibility it has acquired over the period 1957-1961 from Ministry White Papers and other sources).

It was not thought that any current educational reports would significantly alter the Institute's policies in the foreseeable future.

4.20 The Certificate in Office Studies

This course, introduced by a National Committee set up by the Ministry of Education in 1963, includes both English and General Studies and Social Studies syllabuses, which together cover almost all the topics listed in other syllabi or derived from Garforth's analysis of the subject. The English and General Studies course is compulsory for all students: the Social Studies course, oriented more academically towards Politics, Economics and Industrial and International History and Organisation is an optional Course, the other alternatives being Law and the Individual (oriented towards a knowledge of legal definitions and the legal rights and duties involved in industry and commerce), and Typewriting and Office Machinery.
Certain topics (the local community, advertising and national and local government) are common to both the English and General Studies and the Social Studies schemes. This is the first time a course of this nature has been officially laid down at national level for Further Education students other than engineers or building craftsmen.

The notes for these courses suggest methods, aims and objectives very similar to those proposed for other social or general studies courses:

'to help the students adjust themselves... to this changing society, to be able to follow world events with some understanding, and to be receptive of new ideas and progress... to be trained with to analyse, consider and deal sensibly/life as they see it in the home, at work, on television and in the newspapers...

... The main requirement of the course is that it shall be seen by the students to matter to them and to be a course in which they can participate. Use should be made of educational films, television programmes, the daily press, weekly current affairs journals and visiting speakers. Students should be encouraged to use all these media and to prepare short papers on given topics which they may deliver to their fellow students in class.' (Social Studies Notes, p.36).

'to show an intelligent and enquiring interest in the world about them including their local environment... to express both orally and in writing, their own views on social attitudes
and cultural movements: literature... should be regarded as an integral part of the course... the student must see that what is being taught has a real value for him as a worker, as an individual, as a member of a social group.' (English and General Studies Notes, p.10).

In the English and General Studies course, and in the Social Studies preliminary year, the topics to be dealt with are left to the teacher.

However, there is a conflict between this liberal content and the examination system, which (except in a few cases) does not seem to occur in the locally assessed and examined engineering social or general studies courses. In the English and General Studies course which as I have remarked is compulsory, the contradiction is quite clearly voiced in the official syllabus notes:

'In preparing for the examination at the end of the final year, however, students must never be allowed to forget that this is primarily a course in English! (The italics are mine).

'General studies will provide a stimulus to imaginative expression, logical reasoning and factual reporting... It is for these reasons that the teaching of General Studies and English is to be regarded as a single operation.'

In fact, the specimen examination paper provided (pp. 13-16 of the Syllabuses), which contains 90% of the formal marks for the subject (10% are awarded for a viva voce connected
with an extended essay on a 'business or social topic', which is an 'assessed' assignment, similar to the scheme at present in force for the N.C.B.S.), bears a striking resemblance to the broader G.C.E. 'O' level type of paper, such as that set by the A.E.B. It consists of a compulsory précis and comprehension question (in the specimen, on housing problems) (30 marks), a compulsory formal essay on one of a range of general studies topics (30 marks), two thirds of the subjects for which, in the specimen paper, resemble very closely the sort of essay topics (television and public taste; abstract art; a brief history of a local public building; the world food shortage; the voting age) set in the conventional 'OA' level General Paper, such as is at present taken by many sixth forms; and two other questions carrying 15 marks each, chosen from the following:

(a) Correction of grammatical and stylistic errors
(b) A formal report, similar to those set in N.C.T.E.C. English III or IV, or by A.E.B.
(c) Detection and correction of simple logical fallacies
(d) A business letter on a set topic.
(e) A test of vocabulary

Thus, with the possible exception of certain essay choices (the problems of British Railways; how soon should one marry?; in what sense can leisure be a problem to an individual?; what does your local councillor do?) and alternative (c) of the optional questions, the form of this examination shown no attempt to break away from the conventional G.C.E.-type English Examination
and indeed includes almost all the examination attitudes to which progressive general studies bodies, such as, for example, the personnel concerned with the subject at City and Guilds, object. In fact, the examination is a good test of the ability to understand, write, and correct English: this is in itself a desirable attainment in office personnel, but one feels that the amount of formal language material called for in the guide syllabus pp. 10-12—definition, description, reportwriting, the writing of business letters, notemaking, précis, comprehension, spelling, punctuation, grammar, vocabulary work—may well 'drown out' any real attempt at a liberal rather than a formal treatment of the general studies content (except as 'material' for essays, in which form the students will not be very likely to give it more than a limited and transient attention) in a course which is not normally liable to exceed more than 90 minutes per week, because of the demands of other examination subjects. It is worth noting, in this context, that at least one, stated objective of the course—liberary study—is not represented in the final examination at all: it is therefore highly probable, teacher—and student—nature being what it is, when faced with professional examinations, that this part of the syllabus will be neglected.

In short: the examination is essentially one in English and the course leading to it will almost certainly become to a lesser or greater degree a formal English course, in which the General Studies content will be treated as 'things to write
about, which they are liable to ask you.' At its best, this can only lead to a subjection of liberal content to banausic objectives, with a consequent impairment of the students' sense of values since the topics are not seen as having importance in themselves: at its worst it may lead to a form of 'question-spotting' and prepared answers, peculiarly obnoxious in that it reduces man's relationship with his ambient world to the level of swotting for an examination pass. As a course in English, it is more liberal than some, though by no means than all. As a programme of General Studies it is very difficult to see how it can possibly attain the objectives laid down for it, for which a far more informal and tutorial programme would be required. It would have seemed better, under the circumstances either to institute a formal English examination (always likely to be a requirement for office personnel, as stated) which could, as at present, include general topics if desired, but to make the two subjects at least partially separate in time allocation, and require colleges to approve a general studies pass for students based on tutorial work and assignment folders and ranking equally with the examination and extended essay, or else (considering the degree of command of English already involved in an extended essay) to scrap the formal English examination altogether but require the Examining Union to assess the extended essay with strict regard to language, handling of source material and formal presentation as well as having it assessed by the colleges with regard to content and
general arrangement. As it is, it looks suspiciously as if the National Committee are paying lip-service to the General Studies movement, while in fact retaining a (perfectly valid, if one is honest about it) formal academic test of linguistic ability.

The Social Studies syllabus and examinations are open to similar objections. The specimen paper for the end of the course gives a wide choice of questions (4 out of 16), but in Part A (Social Living: two questions compulsory), questions 1 (on Local Government), 4 (on the Beveridge Report), 7 (Trades Unions) and 8 (Consumer-Protection) are formal essay-type questions on learned factual information; question 6 (on Government) is similar, but includes the 'loaded' section 'what is meant by the word 'Democracy'? which in essence is asking the student to agree with the political preconceptions of the examiner; and only questions 2 (savings and investment), 3 (on attitudes to opinion influencing) and 5 (on buying various articles) give any indication of being directly related to the student's own personal experience: Section B (U.K. and World Events in the Twentieth Century) contains three 'straight' political questions, and two formal questions on economics: geography, one involving the use of a printed map; again, only three questions out of eight seen directly relevant to the student's growth in any organic awareness of world problems.

These objections, of course, are the common objections to any written examination in social studies: they - or at least,
some of them - are almost inescapable in practice, and are the reasons why many colleges (notably, in the area under study, Durham Technical College) avoid formal examinations in the subject whenever possible, and prefer instead in assessing the subject to draw on project and assignment folders kept over the year. Indeed, these reasons why the Ministry of Education, in the 1962 Pamphlet, suggested the folder assessment system (31) - a fact which renders this reversion to formal examination by a National Committee set up by the Ministry most strange and disturbing. The specimen examination quoted is however peculiarly unfortunate, for several reasons:

(a) It is an external examination to a fixed syllabus, as much as possible of which has to be taught and beyond which little or nothing may be taught

(b) Because it is external, we are forced to regard the factual questions in it as testing the retention of formally learned material, rather than the possession by the student of those facts on a given topic which are prerequisite to the formation of intelligent attitudes (a possible interpretation of factual questions on internally set papers, which are presumably adjusted to the progress requirements of particular given courses at a particular time).

(c) The inclusion in Section B of questions which are virtually

indistinguishable from G.C.E. 'O' level History and Geography questions is particularly regrettable.

In addition to these, however, there is a further objection to the Social Studies examination: it is this. In further education, the provision of external final examinations in any subject the course for which is more than one year in length almost always leads to pressure for external intermediate examinations for promotion purposes. The Introduction to the National Committee's syllabuses (Para. 2 p.4) specifically seeks to avoid this:

'The Certificate Syllabuses have been divided into First and Second years as an illustration of one possible approach to the division of the material over the two years of the course, but it is emphasised that teachers are free to teach the material in the order they deem to be best for a particular course. There is no provision in Rules 128(32) for an examination at the end of the First Year of the Certificate course, so that the teacher's freedom in this connection is unrestricted.'

This sort of freedom in devising a course is, as we have seen, an integral part of the general programme of Social Studies. However, despite the clear instruction quoted above, regional Examining Unions have in fact set external First Year examinations in 1964, and I am given to understand, in 1965 also. The

(32): In full The Ministry of Education Arrangements and Conditions for the Award of the Certificate in Office Studies to students in Establishments for Further Education in England and Wales and Northern Ireland, Rules 128.
Northern Counties Technical Examinations Council's examination (D/122/5, of 1964), except for requiring five questions out of 15 in two hours instead of 4 out of 16 in the same time, is probably as good an attempt at examining this subject externally as can be managed: 10 of the 15 questions are related to the students own practical requirements, and many of them involve, at least by implication, the establishment of attitudes and standards of value to such diverse subjects as Trade Unionism, Old People, Saving, Hire Purchase, and the social effects of the motor car. Of the other five questions, one (No. 9 on Newspapers), although it tests factual knowledge, tests the sort of factual knowledge to be found most readily by student research, two others (No. 3, on the effects of Televisions, and No. 7 on the Beeching proposals) can only be faulted in the sense that to be answered fully they require more information than it is possible for the students to obtain, and only two can definitely be ruled out as bad - No. 1, on improving office efficiency, which belongs on an Office Practice paper, and No. 8 'How can the ordinary citizen try to influence the policies of the central and local governments?' because, like 'What is Democracy?,' it is a leading question which really requires the student to agree with the examiner's prejudices. (33). Nevertheless, the existence of an external First Year examination at all, no matter how well designed, involves restriction of the freedom of the teacher to devise a liberal (33): for Paper D/122/5, see Appendix III.
student-centred course, and, especially in the light of the National Committee's Instructions in Para. 2 Page 4 is to be regretted as still further reducing the liberal value of the subject, and tending to restrict the material actually taught to those parts of the syllabus which appear frequently on past papers. Also, there is no evidence to suggest that other Examining Unions have produced or will produce papers of as consistently high a standard as D/122/5, particularly in view of the unfortunate nature of the specimen paper quoted in the guide syllabus.

In sum, then, the development of Social Studies and General Studies programmes involved in the establishment of the subjects as part of the Certificate in Office Studies course (and its official application for the first time to commerce students) does not carry the development of the philosophy and methodology of the subject any further, while the external examination system involved, with its definite leanings towards academicism, is, from the liberal educationat's point of view, a definite retrogression. One hopes this does not indicate that this highly interesting educational development is about to fossilize into an abstract academic discipline, as so many liberal developments in the past have done (English Literature in Grammar Schools, for example, or natural science teaching under the old School Certificate scheme): it would seem, as the examination of certain College schemes for engineering
students will show (34), that this academization of each new liberal innovation is continuing a risk, deriving from the tension between the institutional nature of systems of education and the plastic nature of our technological society, philosophical reaction to which by specific educators, and by political agencies under their influence, occasions the innovations in the first place (35). However, the balance of evidence, from organising bodies, Ministry circulars and pamphlets, and college courses with engineering students, suggests that in the areas in which the programme has so far 'taken hold' this risk is still comparatively remote.

(34): The Ashington syllabus for Industrial history is an example of this tendency. See 4.21 below. Gateshead's H.N.D. Liberal Studies course in Management, though strictly outside the terms of reference of this thesis, is another.

(35): This probability is borne out further by Sir Leslie Rowen's comment in 'Liberal Studies in Technology', his contribution to the symposium on Liberal Studies published by BACIE in December, 1964:

'Although the virtues which went with the inspired amateur are still good and necessary, the inspired amateur is no longer enough in any field of human endeavour......

.... the leader of the future is faced not merely with the need to understand deeply his chosen technology, but also to be equally capable of assessing and judging what are in fact the great new movements, social, political, economic and international which constantly mould his environment: and I believe that he must begin to learn this from the outset of his career.'
## COURSE ANALYSES

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The references for each course are by topic numbers or paragraphs: in the MECP course the Roman numerals indicate the year of the course.
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| Gas Fitting Steel Fab.  | MET | | | | | 

**Personal Rlns.**

| General | 2V | | | | | 
| Personal & Social Morality | 5V(?) | E&GS | 3F | | | 
| The Home | | 1F | | 11/1 | 2/5 | 
| The Family | | 1F | | 2/5 | | 

**Expression**

| Use of Library | 1 | PE/F | | 4/1, 6/1, 7/1 | | 
| Creative Writing | 2 | 2F 3F | 4/3 | | | 
| Letters, Reports & Projects | 10b | E&GS PE 1F | | 4/3, 6, 9/14 | | 
| Discussions | 2 | PE 1F | | 4/4, 9/14, 10/1 | | 
| Debates | | 1A 1F | | 4/4, 5/3, 10/1 | | 
| Lecturelettes | | | | 4/4 | | 

**Use of Leisure**

| Sports & Hobbies | | | | | | 
| Literature | | | | | | 
| T.V.: Art Criticism | 6 | P4 | E&GS PA | 2/4, 8/27, 10/1 | Wed.Aft. 16 Scheme | 
| Effects of T.V. | | PA | | 1/6, 5/2, 6/6, 7/7 | | 
| Liberal Activities | | PA/F2F3F | | | | 

The initial figures in COS, Art Dip. & Ashington indicate the year of the course. The initial figures in Durham indicate the course number, which is concerned with the groups of students taking that particular set of 'subjects'. 'P' and 'G' in MET Courses stand for 'particular' and 'general' topics. 'P' in Art Dip. = Preliminary 'E&GS' in COS indicates the English and General Studies Course.
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The extent to which the Durham courses make use of additional material should be noted.