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An Historical Study
of Secondary Reorganisation
in England and Wales
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reference to Bradford.

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A. Dark.

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INTRODUCTION

Future educational historians looking back at the twenty year period between the passage of the 1944 Education Act and the issue of Circular 10/65 will surely regard it as a period of great interest and importance. They will observe how, after the passage of the Act Secondary School organisation was dominated by the theory and practice of tripartism and how at the end of a mere twenty year period this body of theory and practice was largely scrapped by a reaction which culminated in the issue of Circular 10/65. They will note too that a legacy of twenty years of school building on a mainly tripartite basis resulted in a wide variety of ways of obtaining comprehensive reorganisation whilst retaining the existing buildings, and that Circular 10/65 encouraged this variety whilst insisting on the comprehensive principle.

This study is therefore concerned to do four things. First, to trace the origins of tripartism, both in theory and practice. Second, to examine the reasons for the breakdown of confidence in tripartism; Third, to examine the organisational alternatives open to Authorities wishing to establish comprehensive schools. Fourth, to make some kind of prediction as to the future pattern, if any, of secondary organisation, in the light of the policies laid down in Circular 10/65.

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To have studied this process in each of the 162 Local Authorities in England and Wales, would, of course, have been quite impossible, and so secondary reorganisation has been studied in detail in one Local Authority only. It is hoped and believed that the example chosen, that of Bradford, will serve as an illustrative microcosm of the kind of changes that have taken place throughout the country as a whole and the problems which result.

Bradford has proved to be an extremely fruitful and useful field of investigation. With a population in 1961 of 295,922¹ it is small and compact enough for an adequate study to be made but big enough to contain examples of most of the major problems affecting Authorities contemplating reorganisation. It contains one of the most famous Direct-Grant Schools in the country, which poses a problem as to the way in which this can be integrated into a comprehensive system and has a similar problem of integration with its very substantial R.C. Voluntary School population. It has, or soon will have, examples of several different forms of comprehensive organisation; two all-through 11-18 Comprehensives, a two-tier system based on 11-13 Junior High Schools, a Leicestershire-type scheme in the case of the R.C. Schools, and an experimental Middle School covering the

1. Decennial Census 1961, Yorkshire, West Riding County Report, H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 2, p. 2.

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nine to thirteen age range. In terms of educational history it has reflected locally all the major developments in secondary schooling since state intervention began and has been a seminal area for several of them.

Bradford was one of the new boom towns thrown up by the Industrial Revolution. When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 there were only five towns in England and Wales, outside of London, with populations of 100,000 or more, but by 1891 there were 23, including Bradford.¹ Between 1821 and 1831 the population of Sheffield grew by 40.5%, that of Birmingham by 41.5%, that of Manchester by 44.9%, that of Leeds by 47.3% and that of Bradford by 65.5%.² In some cases towns like Bradford and Manchester expanded from mere villages into great Cities without any administrative structure to ensure that they grew into anything other than unplanned incoherent sprawls, without adequate public utilities such as lighting, sewage disposal or water supply. Bradford was not incorporated until 1847,³ Manchester until 1838⁴ and Middlesbrough until 1853.⁵

1. Briggs, Asa, "Victorian Cities," Odhams, 1963, p. 57.

2. Ibid.

3. Cf., "The Centenary Book of Bradford", Bradford, 1947,
No page nos.

4. Briggs, op. cit., p. 30

5. Ibid., p. 51.

It is not surprising therefore that one of the Health of Towns Commissioners reported in 1845 that "taking the general condition of Bradford, I am obliged to pronounce it to be the most filthy town I visited".¹

Another consequence of this rapid rate of growth which affected educational developments in the city and is therefore relevant to this study is that the Church of England had relatively little influence. This situation was characteristic of many if not most of the new industrial towns of the nineteenth century where the extension of church influence did not even remotely keep pace with the expansion of the urban working class.² Consequently, Roman Catholic influence, which derives from nineteenth century Irish immigration into Bradford has been much more important than Anglican. There is not a single Anglican Secondary School in Bradford but Roman Catholic Secondary Schools cater for about 1/5 of the Secondary School population.

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1. "Report on the Sanitary Condition of Bradford", by James Smith of Deanstone: P.P., 1845, Vol.XVIII, Pt. 2 Appendix, p. 315. Submitted to the Select Committee on the Health of Towns.
 2. In the West Riding at least non-conformity filled the gap, although it has lost much of its influence in recent years and has left little trace on the educational system in Bradford.

The expansion of Bradford was almost exclusively based upon the growth of worsted manufacturing and merchanting. In 1801 there was only one mill in Bradford, but by 1841 there were sixty-seven.¹ Even today woollen manufacture accounts for almost a quarter of the employed population and is by far the biggest employer of labour in manufacturing.²

Bradford is a Pennine town. Like Halifax and Huddersfield and the smaller woollen towns like Bingley and Keighley, but unlike Leeds, Wakefield and some of the south-eastern components of the West Riding Conurbation, it occupies a restricted site in a tributary valley of the Aire, surrounded by the Pennine moorlands. Access to Bradford has always taxed the ingenuity of road and rail engineers, and even today the two main railway stations are termini. Only from the Aire valley on the north is there any easy route into the cul-de-sac of Bradford Dale. Like all the other Pennine woollen towns it is built almost entirely of sandstone, which, originally pale buff in colour, is smoke-blackened to a universal khaki. This, combined with the Victorian architecture of the mills and public buildings

1. Briggs, op. cit., p. 139.

2. In June 1965 the textile industry (including synthetics and carpets) accounted for 41,356 workers out of a total working population of 151,124, slightly more than in the distributive trades. Info. supplied by the Ministry of Labour.

and the ubiquitous back-to-back housing stamps the Pennine towns with an unmistakable and overpowering identity. In the famous words of Lady Chorley,

"The Pennine towns are not at one with the surrounding country, they are one with it. And because the Pennine country is stark and resistant the Pennine towns are stark. Nature not man made them so. These characteristics are implicit in the medium of which they are built."¹

Perhaps because of this tremendous visual personality Bradford is sometimes thought of as a quintessential Yorkshire or at anyrate West Riding town. What is sometimes lost sight of is the fact that Bradford's population is extraordinarily cosmopolitan in character and that relatively few people have any really deep roots in the area. In 1851 less than half the population had been born within the borough² and there were very substantial numbers of immigrant Irish and migrants from distant parts of rural England.³

To this was added in the middle of the century an influx of German woollen merchants so that Trade Directories of the

1. Chorley K.C., "Hills and Highways", Dent, 1928, pp. 209-10.

2. Briggs, op. cit., p. 139.

3. Ibid., p. 152.

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period are full of names like Behrens, Winterhalder, Gott, Muller, Hertz, Saalfeld, Schlesinger and Schunk;¹ names which are still prominently displayed outside the mills and offices of Bradford. The area of warehouses and offices between Church Bank and the Manchester Road is still referred to locally as "little Germany" because it was here that German merchants were particularly numerous. In 1864 Bradford elected its first German Mayor. Charles Seman of Danzig.²

This German element as well as doing much for the commercial and industrial life of Bradford also added lustre to its cultural life. They were responsible for the formation of such institutions as the Liedertafel in 1856 and the Schiller Verein in 1859³ and one famous family produced Frederick Delius, born in Bradford in 1862.⁴

The process of absorption has continued unabated into the twentieth century, with some four and-a-half thousand⁵ Poles

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1. Cf., Ibbetson, J., "Ibbetson's General and Classified Directory", Bradford, 1850, Alphabetical Directory, pp. 1-142.
 2. Briggs, op. cit., p. 151.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Scholes, P.A., "The Oxford Companion to Music", O.U.P., 9th Edition, 1955, p. 286.
 5. Decennial Census 1961, Yorkshire, West Riding County Report, H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 10, p. 52.

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and Ukrainians settling in the town during and immediately after the end of the Second World War. It continues in the nineteen-sixties with the large influx of Commonwealth immigrants from Pakistan and India. In 1961, 5½% (16,197) of the population of Bradford had been born outside the British Isles¹ and this was before the bulk of the Indian and Pakistani immigration had arrived in Bradford. Possibly Bradford's cosmopolitan tradition helps explain the relative ease with which the Commonwealth immigrants have been accepted in Bradford.

Perhaps because of the speed with which Bradford grew, the rootlessness and diverse origins of its population and the appalling social conditions of the time, Bradford had a reputation in the nineteenth century of being a very radical city. This radicalism, reflected in the Liberalism of the "Bradford Observer", resulted in the election of W.E. Forster as M.P. for Bradford on six occasions between 1861 and 1886² after his having failed to win the nomination for Leeds in 1857 and losing the election in 1859.³ It also resulted in the foundation of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford in 1893.⁴

1. Decennial Census 1961, Yorkshire, West Riding County Report, H.M.S.O., 1963, Table 10, p. 52.

2. Hird, H., "How a City Grows - Historical notes on Bradford and its Corporation", Bradford, 1966, p. 13.

3. Briggs, op. cit., p. 152.

4. Ibid.

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Radicalism extended into the educational life of the city, and is nowhere more evident than during the period of the Bradford School Board between 1870 and 1902. The Board initiated a number of new developments, often of very doubtful legality, under the influence of people like Margaret McMillan, herself a member of the I.L.P. and who was elected to the Board in 1894.¹ A study of this distinguished period in the educational history of Bradford provides a useful corrective to the all too common view of the School Board as a necessarily inferior administrative device to that of the Local Authority which succeeded it.

The Bradford School Board was responsible for at least three "firsts". In 1894 it opened the first special class in the country for mentally defective children,² thus anticipating the permissive provisions of the Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899 by five years. It followed hard on the heels of Leeds School Board, in providing day classes for blind and deaf children in 1885.³ Bradford can fairly claim therefore to have initiated the provision of "special Schools" for handicapped groups.

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1. Lord, Miriam, "Margaret McMillan in Bradford", Fourth Margaret McMillan Lecture, U.L.P., 1957, p. 9.
 2. "City of Bradford School Health Service Jubilee 1908-1958", Bradford, 1959, p. 11.
 3. "Handbook of the Education Week held in the City of Bradford March 21st - 27th 1926," Bradford Education Committee, p. 32.

Its second "first" was the appointment in 1893 of Dr. James Kerr as the first School Medical Officer to conduct actual medical inspection. London appointed a School Medical Officer in 1890 but his responsibilities did not extend as far as the actual examination of children.¹ In 1897 the Board opened the first School Baths in the country at the Wapping Road Schools² and for many years before the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907 allowed the establishment of clinics and the actual treatment of children, the Medical Superintendent's Office in the Town Hall served as an unofficial school clinic, where the line between examination and treatment was a very hazy one.³ There is no doubt that Bradfords experience has a profound influence upon the creation of the School Medical Service after 1907 by Morant and Dr. (later) Sir George Newman, the first Chief Medical Officer at the Board of Education.

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1. Dr. Kerr's duties were to "examine and test the eyesight, hearing and other physical condition of any Scholar to whom attention may be called by the head teacher. "Cf." School Health Services Jubilee", op. cit., pp. 6-7.
 2. Lord, op. cit., p. 14. In 1903 new school baths were also opened at Feversham Street and the Green Lane Schools Cf., Cresswell, D., "Margaret McMillan", Hutchinson, 1948, p.99.
 3. "School Health Services Jubilee", op. cit., p. 8.

The School Board's third "first" was the establishment of the first Higher Grade School in the country at Feversham Street in 1876, two years earlier than the Sheffield Higher Grade School quoted in the historical introduction to the Hadow Report. The Higher Grade School movement in Bradford is discussed in Chapter two.

This impetus towards innovation and experiment was maintained for a number of years after 1902 by the Local Authority, most notably in the field of social welfare. The work done by the School Board in initiating a school medical service was enormously extended and included the opening in June 1908 of the first school dental clinic in the country, apart from three established by philanthropic organisations and an L.E.A. clinic open for only 2½ days a week which opened a month earlier at Reading.¹

The tradition of providing special schools was also carried on with the opening of one of the first open-air schools in the country at Thackley in 1908,² and of course, the connections

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1. "School Health Services Jubilee", op. cit., p. 9.
 2. The first school of this kind in Europe was probably that opened in 1904 in Charlottenburg, and in England the L.C.C. school opened in 1907. Halifax and Norwich also opened schools in the same year as Bradford. Cf. "School Health Services Jubilee", p. 11. A school for physically defective children was also opened in Bradford in June 1914, another for myopes in Sept. 1915 and special classes for stammerers were instituted in 1917. Cf. "Handbook of the Education Week held in Bradford, 1926", op. cit., pp. 35-36.

Between Bradford and the nursery school movement are well known and are described in Chapter two, as is Bradford's pioneering work in the provision of school meals. Less well known is the fact that the earliest work of Sir Cyril Burt in the use of intelligence tests for selecting children for secondary education was done in Bradford. Bradford used tests designed by Burt in its Junior Scholaships Examination as early as 1919.¹

There is little evidence that the same qualities of vigour and originality have characterised the educational history of Bradford within recent decades; certainly not in the period since the passage of the 1944 Act. Comprehensive reorganisation in Bradford has reflected the national trend rather than lead it. Things are different from the days when Morant could reject a request from the McMillan sisters for the establishment of a school health centre in London on the grounds that new legislation would be necessary, with the words "London is not Bradford, you know".²

There are probably several reasons for this loss of vigour.

1. Vernon, P.E. (Ed.), "Secondary School Selection", British Psychological Society Report, Methuen, 1960, p. 13.

2. Lord, op. cit., p. 25.

One is certainly the enormous improvement in living standards that has taken place in Bradford, which has made social welfare provision less urgent. It may also simply be that the scope for innovation is now much less than it was now that education is universal free and compulsory. The role of the central government has also increased in importance and reduced the area of freedom available to the local authority.

Another factor is perhaps that the administration of education no longer seems to attract people of the calibre of Margaret McMillan or Coun. F.W. Jowett. They were both national figures but the names of several other members of the School Board can be quoted who whilst not known outside Bradford have a deserved reputation within it. Names like that of James Hanson for example who joined the School Board and served as a member and Chairman for twenty-one years. A woollen manufacturer, he was a passionate believer in the importance of education and its extension throughout the community and was probably the main instigator of the Higher Grade School movement in Bradford.¹ When he retired in 1895 nearly £800 (a huge sum for those days) was donated towards a testimonial fund in his honour.² The apparent and

1. Fenn, Eric. W., "The Development of Education In An Industrial Town (Bradford)", Univ. of Leeds Institute of Education: Researches and Studies, No. 6, May 1952, p. 19.

2. Hird, op. cit., p. 21.

comparative paucity of lay figures of equivalent stature in educational administration today may be a national phenomenon and characteristic of modern British local government.

These are debatable issues but change and development if not innovation is still going on, and indeed secondary education in Bradford has reached a very critical stage. At the time of the completion of this study no firm decision had been reached as to the future pattern of secondary organisation in Bradford. Before the results of the May Election in 1967 were announced it appeared that some sort of comprehensive Middle School development was likely but even this has been placed in question by the Conservative victory in the municipal election. Whatever decisions are taken in the near future it is clear that organisational change is going to concern the Authority for a very long time to come and no near prospect of stability can be envisaged.

In the preparation of this study I have been very conscious that no real insight and understanding of the process of secondary reorganisation in Bradford would have been possible if I had had access to public reports and documents only. The fullest insights into the realities behind the formal written minutes and resolutions have always come from discussions with teachers and others most intimately involved. I should like therefore to acknowledge in particular the unstinted help and

courtesy I have received from members of the Education Department of the Bradford Authority especially that provided by Mr. W.H. Tomlinson B.A., Assistant Education Officer for Secondary Education, Mr. P.T.B. Bendall BSC. (ECON.), Assistant Education Officer for Primary Education and Welfare, and Mr. R.I. Shewell BSC., Inspector for Science. I should also like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. W. Bramhall, Secretary of Bradford Labour Party, in enabling me to understand the political background to events in Bradford and Mr. J.P. Reynish MSC., Headmaster of Tong Comprehensive School for information about the City's Comprehensive Schools.

Amongst the documentary sources employed in the preparation of this study two were found to be particularly valuable. One was the very comprehensive and complete bibliography of material relating to education in Bradford and available locally compiled in 1952 by Mr. G.F. Nowell, a member of the staff of the City Library Service. The other was the files of the "Bradford Observer" of which a complete run exists from its beginning in 1834 until its cessation as the "Yorkshire Observer" in 1956. These are unindexed but proved particularly valuable in understanding the controversy surrounding the Higher Grade Schools and the 1902 Act.

The history of comprehensive reorganisation is still by

no means complete, so that no kind of finality can be claimed for the picture presented in this study of an essentially dynamic situation. Consequently, wherever necessary dates have been inserted into the text to indicate the extent to which the information given is up to date. This applies in particular to Chapter 5 with its interim review of the response to Circular 10/65 which is confined to a period of about 15 months from the appearance of the Circular.

CHAPTER I

The Historical Origins of the Tripartite System

It was Matthew Arnold in the nineteenth century who, borrowing from France, where the term described simply the second tier in a four tier educational structure, popularised the term "Secondary" and urged Britain to pay attention to the organisation and extension of its Secondary education as the key to progress in the future.¹ In Arnold's day and as late as 1944 the term implied the best kind of education available to children after leaving Primary School. Thus whereas the education provided by the endowed Grammar School in the nineteenth century could be described as Secondary, that provided by the Public Elementary School could not.²

Until 1944 Secondary Education was either bought or won

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1. Connell, W.F., "The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold", Routledge, 1950, pp. 243-4.
 2. People who were educated in the thirties and early forties can remember the emotional overtones of implied superiority and inferiority in the terms "Elementary" and "Secondary". Since 1944 this had disappeared and the word "Secondary" now implies the second tier in the continuous process of Primary, Secondary and Further education, as was the intention of the Act. Within very recent years, however, there has been a tendency to use the word exclusively with reference to Secondary Modern Schools and indeed to use it as an alternative name to Modern. The wheel has come full circle.

by passing a highly selective scholarship examination, and the heart of the intention of the 1944 Act was to substitute a system of free Secondary education available to all. Before the passage of the Act only 14.5% of boys and 13% of girls in Elementary Schools gained admission to Secondary Schools and only 3% of the boys and 2% of the girls admission to Junior Technical Schools.¹ There had for a very long time been a mounting volume of criticism on this score. H.C. Dent traced the demand for Secondary education for all back to the Labour Party Conference of 1905, but Olive Banks has traced it even further back, to a resolution of the T.U.C. in 1897 "emphatically" condemning "the educational policy of the present Government" and demanding "equality of opportunity". The T.U.C. would not be satisfied the resolution continued "until the highest educational advantages which the country affords are within the reach of all".² It is precisely because many people have felt cheated out of this, the outstanding promise of the 1944 Act, that much of the present bitterness and disillusionment with the tripartite system had stemmed.

1. Lester-Smith, W.O., "Education in Great Britain", O.U.P. 1952, p. 133.

2. Banks, O., "Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education," Routledge, 1955, p. 116.

It is important to realise that the tripartite system is very largely a result of historical accident, When the 1944 Act was passed there already existed a system of schools for teaching older children (of eleven years of age and over) which could, nominally at least, be very easily turned into a full-blown tripartite system with a minimum of administrative reorganisation. The tripartite system is not the result of an impartial and scientific investigation to find out what would be the best way, on educational grounds, to establish a system of secondary education which would ensure equal opportunities for all children to obtain an education offering, in the words of the Act, "such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages abilities and aptitudes".¹ The process of historical development which gave rise to the tripartite system can either be regarded as a process of gradual evolution in the typically English empirical tradition or it can be looked at as an illogical process of shifts and expediencies and plain "muddling-through".

In order to understand the origins of the post 1944 tripartite system therefore it is necessary to very briefly sketch in the historical background. H.C. Dent has seen the origins of tripartism in the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission (the Taunton Commission) of 1868,² which reported on

1. Education Act 1944, Section 8.

2. Dent, H.C., "Change in English Education", U.L.P., 1952, p. 11.

schools other than the 9 great Public Schools (separately reported on by the Clarendon Commission) and Elementary Schools (reported on by the Newcastle Commission).

The Taunton Commission suggested, amongst other things, the creation of three grades of Secondary school. The first grade was intended for the children of "men with considerable means independent of their own exertions"¹ and "the great body of professional men, especially the clergy medical men and lawyers,"² who "have nothing to look to but education to keep their sons on a high social level."³ Pupils who went to such schools would leave at nineteen to go on to University etc. The second grade was intended for those who could not postpone their further education or taking-up of employment, and who would therefore enter "the army, all but the brightest branches of the medical and legal professions, civil engineering"⁴ and so on. These people would leave school at sixteen. Finally, a third grade of school for those leaving at 14 was prescribed for the sons of "the smaller tenant farmers, the small tradesmen, the superior artisans".⁵ It is noteworthy that such a threefold division

1. "Report of the Royal Commission on Endowed Schools" (The Taunton Commission) 1868, Vol. I, p. 20.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid

5. Ibid.

does not include the working classes but confines itself to the children of what are easily recognisable as the middle and upper classes.

The only direct result of the Report was the creation of the Endowed Schools Commission which undoubtedly did tremendously good work in compulsorily reforming the governing statutes and administration of the endowed Grammar Schools, until its dissolution by the Tory government in 1874, and the merging of its powers with those of the Charity Commission. An action which, in Lowndes's opinion, was due to the resentment amongst a section of the Tories at the vigour and radicalism with which it disturbed old and moribund vested interests.¹

No other legislative action was, however, taken on the recommendations of the Taunton Commission, although conceivably the idea of a threefold division of schools based upon the occupational expectancy of social classes may have influenced subsequent events. Nevertheless, the government did not act to establish a threefold system and the origins of tripartism are probably more clearly seen in the creation of the Elementary system of education by the government in the nineteenth century, since the secondary Modern Schools of today are the lineal descendants of the old Elementary Schools.

1. Lowndes, G.A.N., " The Silent Social Revolution", O.U.P., 1937, pp. 5-6.

The first effective governmental intervention in education took place in 1833¹ when the House of Commons voted, "That a Sum, not exceeding £20,000 be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the erection of School Houses for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain." The grant was paid over under conditions laid down by the Treasury which stipulated that it should be divided between the non-conformist "British and Foreign School Society" and the rival Anglican "National School Society". The grant was renewed annually and gradually increased, but the conditions imposed by the Treasury were restrictive and the grant never enabled the Societies to do more than provide for a small fraction of the child population.

This was made appallingly clear in 1861 when the Newcastle Commission reported "upon the present state of education in England", and "what measures; if any, were required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of people". S.J. Curtis estimates, on the basis of the figures provided by the Newcastle Commission that, if all types of school are included i.e. the Public Elementary Schools provided by the Voluntary societies and private and proprietary

1. Curtis, S.J., "History of Education in Great Britain", Univ. Tut. p., London, 1952, pp. 223-4.

schools of all kinds, only one in 7.7 of the child population was in school.¹

The Newcastle Commission was not particularly perturbed by its findings and made no very radical recommendations. It is mainly remembered for having sown the idea of "payment by results" which was embodied in the Revised Code of 1862 and is almost universally held to have exerted a baleful influence on Elementary education for most of the rest of the century, cramping and restricting its possibilities for development.

By 1870, however, it was becoming very apparent that an advanced industrial democracy like Britain simply could not afford an illiterate working-class population, that in the famous misquotation of Robert Lowe, "we must educate our masters",² even though this would be to a very elementary level. The famous Education Act drafted and steered through Parliament by W.E. Forster, who was M.P. for Bradford, was not very comprehensive and merely filled in the gaps left by the School Societies, through the creation of locally elected School Boards. It did not even,

1. Curtis, S.J., "History of Education in Great Britain", Univ. Tut. P., London, 1952, p. 250.

2. Lowe's actual words to the House of Commons were, "I believe it will be absolutely necessary that you should prevail upon our future masters to learn their letters," Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 1954, p. 499.

as is widely and erroneously supposed, bring in free and compulsory elementary education. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, considering the climate of opinion of the time, it was probably the maximum that could be obtained and even so nearly foundered upon the rock of denominational jealousy. Only Forster's hard work and ability to find compromises in the shape of the "Conscience clause" and the "Cowper-Temple clause" prevented disaster. The Act confined itself to the provision of Elementary education only, although the term was never explicitly defined by the Act.

The term "Elementary" contains three elements, curricular, developmental and social. It implies, first of all, an education going little if any way beyond the 3 R's, though precisely where one would draw the line it is of course difficult to say and the Act gave no guidance. Second, it implies a developmental criterion. Elementary education is the education given to children. Once more the Act was silent. Third, there is an implicit social criterion. Elementary educational provision was primarily directed to the poor, or more exactly, the "independent poor", since there was at the time a feeling that a completely free education would lead to a massive undermining of the spirit of self-help amongst the working classes; hence the provision in the Act for a small fee.

This lack of a clear-cut definition in the Act of 1870 of the term "Elementary" was to cause a great deal of trouble at the end of the century because of the growth, under the aegis of the School Boards, of the Higher Grade Schools. The Elementary School Code recognised six standards, standard VII being added in 1882.¹ In practice most pupils left by the end of standard IV so that standards V, VI and VII were demanded of pupils. It was an obviously economic arrangement therefore, in areas where several Board Schools existed to amalgamate the three final standards in one separate "Higher Grade" School. These schools multiplied rapidly in the eighteen-eighties and nineties and extended their curricula to include subjects such as Mechanics, Physics and higher Mathematics which were clearly not parts of an elementary curriculum and which were often carried to a high level; a development made possible by the gradual relaxation of the Code and Payment by Results which took place from 1867 on.² Thus it came about that the Higher Grade Board Schools received money from Public Funds whereas the Grammar Schools did not, and what was more that this money was awarded under the terms of an Act designed to provide Public Elementary Education only.

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1. "The Education of the Adolescent" (Hadow Report), Report of the Consultative Committee, H.M.S.O., 1927, reprinted 1951, p. 17.
 2. Curtis, op. cit., p. 267.

That this situation was legally anomalous had long been recognised,¹ and as a result of an appeal to the Courts in 1900 the expenditure of the education rate on such schools was held to be illegal. This was the famous "Cockerton Judgement". The appeal to the Courts had been engineered by Sir John Gorst, Vice-President of the Education Department,² who was a determined opponent of the School Board system and wanted to make the County and County Borough Councils solely responsible for Secondary education. An attempt to secure this through a Bill introduced in 1896 had failed and so Gorst had introduced a clause into the Regulations of the Science and Art Department, which was responsible for promoting scientific and technical education, and whose Regulations did not require Parliamentary approval, giving control of secondary education to such County and County Borough Councils as applied for it.³

The London County Council had made such application and this had been challenged by the London School Board. Since Gorst's sympathies were with the L.C.C. he sought a means of undermining the School Board's position. This he found in the doubtful legality of expenditure by the School Board on Evening Schools.

1. Eaglesham, E., "From School Board to Local Authority", Routledge, 1956, p. 39.

2. Ibid., pp. 113-121.

3. Ibid., p. 108.

Under the terms of the 1870 Act Evening Schools were merely Elementary Schools which happened to be held in the evenings, but by 1888 witnesses like Dr. H.W. Crosskey, Chairman of the Birmingham School Management Committee, was able to report them to the Cross Commission as a failure through lack of scholars.¹ This was because the introduction of universal compulsory education by the Mundella Act of 1880 had made them superfluous. It was therefore realised that the only way of revitalising them was by extending their scope to adults, including other subjects than those permitted under the Code and teaching them to a higher level than the merely elementary. It was widely held that this course of action had been made legal by the Education Code (1890) Act,² although the Judges were to hold this to be an extremely ambiguous statute which did not in fact legalise evening schools for adults.

Gorst encouraged Dr. Garnett, who as Secretary of the Technical Instruction Committee had charge of the presentation of the L.C.C.'s case to challenge the London School Board's expenditure on Evening Schools by referring the matter to the District Auditor T.B. Cockerton, who was responsible for

1. "Report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts" (Cross Commission), 1888, Digest of Evidence, p. 182.

2. Eaglesham, op cit., pp. 56-57.

disallowing illegal School Board expenditure. Cockerton subsequently did hold the expenditure on Evening Schools and Higher Grade Schools to be illegal and surcharged the Board for the money. Two Courts later upheld Cockerton's decision, holding that the 1890 Act did not protect the Board and that expenditure on non-elementary education by School Boards was illegal.

Gorst had triumphantly succeeded in his object and it was clear that a complete recasting of the educational system and a new Education Act was now inevitable. In such a remodelling the Conservative government was determined that the School Boards should go, probably because it felt that the local authorities would be financially more cautious than some of the bigger School Boards like Bradford.¹ Until new legislation could be prepared an interim Act was rushed through in 1901, under the terms of which any School Board in doubt about the legality of its actions could obtain legal protection for one year (renewed in 1902) by acting under the delegated authority of the Technical Instruction Committees of the County or County Borough Councils.

The Higher Grade Schools did not survive the Cockerton judgement for very long, but it is now clear that their destruction was not the primary object of Gorst's intrigue and that their

1. Eaglesham, op. cit., p. 179.

demise was a matter of policy rather than a consequence of a legal judgement.¹ In April 1900 the Board of Education issued a Minute (which therefore antedates the second Cockerton judgement of April 1901) establishing a new kind of Elementary School to be known as a Higher Elementary School.² It distinguished between Elementary and Secondary education mainly in terms of the leaving age, which in turn depended upon the vocational prospects of the pupils. Thus manual and industrial workers could be expected to leave at 14 whereas professional workers would clearly remain at school until 16 or 17 or later. The Minute therefore laid down that no scholar in a Higher Elementary School would stay at school, "beyond the close of the school year in which he or she is 15 years old."

The minute met immediate opposition from all sides, from the N.U.T., the School Boards and the Heads of Higher Grade Schools, who recognised in the age limit, if not in the title, conditions which, if applied to the Higher Grade Schools would effectively end their distinctive contribution to English education.³ In spite of this opposition, however, the Minute was not withdrawn and it became apparent that if the Higher Grade Schools were to continue their advanced work it would be as Secondary schools

1. Eaglesham, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

2. Ibid., pp. 51-52.

3. Banks, op. cit., p. 24.

under a new authority for Secondary education.

It was also clear that the curriculum envisaged by the Board for Secondary Schools would be very different from that of the Higher Grade Schools which had a strong scientific and technical bias. There is abundant evidence of a reaction in the educational world at the turn of the century in favour of a more academic and less utilitarian curriculum.¹ In the seventies and eighties of the last century technical education, in the broad sense, had made great strides. The period culminated in the Technical Instruction Act of 1899, which was largely a result of the work of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education.² The reaction which took place against this movement was given expression by such influential men as Lord Bryce, who had been Chairman of the famous Royal Commission on Secondary Education of 1895, and who was reported as saying in a speech, "secondary education was in many ways taking too exclusively scientific a turn. Science was a comparatively new thing in our secondary schools which had formerly devoted themselves almost exclusively to literary subjects, and now the tables were so much turned that science was positively jostling other subjects out of the field."³ This in fact represented a

1. Banks, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

2. Ibid., p. 31.

3. "The Record", Jan. 1898.

shift of ground from the strong support for scientific and technical education expressed in the Bryce Report.

The expected recasting of the educational system came with the Act of 1902 which abolished the School Boards and established the highly convenient and relatively novel County and County Borough Councils as Local Education Authorities responsible for both Elementary and Secondary education. Certain larger Borough Councils were given responsibility for Elementary education only.

The character of Secondary education after 1902, as envisaged by the Board of Education, was clearly laid down in the revised Secondary School Regulations of 1904.¹ A Secondary School was defined as one offering "up to and beyond the age of 16, a general education ... of wider scope and more advanced degree than that given in Elementary Schools." Grants-in-aid could be earned on all pupils between 12 and 14.

The course had to provide for instruction in English language and literature, Geography, History, Mathematics, Science, Drawing and either Manual Work and Physical Exercises for Boys or Houswifery for Girls. At least one language other than English

1. Banks, op. cit., p. 37 et seq.

had to be taught, and where two foreign languages were taught and Latin was not one of them the Board had to be satisfied that its omission was "for the advancement of the School." There were other detailed provisions as well, including a stipulation as to the time to be spent on the listed subjects. Although they were subsequently modified it is unquestionable that these regulations gave the post 1902 Secondary Schools a distinctive character which is easily recognisable in Grammar Schools today. It was a curriculum implicitly based upon the assumption that most pupils would have academic inclinations which would lead them on to the University. It suffered, as Dr. Young, in the historical sketch which accompanied the Spens Report pointed out from its failure "to take note of the comparatively rich experience of secondary curricula of a practical and quasi-vocational type which had been evolved in the Higher Grade Schools, the Organised Science Schools and the Technical Day Schools. The new Regulations were based wholly on the traditions of the Grammar and Public Schools."¹ Nevertheless the post 1902 Secondary Schools established in the public mind a view of the nature of secondary education which has made it very difficult for many people to envisage it in any other terms. Without doubt this impression has lasted beyond the 1944 Act and has contributed to the difficulty

1. "Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education" (The Spens Report), H.M.S.O., 1938, pp. 66-7.

of establishing "parity of esteem" between different kinds of Secondary education.

The post 1902 Secondary Schools were recruited from a heterogeneous group of schools. Some had been pupil-teacher centres and most Higher Grade Schools accepted the new Regulations; only an insignificant minority becoming Higher Elementary Schools. In 1917 there were only 31 Higher Elementary Schools in England and 14 in Wales.¹ In addition, many old and impecunious endowed Grammar Schools applied for recognition under the Regulations. New Secondary Schools were also built by the local authorities after 1902 and were often described as Municipal Secondary Schools or High Schools.

It was the welding together of Secondary Schools with such diverse origins as these into a homogeneous whole which was probably the most important contribution of the Board of Education to the educational system after 1902, for it was these schools which became the Grammar Schools of 1944. Not that they were without their critics. As has already been indicated they had a very academic bias, even though it was always true that only a small minority of their pupils ever went on to University.

1. Banks, op. cit., p. 53.

This neglect of the needs of the non-academic majority was emphasised by the "free-place" system introduced by the Secondary Regulations of 1907. Under this scheme Secondary Schools were to receive increased grants-in-aid if they were prepared to offer not less than one quarter of their places free to the pupils of Public Elementary Schools who passed an "attainment test" as it was described.

Whatever the test may have been called it was always regarded as a "scholarship exam" by the general public and because of the pressure of demand became an essentially competitive exam for the brightest members of the Elementary Schools. It clearly provided a precedent for the 11+ examination. With the increase in the number of Secondary places available to Elementary School children there was an increase in the proportion of children whose parents were unable to afford the expense of keeping them at school beyond the age of 16. For these children a University - orientated Secondary School course was more than ever unrealistic. For them the Secondary School was, in Olive Banks's words, "and educational terminus."¹

As a result of pressures of this kind the Secondary Schools did modify their curriculums to some extent in the inter-war period, but it was never enough. It was therefore as a result

1. Banks, op. cit., p. 70.

of the unsatisfied demand for a more practical and realistic curriculum suitable for children who would leave school, certainly no later than 16, to take up humbler occupations in industry and commerce as clerks, typists, journalists and skilled artisans, that what was to be the third element in the tripartite system emerged in the years preceeding the First World War. These were the Junior Technical and Central Schools. Like their predecessors, the Higher Grade Schools, they sprang from the Elementary rather than the Secondary tradition. Never large in number they were destined to wield an influence out of all proportion to their numerical importance.¹

The Junior Technical Schools had their origins in Article 42 of the Board of Education's Regulations for Evening Schools and Technical Institutions of 1905, which permitted the organisation of day-schools for ex-Elementary School pupils.² By taking advantage of these regulations Local Authorities were able to create schools to cater for the needs of children who left Elementary School at 13 or 14 but were unable to begin an apprenticeship until 16. The Technical Schools were thus able to bridge the gap. This was the reason why, in most cases, they formed an integral part, both physically and administratively of

1. Edwards, R., "The Secondary Technical School", U.L.P., 1960 p.20.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

the local Technical College. They were not administered under their own separate regulations until 1913, but these carefully avoided designating them as Secondary Schools.

From the beginning there was a marked difference between the Junior Technical Schools that grew up in the London area and those of the rest of the country.¹ The London schools prepared their pupils for specific occupations such as carriage-building, dress-making, boot and shoe making, printing etc. Whereas in the provinces they were far less specialised and provided for a much larger range of occupations. The London-type school was generally known as a Trade School and by 1936 there were only 37 of them and of these 27 were in the Metropolitan area.² The Trade Schools had, quite rightly, a poor reputation, since they offered only the most cramping and limiting opportunities to their pupils. The Junior Technical Schools were, however, a completely different story. Far from limiting the horizons of their pupils they broadened and widened them and their vocational orientation gave a sense of purpose and relevance to their studies which for many children would not have been given by a more academic bias. In the words of Sir Percy Nunn, "Work which carries a boy directly towards the goal of his choice, work

1. Banks, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

2. Ibid., p. 106.

whose obvious usefulness gives him a sense of dignity and power, often unlocks the energies of a mind which a 'general education' would leave stupid and inert."¹

The Central or Intermediate Schools as they were sometimes known originated in 1905 in London where they were designed to absorb and replace the old Higher Elementary Schools.² Entry to them was by selective examination at the same age as the scholarship examination for the Secondary School. Usually, the same examination was used to allocate places in the Secondary School. The most successful candidates were allocated places in the Secondary School and the next most successful candidates went to the Central Schools. Unsuccessful candidates, of course, remained behind in the Elementary School, so that once more the principle of selection was established.

Central Schools were administered under the Elementary Regulations, so that they charged no fees and their staffs were paid at Elementary School rates.³ Their purpose was described as being to "give their pupils a definite bias towards some kind of industrial work while ensuring that their intelligence shall

1. Nunn, P.T., "Education, It's Data and First Principles", E. Arnold, 1949, p. 250.

2. Banks, op. cit., p. 98.

3. "The Selective Central School", Report of an Enquiry conducted by the National Association of Teachers in Central Schools, 1934, p. 33.

be fully developed. They should avowedly frame their curricula with a view to the pupils leaving at an age between fifteen and sixteen while at the same time qualifying them to enter upon a special course of training for some particular industry at a polytechnic or similar institution if they desire to continue their education further."¹

By 1912 London had 31 such schools.² Other local Authorities followed London's example, of which Manchester was probably most important. For a time during the inter-war period these schools were very successful, but their great weakness was their tendency to copy the curricula of the Secondary Schools of which they became pale imitations; pale for two reasons. First, because the prestige of the Secondary Schools was such that they could always reckon on obtaining the lions share of top ability in the scholarship examination. Although it is true that there was always a minority of top ability children who, when given the choice, elected to go to the Central rather than the Secondary School. Second, because their courses were truncated at 16 and therefore there was no Sixth-Form.

By the time of the passage of the Education Act in 1944

1. "Education", 31st Dec. 1909.

2. Banks, op. cit., p. 98.

therefore there was established, for purely historical reasons, three clearly distinct forms of post-primary education. The most desired form of education was that provided by the Secondary Schools, which in most cases charged fees. Competition for free places in these schools was fierce and ensured that only children of high ability won them. A second form of selective education was provided by the Junior Technical and Central Schools whose common characteristic was that they were designed for children who left school at 16. Finally there was the Public-Elementary School which retained all those children who could not gain a place in a Secondary, Junior Technical, or Selective Central School. Having sketched in the historical background a detailed examination will be made in the next chapter of how this post-primary system developed in the particular circumstances of Bradford in order to see the extent to which Bradford differed or did not differ from the national picture.

CHAPTER II

The development of post-primary education in Bradford

Bradford in the nineteenth century was the scene of one of the most spectacular population increases in the country. It expanded from being a small market town of 13,264 inhabitants in 1801 to being a great industrial city of 279,767 people in 1901.¹ This population explosion was based wholly upon the booming woollen industry which made immense fortunes for some and turned Bradford into the "Worstedopolis" of the world. As will be seen from Appendix 3 the rate of increase was quite phenomenal and was much greater, throughout the century, than that of the West Riding as a whole, which was in turn greater than that of England and Wales. During one period, from 1801 to 1831, the population increase at Bradford was no less than 230%. At the beginning of the twentieth century this enormous rate of expansion slowed down and at the present time the population is almost static. Bradford is in a very real sense, therefore, a Victorian city.

Educational provision, and in particular, secondary educational provision, which was totally inadequate at the beginning of the

1. Decennial Census Reports.

century became even less adequate as the population expanded. In 1861 the Newcastle Commission reported that only 1 in 10.65 of the child population of Bradford was in school¹, which was a figure well below the national average. It was not until well into the second half of the nineteenth century that any serious or adequate attempts were made to remedy this situation. In 1861 the only form of secondary education was that provided by the endowed Grammar School, but that, like many others, had been for many years "inefficient and utterly inadequate to the needs of the growing population."² In 1868 it had only 42 pupils.³

Indeed the situation had become so bad that a number of leading industrialists, led by Sir Jacob Behrens, one of that group of German immigrants who made such an important contribution to the commercial and cultural life of Bradford in the nineteenth century, decided to set up a school out of their own pockets, "in order to secure for themselves that education which the Grammar School could not give".⁴ The school which they founded was known as Bradford High School and opened in 1860.⁵

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1. Royal Commission on Elementary Education (Newcastle Commission) 1861, Vol. II, p. 181.
 2. Smyth, C.E.C., "Bradford Grammar School: 1662-1912", Bradford: Lund, Humphries, 1912.
 3. Royal Commission on Secondary Education (Bryce Commission) 1895, Vol. VII, p. 266.
 4. Smyth, op. cit., p. 11.
 5. Ibid.

In 1869 the Endowed Schools Act set up the Endowed Schools Commission with the task of reforming the governing statutes and administration of the endowed Grammar Schools. The first new scheme of government which it drew up was for the Bradford Grammar School and took effect in 1871.¹ Under its terms the existing endowments were reinvested in government securities and divided between the existing Boys' Grammar School and a new Girls' Grammar School which opened in 1875.² Bradford High School was absorbed by the newly reformed Grammar School. The reform was an enormous success and from 1871 onwards, under a new Headmaster, the Grammar School, in the words of C.E.C. Smyth "entered upon a career of prosperity and distinction from which it has never looked back".³ The Grammar School was, however, in spite of its origins as the "Free Grammar School of Charles II" a fee-paying institution and the provision of really adequate secondary education did not begin until the creation of the Bradford School Board in 1870.

The Higher Grade School Movement in Bradford.

It is to the work of the Bradford School Board that we must look for an alternative form of secondary education to that

1. Cf. "Scheme for the management of the Free Grammar School of King Charles II at Bradford", Bradford: William Downing, East Parade, 1871.

2. Smyth, op. cit., p. 30.

3. Ibid., p. 12.

provided by Bradford Grammar School, in the shape of the establishment of the first Higher Grade School in the country, at Feversham Street in 1876,¹ two years earlier than the Sheffield "Higher Central School" quoted in the historical introduction to the Hadow Report. The School Boards, it will be remembered, were under the terms of the 1870 Act, responsible for elementary education only, but the Higher Grade Schools were a response to two factors. First, the increasing popular demand for secondary rather than elementary education, and second, the operation of the school attendance laws. The absence until 1880 of universal and compulsory school attendance, the low school-leaving age even then, (raised to 11 in 1893, and 12 in 1899), and the ease with which exemptions from the provisions of the Acts could be obtained, meant that the upper forms of the Board Schools were denuded of pupils. It was an obviously economic arrangement in areas where several Board Schools existed to amalgamate the top forms of several schools into a single "Higher Top" or "Higher Grade School".

A fascinating analysis of the nature of the demand in the West Riding for secondary education was made in 1895 by A.P. Laurie who with Miss C.L. Kennedy produced one of the 3

1. Fenn, G.W., "The Development of education in an industrial town (Bradford)", University of Leeds Institute of Education: Researches and Studies, No. 6, May 1952, p. 19. This was the date of the official opening but a "Return to Higher Grade Schools" of the Bradford School Board of 1894 gives the date of its establishment as 1874.

County Reports which were annexed to the Bryce Commission Report on Secondary Education. Laurie pointed out that the typical West Riding woollen town like Bradford, occupied constricted sites on the floors of river valleys in the Pennines.¹ As they expanded the richer classes built houses for themselves higher up the valley sides or on the surrounding moorlands to avoid the smoke and dirt of the industrialised valleys, a process, incidentally, still going on today. In this way rich and poor became geographically separated. At the same time the free Grammar Schools of the area, had since the Taunton Commission of 1868 disturbed their slumbers, sought to increase their efficiency by charging fees in order to increase their incomes. Since it was only the middle and upper classes who could afford these fees more and more Grammar Schools had vacated the town centres and moved to new sites in the suburban fringes, leaving educational provision in the densely populated central areas to the School Boards. Thus at a time when the population was expanding, not only were the Grammar and Elementary schools becoming geographically separated but the amount of free secondary education available was actually decreasing. Laurie continued, "It is precisely at this moment, that the school boards in the large towns, under pressure from the growing public opinion, have been compelled, at first with much doubt and division of course, to provide

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

something more than a mere elementary education; and the growth of the higher grade schools has been the result."¹

The low school-leaving age presented the new Higher Grade Schools with a serious financial problem. The Elementary School Code recognised six Standards, Standard VII being added in 1882 as a result of the Mundella Act of 1880 which resulted in a great increase in the number of thirteen year olds in the schools. Since a truly secondary education obviously extended well beyond the age of thirteen, the Higher Grade Schools extended their age range to include ex-Standard VII pupils. For such ex-Standard VII pupils no financial assistance was available under the Elementary School Code.² The Higher-Grade Schools therefore had to look to some other source of income in order to maintain their senior pupils. This they found by organising their upper forms as "organised science schools" and thus qualifying for a grant from the Science and Art Department under the terms of the scheme introduced in 1872 by that Department.³

It is this, more than any theoretical considerations which explains what we are apt to think of as the chief characteristic

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 201.
2. "The Education of the Adolescent" (Hadow Report) H.M.S.O., 1927, p. 17.
3. Argles, M., "South Kensington to Robbins", Longmans, 1964, p. 21.

of the Higher Grade Schools, their scientific and technical curriculum, which was in sharp contrast to the predominantly literary and classical tradition of the Public and endowed Grammar Schools. It is however worth noting that Bradford Grammar School also had its organised science school at this time.¹ One is therefore inclined to wonder whether in fact the Higher Grade School curriculum would have been as markedly technical and scientific but for the fortuitous anomaly in the financial position of these Schools. Laurie, like many others at the time, was highly critical of the influence of the Science and Art Department, and felt that the system gave "a one-sided character to the education of the children, and that this is specially marked in organised science schools",² and recommended "a stop to the formation of organised science schools."³

The most significant characteristic of the Higher Grade Schools was, as Olive Banks has pointed out, the fact that because they emerged from the Elementary School tradition and were "end-on" to it they offered a relatively free and accessible avenue to a genuinely secondary education for all who wanted it, regardless of social origins.⁴ This was reflected in the high

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 273.

2. Ibid., p. 261.

3. Ibid., p. 267.

4. Banks, O., "Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education", Routledge, 1955, p. 29.

proportion of working and lower-middle class children in these schools. William Dyche, Headmaster of Halifax Higher-Grade School, for example, analysed the occupations of the parents of the children in his school in 1894-5.¹ He found 26 Managers and Foremen, 22 Manufacturers, 20 Professional men, 30 Artisans and Labourers, 38 Tradesmen, and 53 "Miscellaneous" which included 12 widows with small means, an army sergeant, and a school caretaker. He added a note pointing out that the children tended to magnify their fathers' standing. For instance, many "Manufacturers" were really simply "well to do" and others were workmen who had recently "set up for themselves" and were in a precarious position, and that the shopkeepers were mainly the small ones.

The other outstanding characteristic of the Higher Grade Schools lay in the nature and quality of their staffs and here we can do no better than to quote the words of Laurie, "It is impossible not to compare unfavourably the ordinary Grammar School teacher who has taken up teaching with no special training or knowledge of his subject, and in many cases with no special enthusiasm for it, with the type of elementary school teacher one finds in higher grade schools, highly trained in his profession, and full of enthusiasm for his work. It is only by becoming equally well trained, instead of entering the profession as

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 273.

amateurs, that the grammar school teachers can hope to hold their own against the highly disciplined army of elementary school-masters who are now encroaching upon their own territory."¹

The first Bradford Higher Grade School at Feversham Street was opened in 1876 by W.E. Forster, M.P. for Bradford, and author of the 1870 Act.² Feversham Street was for boys only, but in 1877 a new school for boys and girls was opened in temporary premises at Manningham. In 1879 Forster opened the new Belle Vue School Building to which the boys and girls of Manningham were moved. Belle Vue was the show school of Bradford and was divided into separate Higher Boys', Higher Girls', Junior Mixed, and Infants Departments. A third school for girls was opened in temporary premises at Great Horton and when the new Carlton School building was opened in 1883 the Girls School moved into it. In 1896 a Boys' Department was opened at Carlton. In 1891 yet another girls school had been opened in temporary premises at Peckover Street, but in 1897, when a third new school building, the Hanson School was opened the Feversham Street boys and Peckover Street girls were moved into it. So that by the time of the passage of the 1902 Act Bradford had 3 new school

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1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 202. See also p. 161, para. 3.
 2. For the summary of the history of the Bradford Higher Grade Schools which follows see Fenn, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

buildings, Carlton, Belle Vue and Hanson, each divided into separate Boys' and Girls' Departments making a total of 6 Higher Grade Schools. When it is remembered that in 1900 there were only 60 Higher Grade Schools in the whole country it will be readily appreciated how very high a proportion of these 60 schools were to be found in Bradford.¹ Laurie was extremely impressed by the extent of this provision and wrote, "Bradford is specially interesting from an educational point of view, as it can claim to have a fairly complete organisation for Secondary Education, which with a few developments and improvements might be made completely satisfactory."² In another passage he described the system in equally enthusiastic terms as "an almost perfect example of an organised City scheme of Secondary Education."³

The subjects taught⁴ included English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Book-keeping, Shorthand, Mechanics, Cookery, Domestic Economy, Needlework, Singing, Drawing, Physical Exercises, a great deal of what nowadays would be described as Physics and Chemistry, and "sloyd", a system of manual instruction originating

1. Fenn, op. cit., p. 21.

2. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 178.

3. Ibid., p. 76.

4. "Return relating to higher grade board schools, with special reference to the payment of a fee", Bradford School Board, 1894.

from Scandinavia.¹ In 1891, as a result of the "Free Education Act" of that year the fee of 9d. a week was cut to 6d., and abolished in the Boards ordinary schools.² There were, however, a number of free scholarships available. These were instituted in 1878 by the Board and there were then 32 available, but in 1898 this was increased to 500.³

To mid-twentieth century eyes, of course, a fee of 6d. or 9d. a week seems trivial and it takes an enormous effort of the imagination to comprehend the nature and extent of poverty in Bradford in the nineteenth century. Account also has to be taken of the fact that families were much larger in 1900 than they are today. Many families were so poor that even when their children had won free scholarships they could not afford the burden of feeding and clothing them and so sent them to work instead in order to help support themselves and their families. The Board therefore took the very enlightened and progressive step, at that time, of instituting eight "maintainance" scholarships in 1892, to help families keep their children at school.⁴

1. Cf. "Sloyd in Bradford", cuttings from the "Telegraph and Argus" for Feb. 1958 in Bradford Public Library. Cat. No. B 322.5 SLO.

2. Fenn, op. cit., p. 16.

3. Ibid., p. 24.

4. Ibid., p. 25.

The Bradford Higher Grade Schools were, however, always dogged by a problem which led many people, including some of their best friends, to deny that they provided a secondary education. Thus Laurie reported in 1895 that "these schools are really elementary schools with a higher department rather than higher grade schools in the ordinary sense of the term",¹ and Mr. Hanson, Chairman of the School Management Committee of the Bradford School Board, in a letter to Mr. H. Richard M.P., in 1880, described the 4 Higher Board Schools which were then in existence at Bradford as "simply advanced elementary schools".² This was due to the truncation of the senior courses because of early-leaving. In 1895, for example, out of a total of 802 boys in the Higher Board Schools 605 were under 13, 135 between 13 and 14, 51 between 14 and 15, 10 between 15 and 16 and 1 of 16 and over.³ The reason for this was simply the rock-hard tradition of early-leaving and of "half-time" schooling associated with work in the woollen industry. A full secondary education was deemed superfluous for children destined to leave school early to take up work "in t' mill".

Bradford had the highest proportion of "half-timers" in the

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 184.

2. Hadow Report, op. cit., p. 18, footnote no. 2.

3. Bryce Commission, loc. cit.

country.¹ In 1888 there were 7,018 "half-timers" in Bradford. Blackburn and Oldham, in the south-east Lancashire cotton region came next with 5,396 and 4,040 respectively. Even London only had 1,450 and Birmingham a mere 169. The Bradford half-timers represented an enormously high proportion of the total roll as the table below shows.

	<u>1873</u>	<u>1874</u>	<u>1875</u>
Total on School Rolls of Bradford School Board:	6,989	7,376	9,044
No. of half-timers:	2,207	2,452	2,535

Source: "The Development of Education in an Industrial Town", G.W. Fenn, Researches and Studies, Leeds Institute of Education, No. 6, May 1952, p. 12.

The morning "turn" at the mill was from 6am to 12.30pm and the wage was 2/- to 3/3d. per week. The afternoon "turn" was from 1.15pm to 5.45pm and the wage from 1/6d. to 2/6d. per week. At 13 the children went "full-time" at 5/6d. per week.² Margaret McMillan wrote that "the half-timers fell asleep at their desks, exhausted".³ Much indeed of her activity on the Bradford School Board was, along with other members, directed against this vicious system, and she devoted much of her considerable talents

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1. For the figures which follow see Fenn, op. cit., p. 16. See also James Hanson's evidence to the Cross Commission of 1888. Digest of Evidence, p. 202.
 2. Lord, M., "Margaret McMillan in Bradford", 4th Margaret McMillan Lecture, U.L.P., 1957, pp. 11-12.
 3. Ibid., p. 9.

as a propagandist writing pamphlets and addressing gatherings of local and very often hostile business-men in this subject.¹ Not until the "Fisher Act" of 1918 was half-timing finally abolished.

The problem of early-leaving is of course still with us today though to a very much reduced extent. Moreover it persists primarily as a Northern phenomenon. In the Yorkshire (E. and W. Ridings) as a whole in 1961, 32.3% of children reaching the statutory school leaving age of 15 remained at school, compared to 53% in the London Metropolitan Region for example.²

Throughout the period under discussion, however, the Higher Grade Schools in Bradford met constant criticism and opposition mostly from the Heads of the local Grammar Schools. The basic criticism which was levelled against the Higher Grade Schools was that they were poaching children from the established Grammar Schools; so that in Laurie's words, "the grammar schools, which have resigned to them (the higher grade schools) the teaching of the poor, begin to fear that they may also have to resign the teaching of the rich, and that even all that is meant by division of classes and social prejudice may not be able to save them."³

1. Lord, M., "Margaret McMillan in Bradford", 4th Margaret McMillan Lecture, U.L.P., 1957 pp. 9-10.

2. "Statistics of Education", H.M.S.O., 1964, Table 3, pp. 9-12.

3. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 201.

This fear was expressed over and over again to Laurie and to Miss Kennedy who was responsible for investigating the West Riding Girls' Schools. Nevertheless, neither Laurie nor Miss Kennedy could find any substance in the allegation. Laurie concluded, "This fear, I believe, is unfounded in fact I could not find that more than 20 to 25 boys were in the higher grade school who would in all probability have been in the grammar school had the higher grade school not existed."¹ Miss Kennedy agreed, "There is a strong belief among many that higher grade schools are injuriously affecting secondary schools I think, however, that there is a tendency to exaggerate the extent to which they do so."²

The Bryce Commission Report recommended the recognition of the higher grade schools as secondary schools and that they should be brought into organic relationship with other secondary schools so that both types of school should co-operate as partners rather than rivals. An attempt at reconciling the two sides was made in 1897 when a series of conferences was held under the auspices of the Education Department between the Incorporated Association of Headmasters (I.A.H.M.) and the Association of Headmasters of Higher Grade Schools and Schools of Science.

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 201.

2. Ibid., pp. 327-328.

In 1898 the two Associations signed a joint Memorandum, sometimes known as the Concordat of 1898, on the relations of Primary and Secondary schools to each other in a national system of education.¹ This was, however, only an agreed formula, which, as we shall see, did not stop the criticism of the Higher Grade Schools.

The dispute came to a head in 1901 when it spilled over into the columns of the "Bradford Observer" where for many months a long and acrimonious correspondence on the future of the Higher Grade Schools ensued. Things had been brought to a head by a number of national events. First, the "Cockerton Judgement" of 1901 had placed in jeopardy the whole of School Board expenditure on any form of education other than elementary. It was clear therefore that new legislation was inevitable and that the opportunity would be taken to clear up the appalling administrative confusion that existed in English education at that time. Second, the appearance of the Higher Elementary School Minute of April 6th 1900 had sounded the death knell of the Higher Grade Schools. As Professor Eaglesham has shown quite conclusively, it was this Minute, representing the considered policy of the Board of Education and antedating the second Cockerton judgement which contained the real threat to the Higher Grade Schools.² It was policy and not the legal judgement

1. Hadow Report, op. cit., p. 25.

2. Eaglesham, E., "From School Board to Local Authority", Routledge, 1956, pp. 50-51.

that counted. Two issues therefore had to be faced. First, in the recasting of the educational structure what body was to be responsible for elementary and secondary education, the School Boards or the County and County Borough Councils as the Tory government wanted? The government had rejected the compromise proposals of the Bryce Commission under the terms of which the Boards would have retained their powers over primary or elementary education and the Local Authorities would have been solely responsible for secondary education. Second, were the Higher Grade Schools to go?

To turn the pages of the "Bradford Observer" in 1901 is to be made acutely aware of the depth of the crisis at the beginning of the century, the real nature of the issues involved and the motives of those concerned. In addition to the correspondence column, what seems to a modern observer to be an astonishing amount of space is devoted to reporting educational matters. Without any attempt to simplify the issues, or to condense the copy, column after column of unheadlined miniscule print reports in tremendous detail what was said in Parliament, or a local School Board debate, or at a Higher Grade School prize-giving.

The Bradford School Board made its opinion on the crisis very clear early on. At a meeting of the School Board reported in the "Bradford Observer" on January 24th 1901, the Chairman

of the Education Committee moved the adoption of a memorial to be sent to Parliament pointing out that since the Cockerton judgement had cast doubt on the legality of School Board expenditure on evening continuation classes, Science and Art classes and schools of science, this would, in the case of Bradford terminate the education of a total of no less than 10,000 pupils.¹ The memorial therefore requested immediate legislation to legalise such expenditure and restore the status quo.

The government did, later on, give legal protection to the School Boards but only as a temporary expedient to cover the period before new educational legislation could be introduced. In February a meeting of the parents of scholars at the Bradford Higher Grade Schools was held at Carlton Street Schools ("the large hall was filled"), at which the Chairman declared, "All who did not recognise the seriousness of the present situation must be blind indeed."² He went on to answer the old charge made against the Higher Grade Schools, saying that "so far from injuring other institutions the Higher Grade Schools had added to the prestige and renown of such institutions by creating a higher taste for education." There was justice in this remark for Laurie had drawn attention to the academic achievements of the

1. "Bradford Observer", Jan. 24th 1901, p. 9.

2. "Bradford Observer", Feb. 18th 1901, p. 7.

group of Higher Grade School pupils who had won scholarships to Bradford Grammar School. "One BelleVue boy holds a classical scholarship at Queen's College Oxford, another holds a science scholarship at Magdalen College, Oxford, and another a full sizarship at Trinity College, Oxford, while a Feversham Street boy and a BelleVue boy each hold a Hastings Exhibition at Oxford!"¹ The Chairman concluded, "on all hands it was admitted that such schools had done good work, and they, the parents and friends of education protested against the schools being crippled. If the spending of rates on teaching adults in Evening Schools and in teaching Science and Art in day schools were illegal, he would reply it had been done by the action of the people, who made the law: they desired it, they paid for it, and they meant to have it, (loud applause). Our English boys and girls had a right to demand that they should be placed at least on an equality with children in Scotland."

W. Claridge, who was Chairman of the School Board, then reported on a meeting he had attended in London on the same subject, where it had been pointed out that, "the crisis in Bradford was one of the most acute in the country "and that "the position taken by the Bradford School Board was watched with interest in every part of the kingdom. Yet it was pretended," continued Mr. Claridge, "that there was no attack on the people's

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 187.

schools."

Mr. Percy Illingworth then answered the proposal that responsibility for education should be transferred from the School Boards to the Local Authorities. "The only satisfactory solution of the problem lay in the creation of one Authority elected by the people solely and exclusively for education work (hear hear). It would be a mistake to hand over the work to the rate-raising authority (hear hear). He would not belittle that authority. On the contrary he recognised that it had to control and study some of the most important work falling to be done in the community. But education, primary, secondary, and technical, demanded special men, special study, and special methods; and the men on this Authority should be selected for their educational fitness." A resolution giving expression to these sentiments was then passed unanimously by the meeting.

Similar meetings and School Board debates were held elsewhere in the West Riding. At a meeting of the Halifax School Board in February the real nature of the issues involved emerged with almost brutal clarity.¹ The Boards support had been requested by the Association of School Boards for a national petition to Parliament, but the Rev. J. Holmes refused assent on the grounds

1. "Bradford Observer", Feb. 19th 1901, p. 6.

that, "He did not think such petitions came within the scope of the Boards work. They had to do with elementary education; and the thought those who wanted higher education should pay for it." This provoked a reply from another member of the Board, Mr. A. Taylor, "Speaking on behalf of those he represented, namely the working classes, he pointed out that the lines proposed for higher education formed the only avenue for the working classes to look to. He honestly believed in a system of secondary education but at the same time he was strongly of opinion that the higher grade schools should be protected." At this point in the debate the Rev. J. Quinlan raised once more in rhetorical form the old charge against the Higher Grade Schools. "How many scholars of the higher-grade schools are bona-fide working-class children?"

On the same day as the Halifax debate was reported a national figure entered the fray, in the shape of Dr. R.P. Scott, Headmaster of Parmiters' School in London, and Joint Honorary Secretary of the I.A.H.M. In a letter he pointed out that the "Bradford Observer" had published an extract from an unsigned article in the Bradford Trades Council Year-Book entitled, "The Attack on the Higher Grade Schools and Schools of Science," and claiming that the instigators of the attack were the members of his association. Scott denied this and referred to the 1898 Concordat in which, he claimed, the I.A.H.M., "fully recognised the necessity of such schools as the crown to the elementary system and as

higher primary schools."¹ Such a statement was, of course, highly tendentious, since it was precisely the claim that they were a part of the elementary system and not the secondary system which was contested by the Higher Grade Schools.

Scott must have reckoned on an answer to his letter and this came from William Dyche, Headmaster of Halifax Higher Grade School and who has already been mentioned. Dyche was at this time President of the Association of Heads of Higher Grade Schools and Schools of Science. Dyche claimed that Scott's views could not be assumed to be the official view of the I.A.H.M. He pointed out that Scott had moved a resolution at a conference of his own association declaring general agreement with the Concordat of 1898, one clause of which leant support to the Higher Elementary School Minute of 1900. The I.A.H.M., however, refused to agree to this clause, much to Dyche's satisfaction since, as he pointed out, "The Concordat would leave the Higher Grade Schools efficient, the Minute would wreck them."²

The correspondence between the two men continued, though it degenerated into a rather arid argument over the exact meaning to be attached to the 1898 Concordat. However, on March 12th

1. "Bradford Observer", Feb. 19th 1901, p. 6.

2. "Bradford Observer", Feb. 21st 1901, p. 7.

the "Observer" published an enormously long letter from Scott in which he made abundantly clear his distaste for the Higher Grade Schools and his reasons for it.¹ He questioned the claim of the Higher Grade Schools to give a secondary education. He wrote, "what have the higher grade schools to offer in place of the secondary tradition - not to name other traditions - of freedom, of scholarly thoroughness, of accurate interpretation and expression?" Once again he pressed the old charge against the Higher Grade Schools, "What has happened and what is happening, at the present time? The higher grade schools have stopped the flow into secondary schools."

Other people joined in. The Rev. C. Gallacher, an Anglican cleric who was a member of the minority denominational group on the Bradford School Board recorded his support for the government's policy in terms equally as tendentious as those of Scott. "The Government; it appears to me, are very anxious to make Higher Grade Schools really schools of the people; schools in which the children of the industrial classes will receive an education that will make them not second-rate clerks, but first-rate artisans; not inferior traders, but superior workmen."² In other words the vocational prospects of the pupils of Higher Grade Schools were

1. "Bradford Observer", March 12th 1901, p. 9.

2. "Bradford Observer", Feb. 21st 1901, p. 7.

not to include middle-class or white-collar occupations.

Gallacher was answered by a passionate letter from the Rev. T. Rhondda Williams, a prominent local Congregationalist Minister and a believer in the "social gospel". He wrote, "Mr. Gallacher shall not address words of similar import with effect to any working man in Bradford. If there is to be a fight between the working classes for THEIR schools as possible preparation for other spheres, and certain other classes and parties who would clutch privilege for themselves, then I for one shall fight from first to last with all my strength for the working classes."¹

In the Spring the government attempted to precipitate action over its policy in regard to Higher Grade Schools. At an education conference organised by Bradford Trades and Labour Council, T.P. Sykes drew attention to a letter from the Board of Education to the Bradford School Board inviting it to bring its Higher Grade Schools, "those schools which are the pride of Bradford," within the terms of the Elementary School Minute. "He spoke deliberately when he said that that letter meant that the Bradford School Board was invited, so far as its higher grade school work was concerned to commit educational suicide."²

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1. "Bradford Observer", Feb. 23rd 1901, p. 3.
 2. "Bradford Observer", March 11th 1901, p. 6.

In fact the Bradford School Board never did accept the Higher Elementary School Minute. On December 20th 1902 however, the new Education Bill received the Royal Assent, but the life of the Bradford School Board was prolonged until December 31st 1903 because of a dispute over the scheme for the composition of the new Local Education Authority.¹ In 1905 the new Education Authority decided to convert the existing Higher Grade Schools and the new Grange Boys' and Girls' School which was still in process of building into eight Secondary Schools under the terms of the 1904 Regulations.²

Three conclusions seem reasonable from an examination of the education crisis in Bradford in 1901. First, there existed, rightly or wrongly, a deep-seated conviction in the West Riding that the proposal to abolish the Higher Grade Schools represented something amounting to a conspiracy on the part of the Tory government to restrict access to secondary education on the part of working-class children. Second, the opposition to the government's policy did not deny the existence of great administrative confusion and the need for a single authority to control the educational system. The real issue was who that authority was to be, School Boards elected purely for educational purposes or Local Authorities for whom education was but one

1. Fenn, op. cit., p. 26.

2. City of Bradford Education Committee Report, 1905-1906, p. 59.

amongst a multitude of activities all competing for a share of rating income. Third, whatever may have been the position in Wales, in the West Riding, and Bradford in particular, the religious issue (rate-aided denominational schools) was a strictly subsidiary one. On this latter point, Rogers has suggested that the religious issue was in fact deliberately injected into the situation by the Board of Education as the only way of obtaining sufficient support to enable it to get the Bill through in the face of opposition from the School Boards.¹ Although he probably over-estimates the importance of Morant, who, as he himself admits, was at this time only a relatively junior official.

Developments after 1902.

Bradford thus entered the post-1902 era exceptionally well provided with Secondary School places. In addition to the municipally provided Secondary Schools there was also St. Bede's Roman Catholic Grammar School for boys', founded in 1900,² as well as a very small and poverty-stricken endowed Grammar School for boys and girls at Thornton, on the outskirts of Bradford which had been founded about 1672. Thornton was eventually taken over by the City in 1921.³ St. Bede's, Thornton, and the

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1. Rogers, A., "Churches and Children; a study in the controversy over the 1902 Education Act", in "Brit. Journal of Educational Studies", Vol. VIII, No. 1, Nov. 1959, p. 38.
 2. Cf. "St. Bede's Grammar School Bradford, Golden Jubilee, 1900-1950, Souvenir Handbook", Bradford, 1950.
 3. "Handbook of the education week held in the City of Bradford, March 21st - 27th 1926, "Bradford Education Committee, p. 29.

two Bradford Grammar Schools had, in 1904, a total roll of 1,005, compared to a total roll in the same year of 1,431 for the Municipal Secondary Schools.¹ In 1910 His Majesty's Inspectors calculated that this represented a grand total of 12.1 Secondary School places for every 100 children in Bradford, compared to a national average of 8 per 100 and at Leeds 6.5 per 100.² So that by the standards of the time Bradford's provision was outstandingly good, as the Inspectors pointed out.

Secondary education in Bradford was, however, still dogged by the problem of early leaving. The Board took an extraordinarily unsympathetic attitude to Bradford's difficulties in this respect. In a letter received by the Authority from the Board in 1909 and which accompanied the H.M.I.'s General Report, the Board wrote: "All the Bradford Municipal Secondary Schools are failing to comply with the ordinary conditions for Government grant. Obviously from all points of view, this flooding of the Secondary Schools with children who leave at 14, this acquiescence by the local authority in the almost complete lack of effort on the part of parents to meet the great effort and expenditure so freely given alike by the state and by the community is working very badly."³

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1. "Report on the co-ordination of all the means of education in the City of Bradford", Bradford Education Committee, 1904, p. 29.
 2. "Report of Conference between His Majesty's Inspectors and the Secondary Education Sub-Committee, Sept. 14th 1910", City of Bradford Education Committee, pp. 7-8.
 3. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for year ending 31st March 1909, p. 11.

In 1915 the total number of pupils in these schools was 2,486, but of these only 34 boys and girls were over 15 years of age, a figure which the Education Committee admitted to be "somewhat small",¹ Even in 1929 Lindsay found that more free places in Secondary Schools in Bradford were refused than accepted.²

Secondary education in 1902 was not free, although the situation was made easier in 1907 when the Board of Education introduced the "free-place" system whereby Secondary Schools could obtain increased grants-in-aid if they offered not less than one quarter of their places free to the pupils of Public Elementary Schools who passed an "attainment test". In the case of Bradford, however, all places in the Municipal Secondary Schools were made free as early as 1919.³ In any case the fees had always been modest (no more than 15/- a term) and the proportion of free places had already been raised to 50% prior to 1919.⁴ This free provision was supplemented by City Council Scholarships which provided 196 free places at Bradford Boys' Grammar School, 44 at Bradford Girls' Grammar School, 164 at St. Bede's, and 100 at St. Joseph's,

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1. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for year ending 31st July 1915, p. 34.
 2. Lindsay, K., "Social Progress and Educational Waste", Routledge, 1926, p. 11.
 3. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for year ending 31st July 1919, p. 13.
 4. Law, Margaret C.D., "Educational Progress in Bradford since 1910", in the "Wesleyan Methodist Conference Handbook, Bradford, 1927, p. 43.

a Roman Catholic Girls' School founded in 1908.¹ In 1919 too the negotiations were well under way which resulted in Thornton becoming a Municipal Secondary School and in consequence all its places becoming free.

This free provision in the Municipal Secondary Schools was however brought to an end by the economic crisis of 1933. In that year the Board of Education insisted on the reinstatement of fees in all Municipal Secondary Schools and these were not finally abolished until the 1944 Act.²

Technical Schools, on the other hand, never became an important feature of the Bradford post-Primary system. Bradford Technical College (now the University of Bradford), which until 1902 had been a private institution,³ had maintained a Day School, but this closed in 1900.⁴ In 1895 it had 235 boys on its roll (118 of them from the Higher Grade Schools) who attended for a 3 year course.⁵ Laurie was, however, extremely critical of it

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1. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for year ending 31st July 1919, p. 48.
 2. "A Guide to the Educational System of England and Wales", Min. of Ed. pamphlet no. 2, H.M.S.O., 1945, p. 19.
 3. "The Centenary Book of Bradford, 1847-1947", Yorkshire Observer: Bradford, 1947, Cf. section on "Education", (No page nos.).
 4. "Handbook of the Education week held in the City of Bradford, 1926", op. cit., p. 72.
 5. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 182.

and wrote, "There is no playground and no school life. It is merely a collection of classes, each boy passing from class to class and master to master",¹ and elsewhere as, "having room for considerable improvement."² The only other Technical School set up in Bradford was the Junior Department of what is now the Regional College of Art, which ran what were called pre-apprenticeship classes and Girls' Handicraft classes.³ Entrants to the Junior Art Department were between twelve and a half and thirteen and a half years of age and stayed until the end of the term in which their fifteenth birthday occurred. The classes covered printing, painting and decorating, sign-writing, dress-making and embroidery.

The Authority did, however, experiment with selective central schools. In 1920 two were established, the Gregory School for Girls and Forster School for Boys, and in 1925 a third, the Priestman School for Boys and Girls.⁴ Priestman gave its pupils a common course for the first two years of their school life and then divided them between three vocational courses.⁵ One course, for boys only, was technically orientated, another for girls only

1. Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 183.

2. Ibid., p. 200.

3. "Handbook of the Education Week held in the City of Bradford, 1926", op. cit., p. 70.

4. Ibid., p. 45.

5. "City of Bradford Education Committee, General Survey, 1920-1927", Bradford, 1929, pp. 62-63.

was based on practical subjects like domestic science, dress-making and millinery, and the remaining course was a commercial one for boys and girls. Forster School prepared boys in their final year at school, for specific occupations in Commerce, Electrical Engineering, Plumbing, Woollen Manufacture, Dyeing and Chemistry. The Gregory School, on the other hand, did not provide separate courses but a choice of vocational subjects such as Art and Craft, Needlework, Housecraft, Shorthand, typing and book-keeping, which formed the point of departure from an academic syllabus. Older Bradfordians speak of the old central schools with affection and respect.

The aspect of post-primary organisation in Bradford which commanded most attention from the local authority in the inter-war period was, however, the reorganisation of the upper forms (from 11+ up) of its Elementary Schools as Senior Schools. Bradford anticipated the recommendations of the Hadow Report by setting up a Re-organisation sub-committee of the full Education Committee in April 1925 to re-organise its Elementary Schools on these lines.¹ The appearance of the Hadow Report in 1926 confirmed the correctness of the Committee's policy and the City Council committed itself to a thorough-going reorganisation on Hadow lines. By 1927 ten schools had been reorganised.²

1. "City of Bradford Education Committee, General Survey, 1920-1927", Bradford, 1929, pp. 10, 13.

2. Ibid.

The reorganisation was done well and thoroughly as an examination of one sub-committee's report on "The Curriculum of the Modern School" produced in 1929 shows quite clearly.¹ Re-organisation in Bradford was particularly difficult because so many of the Elementary Schools were very small. Whereas in all other English County Boroughs the average number on the rolls of Elementary Schools was 242, in Bradford it was only 178.² This meant that there were often too few pupils in the upper forms to make re-organisation possible without a redistribution of pupils between schools, so as to concentrate numbers.

One of the striking features of the period from 1902 to 1944, however, was the comparative neglect of secondary education, which is in sharp contrast to the energy with which the School Board tackled the provision of Higher Grade Schools. Between 1902 and 1944 only two new Secondary Schools were built in Bradford and both were new buildings to rehouse existing schools. The first of these was Bolling High School for Girls. The City Council passed a resolution in favour of building this school on the 8th October 1912³ and acquired a site in 1913⁴ but the

1. Cf. "The Curriculum of the 'Modern' School", Bradford Education Committee, 1929.

2. Law, op. cit., p. 45.

3. "City of Bradford General Survey", op. cit., p. 124.

4. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for year ending, 31st July 1913, p. 17.

school was not built and occupied until 1931.¹ It was then used to relieve overcrowding at Carlton School by moving to it Carlton Girls' Secondary School which then changed its name to Bolling Girls' High School. The second school to be rehoused was Thornton whose buildings had long been archaic and completely inadequate. Work on the new school buildings was interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1939 and was not completed until 1944 when they were opened by Clement Atlee.²

It is unquestionable that the Bradford Secondary School buildings needed replacement. As we have already seen they all dated from the period of the School Board (Bell Vue in 1879) and by the inter-war period had become completely outmoded. A certain amount of patching and renovation took place and a number of 1914-18 Army huts were bought by the Authority in order to relieve overcrowding, but these were only palliative and could not disguise the fact that the accommodation in the Secondary Schools had become badly in need of replacement. Bell Vue, Hanson and Grange still stand today (1966) and between them house five of what were the inter-war Secondary Schools. They are massive blackened stone edifices like rabbit warrens inside, with desolate

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1. "The Bugle", magazine of Bolling High School for Girls, Bradford. No. I, Dec. 1932, p. 6.
 2. Cf., "Thornton Grammar School Official Opening, by the Rt. Hon. C.R. Atlee M.P., Saturday 22nd July 1944," Bradford Corporation Education Dept.

ringing corridors and stairways leading from one to another of the several schools which occupy the same building. There are no playing-fields and no possibilities of extension. Carlton School was still in use until 1949 when it was burnt down in a disastrous fire.¹ It was rehoused in the old buildings in the centre of the city vacated by Bradford Grammar School when it moved to its new and spacious post-war buildings in Manningham Lane. These, like Thornton, had been begun before the war but although unfinished had been occupied for the duration of the war by the army. Although they are somewhat less forbidding in external appearance than the municipal school buildings the old Grammar School buildings are as equally antiquated and inadequate for the needs of Carlton School as they were for those of the Grammar School.

In 1926 the Chairman of the Education Committee admitted that all was not well: "Bradford being very early in the field of development of the secondary system, it was necessary to take the buildings at the time available. That was probably sound policy at the time, but the result now is that some of our secondary schools are housed in unsatisfactory buildings, usually in unsuitable situations, and generally without adequate school

1. "Telegraph and Argus", 30th Nove. 1949, p. 6.

amenities."¹ It is not difficult to find reasons for this comparative neglect. Without any doubt the inter-war depression of 1922 and 1929 contributed enormously to the situation. Money in Bradford was short and government economic policy was based upon the belief that retrenchment, and deflation was the answer to depression rather than increased expenditure and programmes of public works. There was also a certain complacency engendered by Bradford's earlier leadership in the provision of secondary schools which probably resulted in the insidious belief in certain quarters that Bradford could afford to rest on its laurels. Finally, it would seem that much energy and money had been diverted into other channels.

The reorganisation of the Elementary Schools and the provision of selective central schools has already been mentioned, but another important diversion channel was provided by the pressing needs in the fields of social welfare and nursery school provision. The Depression years were years of tremendous social distress in Bradford and the Authority undoubtedly exerted an enormous amount of effort in Bradford in an attempt to relieve distress in all kinds of ways.

The Nursery School was a form of neo-social welfare work

1. "Handbook of the Education Week held in the City of Bradford, 1926", op. cit., p. 16.

and the City was still under the spell of Margaret McMillan. Consequently Bradford was the first City in the provinces to open an Nursery School. This was the Broomfields Nursery School for Roman Catholics which was officially opened by Margaret McMillan in 1920.¹ A deputation from the Local Authority had visited the original Deptford School and Broomfields was intended to be the first instalment in a plan for complete Nursery Schools provision in Bradford. In the event government economic policy prevented this and only two other Nursery Schools were opened in the inter-war period, Princeville in 1920 and Lilycroft in 1921.²

Efforts also went into the provision of various types of "special school". In 1908 one of the first open-air schools in England was opened at Thackley by the Bradford Authority to which delicate and debilitated children could be sent.³ In 1914 an open-air school for physically defective children was opened at Lister Lane⁴ and in 1929 the Margaret McMillan School for mentally defective children was opened.⁵ The Bradford School Board had formed the first special classes in the country for mentally defective children in 1894.⁶

1. Lord, M., op. cit., p. 25 et seq.

2. Ibid., p. 26.

3. Ibid., p. 14.

4. Ibid.,

5. Ibid.

6. "City of Bradford School Health Services Jubilee 1908-1958", Bradford, 1959, p. 11.

The School Meals Service.

All this and much else, including the creation of a comprehensive school medical service out of the permissive clauses in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, occupied the attention of the Authority. Perhaps above all, Bradford was directly responsible for the School Meals Act of 1906. Much private charity in Bradford had been devoted towards the feeding of school-children. The famous "Cinderella Club" formed by Robert Blatchford, the socialist tract-writer, to relieve the distress amongst children consequent upon the great Lister Mills lock-out of 1891 was largely responsible for this activity.¹ A report issued by the club claimed that something like 2,000 children in the city were underfed.²

In 1904 a conference was held at the Mechanics Institute at which the subject of child hunger was discussed. The revelations of the extent of the need in Bradford, children fainting at their school desks from hunger, shocked many of those present. Councillor J.H. Palin, for example, was there and later wrote, "We came out of the meeting ashamed to look each other in the face."³

1. Lord, M., op. cit., p. 7.

2. Palin, J.H., "Bradford and It's Children: How they are Fed", I.L.P., London, N.D., p. 5.

3. Ibid.

As a result of this meeting a proposal to introduce a schools meals service was brought before Bradford City Council by Councillor F.W. Jowett, who had been a member of the original I.L.P. delegation which invited Margaret McMillan to Bradford in 1893.¹ Such a proposition was, without doubt, illegal, and the debate on the proposition went on from 3pm in the afternoon until 2.35am on the following morning.² The motion was lost by 47 votes to 29 and a compromise was effected by handing the task of feeding the necessitous children over to the Board of Guardians who were on safer legal ground.

Unfortunately the Board of Guardians acted in a Dickensian manner characteristic of the Poor Law administration of the nineteenth century and dispensed utterly inappropriate rations of buns, bananas and watered milk.³ The battle was then transferred to the floor of the House of Commons by F.W. Jowett who entered Parliament in 1906 as one of the first tiny group of 29 Labour M.P.'s returned in the General Election of that year. Mr. Tyson Wilson a Lancashire Labour M.P. won a place in a ballot for Private Members Bills and introduced a School Meals Bill, for which Jowett spoke in support in his maiden speech.⁴

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1. Cresswell, D., "Margaret McMillan, "Hutchinson, 1948, p. 77.
 2. Palin, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
 3. Ibid., p. 7.
 4. Brockway, F., "Socialism over Sixty Years, the life of Jowett of Bradford", Allen and Unwin, 1946, p. 58.

Although the government was sympathetic time was insufficient to permit the passage of the Bill and so the government introduced and passed its own School Meals Act.¹ The Act allowed only the product of a halfpenny rate to be spent by the Local Authorities and expressly forbade feeding during school holidays.²

The Act was permissive only and the Town Clerk of Bradford described it as "the most loosely drafted measure that had come under his cognisance".³ It appeared that public money could be spent either on food or plant and equipment but not on both. Consequently the Council still hesitated on whether or not to act. However, a report in 1907 by the School Medical Officer, Dr. Ralph Crowley, of 6,000 underfed children in the city spurred the Council into action.⁴ The scheme was inaugurated by the Lady Mayoress on the 28th October 1907 when the Green Lane central kitchen and six dining rooms were opened.⁵ In the first week of operation 668 children were being fed and this rose to 1,738 by March 30th 1908.⁶ Much of the labour of the cooks, lorry-drivers and teachers who supervised the meals was given

1. Brockway, F., "Socialism over Sixty Years, the life of Jowett of Bradford", Allen and Unwin, 1946, p. 58.

2. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

3. Palin, op. cit., p. 7.

4. Ibid., p. 9.

5. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for the year ending 31st March 1908, p. 49.

6. Ibid., p. 50

free, and it was undoubtedly a triumphant success. Nevertheless this did not prevent the Board of Education promptly surcharging every member of the Education Committee for illegally feeding the School-children during the school holidays;¹ a surcharge which was paid from the profits on the municipal gas undertaking.²

In 1911 therefore Jowett introduced a Bill to legalise school feeding during the holidays, although it was not until October 1914 that he saw the Bill become law.³

It will readily be appreciated therefore that although secondary education may have been relatively neglected during the period under discussion it was not because the Local Authority's energies were not engaged in other directions. The most important consequence of this period of relative neglect was the influence which it had upon the planning in Bradford of the post-primary system in 1944 and which will be described in a subsequent chapter.

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1. City of Bradford Education Committee, Report for year ending 31st March 1910, p. 62.
 2. "City of Bradford School Health Services Jubilæe", op. cit., p.10.
 3. Brockway, op. cit., p. 59.

CHAPTER III

The Growth and Influence of Public Policy.

The period from 1926 to 1944 sees not only the consolidation of the tripartite organisation of post-primary education but also the evolution of a theoretical justification for the full-blown tripartite system of secondary education as it emerged after 1944. Three official reports, Hadow, Spens and Norwood contributed enormously to the construction of this body of received doctrine which was adopted by the Ministry of Education after 1944.

The period opens in 1926 with the publication of the first and famous Hadow Report. This was the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education which had been set up under the terms of the 1902 Act, and was named after the Committee's Chairman Sir W. H. Hadow. The Committee's terms of reference contained two main objectives. First, to "report upon the organisation, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than Secondary Schools, up to the age of 15", and second, "Incidentally thereto, to advise as to the arrangements of the pupils at the end of their course; (b) for facilitating in suitable cases the transfer of individual pupils to Secondary

Schools at an age above the normal age of admission."¹ These terms of reference had been given the Committee by the post-war Labour government, although when the Report was issued, under the title "The Education of the Adolescent", the Labour government had lost office.

The Report was of vital importance for several reasons. First, because it gave official sanction to the view that all post-primary education should be regarded as "Secondary", that the term should simply imply a stage in the educative process and not a difference in degree. The education given in the several types of Secondary School might, indeed would be, different in kind but not in quality. In other words it introduced the idea, though it did not use the term, of "parity of esteem." The Committee therefore recommended the dropping altogether of the term "elementary" and the renaming of the existing Secondary Schools as "Grammar" Schools.²

Second, it introduced the idea that 11+ should represent the dividing line between the Primary and Secondary stages of education. The Committee's theoretical justification of this choice of age-group was in its own words that "There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven

1. "The Education of the Adolescent" (Hadow Report), Report of the Consultative Committee, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. iv.

2. Ibid., pp. 174-175.

or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood, and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current, we think that it will move on to fortune."¹ It is, however, extremely doubtful if any modern psychologist would be prepared to assent to this simplified view of the connection between chronological age and the onset of the process of intellectual and emotional maturation known as adolescence. Adolescence is intimately related to puberty or physical maturation and it is quite clear that in both boys and girls its onset and termination varies enormously with individuals.² There are also great differences between the sexes, girls entering the adolescent stage about 2 years earlier than boys.³ There is also clear evidence of a secular change in the onset of adolescence which may possibly represent a return to a pre-industrial revolution situation in which adolescence was reached at a much earlier age than today.⁴ Thus between 1840 and 1960 Tanner estimates that the menarche was advancing by 4 months each decade.⁵ In the light of factors such as these the dogmatism of the Hadow Committee seems inappropriate. Eleven

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1. "The Education of the Adolescent" (Hadow Report), Report of the Consultative Committee, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. xiv.
 2. Tanner, J.M., "Education and Physical Growth", U.L.P., 1963, pp. 35-36.
 3. Ibid., p. 43.
 4. Ibid., pp. 113-119.
 5. Ibid., p. 118.

was not even, in 1926, the traditional age of transfer to the Grammar or Public School where it was twelve or thirteen.

It has therefore been suggested that the real reason why the Hadow Committee chose eleven was that since the school-leaving age was only 14 transfer at 12 would have meant a ridiculously short course in the Secondary School. Transfer to the Grammar Schools at 12 or 13 was possible because the course extended well beyond the age of 14 to 17 or 18. Even if the school-leaving age were raised to 15 as the Committee recommended the Grammar School course would still be two or three years longer than in the other post-primary schools. Clearly, if the new Secondary Schools envisaged by the Report were to march in step with one another the age of transfer would have to be lowered.

Third, the Committee recommended that selection for the different types of Secondary education should be made on the basis of an examination. In the words of the Report, "While we think that all children should enter some type of post-primary school at the age of 11+, it will be necessary to discover in each case the type most suitable to a child's abilities and interests. For this purpose a written examination should be held, and also, wherever possible, an oral examination. A written psychological test might also be specially employed in dealing with border-line cases, or where a discrepancy has been

observed between the results of the written examination and the teacher's estimate of proficiency."¹

Fourth, the Committee introduced the term "Modern School", recommending that this term should be applied to the existing Central or Intermediate Schools whether or not their entry was selective or non-selective, as it was in some cases.² The Secondary Modern Schools of today, however, are not the direct descendants of the inter-war Central Schools but of a reorganisation of the Elementary Schools. The Committee recommended that the upper forms of the Elementary Schools, that is those providing an education beyond the age of 11+ should be reorganised as separate Senior Schools or Departments.³ In this way, the old "all-age" Elementary School would disappear.

This recommendation was to have the most important practical effect of all the Committee's recommendations and much of inter-war educational history is concerned with "Hadow re-organisation" and the division of Elementary Schools into Primary and Senior Schools. By 1938, however, Hadow reorganisation was still by no means complete and 24.9% of urban Elementary Schools and 65.7% of rural Elementary Schools had still to be reorganised.

1. Hadow, p. 178.

2. Ibid., p. 175.

3. Ibid.

in this way.¹ In 1953 there were still 4,588 all-age schools or departments in existence,² with 770,082 pupils. Most Senior Elementary Schools or Departments did in practice continue in the same building, side by side, or more accurately in many cases, "above" the Primary School. Children who did not pass the 11+ to a Grammar or Selective Central School simply went upstairs to the Senior Department on the first or second floor, leaving the ground floor to the infants and juniors. Most of the Secondary Modern Schools created in 1944, unless they occupied premises purpose-built in the inter-war period, were of this type.

The Hadow Report therefore envisaged Secondary education as part of a continuous process, but taking three or four different forms in the shape of Grammar Schools, selective and non-selective Modern Schools (Central Schools), Senior Schools and Junior Technical Schools.³ Though no legislative action was taken on the Hadow Report it is unquestionable that it laid the foundations of the body of accepted educational doctrine which was used to provide a theoretical basis for the post 1944 tripartite system and that it made a direct contribution in the shape of the Senior Elementary School.

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1. "Education in 1938," Board of Education Annual Report, H.M.S.O., 1938, table 15, p. 109.
 2. "Education in 1953," Ministry of Education Annual Report, H.M.S.O., 1954, Table I, p. 71.
 3. Hadow, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

The Spens Report.

The second of the Reports was also prepared by the Consultative Committee, this time under the chairmanship of Sir Will Spens, after whom it is known, and was issued in 1938. The Committee's terms of reference were, "To consider and report upon the organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code; which provide education for pupils beyond the age of 11+; regard being had in particular to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about 16."¹

The outstanding contribution that this report made to the developing doctrine of tripartism lay in its recommendations with regard to the third element of the tripartite system, the Junior Technical School. It will be recalled that Junior Technical Schools had originated in the Technical Colleges as bridges between the time that children left school and the time that they took up apprenticeships. Consequently they recruited at 13+ and were normally a part, both physically and administratively of the local Technical College.

These schools, where they existed (in 1955 29 Authorities had either decided not to provide new Technical Schools or to

1. "Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education" (Spens Report), H.M.S.O., 1938, p. iv.

discontinue their existing ones),¹ were undoubtedly popular and mostly did good work. They suffered, however, from one grave disadvantage and this was the fact that because they recruited at 13+ they were inevitably deprived of top ability children who entered Secondary Schools at 11+ on the result of the scholarship examination. Indeed the impressive thing about the Junior Technical Schools was the success that they had with children of sometimes only moderate ability.

Spens therefore recommended the creation of a new kind of Technical School, to be known as a Technical High School, which should recruit at 11+ on the same basis as the Grammar School with which it should be on terms of "complete equality of status!"² The curriculum of such schools should be designed in its later stages "to provide a liberal education with Science and its applications as the core and inspiration."³

These proposals could not be implemented because of the outbreak of war in 1939. Nevertheless one of the features of the post 1944 Secondary System is the fact that though given official support and encouragement by the Spens and subsequent Norwood Reports and by the officially expressed policy of the Ministry of Education the Secondary system as it has developed

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1. Edwards, R., "The Secondary Technical School", U.L.P., 1960 pp. 31-32.
 2. Spens, op. cit., p. 282.
 3. Ibid. p. 275.

since 1944 has in reality been bipartite rather than tripartite, since the number of Technical Schools has not markedly increased, is indeed actually decreasing. When the Spens Report was published there were 224 Junior Technical and Commercial Schools (excluding Art Schools) in existence, with 28,169 pupils in attendance.¹ In 1946-7 these figures had risen to 317 schools with 66,454 pupils. In 1948-9, however, the tide turned and the number of schools fell from a peak of 319 in 1947-8 to 310, and thereon progressively declined, until by 1957-8 it had dropped to 279. It should, however, be added that owing to an increase in the size of these schools the total number of pupils over the same period had actually risen to 95,239 by 1957-8.² Nevertheless, this figure is seen in its proper perspective when it is compared to the Grammar School population which expanded from 504,599 in 1946-7 to 608,034 in 1957-8.³ By any reckoning therefore the Secondary Technical School has not played the role in the tripartite system originally envisaged for it.

The reason for this failure of the Secondary Technical School to emerge as one leg of a tripartite system is not hard to find. It lies in the blurring of the distinction between the curriculums of the Grammar and Technical Schools. Since 1944 and as a result

1. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 19 and 186 (Table 2).

2. Ibid., p. 186 (Table 1).

3. Ibid., p. 186 (Table 2).

of the much greater freedom exercised by post-war Headmasters over the choice of curricula, compared to their pre-war counterparts, many Grammar Schools have lost their classical and literary bias. Science has become more important and subjects like technical drawing, engineering, commerce and economics have been introduced. In many cases the only major difference between the two kinds of school has been the omission of classics from the Technical School curriculum, although many Technical Schools often provide a classical language for those few pupils who need one in order to satisfy certain University entrance requirements. In some areas "bilateral" schools have been created combining "Grammar" and "Technical" sides in the same school building. In these circumstances separate Secondary Technical School provision has become superfluous. It may well be therefore that separate Secondary Technical Schools have outlived their usefulness in showing that there is no necessary antithesis between a truly "liberal" education and one which is useful.

The Spens Report was also the first of the three major reports to give consideration to alternative forms of post-primary organisation in the shape of the multilateral or combined three-sided School (technical modern and grammar). The Report was only lukewarm in its advocacy of multilateral schools and adduced six basic arguments against them, arguments which in one form or

another are still current.

First, it was against multilateral schools on grounds of size.¹ In order to obtain a fair balance between the three types of course such schools would need to have a minimum size of 800 pupils which the Committee felt was undesirable since such big schools would be rather impersonal institutions. Second, there would be considerable difficulty in creating a big enough Sixth Form in schools where the majority of children would not be of Grammar-School calibre.² Third, there would be difficulty in finding Heads of the right quality; they would find it very difficult not to develop one side at the expense of the others.³ Fourth, they felt that the connections between Technical Schools and Technical Colleges were so valuable that Technical courses ought not to be included, although they had no objections to the inclusion of a Technical side "in districts where the Grammar School is too small either to give an adequate school life or to combine reasonable economy with the provision of an adequate staff."⁴ Fifth, they felt that "the prestige of the academic side would prejudice the free development of the Modern School form of Secondary education."⁵

1. Spens, op. cit., p. xx.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. xxi.

4. Ibid., p. xxii

5. Ibid., p. 291

The sixth objection is perhaps most interesting of all because it reveals explicitly the influence which simple historical inertia had upon the development of tripartism after 1944 and the extent to which administrative convenience was uppermost in the minds of framers of policy. The Report declared that, "the general adoption of the multilateral idea would be too subversive a change to be made in a long established system, especially in view of the extent to which this system has been expanded in recent years by the building of new Grammar Schools and Technical Schools."¹

The third Report to contribute toward the creation of a tripartite doctrine of Secondary education was the Report of the Committee of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941, under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood. Its terms of reference were "to consider suggested changes in the Secondary School curriculum and the question of School Examinations in relation thereto."² This report appeared at a crucial period, only 10 days after the publication of the historic White Paper on Educational Reconstruction in 1943.³ In this the war-time coalition government declared its commitment to a policy of free Secondary education

1. Spens, op. cit., p. 291.

2. "Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools", Report of the Committee of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council (Norwood Report), H.M.S.O., 1943, p. V.

3. "White Paper on Educational Reconstruction", Cmd. 6458, H.M.S.O., July, 1943.

for all, organised as part of a continuous process of Primary, Secondary and Further education. The direction in which government thinking on the organisation of the Secondary stage was moving was clearly indicated by the White Paper. After describing the characteristics of the existing Grammar, Technical and Senior Schools the White Paper finally concluded, "such, then will be the three main types grammar, modern and technical schools!"¹ But it added, "It would be wrong to suppose that they will necessarily remain separate and apart. Different types may be combined in one building or on one site In any case, free interchange of pupils from one type of education to another must be facilitated."²

The appearance of the Norwood Report, in H.C. Dent's words, "transformed tripartism from a proposal into a doctrine."³ For not only did the Norwood Report specifically recommend the institution of three types of Secondary School, Grammar, Technical and Modern, recruiting at 11+,⁴ but it also provided a psychological justification for the division by categorising three types of mind to correspond to the three types of school. Thus the

1. "White Paper on Educational Reconstruction", cmd. 6458, H.M.S.O., July, 1943., para. 31, p. 10.

2. Ibid.

3. Quoted by Curtis, S.J., in "Education in Britain since 1900", Andrew Dakers, 1952, p. 143.

4. Norwood, op. cit., p. 139.

Grammar School pupil was basically thought of as someone interested in ideas for their own sake, the Technical School pupil as someone interested in the applications of ideas and the Modern School pupil as one more interested in the concrete than the abstract.¹

The analysis of these three types gave an impression of great fluency and plausibility. It carried all the weight and authority of a government report and its list of expert bodies and individual witnesses who submitted evidence was long and impressive; although one can search the list in vain for a psychologist. Nevertheless, such a qualitative distinction between different types of "mind" was not and is not supported by any psychological evidence. In particular, the description of the Grammar School pupil represents fundamentally what its writer would have liked to have observed in the behaviour of an idealised Grammar School pupil. It represents what the Grammar Schools aspire to create rather than a valid description of the raw material.

The differentiation of these three kinds of mind was, the Committee recommended, to be based upon the judgement of the teachers in Primary Schools supplemented by "intelligence",

1. For the complete descriptions see Appendix I.

"performance" and "other tests."¹ Due considerations should be given to the choice of the parent and the pupil.² It is easy to see therefore how the Norwood Report added the finishing touches to the full-blown doctrine of tripartism.

The Norwood Report took broadly the same line as the Spens Report over Multilateralism. It was willing to see experiments along these lines provided the schools were bilateral only, since it agreed with Spens that Technical Schools benefitted from their links with local industry which would be lost if they were combined with other schools under the same roof.³ It also made what was to become an almost ritual obeisance to the argument that bilateral or multilateral schools would be too big so that the Head "cannot have sufficient knowledge of each boy."⁴

Government Policy after 1944.

The Act, when it came, however, did not lay down the manner in which Secondary education should be organised. Section 7 simply states that "The statutory system of public education shall be organized in three progressive stages to be known as primary education, secondary education, and further education."

1. Norwood, op. cit., p. 291.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

4. Ibid., p. 19.

Section 8 then goes on to define primary and secondary education and declares it to be the duty of local authorities to ensure that there are "sufficient" schools to provide primary and secondary education. The only guidance on the nature of the education to be given within the primary and secondary stages is contained in a passage elucidating the term "sufficient". It runs as follows: "and the schools available for an area shall not be deemed to be sufficient unless they are sufficient in number, character, and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school, including practical instruction and training appropriate for their respective needs." Section 11 of the Act laid down that within a year from the 1st April 1945 every local authority had to prepare and submit to the Minister for his approval, a "development plan," showing what the authority proposed to do to secure that there should be "sufficient" primary and secondary schools in their area; and how they proposed to do it.

In the event, however, this period of time proved far too short a one in which to prepare necessarily complex and detailed plans. Especially since the issue of Circular 10 (19/9/45), which laid down standards for school-buildings, made it quite clear

that an enormous number of schools were quite inadequate by the standards of the Circular, so that the L.E.A.'s were faced with a huge modernisation programme. In March 1946, therefore, the Minister issued Circular 90 granting the Local Authorities leave to apply for an extension of the time limit of up to 3 months or longer if they could show special cause. In fact, however, the last development plans were not submitted for approval until the early 1950's. In 1953, there were still eleven Development Plans outstanding.¹

The Ministry of Education's policy as to the manner in which Secondary education should be organised was given expression very early on, in Circular 73 (12/12/45) entitled, "Organisation of Secondary Schools." This tacitly assumed that in preparing their Development Plans for Secondary education most Authorities would proceed along tripartite lines and the circular laid down the percentage of the Secondary population which should be allocated to each type of school; between 70% and 75% should go to "Modern Schools and the remaining 25% to 30% to Grammar and Technical Schools, "in suitable proportions according to the local circumstance of the area."² These percentages were of course entirely arbitrary and simply approximated to the existing situation

1. "Education in 1953", op. cit., p. 7, para. 13.

2. Circular 73 (12/12/45), para. 2.

over the country as a whole.

The circular did, however, make it clear that the Ministry did not regard this separate classification of schools as "irrevocable". Nevertheless Secondary education was still thought of in terms of different types in different schools; "as time goes on the conception of 'secondary schools' of varying curricula and age-ranges may well, through the development of the modern school, gradually replace the classification of schools into grammar, technical and modern."¹

The Ministry emphasised, however, that it was not against "the combining of two or more types of secondary education in one school", indeed it recognised that in some rural areas "this might be the only satisfactory solution."² But such bilateral or multilateral schools had to fulfil four conditions:³

1. The school had to be capable of being staffed and equipped and organised so as to provide suitable alternative courses for all the pupils attending.
2. The site and premises had to be adequate for its various purposes in accordance with the Building Regulations.

1. Circular 73 (12/12/45), para 2.

2. Ibid., para. 6.

3. Ibid., para. 8.

3. The organisation had to be such as not to prejudice the position of other maintained secondary schools in the area.
4. Large schools had to be so designed as to be capable of effective separation and adaption into smaller units if occasion arose.

The reason for this last rather curious condition was that the Ministry felt that since such schools would be of the order of 1,200 in size they would be somewhat experimental in nature and that therefore the experiment should be capable of reversal.

In addition to Circular 73 the Ministry also issued in 1945, for a much wider public and on a more popular level than an official Circular, its first pamphlet, entitled, "The Nation's Schools - Their Plan and Purpose", in which the same tripartite scheme was expounded.¹ The anonymous author of this publication, however, went far beyond the Circular by advocating a reduction in the number of Grammar School places which should be made available. The pamphlet declared, "there are good grounds for thinking that, taking the country as a whole, there is no case for increasing the present intake to secondary courses of the grammar school type. Indeed it is reasonable to suggest that

1. "The Nation's Schools, their Plan and Purpose", Min. of Ed. Pamphlet No. I, H.M.S.O., 1945.

it might with advantage to many children be somewhat reduced, without prejudicing recruiting to the careers for which it gives the most suitable preparation. On the other hand, there is without any doubt scope for a very substantial increase in the provision made for secondary courses described as technical. Even so, such provision will be far from covering the whole field or meeting the diversity of needs that have to be met. For a large majority of children the most suitable secondary education will be provided in the secondary modern school."¹

The pamphlet argued in favour of a reduction in Grammar School places on the grounds that the expansion in Grammar School places since 1902 had resulted in large numbers of children entering upon an education for which they were unsuited. The evidence adduced for this point of view was based upon the success rate in the School Certificate examination, "according to the last published statistics (1938), 40 per cent of the leavers from these schools had not taken the school certificate examination, which has been regarded as the normal test which reasonably intelligent children might be expected to pass who had pursued a secondary education up to 16, and a considerable number (some 25 per cent) were actually withdrawn before reaching the age of 16."²

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1. "The Nation's Schools, their Plan and Purpose", Min. of Ed. Pamphlet No. I, H.M.S.O., 1945 para. 47, p. 13.
 2. Ibid., paras. 49 and 50.

This meant, according to the pamphlet, that excessive numbers of secondary children were entering "professional, clerical, and office occupations." Manufacturing industry, on the other hand, was being deprived of talent, "a loss which a country so highly industrialised as this cannot afford to carry."¹

The pamphlet looked only briefly at the multilateral alternative and concluded that "there is room for judicious experiment."² Comprehensive schools were not considered. Four basic arguments were mounted against the multilateral or three-sided school. First, that multilateral schools would not obviate the need for selection," different types of education, whether taken in one and the same school or in separate schools, will continue to be held in varying regard. The problem of selection cannot in fact be avoided; it must be faced; and is not necessarily easier to solve within one school than between three schools."³

Second, that multilateral schools were too big. "It is a tradition in this country to keep our schools more intimate communities, and although we must not be bound by tradition, there is every reason to believe that in this instance it holds values not lightly to be abandoned."⁴

1. "The Nation's Schools, their Plan and Purpose", Min. of Ed. Pamphlet No. 1, H.M.S.O., 1945. para. 52.

2. Ibid., para. 84.

3. Ibid., para. 86.

4. Ibid., para. 87.

Third, it was claimed that "Past experience suggests that schools with a limited and well defined aim are the most likely to succeed in reaching and maintaining the highest standards within the particular field they serve."¹ One wonders at this point, however, how past experience could serve as a guide since there was no experience of multilateral or comprehensive schools to draw upon.

Fourth, there were said to be "certain practical considerations." The acquisition of sites for large schools in big cities presented "formidable difficulties."²

The pamphlet also came down firmly on the side of single-sex schools as against co-educational schools. Its whole tenor being summed up in the phrase, "Innovation is not necessarily reform."³

The pamphlet produced a storm of criticism mainly because of its advocacy of a reduction in Grammar School places and its conception of the secondary system as a means of adjusting the supply of labour to a selective demand. This was felt to be contrary to the whole spirit and purpose of the Act with its emphasis on the needs, abilities and aptitudes of the child. After questions were asked about it in Parliament it was withdrawn.

1. "The Nation's Schools, their Plan and Purpose", Min. of Ed. Pamphlet No. I, H.M.S.O., 1945.

2. Ibid., para. 89.

3. Ibid.

Subsequently, in 1947 the Ministry issued another pamphlet entitled "The New Secondary Education" which replaced the withdrawn pamphlet as a popular exposition of Ministerial policy on secondary education.¹

Once again the "Norwood types" appeared. "Experience has shown" claimed the new pamphlet, "that the majority of children learn most easily by dealing with concrete things and following a course rooted in their own day-to-day experience. At the age of 11 few of them will have disclosed particular interests and aptitudes well enough marked for them to require any other course. Such a school will give them a chance to sample a variety of 'subjects' and skills and to pursue those which attract them most. It is for this majority that the secondary modern school will cater."²

The Pamphlet continued, "Some children, on the other hand, will have decided at quite an early stage to make their careers in branches of industry or agriculture requiring a special kind of aptitude in science or mathematics. Others may need a course, longer, more exacting, and more specialised than that provided in the modern school, with a particular emphasis on commercial

1. "The New Secondary Education", Min. of Ed. Pamphlet No. 9, H.M.S.O., 1947.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

subjects, music or art. All these boys and girls will find their best outlet in the secondary technical school."¹

The Pamphlet concluded "Finally, there will be a proportion whose ability and aptitude require the kind of course with the emphasis on books and ideas that is provided at a secondary grammar school. They are attracted by the abstract approach to learning and should normally be prepared to stay at school long enough to benefit from the "sixth form" work which is the most characteristic feature of the grammar school."²

In 1947 the Ministry issued a second Circular on the subject of Secondary organisation, subtitled, "Further Considerations Suggested by Development Plan Proposals", (Circular 144, 16th June 1947). This revealed a slight relaxation in the policy of the Ministry as compared to Circular 73, and was prompted by the receipt at the Ministry of Development Plans from some Authorities which departed in small or large measure from the tripartite pattern. The Circular declared that most Development Plans had now been submitted but that the Minister "desires to make it perfectly clear that he welcomes a variety of approach to new problems of secondary education for all; he appreciates to the full the social and other benefits expected from the more

1. "The New Secondary Education", Min. of Ed. Pamphlet No. 9. H.M.S.O., 1947. p. 23.

2. Ibid.

comprehensive types of organisation, and he is only concerned to ensure that all such plans are consistent with sound educational principles and practice and that the best existing standards will be maintained and indeed raised."¹

The Circular began with some very useful definitions of the terms which had until then been used in a rather loose sort of way to describe the various types of alternative secondary organisation to the tripartite system. These definitions are worth repeating in full as they represent the sense in which they are employed in this study of Secondary reorganisation:-²

(a) a bilateral school means one which is organised to provide for any two of the three main elements of secondary education, i.e. modern, technical or grammar, organised in clearly defined sides;

(b) a multilateral school means one which is intended to cater for all the secondary education of all the children in a given area and includes a three elements in clearly defined sides;

(c) a comprehensive school means one which is intended to cater for all the secondary education of all the children in a given area without an organisation in three sides;

(d) a school base (or "campus") means a group of schools, usually unilateral, in separate buildings and each with its own

1. Circular 144, 16th June 1944, para. 2, p.1.

2. Ibid., paras. 3 and 4, pp. 1-2.

headmaster or headmistress, catering for all the secondary education of a given area, but having certain common facilities and possibly sharing staff resources.

The phrase "common school" is also sometimes met. This can have a variety of meanings but its most appropriate use would appear to be as a term covering the genus of (b) and (c) above.

The Circular then went on to lay down a series of principles which would guide the Minister before approving any Development Plan which proposed any of the above alternatives to tripartism. First, "except in special circumstances there should not be, in the same catchment area, any unilateral provision for any type of education which is to be catered for in the combined school."¹

Second, secondary school provision in the catchment area should be considered as a whole so as to ensure that a balance is maintained between the 3 types.²

Third, the Minister laid down certain principles as to size. The minimum size for most multilateral schools was laid down as being a 10 to 11 form entry, thus resulting in a school of between 1,500 and 1,700. In exceptional circumstances smaller schools would be accepted, but the absolute minimum size in such circumstances would be a six form entry leading to a school of 900.³

1. Circular 144, 16th June 1944, para. 5 (b), p. 2.

2. Ibid., para. 5 (c), p. 2.

3. Ibid., para. 9, p. 3.

These figures were, however, arrived at via a very rigid application of the tripartite formula. Thus a school of between 1,500 and 1,700 would provide, according to the Ministry, "6 to 7 modern streams, two technical and two grammar streams."¹ Thus the tripartite formula was still being rigidly adhered to emerges even more clearly from the minimum sizes laid down for bilateral schools, which were as follows:-

	(4 Form entry Grammar/Tech. (With separate Mod. provision)										
Minimum	(9	"	"	"	/Mod.	(With	"	Tech.	")	
Bilateral	(9	"	"	Tech.	/	"	(With	"	Gramm.	")

The Circular was moreover distinctly more favourable to school bases than to Comprehensives. On the school base plan it comments, "this method of organisation does secure individual school units of moderate size in which the pupils will be able to develop as active members of a community which they can comprehend and in which the organisation of social training will be controlled more readily and with more of a personal touch than can be expected in the bigger set-up of a large multilateral or comprehensive school."² On the Comprehensive school, however, it was much less enthusiastic. "It seems likely that the comprehensive school, if it is to provide the desirable varieties of education to cater

1. Circular 144, 16th June 1944, para. 9, p. 3.

2. Ibid., para. 14, p. 4.

for all the senior children in a given area; may settle down to an organisation very little different from that of the multilateral school, except that the terms grammar, technical and modern will not be used, and its size must be about the same as a multilateral school!"¹

The Circular also contained a warning that "in large multilateral and comprehensive schools the development of a community spirit will not be easy."² Local Authorities were also advised to consult with local Traffic Authorities whenever such large schools were built.

There is no question, therefore, that in the years immediately following the passage of the 1944 Act the declared policy of the Ministry was unequivocally in favour of tripartism or that it pressed its views with much vigour on the Local Authorities; to such an extent that the number of Development Plans deviating from tripartism would have been significantly higher but for this Ministerial advocacy. This is made quite clear in the West Riding Development Plan, which received ministerial approval on the 6th Sept. 1952. The Plan contains the following significant passage. "Ever since the publication of "The Nations Schools" the Ministry have insisted that at least 10% of the Secondary Places proposed should be earmarked for technical

1. Circular 144, 16th June 1944, para. 11, p. 3.

2. Ibid., para. 12, p. 3.

secondary courses,...The Authority have accordingly, and under protest, included in each instalment at least 10 per cent of such technical secondary places."¹

It is no doubt true, that in 1945, most of the teachers and administrators involved accepted Ministerial policy without very much doubt and hesitation. Nevertheless, as the above quotation shows, there was opposition and that opposition was perhaps rather stronger and more widespread than is often realised today, twenty years afterwards. It is sometimes forgotten, for example, that the idea of Comprehensive reorganisation was current in England much earlier than is generally supposed. In 1925 for example Mr. Graham Savage (now Sir Graham Savage), then an Inspector at the Board of Education examined the Comprehensive High Schools of New York and produced a report which appeared in 1928 as Board of Education Pamphlet No. 56. When, fifteen years later, Savage became Chief Education Officer to the London County Council his 1928 report became the germ of the 1947 Development Plan.²

In 1946 such an authoritative body as the Advisory Council

1. "Development Plan, Primary and Secondary Education", County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, approved by the Minister of Education, 6th Sept. 1952, p. 3. Cf. also pp. 2-3. Cf. also Manchester and Nottingham Development Plans.
2. "The Times", April 2nd 1965, "Comprehensives: A Closer Look - 2" p. 8.

on Education in Scotland had submitted a report to the Secretary of State for Scotland on the subject of post-primary education, in which the tripartite system was examined and decisively rejected. The report was not published until 1947 but it deserves to be much more widely known as its conclusions regarding the tripartite system are not only extremely succinct but still represent the essence of the case against tripartism. For this reason the conclusions of the Advisory Council are quoted in full:

"We have taken account of the tripartite organisation of secondary education proposed for England, with grammar, technical and modern schools, equal in status and amenities but clearly differentiated in function. Such a scheme has the obvious attraction of administrative tidiness, and it would, no doubt, be economical in its avoidance of duplicated courses and equipment. Apart from any question of distribution of population we consider that there are decisive reasons against its adoption in Scotland.

(1) Itsis ... unrelated to our existing system, with our multilateral secondary schools, both senior and junior (2) The whole scheme rests upon an assumption which teacher and psychologist alike must challenge - that children of twelve sort themselves out neatly into three categories to which these three types of school correspond. It is difficult enough to assess general ability at that age: how much harder to determine specific

bents and aptitudes with the degree of accuracy that would justify this threefold classification. (3) Status does not come with the attaching of a name or by a wave of the administrative wand, and the discussion to date has left the position of the modern school neither defined nor secure. Indeed, it seems clear to many that the modern school will in practice mean little more than what is left, once the grammar and technical types have been housed elsewhere, and that the scheme will end not in tripartite equality but in a dualism of academic and technical, plus a permanently depressed element. (4) But even if the tripartite scheme were wholly feasible, is it educationally desirable? If education is much more than instruction, is in fact life and preparation for life, can it be wisdom thus to segregate the types from an early age? On the contrary, we hold that school becomes colourful, rich and rewarding just in proportion as the boy who reads Homer, the boy who makes wireless sets and the boy without marked aptitude for either are within its living unity a constant stimulus and supplement to one another."¹

One is left, moreover, with the problem of the encouragement given to tripartism by the Labour Ministers of Education, Ellen Wilkinson and later, George Tomlinson, in the face of the unequivocally expressed opinion of the Labour movement as a whole

1. "Secondary Education", Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, H.M.S.O., 1947, para. 140, p. 31.

in favour of the Comprehensive principle. As early as 1929 the National Association of Labour Teachers had declared itself in favour of "a complete system of common secondary schools."¹ In 1942 the T.U.C. in a memorandum on, "Education After the War," which was submitted to the Board of Education, wrote that, "so long as the three types of school are separately housed, the old prejudices will die hard and equality in fact will not be achieved."² It hoped therefore "that the Board (would) undertake really substantial experiments in the way of multilateral schools." A resolution of the Labour Party Conference in 1942 urged the development of "a new type of multilateral school which would provide a variety of courses suited to children of all types."³ Another resolution was accepted by the Labour Party Executive at the Annual Conference in 1945 demanding that "newly built secondary schools "should be of the multilateral type wherever possible."⁴

Moreover, in 1946, by which time the policy of Ministry had been made perfectly plain, the Minister underwent severe criticism

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1. "Education, a policy", National Association of Labour Teachers, C.W.S., Leicester, 1929.
 2. "Education After the War", Trades Union Congress Memorandum, 1942, p. 4.
 3. "Labour Party Annual Conference Report", 1942, p. 141. The Parliamentary Labour Party like the Conservatives and Liberals is not bound by the decisions of the annual conference.
 4. "Labour Party Annual Conference Report", 1945, p. 126.

at the Annual Conference and was "urged to reshape educational policy in accordance with socialist principles."¹ Criticism was also voiced in the House of Commons in connection with the publication of "The Nations Schools."²

Some critics might allege that neither of the two Labour Ministers between 1945 and 1951 was particularly well equipped for the post that they held. They were therefore, perhaps, unduly dependent upon the advice of their senior civil servants for whom tripartism was the simplest administrative solution to the problem of secondary organisation. It might also be suggested that it is characteristic of local constituency parties (from whose ranks town councillors are recruited), especially those on the left, to be more extreme and doctrinaire than Parliamentary Parties faced with the cares and responsibilities of government office.

In 1952 the Fabian Society published an authoritative survey of 111 Development Plans, thus covering some 75% of the 146 Local Education Authorities.³ This revealed that 51% of all Secondary places provided for in the Development Plans would be in Modern Schools, thirteen per cent in Grammar Schools and

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1. "Labour Party Annual Conference Report", 1946, p. 191.
 2. Hansard, 18/7/46, Cols. 1358-9.
 3. Thompson, Joan, "Secondary Education Survey", Fabian Research Series No. 148, London, Fabian Publications, 1952, p. 4.

7½% in Technical Schools. A further 12½% of places would be provided for in Comprehensive Schools and 13% in Bilateral Schools, (8½% in Technical-Moderns, 2½% in Grammar-Technicals and 2% in Grammar-Moderns).¹ The minority of Authorities who intended to deviate from the tripartite scheme either for the whole or part of their areas fell into two distinct groups.

The first group comprised a minority of large urban authorities who attracted most attention because of their size. Three County Boroughs, Oldham, Southend and Coventry intended building Comprehensive Schools only, as did the L.C.C.² A further three County Boroughs intended to have Comprehensive and Bilateral Schools only, eleven intended to build at least one Comprehensive School and 26 one or more Bilaterals.³

Of this group the L.C.C. attracted most attention as the largest Local Authority in the country, with responsibility for a total school population (Primary and Secondary) of 425,053 in 1962.⁴ Coventry and London decided upon a policy of building very large "all-through" Comprehensives. H.C. Dent has suggested that it was the decision of the L.C.C. to build schools far

1. Thompson, Joan, "Secondary Education Survey", Fabian Research Series No. 148, London, Fabian Publications, 1952, p. 7.

2. Ibid., Appendix II

3. Ibid., p. 7.

4. "London Education Statistics, 1961-1962", 12th edition, London County Council, p. 4.

bigger than any that had been known, at any rate within the State system, which more than any other factor turned a large section of public opinion against the principle of Comprehensive education.¹ Emotive phrases like "educational factories" were bandied about in connection with the L.C.C. plan for schools between 1,000 and 2,000 places. Oldham, on the other hand, which brought its plan to final fruition in 1966,² elected for much smaller Comprehensives and planned seven schools with a total roll of 6,900.³ Southend planned 7 Comprehensives with a total roll of 8,800.⁴

The L.C.C., Reading, Oldham, Coventry, and Southend were the five authorities which planned to have the largest proportion of their Secondary pupils in Comprehensive Schools, and with the exception of Southend were, at the time when the Development Plan was prepared, Labour controlled.⁵ In the case of these four authorities the decision to build Comprehensive Schools on a large scale was politically motivated. Tripartism had been officially rejected by the Labour Party in favour of multilateralism and they were therefore putting this policy into effect.

1. Dent, H.C., "Growth in English Education 1946-1952", Routledge, 1954, p. 78.

2. There are still 2 R.C. Voluntary Schools in Oldham, Cf. "Education Committees Year Book", Councils and Education Press, 1966-7, p. 321. These were scheduled to become Comprehensive in September 1967.

3. Thompson, op.cit., Appendix II.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 20.

There are, however, about 5 County Councils and about 21 County Borough Councils which have had, like London and Coventry, undisturbed Labour majorities ever since 1945.¹ It may therefore be asked why, if political motivation was behind the Comprehensive scheme in London and Coventry, the other Labour held councils did not reject tripartism as well. Four reasons could be advanced. First, and this was undoubtedly a factor in Bradford, a genuine division of opinion within the local Labour Party. Second, a reluctance to oppose Ministerial policy, particularly since it was the policy of a Labour government. Third, in some cases no doubt, the influence of forceful and energetic Directors of Education with the ability to advance a plausible case for tripartism. Fourth, as Pedley suggests, an innate conservatism which would make them reluctant to totally abandon a system of post-primary education in favour of a new one. This might be a particularly strong motive in areas where most educational advance had already been made; for example, where the proportion of Grammar Schools places had been greatly expanded and the number of free places was large, where Hadow reorganisation had been completed, and where big and expensive building programmes had provided spacious and well-equipped Secondary and Senior Elementary Schools. Such Authorities might well have been proud of their previous

1. Pedley, R., "The Comprehensive School", Penquin Books, 1966, p. 44. These words were written before the municipal elections of Spring, 1967.

achievements and the envy of other less progressive authorities.

The second group of local Authorities did not attract nearly as much attention, although in the long run they were perhaps more significant, and comprised rural County Councils who might be either Conservative or Labour in political complexion. In fact, in the majority of cases they were Conservative, since it is from the rural areas that the Conservative Party derives much of its support. Nine of the 44 Counties in the Survey intended to build Comprehensive Schools, two of these provided for almost all Secondary education in Comprehensives. Thirty-one were to build Bilateral Schools, eight providing nearly all their Secondary places in Bilaterals. Six were not providing separate Grammar Schools and about half were not providing any Technical Schools, (compared to only 10 of the County Boroughs).¹ Significantly, many of the proposed rural Comprehensives were small, only 500 in several cases, and 240 in one.² The four Counties with the highest proportion of places planned to be in Comprehensive Schools were Caernarvon, Cardigan, Westmorland and the West Riding. With the exception of the West Riding all these Authorities were Conservative Controlled.³

The reasons in these cases for proposing Comprehensive or

1. Thompson, op. cit., p. 6.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 20.

Bilateral Schools were tied up with practical problems of economy and administration rather than with political motivation. In rural areas like mid-Wales or Devon (which is the largest administrative County in terms of area), for example, populations are thin and scattered and catchment areas correspondingly huge, so that a limit on the size of schools is provided by the problems of transporting children to distant schools. In these circumstances, individual schools, Grammar or Modern, are often extremely small; too small to be efficient either educationally or economically. It was only a question of practicalities therefore in such areas to amalgamate existing schools into single Comprehensive or Bilateral Schools. Bilateral rather than Multilateral provision was the norm because the third historic element in tripartism, the Technical or Central School, was even rarer in rural than in urban areas. It is this same problem of size which accounts for the higher proportion of mixed schools in the Counties as compared to the County Boroughs, (57½% in the Counties, 30½% in the County Boroughs).¹ Single-sex schools would have been in many cases extremely small and correspondingly costly. The process of amalgamation was accelerated wherever existing school buildings were old and inadequate.

An example of this is provided by the Isle of Anglesey,

1. Thompson, op. cit., p. 22.

which was not covered by the Survey.¹ In 1944 there were only 4 Grammar Schools in Anglesey and one all-age school. Three of the Grammar Schools were too small and one had very poor premises badly in need of replacement. The County was therefore faced with a very big building programme and decided that in the long run it would be cheaper to achieve this by rebuilding the 4 Grammar Schools as Comprehensives. In practice, the programme has not proved to be as cheap as originally expected, although cheaper than any alternative plan. Accordingly, Secondary education in Anglesey today is provided in 4 schools, Holyhead (1,350 pupils), Amlwch (900), Beaumaris (900), and Llangefni (1,000). Except for Holyhead these schools are in new purpose-built buildings. Thus Anglesey, together with two other Welsh counties, Merioneth and Montgomery was one of the only 3 Authorities to be completely Comprehensive prior to the issue of Circular 10/65.²

As a consequence of these factors operating in rural areas, there were in 1965 actually more Comprehensives in the English and Welsh Counties than in the English and Welsh County Boroughs and London. Out of the 289 schools in 1965, the English counties had 95, London 80, English County Boroughs 62, Welsh Counties 44, and Welsh County Boroughs 4.³ The oldest Comprehensive Schools

1. "The Times," April 3rd, 1965, "Comprehensives: A Closer Look-3", p. 6.

2. Four, if the Isle of Man is included. Cf. Pedley, op. cit., p. 49.

3. Ibid., pp. 202-208.

are almost all of them rural, and not as is so often assumed L.C.C. in origin. They include LLanfair and Machynlleth (Montgomeryshire), in 1945, LLanfylyn (Montgomeryshire), in 1946, Lampeter (Cardiganshire), in 1947 and Burford (Oxfordshire) and Withernsea (East Riding), in 1948.¹

The replacement in 1951 of a Labour administration by a Conservative one did not result in any fundamental alteration in Ministerial policy. The main emphasis in Conservative policy was to resist the closure of existing well-established Grammar Schools in order to create large "all-through" Comprehensive Schools, whilst not refusing the establishment of new Comprehensives on new housing areas etc., where the closure of existing schools was not necessary. This did in fact represent a rejection of one of the principles laid down by Circular 144, namely that "there should not be, in the same catchment area, any unilateral provision for any type of education which is to be catered for in the combined school".

This policy provoked a clash in 1954 between the Minister, Miss Florence Horsbrugh and the L.C.C. The Minister refused to allow the closure of Eltham Hill Girls Grammar School and the transfer of these selected pupils to the L.C.C.'s first big new

1. Four, if the Isle of Man is included. Cf. Pedley, op. cit., pp. 202-208.

Comprehensive, Kidbrooke.¹ The consequence of this policy therefore has been that most of the new L.C.C. Comprehensive Schools have not been truly Comprehensive in character since they have been deprived of a proportion of the top ranges of ability in their local catchment areas; a situation intensified by the existence of an exceptionally large number of independent and direct-grant schools in London. A few L.C.C. Comprehensives have resulted from the expansion of existing Grammar Schools, such as Holloway, Wandsworth and Parliament Hill, but the eight original experimental schools established in 1947 were all Central Schools to which Secondary Modern children were attached. The official list of L.C.C. Comprehensives also includes the County "Complements" which were never intended to include children of high academic ability, since these schools were meant literally to act as the complement of an existing Grammar School.²

In spite, however, of a generally hostile attitude on the part of the Ministry towards deviations from tripartism, between 1945 and 1965 there was a slow erosion of the system over the twenty year period as more and more Comprehensive Schools were built and more and more Local Authorities started to question and to revise their original development plans. Somewhere about

1. Cole, R., "Comprehensive Schools in Action", London, 1964, pp. 50-52
2. "The Comprehensive School", National Association of Schoolmasters March, 1964, p. 17.

the middle fifties this process accelerated sharply, so that when the National Foundation for Educational Research reported on Grammar School admission in 1957, it pointed out that "approximately half of the authorities in England and Wales are maintaining a tripartite or bipartite form of secondary education. The others are experimenting with other types of organisation."¹ By 1965 when the Secretary of State spoke on television about his famous Circular 10/65 he was able to claim, with justice, that about two-thirds of all Local Authorities were revising their plans on comprehensive lines without any governmental initiative.² It will be the task of the next chapter to examine why faith in the tripartite system broke down and led to such massive rethinking.

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1. Yates, A., and Pidgeon, D.A., "Admission to Grammar Schools", Newnes, 1957, p. 175.
 2. An N.U.T. Survey of June 1964 listed 51 out of 61 counties and 37 out of 47 County Boroughs as areas "where, according to press reports, proposals for the reorganisation of secondary education are currently under discussion". "The Reorganisation of Secondary Education," N.U.T., third edition, June 1964, Appendix IV.

CHAPTER IV

The Case Against Tripartism.

In 1957 S.C. Mason, Director of Education for Leicestershire and originator of the Leicestershire plan for a two-tier system of Comprehensive Schools wrote, "ten years ago I accepted without demur this (tripartite) system, backed as it was by the Norwood Report and by the Ministry of Education's Pamphlet, 'The New Secondary Education' (1947). I was not disposed to criticise the prevailing idea that children naturally grouped themselves into academic and non-academic types, and that technical ability as a special aptitude could be diagnosed. I was also willing to believe that by means of standardized tests of intelligence and attainment backed, as necessary by school reports and further examination refinements such as interview, the allocation of children to the type of school most appropriate for them could demonstrably be effected."¹

Mason's progressive disillusionment with this body of ideas occupied the space of 10 years or less and a similar progression has taken place amongst administrators and educationists throughout the country. From 1944 onwards there was always a very large

1. Mason, S.C., "The Leicestershire Experiment", Councils and Education Press, 1957, p. 5.

proportion of parents who were dissatisfied and frustrated in their ambitions for their children by the tripartite system. This dissatisfaction came not from the parents of children who were selected for a Grammar School education but from among the 75% or so whose children were sent to Secondary Modern Schools. Amongst these parents there was no such thing as "parity of esteem" as between Grammar and Modern Schools.

It became one of the major tasks for administrators like Mason to justify tripartism in the face of a continual barrage of criticism from the general public and to reassure parents as to the careful and conscientious way in which the selection procedures were operated. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of L.E.A.s did operate their selection procedures with scrupulous care and consideration. In the 10 years or so after 1945 educational research was dominated by attempts to seek ways of refining the selection procedures and making them even more reliable. Consequently an enormous amount of evidence on the validity of the 11+ examination has now been accumulated.

In spite of the energy expended, however, on the perfection of selection procedures anomalies kept on appearing. Eleven plus "failures" had a disconcerting habit of re-appearing in Technical Colleges after leaving Secondary Modern Schools and accumulating respectable numbers of G.C.E. "O" and "A" levels when they were

supposedly, on the basis of their 11+ results, incapable of any great academic achievement.¹ Numbers of children selected for a Grammar School education failed to achieve a single "0" level result. Individual members of the public could point out and name the children of neighbours whose school careers were anomalous in this way and cases such as these proved very difficult to explain away.

The basic defence against complaints of this kind was that these anomalies arose not from any serious and inherent defects in the system itself but because the system had not yet been fully established. Three main areas needed attention. First, it could be argued that disparities arose because of unequal intakes into Grammar Schools in different parts of the country. In 1954 the average proportion of the Primary School population selected for a Grammar type course was about 20% for England as a whole and about 33% in Wales. Within England and Wales there were even greater disparities.² The intake ranged from a mere 9% in Gateshead to nearly 39% in Gloucester, from 14% in Nottinghamshire and Northumberland to 42% in Westmorland and 60% in Merioneth.

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1. One case known personally to the writer is an ex-Secondary Modern boy who attended a one year commercial course at York Technical College and then stayed on to do G.C.E. He obtained 3 very good "A" levels and is now (1966) reading Economics at Hull University.
 2. Vernon, P.E.(Ed.), "Secondary School Selection", British Psychological Society Inquiry, Methuen, 1960, p. 17.

Even within a single Authority there could be wide differences. In the West Riding, for example, Clegg showed in 1953 that the percentage varied between 15% and 40% in different parts of the County and that accordingly, in any one year 1.700 children failed to obtain places who would have done so had they lived in other parts of the County.¹ In the same way Technical School provision varied from 0 to 10% in different parts of the country. It was argued therefore that an evening up of the proportion of selective places along the lines recommended by the Ministry in Circular 73 would eliminate the worst anomalies arising from geographical accident.

Second, it was argued that "parity of esteem" could only come about if Secondary Modern Schools received parity of financial treatment along with Grammar Schools. Many, if not most Secondary Modern Schools occupied the premises of old Elementary Schools which were in most cases very inadequate and contrasted sharply with the generally more adequate physical provision in Grammar Schools. This was due to the markedly unequal financial treatment that Grammar and Elementary Schools had indeed received in the past. W.O. Lester Smith, for example, estimates that between 1930 and 1936 the capital expenditure per pupil approved

1. Vernon, P.E. (Ed.), "Secondary School Selection", British Psychological Society Inquiry, Methuen, 1960, p. 17.

for county and municipal secondary schools was four times that for Elementary Schools.¹ If therefore a massive rebuilding programme were launched and Secondary Modern Schools were rehoused in suitable premises with spacious playing fields this would do much to bring about parity of esteem.

In one respect at least the Secondary Moderns did receive much better treatment after 1944 than the old Elementary Schools before them, and this was the creation of a single pay scale for all teachers in Secondary and Primary Schools. Before 1944 Elementary and Central School teachers were paid on a different and lower pay scale than Secondary School teachers. The creation of a unified pay scale in 1945 did mean that it was no longer financially disadvantageous for a graduate entrant to the profession to enter what had been, prior to 1944, an old Elementary School. Taking a long term view therefore, the proportion of graduates in the Secondary Modern Schools should have risen, particularly in newly established post-war Secondary Moderns. However, it was noticeable as the years went by that most graduates preferred working with selected children and that therefore, although the proportion of graduates in the Secondary Moderns did slowly rise,² a much lower proportion of these possessed

1. Lester-Smith, W.O., "Education in Great Britain," O.U.P.1952, p.135

2. In 1948 for example the proportion of graduates in Secondary Modern Schools was 15.8% and 78.2% in Grammar Schools (Education in 1948", Cmd.7,724, Table 49, p. 166) and by 1960 the proportion had risen to 27.3% and 81.3% respectively ("Education in 1960", Cmd. 1439, Table 73, p. 294).

first-class upper second or higher degrees, than those of the Grammar Schools.

A very severe blow to this parity of financial treatment was administered by Sir David Eccles, the second post-war Conservative Minister of Education when in 1955 he introduced a system of allowances for teachers doing "advanced" ("A" level) work.¹ Since this work was almost entirely concentrated in Grammar Schools it tended to operate as a poorly disguised Grammar School differential and has since been dropped.

The third improvement which was recommended was the introduction of a second selective examination at 13+ for so-called "late developers" and more flexible schemes of transfer of wrongly placed children between schools after 11+. It was maintained that in this way the few inevitable anomalies that would result, even when equality of intake had been established, could easily be dealt with.

In this respect schemes like that envisaged by eight of the Local Authorities in the Fabian Survey of Development Plans were often praised.² In these eight cases school bases were planned in which the two or three types of school were to be based on the

1. Tropp, A., "The Schoolteachers," Heinemann, 1957, p. 259.

2. Thompson, J., "Secondary Education Survey" (Fabian Research Series No. 148), Gollancy, 1952, p. 9.

same site sharing certain common facilities such as playing-fields and changing accommodation, dining halls and kitchens, and even sharing certain activities such as the morning assembly, physical education and games lessons. In this way parity of material provision would be manifest and, it was argued, children who were segregated in the classroom would mix together on the playing field. Thus the academically weak boy might find himself Captain of a football team containing boys who were academically his superiors. In this democratic atmosphere parity of esteem would soon establish itself as academic snobbery languished. Above all, the school base would greatly increase fluidity of transfer between school and school.

In the event, however, flexible transfer has proved to be an ideal to which little more than lip service has been paid. The following table taken from the National Foundation for Educational Research study of allocation procedures in England and Wales in 1956, shows maximum and minimum percentages of transfer to and from Grammar Schools after the age of eleven.¹ It shows quite clearly that not only was the percentage of children transferred to Grammar Schools extremely small but the transfer was almost completely one way only. Transfer "down" from Grammar

1. Yates, A. and Pidgeon, D.A., "Admission to Grammar Schools" (Third Interim Report on the allocation of Primary School leavers to courses of secondary education of the N.F.E.R.), Newnes, 1957, table II/11, p. 33.

to Modern schools was very rarely practised by most L.E.A.s because of the sense of failure with which it was associated.

Max. and Min. % of Transfer

To and From Grammar Schools after the Age of Eleven.

	County Councils		County Boroughs		Wales	
	To G.S.	From G.S.	To G.S.	From G.S.	To G.S.	From G.S.
Minimum Percentage	0	0	0	0	.03	0
Maximum Percentage	2.6	.5	3.2	.6	3.6	.002

The Report of the National Advisory Council on "Early Leaving" in 1954 had earlier indicated that only very small numbers of Secondary Modern Children were in fact being transferred to Grammar Schools after eleven and that many more could have been transferred.¹ Although it recommended a big increase in the numbers transferred to Grammar School it was opposed to transfer in the other direction because it would "upset the children concerned"²

Even the idea behind the school base plan of children of differing academic abilities finding themselves on equal terms on the playing field has been exploded. K.B. Start found that, irrespective of the type of school, pupils in the lower 25% of

1. "Early Leaving", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education(England), H.M.S.O., 1954, Cf. Table F, p. 13, and para. 32, pp. 12-13.

2. Ibid., para. 88, p. 33.

the academic range are only rarely selected to represent their school in inter-school games competitions. "Unless one takes the stand that the academically limited pupil is also considerably limited in his ability to learn physical skills, it would seem that motivation to achieve a high standard in team games to make up for low scholastic status does not exist."¹

In spite, however, of earnest and sometimes spirited defences of tripartism the case against it has steadily grown in strength in the twenty years since 1945. The evidence against it has mainly come from the work of sociologists and psychologists. The psychologists have demonstrated the inadequacy of the eleven plus as a means of selection, have criticised the conception of three types of mind and even, the idea of intelligence as a fixed inherited characteristic. Sociologists have succeeded in demonstrating that the process of selection is as much social as intellectual and that it is a continuous process, right through a child's period of formal education, in which the 11+ exam is but one, albeit a very vital one, of a number of hurdles at which the selection procedure operates. In this competitive race the working-class child is severely handicapped by social factors in his or her own background. In spite therefore of the high promise of

1. Start, K.B., "Substitution of games performance for academic achievement as a means of achieving status among secondary school children". Brit. J. of Sociology Vol. XVII No. 3 Sept. 66 p. 304. But attributes the idea of a compensatory skill to make up for low intellectual endowments to a legacy from phrenology and the faculty schools. Cf. Brit. Journal of Educational Psychology. Vol. XIII, p. 131.

the 1944 Act the achievement of genuine equality of opportunity has been shown by the sociologists and psychologists to be an infinitely more complex and difficult thing than was believed in 1944. A summary will therefore be made of the major landmarks in the literature on these subjects which has accumulated since 1944.¹

The Sociological Evidence.

In 1956 an extremely authoritative investigation of the influence of social factors on selection for a Grammar type of education appeared under the title, "Social Class and Educational Opportunity" by Floud, Halsey and Martin.² This major investigation, undertaken under the aegis of the London School of Economics studied the ways in which the educational system affected the process of social selection and attempted to throw light on the problems of providing equality of opportunity in post-war English education. Two contrasting areas were investigated, Middlesbrough and the South-West Hertfordshire Divisional Executive.

The survey showed quite clearly that, in the Reports own words, "parity of esteem is a myth".³ Fifty-four per cent of the parents

1. For a useful bibliography see Appendix 3, pp. 152-154 of "Streaming", B. Jackson, London, 1964.

2. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M., "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956.

3. Ibid., p. 77.

of children in South-West Hertfordshire (1952) preferred a Grammar School education to any other and 56% did so in Middlesbrough (1953). Moreover the preference was similarly distributed between social classes in the two areas. Dissatisfaction with the way in which the process of selection had worked in the cases of those children who had actually been allocated to forms of secondary education other than Grammar was measured in terms of parents who felt strongly or mildly "frustrated".¹ Thirty-seven per cent of parents in Hertfordshire felt "mildly frustrated" and 41% in Middlesbrough. Twenty-one per cent of parents in South-West Hertfordshire felt "strongly frustrated" and 20% in Middlesbrough.

The Survey also showed that the distribution of social classes in the two areas was not reflected by the social composition of the Grammar Schools in the two areas.² Children of working-class parents were quite clearly shown to be under-represented in the Grammar Schools of both areas whereas the middle-class were over-represented. Specifically, for example, whereas in South-West Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough unskilled workers represented 10.3% and 24.4% respectively their children constituted only 4.6% of the Grammar School population in South-

1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M., "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956. Table 10, p. 83.

2. Ibid., Table 3, p. 28.

West Hertfordshire and only 12.5% in Middlesbrough. The sons of Professional workers and business owners and managers on the other hand constituted 21.6% of the boys in South-West Hertfordshire Grammar Schools in an area where managerial occupations constituted only 6.1% of the population. In Middlesbrough the same professional and managerial parents held 11.6% of Grammar School places compared to a percentage in the population as a whole of managerial occupations of 1.8%. Skilled workmen were similarly under-represented in both areas.

Even more striking conclusions emerged from a comparison with earlier years. This showed that in spite of the 1944 Act the situation had not noticeably improved as compared with the years before 1945. Rather less than 10% of working-class boys reaching the age of eleven in the decade 1931-41 entered selective secondary schools. But in South-West Hertfordshire in 1953 the proportion was still only 15.5% and in Middlesbrough 12%.¹ On the other hand, whereas in the four years 1934-1938 the sons of professional and business-men in South-West Hertfordshire gained only 2% of the available free places in the Grammar Schools, in 1950-1952 they actually increased their percentage of places by 20%. The proportion of working-class boys had been only slightly

1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M., "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956., p. 33.

reduced but that of lower-middle class boys fell from 49% pre-war to 33% in 1950-52.¹

In Middlesbrough the pattern was somewhat different because the losers in the post-war competition for places were not, as in the case of South-West Hertfordshire, the lower-middle class boys but the sons of manual workers whose allocation of places dropped from 58% in 1939-44 to 54% in 1948-51. The sons of professional and business-men in Middlesbrough increased their percentage of places from 11% in 1939-44 to 15% in 1948-51.²

It would, of course, be incorrect to assume from this evidence alone that the selection procedure was therefore unfair to working-class children since in order for it to be unfair the assumption would have to be made that intelligence was uniformly distributed throughout social classes. The survey showed conclusively that measured intelligence was not uniformly distributed, that it was higher amongst middle-class children than amongst working-class children and that the distribution of places in Grammar Schools as between social classes reflected almost exactly the distribution of measured intelligence between social classes in the populations of South-West Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough as a whole. Or, in the words of the Report, that "the present differences

1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M., "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956., p. 38.

2. Ibid.

in proportion of the contribution of the various classes to the Grammar School intake can be explained almost entirely in terms of the unequal distribution of measured intelligence."¹

The Report accepted, however, that measured intelligence is largely an acquired characteristic with an important genetic component.² This genetic component could not be observed or measured and it was therefore important to discover the environmental factors which were important in influencing a child's chances of selection for a Grammar School and therefore indirectly upon his performance in an intelligence test.

Part Three of the Report therefore examined about five environmental factors in order to see to what extent they did or did not influence selection. The five factors chosen were as follows:

1. Influence of parents' attitudes to their children's education.
2. Influence of parents' previous educational experience.
3. Influence of family size.
4. Influence of the material prosperity of the home.
5. Influence of the primary school.

No attempt will be made in this study to make a full

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1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M., "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956., p. 58.
 2. Ibid., p. 65.

examination of the manner and method in which these five factors were investigated since descriptions of the techniques involved form a major part of the survey. Only the main conclusions will therefore be summarised. Three of these factors were shown to have a direct relationship to success in the 11+, and two, the influence of the material prosperity of the home and of the Primary School produced results much more difficult to interpret.

Both in Middlesbrough and South West Hertfordshire, and at all social levels the parents of successful children were on the whole better educated than those of unsuccessful children.¹ Parents who had received some form of selective secondary schooling and some further education were about twice as numerous amongst successful as amongst unsuccessful children in South-West Hertfordshire and three times as numerous in Middlesbrough. Successful children were also characterised by parents who were favourable to such things as an extended school life and to further education or training.² Most of them (69% in S.W. Herts. and 62% in Middlesbrough) had discussed their child's secondary education with the Primary teachers. Size of family proved to be a factor, in both areas, inversely related to success in the selective examination, although it was much less marked amongst the children

1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M. "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956., Table 15, p.101.

2. Ibid., Table 16, P. 102.

of Roman Catholic families in Middlesbrough, even though 75% of the Roman Catholics were unskilled workers.¹

The material prosperity of the homes of successful children was measured in terms of parents' income and the quality of housing.² In this case there was a marked difference between South-West Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough. In South-West Hertfordshire the proportions of successful children were virtually the same for all families at each social level, regardless of whether their income was "high" or "low" or whether they occupied a detached, semi-detached or terraced house. But in Middlesbrough the more prosperous families showed markedly superior success rates compared to other less prosperous members of the same social class. Thus in Middlesbrough amongst the children of skilled workers twice as many were successful when their fathers earned a basic income of £7. 10. 0d. per week and occupied a detached or semi-detached house than amongst those of less prosperous and less well housed parents.³ The report suggested that this disparity was explained by the general higher level of affluence throughout all social classes in South-West Hertfordshire as compared to Middlesbrough.⁴

1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M. "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956., Table 21, p.107, and Table 3⁴, p. 137.

2. Ibid., Table 18, p. 104.

3. Ibid., p. 89.

4. Ibid., p. 90.

Primary Schools were classified as "good" "poor" and "indifferent" on a scale which took purely material conditions into account, such as the existence, or otherwise, of Assembly Halls, staff-rooms, and special purpose rooms.¹ In neither case did a "good" Primary School background show any outstanding success rate with working-class children. Although the success rates of "good" schools appeared rather more favourable if the home backgrounds of working-class children was taken into account.² Nevertheless the results of the examination of this particular factor must be regarded as inconclusive. It might be suggested that the basis of assessing "good" or "bad" primary schools was extremely narrow and that other factors, such as the quality of the teaching staff, may well be of crucial importance, although much more difficult to measure.

Whilst this study was in course of preparation the Central Advisory Council on Education (England) published another very authoritative study of the effect of social factors on the process of educational selection.³ This investigation entitled "Early Leaving" and published in 1954 focused on one aspect of the selective process only, namely the extent to which children who left Grammar School early did so because of factors in their

1. Floud, J.E. (Ed.), Halsey, A.H., Martin, F.M. "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", Heinemann, 1956., Table 26, p. 110.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

3. "Early Leaving", op. cit.

social background rather than to intellectual factors. Floud, Halsey and Martin also looked briefly at this same aspect of selection and concluded that "social as distinct from academic selection is at work at the threshold of the Sixth Form, but is not at work to any extent worth noting ... at the point of entry to University for those who manage to secure the necessary qualifications",¹ and that the appearance of "early Leaving" had "established beyond doubt that there is a process of social as well as academic selection at work in the schools."²

The Advisory Council's Report had been requested at the end of 1952 by the then Minister of Education, Miss Florence Horsbrugh, and its terms of reference were "To consider what factors influence the age at which boys and girls leave secondary schools which provide courses beyond the minimum school-leaving age; to what extent it is desirable to increase the proportion of those who remain at school roughly to the age of 18; and what steps should be taken to secure such an increase."³

Very soon after the completed report had been submitted to the Minister in August 1954 she was succeeded at the Ministry by Sir David Eccles, who one feels, must have found himself in a

1. Floud, Halsey and Martin, op. cit., p. 123.

2. Ibid., p. 114.

3. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 1, p.1.

somewhat embarrassing position, for there is little in the innocuous terms of reference to indicate the explosive implications of the reports conclusions vis-a-vis the tripartite system. The report began by outlining the results of a statistical investigation into the problem of early leaving commissioned by the Advisory Council. This investigation was based on a 10% sample of Direct Grant and Maintained Grammar Schools, accurately proportioned according to size, geographical location, status and provision for either or both sexes. One hundred and twenty schools were approached and their Heads requested to fill in a separate questionnaire on every boy and girl in the intake of Sept. 1946 or who had joined the school later on as a transferee from a Secondary Modern School. Another questionnaire related to the school as a whole. Only six schools did not reply. The 1946 entry was chosen because no other later group had reached its seventh year in school by the time of the enquiry, and the 1945 group was only the first after the abolition of fees and end of the war. One Table (Table A) which showed the percentages of early leavers in different age groups before the war and afterwards was based on published Ministry of Education statistics.

Table A showed a continuous tendency towards a prolonged school life since the end of the war compared to an equally clear tendency towards a shorter school life pre-war.¹ The pre-war

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., Table A, p. 5.

situation had to be seen against the background of prolonged economic crisis but showed that the tendency towards a longer school life was not necessarily irreversible.

Table D of the report revealed a very serious wastage of academic talent among the early leavers.¹ Amongst the schools as a whole only 25% of boys and 16.8% of girls stayed on for an "A" level course. Moreover, even in the most favourable circumstances the Heads were unable to visualise as much as half the total intake staying on into the Sixth Form.² Not all those who stayed on were of course successful in the Sixth but of those boys and girls whom the Headmasters thought able to achieve 2 "A" levels 12.1% of the boys and 11.5% of the girls left before being able to do so. The Council concluded from these figures that enough talent was being lost to increase the size of Sixth Forms by one half in the case of boys and two-thirds in the case of girls.³ In numerical terms this amounted to a loss of about 5,000 girls and about 5,000 boys. When this loss of talent was related to their inclinations towards Arts or Science it amounted to a loss to science of about 2,900 boys and 1,300 girls.⁴

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., Table D, p. 9.

2. Ibid., para. 25, pp. 9-10.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Not much satisfaction could be derived from the proportions of these talented children who left early only to proceed to some form of full-time further education, only 12.6% in the case of boys and 33.5% in the case of girls¹ (these figures did not include the independent sector).

There was also, of course, a wastage of talent at a lower level than the Sixth Form amongst those who neither finished a five year course nor obtained a school Certificate. There was a loss of 18.8% of all boys and girls in this way and although the Council could not be sure of their academic abilities it thought that the loss of ability in this way might amount to about 7,000 boys and 9,000 girls.²

The Council also provided some firm information on the numbers and achievements of those children transferred from Secondary Modern to Grammar Schools.³ The numbers involved were very small, only 219 in the sample and 1 in 30 of the total Grammar School intake. They concluded, "There is just as high a proportion of good academic achievement among the transfers as in the whole intake into maintained Grammar Schools, even though when tested at the age of 11 they were presumably regarded as below Grammar

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 25, pp. 9-10.

2. Ibid., para. 29, p. 11.

3. Ibid., paras. 31-34.

School standard."¹ The Council believed "that there are many more of them than are at present transferred".²

The Council then went on to examine the distribution of academic ability within the Grammar Schools and classified success on a six point scale (A-F) ranging from A, those who were entered for or had obtained 2 "A" levels, to F, those who had neither completed a five year course nor obtained a School Certificate.³ It found that just as Secondary Modern children classed as unacademic could reverse this verdict when transferred to the Grammar School a similar reversal or shift of academic fortune took place within the Grammar School.⁴ Thus when the September entry was divided into 3 equal ability groups it was found that one third of the bottom selection group later achieved good academic results (A,B and C) and 45.7% of the Secondary Modern transfers achieved the same A,B,C, result. On the other hand a quarter of the top selection group later obtained only E and F results.

The arbitrary nature of the proportions admitted to Grammar Schools was thus emphasised and the Council declared emphatically

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 32, p. 13.

2. Ibid., para. 86, p. 33.

3. Ibid., para. 20, pp. 7-8.

4. Ibid., para. 34, p. 14.

"all selection procedures present a sliding scale of returns, and that the level at which a cut-off is applied is a matter for policy, and not a technical decision."¹ The Council summarised its findings by pointing out that in order to obtain from the bottom third of the intake 3 who would do well 5 were accepted who did badly.²

The report then went on to confirm Floud, Halsey and Martins findings on the unrepresentative nature of the social structure of the Grammar School. These findings were summarised in Table J. ³

	Professional and Managerial	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
All Schools	15%	4%	51%	18%	12%
Grammar Schools	25.0%	10.3%	43.7%	15.3%	5.6%
Sixth Forms	43.7%	12.0%	37.0%	5.8%	1.5%

The report concluded therefore that "The comparison leaves little doubt that by the time the local education authorities hold their allocation examination at 11 the children of certain social groups have as a whole begun scholastically to outstrip those at the other end of the scale, and that the same process is continued among those selected from grammar schools during their time there!"⁴

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 35, p. 14.

2. Ibid., para. 46, p. 20

3. Ibid., Table J, p. 17.

4. Ibid., para. 40, p. 17.

Unlike Floud, Halsey and Martin the Council found that the distribution of ability within the school was not reflected by its social structure, and again they returned to the theme of reversal of academic potential.¹ They found first, that an improvement in academic performance was most common amongst children whose parents came from professional and managerial backgrounds. Improvers in this group amounted to 48.3%. Deterioration, on the other hand, was most common amongst children of unskilled (54%) and semi-skilled (37.9%) parents. The irresistible conclusion from this evidence therefore was that the working class child was being handicapped by social rather than intellectual factors in his own make-up. "In our analysis we have been concerned with broad classifications, and we are well aware that many individual children of well-to-do parents find little support at home for hard work at school and academic ambition, while many children from very poor homes have parents who know the worth of the education they themselves missed. Still it is beyond doubt true that a boy whose father is of professional or managerial standing is more likely to find his home circumstances favourable to the demands of grammar school work than one whose father is an unskilled or semi-skilled worker. The

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 42, p. 18. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that ability was being measured in two different ways, in terms of actual achievement in "Early Leaving", and in terms of intelligence test performance in "Social Class and Educational Opportunity".

latter is handicapped."¹

The report did not shirk from stating with almost brutal clarity and logic the implications of these findings for the 11+ examination. They repeated again their finding that amongst the bottom one third it was necessary to admit five who would do badly for every three successes. Among the unskilled in this group however, the situation was even worse; to secure one success, six failures had to be admitted. A quarter of the unskilled workers children were capable of 2 "A" levels but only 6.7% achieved it and 40% of this group were early leavers.² How could this poor return be justified?

"This initial handicap has already to some extent affected his (the working class child's) prospect in the primary school. He has overcome it to obtain admission to the Grammar School. Is it desirable that the handicap should be increased, if we could thereby obtain a better proportional academic yield at the end of the grammar school course? Similarly, the boy whose father is a member of one of the professions has an educational advantage in his home background of which he has been able to make use at his primary school. Is it desirable that this advantage should be increased by some assessment of its probably even greater

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 44, p. 19.

2. Ibid., paras. 48-49, pp. 19-20.

value to him in meeting the demands of grammar school life? The selection procedures in use today rely principally on assessment of a child's intelligence and attainments at the age of 11. Is it desirable that they should take into account other factors, such as home backgrounds, which do not usually reach the full extent of their influence on educational prospects until a later age?"¹

The Council was too humane to reply in the affirmative to these questions and could, within its terms of reference, do little more than recommend an increase in grammar school provision, thinking it better to err on the side of generosity, even at the cost of an enormous number of wasted places.² It also recommended an increase in the number of extended G.C.E. courses in Secondary Modern Schools for the large academic potential which had been shown to exist outside of the Grammar School, and a bigger transfer of Secondary Modern children to Grammar Schools after 11+.³

In a very real sense therefore the Ministry had been hoist with its own petard and one detects a certain ruefulness in Sir David Eccles's foreward to the report. "Softened by some excellent words in paragraph 85 the Report none the less comes

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., para. 45, p. 19.

2. Ibid., para. 185, ii to iv, p. 61.

3. Ibid.

down in favour of putting a higher proportion of our most gifted children into grammar schools. Certainly there are areas where the grammar school provision is too low, and the ablest children are not getting a proper chance. But I am not sure that there should be an all-round increase in the proportion of grammar school places. Here one is told, 'The more you designate as sheep the more dejected will be the goats that remain'. Is this true or just an excuse for not doing the right thing?"¹

"Early Leaving" and "Social Class and Educational Opportunity" were necessarily addressed to a rather restricted academic audience. In 1959, however, two official reports were issued with a very much wider range of readers because their terms of reference were much broader, these were the Crowther and Newsom Reports, which like "Early Leaving" were reports of the National Advisory Council.

The Crowther Report on the education of the 15 to 18 year old age group² like "Early Leaving" based much of its findings on the evidence of statistical surveys. One was produced by the Central Office of Information, another by the War Office and Air Ministry and a third by the Technical Colleges. Once more

1. "Early Leaving", op. cit., p. V.

2. "15 to 18"; Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), Vol. I, H.M.S.O., 1959, Vol. II (Surveys), H.M.S.O., 1960.

these surveys confirmed the influence of social background on the process of selection. Their findings may be summarised in the words of the Report itself. "Parents in the Grammar and technical school sample were drawn rather more frequently from the professional and non-manual occupational groups, that they had, on the whole, somewhat higher incomes, and that a higher proportion of them had themselves left school at ages above the then legal maximum of 14 years,"¹ and that "as one goes through the categories, professional and managerial, clerical and other non-manual, skilled manual and semi-skilled or unskilled manual, the proportion of premature leaving at 15 increases in that order."²

The Report again confirmed that this process of social selection was resulting in a great waste of intellectual potential. Tables 1A to 4A summarised the results of the batteries of tests given to National Service recruits in the Army and R.A.F. and related these results to parental background and age of leaving school.³ These showed, for example, (Table 1A) that 27% of army recruits in the two top ability groups (out of six) had left school at 15 or under, and that in ability group one, out of the 65 who had left school at this age, 56 were the sons of manual

1. "15 to 18", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), Vol II, p. 15.

2. Ibid., p. 18.

3. Ibid., pp. 118-124.

workers. At leaving age 18 or 19 on the other hand, this distribution between social classes was reversed. At this leaving age, in ability group one, no less than 208 out of the 279 recruits were the sons of non-manual workers. These figures were the more impressive because National Service recruits represented so obviously a complete cross-section of society as a whole.

The most important contribution of the Newsom Report on the education of children of average or less than average ability¹ to the accumulation of evidence was probably the figures that it presented on "schools in slums."² This showed that whereas in the country as a whole 40% of schools were "seriously inadequate" in slum areas the figure rose to 79%.³ Thus the working class child living in a slum area was not only, as Newsom confirmed, badly handicapped by the neighbourhood in which he lived but, his school was more likely than not to present him with an inequality of opportunity not shared by the middle-class child in a suburban area. Newsom showed that not only did poor physical amenities make it difficult for the school to do its job properly but it had another indirect effect by increasing the turnover of staff so that an average only one third of the women and one half of

1. "Half Our Future", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), H.M.S.O., 1963.

2. Ibid., pp. 17-26.

3. Ibid., para. 58, p. 21.

the men stayed longer than three years.¹

In 1963 an even more formidable body of evidence was produced by the Robbins Committee Report on Higher Education.² No other major educational report since 1944 has based its findings on so much original investigation and research. Six major sample surveys were conducted for the report, the resources of other relevant government departments were drawn upon, and other inquiries were used to provide reliable statistical evidence. One of the latter was an inquiry conducted by Dr. J.W.B. Douglas, Director of the Medical Research Unit at the London School of Economics, which later appeared in 1964 under the title "The Home and the School".³ Professor Claus Moser who was responsible for the statistical evidence in the Report was able to draw upon Douglas's results, many of which are incorporated in section 2 of Part II of Appendix one of the Report, (paras. 12-25).

Douglas's distinctive contribution was to focus attention on the primary schools. His investigation followed the fortunes of 5,362 children, all born in the first week of March 1946 and widely distributed according to geographical and social backgrounds,

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1. "Half Our Future", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education(England), H.M.S.O., 1963, para. 61, pp. 22-23.
 2. "Higher Education", Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-1963, Appendix One, H.M.S.O., 1963.
 3. Douglas, J.W.B., "The Home and the School", McGibbon, 1964.

and traced their school careers up to the point when they had been allocated to a Secondary School. It confirmed Floud, Halsey and Martins finding that parents were deeply resentful of the 11+. Thirty-one per cent of the mothers of children in the survey not only desired a Grammar School education for their children but also expressed a willingness to keep them at Grammar School at least until the age of 17.¹ Of this group 59% were disappointed in their hopes and many expressed great indignation at the result.

Perhaps the outstanding finding was that the measured intelligence of working class children from unsatisfactory homes actually declined on average 0.66 points between the ages of eight and eleven, whereas that of children from satisfactory working-class homes increased in the same period by 0.04 points.² The cumulative disadvantage of a working class background was reflected in the success rate in the 11+ of 54% in the case of upper middle-class children but only 11% in the case of lower-manual working class children.³ Once again Douglas found that not all of this difference was explainable in terms of innate ability. Thus whereas upper middle-class children with a test

1. Douglas, J.W.B., "The Home and the School", McGibbon, 1964, p. 18.

2. Ibid., p. 35.

3. Ibid., p. 47.

score of between 64 and 66 at 8 years of age had 86.2% success rate in the 11+, this dropped to 85.1% amongst the lower middle classes and 52.5% in the lower manual working class.¹

Douglas also drew attention to the need to examine the practice of streaming in primary schools by controlled experiments with streamed and unstreamed primary schools.² His examination led him to think that streaming in primary schools was likely to be more influenced by social rather than intellectual factors, so that middle-class children found themselves in A streams and working-class children in C streams.

Robbins, on the other hand concentrated attention mainly on the point of entry to higher education. Appendix One of the Robbins Report is divided into 4 parts. Part One consists of an examination of the pattern of entry into higher education in 1961, and Part 4 is concerned with past trends and future estimates. The relevant parts in this discussion are Parts 2 and 3. Part 2 discusses some of the factors influencing the supply of entrants to higher education and incorporates much of the evidence provided by Douglas, Crowther and "Early Leaving" as well as providing fresh confirmation based upon its own investigations. These

1. Douglas, J.W.B., "The Home and the School", McGibbon, 1964, Table XV (a), p. 179.

2. Ibid., p. 118.

factors were summarised as follows:¹

(a) The attitude of parents and pupils towards education, which may be influenced by:

- i. The material resources of families.
- ii. Financial assistance to those continuing into the Sixth Form and into higher education.
- iii. The education which parents have received.
- iv. Attitudes to marriage and careers for women.
- v. Employment prospects for young people with different levels of qualifications.

(b) The arrangements for primary and secondary education, especially:

- i. The ease of access to academic secondary schooling.
- ii. The supply and quality of teachers and buildings.
- iii. The minimum school leaving age.

(c) Opportunities in higher education.

It will be readily apparent from this summary that when the Robbins Report appeared in 1963 there was a much more widespread realisation of the complexity of the factors underlying educational opportunity than had existed in 1944. Robbins showed definitively that to assess intellectual factors only, as did the 11+, was to isolate only one factor amongst a host of others which contributed

1. Robbins, op. cit., para. 1, p. 37.

to academic success. Moreover as Robbins pointed out, "These factors vary in importance, and some would weigh more heavily with one family than with another. Moreover, they are to a certain extent interrelated; thus the economic position of a family is likely to be related to the education which the parents have received. It would have required a much more ambitious study than the Committee could undertake to disentangle and assess all the influences at work"¹

Robbin's own contribution to the evidence on the effect of social factors was mostly based on a sample of twenty-one year olds born in 1940/41. Table 4, which related to this group showed once more that superior innate intelligence was not the only reason why a higher proportion of middle-class than working class children reached University.² For when Grammar School children were grouped according to their measured intelligence at the age of 11 as well as their final educational attainment, amongst children of a given intelligence a much higher proportion of those from middle-class homes reach higher education than of those from working-class homes. Thus amongst children with an I.Q. of between 115 and 129 only 10% of the children of manual workers reached "A" level, compared to 17% amongst the children of non-manual workers. When

1. Robbins, op. cit., para. 2, p. 37.

2. Ibid., Table 4, p. 42.

the threshold of higher education was reached only 15% of the manual workers children were able to enter, compared to a figure of 34% in the case of the children of non-manual workers. Thus the difference between children of the same potential but different backgrounds, was not only large, but it widened progressively.

Part 3 of the Appendix concentrated on destroying the idea that there was only a fixed pool of intellectual ability in the country.¹ Clearly this has obvious implications for the tripartite system and the idea of a fixed percentage only of children being capable of Grammar School work. As Lionel Elvin has pointed out it speaks volumes for the strength of the case presented by Robbins against this view that the expression "pool of ability" is now so little used.² However, the arguments employed are partly psychological and therefore a consideration of them will be made at a later stage.

Within recent years attention has been increasingly drawn towards the processes of selection within the school, more particularly to the custom of "streaming" and recent research has tended to confirm Douglas's suspicion that social factors were again at work.³ Consequently the more radical critics of the present

1. Robbins, op. cit., pp. 78-89.

2. Elvin, H.L., "Education and Contemporary Society", London, 1965, p. 59

3. For a complete review of the evidence see "Non-Streaming in the Junior School", Brian Simon and Alan Tyne (Eds.), Leicester, 1964.

educational system argue not only for the establishment of Comprehensive Schools but for the abolition of streaming as well.¹

As late as 1959 Yates and Pidgeon were able to conclude from a survey of research into the effects of streaming that, "It is clear from this review of the sparse research that has been devoted to the problem of streaming that it is possible neither to justify the criticisms that have been levelled against it, nor to prove that streaming is a desirable and effective form of organisation".² But in 1961 J.D. Daniels produced some results on streamed and non-streamed Junior Schools which showed that in non-streamed schools average I.Q. scores increased by about 3 points and there was a significant increase in the level of attainment in Arithmetic and Reading and English tests. Moreover, this improvement seemed to be accompanied by a decrease in the dispersion of the test scores.³ These findings appeared to be in line with the results of an investigation that D.A. Pidgeon and others made in the following year into the educational achievements of thirteen year old children in 12 European countries, including England and Scotland.⁴ This showed that the spread of ability as measured

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1. Cf. Newsletter of the Comprehensive Schools Committee, October 1966
 2. Yates, A. and Pidgeon, D.A. "The Effects of Streaming", in "Educational Research", Vol. II, No. 1, Nov. 1959, p. 68.
 3. Daniels, J.C., "The Effects of Streaming in the Primary School", in "Brit. Journal of Educational Psychology", Vol. XXXI, Part II, June 1961, p. 127.
 4. Pidgeon, D.A., et al., "Educational Achievements of Thirteen Year Olds in Twelve Countries", U.N.E.S.C.O. Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1962.

by the Standard Deviation was greater in England than in any other country, Scotland coming next.¹ Pidgeon suggested that this might be due to the practice of streaming, which was unique to Britain, and which might produce a long "C" stream tail.²

Two years later, in 1964, Brian Jackson produced his examination of streaming, significantly entitled, "Streaming, An Educational System in Miniature",³ which was completed just as "The Home and the School" appeared in 1964. Jackson examined 660 Primary Schools from 180 different local authorities and containing about 250,000 pupils. There are, it must be said doubts, which are shared by Jackson, about how representative this sample was, and it was based on the situation in 1962.⁴ However, he found that 96% of the schools streamed their pupils and that 74% of the children were streamed by the age of seven years.⁵ The vast majority of teachers (85%) were solidly in favour of it. Jackson agreed with Douglas that social factors were of great importance in deciding whether a child entered the "A" or "C" stream. He summed the most important of these factors up in the

1. Pidgeon, D.A., et al., "Educational Achievements of Thirteen Year Olds in Twelve Countries", U.N.E.S.C.O. Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1962. p. 59, Fig. 1.

2. Ibid., pp. 60-62.

3. Jackson, B., "Streaming, An Educational System in Miniature", London, 1964.

4. Ibid., p. 15.

5. Ibid., Tables 1 and 2, p. 26.

mnemonics "worswun" and "supremo" to describe the "C" streamer and "A" streamer respectively.¹

A child was likely to find himself in an "A" stream if he possessed the highest common factor of the following elements in his background. He should be Strong physically, have an Urban background, have Parents who were educated beyond the school-leaving age, have the Right birthday (i.e. be winter-born), have Emotional stability, a Middle-class background, and be an Only child. The worswun on the other hand was characterised by his Weaker build, by his having Other children in the family, by being Summer-born of Working-class parents, and having an Unstable home background. He was usually of Nervous disposition. The significance of the birthday date lay in the fact that children entering school for the first time do so at the beginning of any term, but are subsequently promoted at the end of the autumn term. This means that within the same age-group one child may have proportionately a much longer school experience than another child. At the age of seven for example the difference in birthdays between children in the same age-groups can be almost 1/7 of the child's life up to that age. The Durham and West Riding Authorities also confirmed the effect of birthdays on streaming.²

1. Jackson, B., "Streaming, An Educational System in Miniature", London, 1964., p. 140.

2. Ibid., p. 29, Footnote No. I.

Most teachers believed that academic standards would fall if streaming were abolished and as this was a most important question Jackson attempted a comparison between the academic performance of a group of 10 streamed and 10 unstreamed primary schools. His tentative conclusion was that in the unstreamed schools all children improved somewhat, but that the weakest improved most,¹ thus confirming the findings of Daniels.

Nevertheless, much remains to be done on this subject. The N.F.E.R. are at present engaged on a major investigation initiated by the Ministry of Education in 1962, on the effects of "streaming" and other forms of grouping in Primary Schools, and the conclusions of this investigation, when published, will be extremely authoritative.² It is also anticipated that the Plowden Report, when it appears, will provide more information on this subject. As yet the effects of streaming in the very different environment of the Secondary School is still unknown, but enough has been done in Primary Schools to justify the suspicion that in Primary Schools at least streaming may be a part of the subtle process of social selection which is being discussed.

Finally, in this review of the sociological literature which

1. Jackson, B., "Streaming, An Educational System in Miniature", London, 1964., p. 119.
2. Cf. "Notes on the Work of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales for 1963-4", pp. 32-34.

has been used to develop the case against tripartism mention must be made of two works very different in character from any mentioned so far, these are "Education and the Urban Child" by J.B. Mays¹ and Marsden and Jackson's "Education and the Working Classes",² both of which first appeared in 1962. Mays's book was a study in great depth of the Crown Street District of central Liverpool and illustrated an extreme example of the way in which a culturally deprived and run-down environment handicapped the children brought up in it. No aspect of the environment in this relatively tiny area was left unexamined and all kinds of investigatory techniques in sociology were employed to give a total and very vivid picture of the Crown Street environment. Mays concluded that "a far from negligible number of children ... in the older residential localities fail to do justice to their innate capacities and very many more of them than do now could obtain for themselves a selective secondary schooling".³

Marsden and Jackson's book added nothing very much that was new to the evidence that was accumulating (nor for that matter did Mays), but it became something of a sociological best seller and has now been "penguinised". There is no doubt that it reached

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1. J.B. Mays, "Education and the Urban Child", Liverpool, 1962.
 2. Jackson, B. and Marsden, D., "Education and the Working Classes", Routledge, 1962
 3. Mays, op. cit., p. 150.

a very wide and largely lay audience and that it had great influence. What Marsden and Jackson did was to give flesh and blood to the statistics by examining the educational careers of 88 boys and girls with working class backgrounds in Huddersfield from Primary School through Grammar School to University. If it did add something new it was perhaps an emphasis on the extent to which educational success depended upon numerous, in themselves quite small decisions, but which were in retrospect highly critical. Time and again it was the Middle-class parent with superior knowledge of the implications of these decisions, who made the correct one. Two examples will suffice. One girl with a middle-class background was told by her Grammar School Headmistress to drop Mathematics because of her lack of success in it. Her father refused to permit this, the subject was not dropped, and she obtained a credit in Mathematics in the School Certificate.¹ One boy who was placed in the C stream was kept on into the Sixth Form by his father. The School recommended that he take up hotel management and give up the idea of University entrance. Father and son refused and the boy ultimately took a First and a Ph.d. and now lectures at London University.² The working class parent on the other hand, largely through ignorance, was much less

1. Marsden and Jackson, op. cit., Penguin Edition 1966, pp. 44-45.

2. Ibid., p. 46.

capable of standing up to the School or L.E.A. and contesting such decisions.¹

The Psychological Evidence.

The psychological case against tripartism rests mainly upon the difficulties lying in the way of predicting academic success at 11+. These difficulties are so numerous and fundamental that they are held to justify the abandonment of the 11+ selection test and the attempt to segregate children into three types, grammar, technical and modern. There is, however, a dispute as to the nature of the role played by psychological opinion in the creation of the 11+ selection test in the first place. One school of thought, to which Professor Lionel Elvin, for example, belongs would claim that psychologists were in 1944, much more confident than they are today of their ability to predict academic success at 11+ and that they accepted to a much greater extent the idea of intelligence (innate, general, cognitive ability) as a largely fixed inherited characteristic, relatively unaffected by environmental factors. At the very least, Elvin would argue, the present critical attitude to the 11+ represents a shift of emphasis as a result of recent research which has undermined previously held assumptions.²

1. Marsden and Jackson, op. cit., Penguin Edition 1966, Cf.pp.106-107

2. Elvin, op. cit., p. 55.

According to this school of thought the kind of view of intelligence current in 1944 was largely based upon the Spearman two-factor theory.¹ According to Spearman, intelligence was a fixed inherited characteristic and was a product of two factors, a general endowment which could be directed into any field (g), and a relatively small number of specific aptitudes such as mechanical and musical ability (s). Thus an individual with a high amount of general ability ought potentially to do as well in Mathematics as in say, English. On the other hand he might not do as well in Music. This intellectual endowment could be measured by means of intelligence tests and expressed as an Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.). It did not develop beyond the age of 15 or so. From the I.Q. an accurate prediction of academic capabilities could be made.

The other school of thought represented by Dr. W.D. Wall, for example, would argue that this is an over-simplified and popular view.² They maintain that psychologists were fully aware in 1944 of the existence of environmental factors in intellectual development and of the difficulties lying in the way of a complete understanding of the nature of intelligence. These psychologists claim that they were asked to perform an impossible task in 1944

1. Cf. Spearman, C., "The Abilities of Man", Macmillan, 1927.

2. Elvin, loc. cit.

and that the difficulty arose not from any deficiencies in testing techniques but from the inappropriate tasks that the tests were being made to perform. Thus in Vernon's words, "instead of laying all the blame for mistakes on the psychologist's intelligence and attainment tests, it would be better to modify the system which forces them to be used in an artificial, competitive atmosphere."¹

It is extremely difficult to resolve these conflicting points of view and the comments which follow are only advanced as extremely tentative suggestions. First, Vernon has shown that most practising teachers accept a view of intelligence broadly in line with the kind of summary of the Spearman two-factor theory outlined above,² although it may well be a gross over-simplification of Spearman's views.

Second, the issue is obscured by the internal nature/nurture dispute between the psychologists themselves, between those who stress the inherited factor in intelligence, led by Burt, and the behaviourists led by Watson, Heim and Thurstone who stress the environmental influences. Thus Burt, whilst not denying an environmental element in intelligence was not prepared to ascribe a dominant rôle to it. Writing in 1955 about the varying intelligence of individuals he claimed, "the evidence indicates that at least

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1. Vernon, P.E., "The Assessment of Children - Recent Trends in Mental Measurement and Statistical Analysis", in "Studies in Education", Vol. 7("The Bearings of Recent Advances in Psychology on Educational Problems") University of London Institute of Education, pp. 214-215. Evans Bros: London 1955.
 2. Ibid., Cf. answers to Vernons questionnaire on teachers' views on the nature of intelligence, pp. 106-107.

75% of the measurable variance (based on carefully checked assessments) is attributable to differences in genetic constitution and less than 25% to environmental conditions".¹

It is, however, extremely doubtful if most psychologists would accept this view today, as indeed, Burt points out in the same article. Writing about the resurgence of environmentalist ideas which he described as "this remarkable change of view", he went on "it seems to be an incidental symptom or consequence of an equally remarkable change in the general climate of opinion. In psychology as in politics, the pendulum of fashion swings to and fro; and the vacillations roughly synchronize. During the nineteenth century, the associationists preached an egalitarian point of doctrine, and three reform bills were passed. Then the close of the century witnessed a reaction; and we ourselves are witnessing the counter-reaction. An excessive emphasis on heredity has now been succeeded by an equally excessive emphasis on environment."²

However, it is simply not true that Burt had an over-confident view of the ease with which selection could take place at 11+, although his reasons for caution may have been different from those of the school of thought in the ascendancy today. There has indeed

1. Burt, C.; "The Evidence For The Concept of Intelligence", in "The British Journal of Educational Psychology", Vol. XXV Part I, Feb., 1955, p. 175.

2. Ibid., p. 167, Footnote No. I.

been a shift^{of} opinion on the nature of intelligence as the Robbins Report claimed: "Views of what is measured by intelligence tests have changed since they were first invented. Then, it was thought that measured intelligence depended mainly on heredity, and that in most western countries the influence of the environment on test scores was small. More recently, comparative studies in widely different social and cultural groups have modified this view. Genetic factors are undoubtedly important, but the influence of the environment is great, and its extent cannot easily be determined. For our present purposes it is enough to say that measured ability is a junction of two variables, innate and environmental, and that the contribution of the latter increases with age."¹ Nevertheless it is clear that in 1944 amongst psychologists of the stature of Burt, there was much opposition to many aspects of the 11+ and no sign of over-confidence.

As early as 1943 Burt examined and decisively rejected the threefold classification of children into psychological types which was the justification offered by the Norwood Report for the tripartite system: "Any scheme of organisation which proposes to classify children according to qualitative mental types rather than according to general intelligence is in conflict with the

1. Robbins, op. cit., Appendix One, para. 5, pp. 79-80. For a definitive survey of research on the effects of environment on intelligence see Stephen Wiseman, "Education and Environment", Manchester, 1964, pp. 30-73, which outlines research extending as far back as 1923.

known facts of child psychology."¹ He also rejected the idea that 11+ was a decisive point in a child's intellectual development, namely the beginning of adolescence, and that an assessment made then would afford a reliable indication of a child's abilities and aptitudes. "The notion that most children will be found to show some special aptitude in one direction or another by the age of eleven, if not before, seems to have been based on the popular tendency to generalise from a few exceptional cases. A few children of unusually high musical, artistic, or verbal ability do here and there manifest these particular tendencies at a very early age; Mozart published four sonatas at seven; Tennyson wrote poems at eight; Rembrandt 'painted with amazing talent' at eleven."²

Moreover, he saw clearly that the choice of 11+ by the Hadow Committee as the age of transfer was governed more by administrative than sound psychological reasons; "The principles of practical organisation, as originally outlined in the Hadow Report, may have been sound deductions from the working knowledge and the practical experience of the educationists who laid them down; but that when the administrator goes on to justify his practical

1. Burt, C., "The Education of the Young Adolescent: The Psychological Implications of the Norwood Report", in "The British Journal of Educational Psychology", Vol. XIII, Part I, Feb. 1943, p. 140.

2. Ibid., p. 132, Footnote No. I.

recommendations by theoretical arguments drawn from what he takes to be the psychology of child development, he is apt to go far astray. This seems particularly true in the departures from the Consultative Committee's Reports proposed by the Norwood Committee!"¹

He was also prophetic in his scepticism over the possibilities of re-allocating pupils once the transfer to secondary education had taken place. "And once the children have been sent to some special school at the age of eleven is there really much likelihood of any large re-sorting at a later age?"²

Another illuminating paper was contributed by Burt in 1947 to a symposium on the selection of pupils for different types of secondary school in which he again expressed scepticism over the whole idea of segregation at 11+ into rigidly separated forms of education: "But whatever scheme is followed and whatever supplementary devices are introduced the essential requirement will be to avoid anything like a single decisive classification of all pupils at the early age of 11+. We need a more diversified education for every type of pupil, and in particular a greater measure of scientific and technical education for the bright, so that the child's developing interests and aptitudes may be cumulatively

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1. Burt, C., "The Education of the Young Adolescent: The Psychological Implications of the Norwood Report", in "The British Journal of Educational Psychology." Vol. XIII, Part I, Feb. 1943, p. 129.
 2. Ibid., p. 139.

assessed by observing his responses to training in the different branches during the pre-pubertal and pubertal period. And, in the light of such further observations, re-classifications should be made as freely as administrative arrangements will permit."¹

On the question of whether or not technical aptitudes could be diagnosed at 11+ he was adamant: "But special aptitudes and interests, especially those of a practical, technical, or mechanical character, cannot be assessed very accurately at this age except in a comparatively small proportion of cases. Indeed, the extreme difficulty of assessing so-called technical aptitude has been greatly underestimated."²

In the same symposium there is a contribution by W.P. Alexander written "from an administrator's point of view."³ It is noticeable, if one compares the two articles, that Alexander is continually trying to play down the differences that exist between his own rather confident view of selection at 11+ and Burt's much more cautious one. Alexander's conclusions nevertheless reveal a wide gulf between them. His fourth conclusion is as follows:

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1. Burt, C., "Symposium on the Selection of Pupils For Different Types of Secondary Schools - A General Survey", in "The British Journal of Educational Psychology", Vol. XVII, Part II, June, 1947, p. 70.
 2. Ibid., p. 71.
 3. Symposium on Selection for Secondary Schools, op. cit., "An Administrator's Point of View", W.P. Alexander, Part 3, Nov., 1947, pp. 123-130.

"At the age of 11 innate general intelligence can be estimated with reasonable accuracy by means of standardised tests. Certain specific aptitudes, notably academic aptitude, can be assessed with reasonable reliability. Technical aptitude can also be assessed with a sufficient degree of reliability and in a sufficient number of cases to make allocation to technical courses of a type parallel to the course now provided in grammar schools a practicable procedure. The imperative need is for a critical examination in border-line cases, and the most important factors to be taken into account are long-term persistence and emotional stability."¹

His eighth conclusion is perhaps even more significant and would appear to reveal the true motive behind his evident desire to show the relative ease with which allocation could be made at 11+: "Whatever disagreement there may be on the validity and reliability with which children can be allocated at 11+, it must be recognised that it is an immediate administrative necessity that the task should be undertaken. The essential need, therefore, is to make available at once the most effective practical procedure in the fulfilment of that task."² Perhaps therefore it may be concluded that it is to the administrators rather than to the

1. Symposium on Selection for Secondary Schools, op. cit., "An Administrator's Point of View", W.P. Alexander, Part 3, Nov., 1947, p. 130.

2. Ibid.

psychologists that over-confidence in the validity of the 11+ in 1944 should be attributed.

Most psychologists would probably nowadays subscribe to the view of the nature of intelligence advanced by Hebb in "The Organisation of Behaviour" (1949).¹ In this he postulated two kinds of intelligence, intelligence A and intelligence B. Intelligence A is the neurological endowment which a child inherits and which is basically a matter of genes. We cannot, however, observe or measure this endowment and its very existence has to be inferred. Intelligence B, on the other hand, is the acquired intelligence which a child acquires through the contact with and stimulus of his environment. In the absence of proper stimulation this intelligence may never be properly developed, may indeed be permanently impaired.

It is this acquired or learned ability which is being, at least largely, measured by intelligence tests. Furthermore, intelligence is now conceived of as a number of different and separate abilities. Thus in the U.S.A. and Britain there are now large numbers of psychologists who would like to drop the term intelligence altogether and simply think in terms of batteries of tests which will measure a number of different and overlapping abilities. Amongst these differential aptitude tests those

1. Hebb, D.O., "The Organisation of Behaviour", Wiley, 1949.

measuring academic abilities would simply form one group amongst several.

Guilford, who has made major contributions to recent work in this field, has only a slightly different approach. He measures intelligence not in terms of differential aptitudes but in terms of more abstract multiple factors, and so far as demonstrated the existence of some seventy. For example, one such factor is cognition or understanding of classes, which may be subdivided, and measured by separate series of tests, into cognition of four kinds of class, figurative, symbolic, semantic and behavioural. Guilford sums up his theory as follows: "The multiple-factor view, which seems to be making substantial headway at present assumes that there are numerous unique intellectual abilities (but not an enormously large number) that collectively can be regarded as composing intelligence; a commonwealth rather than a nation. And, with respect to the nature-nurture issue, there are, moreover, some indications that learning may well make substantial contributions to those abilities."¹

Obviously, if this view is correct, the question then arises as to the degree to which the environmental influences can improve a child's I.Q. Vernon argues that not much change takes place

1. J. P. Guilford, "An Analysis of Intelligence", in "New Education", Sept. 1965, p. 17.

before secondary school level and that variations in I.Q. performance are mainly due to extraneous circumstances. This is due to two factors.¹ First, the fact that intellectual growth is mainly cumulative, so that if a child's intelligence has not been developed at an early stage it will not have the capacity to expand much later on. Second, western European civilisation is fairly standardised, so that in the pre-school situation environments are not drastically different. Most provide sufficient stimulus to develop the quite simple skills and abilities normal at the pre-school stage.

Even in Primary Schools environments are fairly standardised and one child's experience will not be unduly different from another's. At secondary level, however, environments begin to diverge, and at post-secondary level the environment offered can differ very significantly. Vernon estimates that a man with a full Secondary and University education has, on average, a 12 I.Q. points lead over a man of equal intelligence who left school at 15.² In the case of the average child variations in I.Q.s due to extraneous circumstances are likely to be no more than about 7 points either way or 10 points if frequently retested. Many are far more variable than this and about one half per cent

1. Vernon, "The Assessment of Children", op. cit., p. 207.

2. Ibid., p. 209.

of cases may gain or lose up to 30 or 40 points.¹

The extraneous circumstances which produce variations of this kind include chance accidents like wrong timing and distraction by the teacher; failure to listen to instructions, and turning over 2 pages at once. Other important extraneous factors include the difficulty of guaranteeing the accuracy of the test norms, differences in the spread of results obtained on different tests as measured by the Standard Deviation, differences in content (as between verbal and non-verbal) and coaching and practice.² This latter factor attained great prominence when it was pointed out by Vernon in 1952,³ since the implications of it were obvious in regard to border-line candidates in the 11+. However, less notice was taken of his qualifications, namely, that although coaching could make a difference of as much as nine to eighteen points its maximum effectiveness could be obtained by only a few hours coaching. Moreover its effectiveness was extremely specific; that is it was effective only in the same kind of test under the same kind of conditions. Even slight differences greatly reduced its effectiveness.

1. Vernon, "The Assessment of Children", op. cit., pp.200-201.

2. Ibid., pp. 203-206.

3. Vernon P.E., "Intelligence Testing", T.E.S. Feb. 1st 1952, p. 86. Vernon was not the first to observe this effect or to see that it could be cancelled out by giving short periods of coaching to all the group being tested. Cf. Cyril Burt, "Symposium on Secondary School Selection", op. cit., p. 69 and Footnote I.

All that can be claimed for the intelligence test is that it is less unreliable than any other single predictor of success, including school examinations and teacher's assessments. Vernon estimated that the degree of error was such that about one quarter of children selected for Grammar School education would prove unsuitable for it, and about 5% of Secondary Modern School children would later be capable of profiting by a Grammar School education.¹

The existence of a relatively big margin of error was confirmed by the definitive Third Interim Report on Secondary allocation produced by the National Foundation for Educational Research in 1957.² This Report, which examined the methods of selection in use by the L.E.A.s in 1956, and reported on their effectiveness recommended the use of scaled Primary Heads' assessments plus a battery of 3 tests comprising a standardised verbal intelligence test, a standardised English test of the less strictly objective type and a standardised arithmetic test. Where the Heads' assessments and the battery of tests were in agreement no further action was to be taken but where there was a discrepancy the candidates were to be assigned to a border zone and further information was to be sought about them.³

1. Vernon, "The Assessment of Children", op. cit., p. 202.

2. Yates and Pidgeon, "Admission to Grammar Schools", op. cit.

3. Ibid., pp. 183-184.

Nevertheless even the use of the best methods that could be devised on the basis of existing knowledge were used there would be an error of approximately 10%¹ However, when a more realistic estimate was used the error was rather bigger. The Report calculated, that a validity coefficient of 0.85 would be a generous estimate of the efficiency of the testing procedures used by the average L.E.A. in England and Wales.² If a Grammar School intake of 20% was assumed (this was the average figure for England and Wales), then 122 out of every 1,000 children were wrongly allocated (61 to Grammar Schools and 61 to Secondary Modern Schools).³ Thus in 1955, out of a total transfer to Secondary Schools of 640,000 the Report estimated that about 78,000 were in fact wrongly allocated, and this it must be repeated, was a conservative estimate.

The Report drew the inevitable conclusion from this depressing evidence. "If children are to be segregated into courses of secondary education which are sharply differentiated for those who just secure entrance to a grammar school and those who fail by a narrow margin to do so - as is the case in most tripartite or bipartite systems, then even the use of the most efficient procedure

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1. Yates and Pidgeon, "Admission to Grammar Schools", op.cit., p.186.
 2. Ten per cent of L.E.A.s were shown to make exclusive use of methods other than standardised objective tests which had a higher predictive validity. Ibid., p. 144.
 3. Ibid., pp. 144-145.

that can, in the light of our present knowledge, be devised, results in a considerably greater number of wrong allocations than can be viewed with equanimity ... If it is not possible to distinguish with complete accuracy between those primary school leavers who are fitted for a grammar school course and those who are not, it would seem to be desirable to make the type of school to which a child is allocated less decisive in determining the kind of course he will ultimately follow."¹

The case which the advocates of comprehensive education would submit rests therefore upon the kind of evidence which has just been summarised and was summed up by the Minister of State at the Department of Education and Science, Mr. E.C. Redhead, in the following manner: "Because intelligence is, to a degree, acquired and is linked with social class, and because the grammar school is generally a superior school, it follows that if you select children at the age of 11 plus, you are penalising the working class child for his social background, for which he is not responsible. But in a comprehensive system the disparity of treatment between middle and working-class children could disappear. The home background could remain poor, the deleterious social factors could persist, but at least the educational system was

Yates and Pidgeon, "Admission to Grammar Schools", op. cit., p. 175.

not reinforcing this poverty by imposing a sense of failure on those least able to contend with it".¹ In the next chapter an examination will be made of the Labour government's declared policy for achieving comprehensive reorganisation as expressed in Circular 10/65.

1. Speech to Annual Conference of the National Association of Educational Executives, Sept. 30th 1966, reported in "The Guardian", 1st Oct. 1966, p. 3.

CHAPTER V

Circular 10/65. and the Response to it,
up to October 1966.

It is ironical that the Labour government which took office in October 1964 should set about dismantling the very system of secondary education which the first post-war Labour government had worked so strenuously to erect twenty years previously. But during its 13 years in the political wilderness any lingering doubts about the injustices of the tripartite system amongst the members of the party had long since been erased, and it came to power firmly committed to the abolition of segregation at 11+. The Labour Party Election Manifesto "Signposts for the Sixties", stated flatly, "Labour will get rid of the segregation into separate schools caused by 11 - plus selection; secondary education will be reorganised on comprehensive lines".¹ On January 21st 1965 the House of Commons passed a resolution in favour of comprehensive reorganisation and declaring that "the time is now ripe for a declaration of national policy".²

The declaration of national policy which was asked for appeared on the 12th July 1965 as Circular 10/65, entitled

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1. "Signposts For the Sixties", Labour Party Election Manifesto.
 2. Circular 10/65, 12th July 1965, "The Organisation of Secondary Education", Department of Education and Science, para. I, p. 1.

"The Organisation of Secondary Education". In it the Secretary of State for Education and Science requested Local Education Authorities, if they had not already done so "to prepare and submit to him plans for reorganising secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines."¹ It is in many ways a curious document, as much for what it leaves unsaid as for what it says in its brief eleven pages. To a continental educationist it would probably appear even more curious. For one thing it will be noted that it merely "requests" the Local Education Authorities, and for another, its content was known to the L.E.A.s before it was issued. Indeed their views were taken into consideration in the preparation of the final draft. It does in fact typify the peculiar duality of the control over education exercised in this country by the central government and the L.E.A.s and which results in policies, which represent compromises and lowest common denominators of agreement rather than the logical application of agreed principles.

The crux of the problem which faced the government was how to achieve comprehensive reorganisation after twenty years of effort to establish secondary education on tripartite, or at anyrate, bipartite lines. Between 1945 and 1965 successive

1. Circular 10/65, 12th July 1965, "The Organisation of Secondary Education", Department of Education and Science, para. I, p. 1.

governments had spent enormous sums on new and improved secondary school building. It was clearly an economic impossibility to scrap all the existing secondary schools and replace them with new purpose-built 11-18 Comprehensive Schools on the lines of the London School plan. Moreover the Circular made it perfectly plain that no extra money would be forthcoming for secondary reorganisation and that it would have to be accomplished within the global limits of the expenditure already approved for school building.¹ The building programme could be recast but not enlarged.

On the other hand it seemed equally impossible to convert existing secondary school buildings into Comprehensive Schools. It was generally accepted that if an adequate sized Sixth Form (sufficiently large to justify the employment of highly qualified specialist teachers) was to be secured in a Comprehensive School then the School would have to be much larger than the average Grammar or Modern School.² This was because it was felt that there would necessarily be a larger proportion of children of mediocre ability in a Comprehensive than in a Grammar School and therefore the total school population had to be larger in order to secure

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1. Circular 10/65, 12th July 1965, "The Organisation of Secondary Education", Department of Education and Science, para.44, pp.10-11.
 2. In 1953 the median size of Grammar Schools was between 301 and 400 and for Modern Schools between 201 and 300. "Education in 1953", Cmd. 9155, H.M.S.O.: 1953, Table 11, p. 92.

an adequate number of children with Sixth-form ability. In the words of Sir David Eccles, "there is nothing to be said for smaller comprehensives to be accommodated in the buildings we already have. Either there would not be enough sixth-form pupils to occupy the sixth-form masters, or there would not be enough sixth-formers to go round."¹

The existence of this dilemma facing L.E.A.s contemplating secondary reorganisation was the reason for the enthusiastic reception which met the appearance in 1957 of the so-called "Leicestershire Scheme" for secondary reorganisation, since it seemed to offer, for the first time, the chance of comprehensive reorganisation without any major rebuilding plan.² The essence of the scheme was simply to envisage secondary education as taking place within a two-tier system instead of a single tier 11-18 system of schools. In the case of Leicestershire the bottom tier of secondary schools was ultimately designed to take all children between the ages of eleven and fourteen, and the top tier all those between fourteen and eighteen. This meant that schools in the top tier would still have the same size as existing Secondary Schools whilst having sufficiently large numbers of

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1. Speech of Sir David Eccles, Minister of Education, to the annual conference of the N.U.T., April, 1955.
 2. Cf. Mason, S.C., "The Leicestershire Experiment", Councils and Education Press, 1957.

able children to support a proper Sixth-form. Subsequently a number of variants on the two-tier structure have emerged, each generally known under the name of the L.E.A. which originally devised it.

Circular 10/65 lists 5 such two-tier structures. At the same time it makes clear that it regards the all-through 11-18 school, which it lists first and describes as "the orthodox comprehensive school",¹ as "in many respects the simplest and best solution".² Two-tier structures are implicitly viewed as second-best administrative expedients. It does, however, suggest that all-through comprehensives "need not be as large as was once thought necessary to produce a sixth form of economic size",³ and that a six or seven form entry school could produce a viable Sixth Form.⁴ This represented a marked change of policy from that expressed, for example, in Circular 144, which laid down a minimum 10 or 11 form entry, and seems to have resulted from the experience which had accumulated in the running of the older and smaller rural comprehensives.

However, a statement of the evidence upon which the Department

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 3, p. 1.

2. Ibid., para. 6 p.2.

3. Ibid., para. 7. p.3.

4. Ibid.

based this very important change of policy would have been helpful since it is far from clear that the Sixth-Forms of the existing small comprehensives are satisfactory as regards size and range of subjects offered. For example, in the course of an investigation in 1954 into fifteen of the then existing Comprehensives Pedley found that Castle Rushen, a small Comprehensive of 400 pupils in the Isle of Man, had only 20 in its Sixth Forms.¹ Only seven subjects could be offered and these did not include history, geography, or biology. At Windermere in Westmorland, with 210 pupils and only 12 Sixth-Formers the first and second years had to be taught together and third year Sixth-Formers could not be separately timetabled.² Even at the much larger Anglesey Comprehensive at Holyhead with 1,100 on the roll and 55 in the Sixth, first and second years were taught together.³ Taking the Isle of Man as a whole Pedley found that out of a total school population of 2,500 there were in January 1954 ninety-four Sixth-Formers taking 12 different "A" level subjects. This meant, for example, that Latin and Geography had only six pupils each in the first year, Biology and Art 3 each, German one only and no one, at that stage, doing History. Only five subjects, English, French, Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics mustered double figures in

1. Pedley, R., "Comprehensive Education: a new approach", Gollancy, 1956, p. 131.

2. Ibid., pp. 131-132.

3. Ibid.

either the first and second year, and these numbers it must be remembered were divided between four schools.¹

There is no doubt, that the situation has changed for the better since 1954, and in 1966 Pedley himself quoted the example of Colfox in Dorset with 825 pupils which was retaining 20% of the age-group for a sixth year.² Such figures, however, demand careful analysis since the total of Sixth-Formers may be inflated with numbers of pupils with few or no "O" levels who may not even attempt "A" level. What is needed is a careful analysis of size of classes in individual subjects and numbers of "A" levels actually attempted before a confident judgement can be passed. Moreover, as Pedley points out, to get the Sixth-Forms of State Comprehensives into perspective it is useful to compare them with those of the famous Public and Direct-Grant Schools.³ With Rugby, for example, where 325 out of the 688 boys are doing Sixth-Form work, and where 4 modern languages are available because classes are sufficiently big to justify the time of specialist teachers.⁴

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1. Pedley, R., "Comprehensive Education: a new approach", Gollancy, 1956, pp. 131-132.
 2. Pedley, R., "The Comprehensive School", Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, pp. 60-61.
 3. Cf. Pedley, R., "Comprehensive Schools Today", Councils and Education Press, N.D., pp. 7-16.
 4. Pedley, "Comprehensive Education", op. cit., p. 132.

In 1964 the National Association of Schoolmasters published some interesting material obtained from its own members working in Comprehensive Schools. This contained the two tables reproduced below and showing sizes of Sixth Forms and Numbers of "A" levels entered and passed in a number of different sized Comprehensives between 1961 and 1963. Although both tables showed a marked upward trend it was clear that schools of about 1,000 or less were still producing somewhat small Sixths. On the basis of a six-form entry of 30 pupils per form, the minimum size permitted by Circular 10/65 would create a school only 9,000 strong by the end of the Fifth year. So that in the absence of evidence to the contrary the optimism displayed by the Department over the viability of Sixth Forms in small Comprehensives would appear somewhat premature.

Sixth Form sizes (excluding those staying on in
Sixths exclusively to do "O level work.)

School	Approx. No. on roll	1st yr. 6th Sept. 1961.	1st yr. 6th Sept. 1962	1st yr. 6th Sept. 1963.
1	1,020	11	14	14
2.	1,850	34	37	62
3	800	3	6	8
4	1,030	18	26	31
5	2,000	20	30	46

"A" Level Results in Six Comprehensive Schools, 1962.

School	Total Strength	No. entered	No. of subjects entered	Passes	No. of subjects available
A.	1,035	21	65	58	13
B.	1,018	12	23	20	14
C.	1,858	33	99	83	17
D.	794	7	10	8	9
E.	1,050	23	74	60	14
F.	987	6	12	9	10

Source:- "The Comprehensive School", National Association of Schoolmasters, March 1964, p. 43.

The Circular makes it clear that in order to secure a single-tier organisation wherever possible the Department was willing to consider, on their merits, proposals for single Comprehensive Schools based on geographically separated buildings originally designed for use as autonomous schools.¹ It was suggested that any drawbacks in schemes of this kind might be overcome by subsequent building programmes.

Two-tier schemes.

Schemes Nos. ii and iii of the Circular are basically descriptions of the Leicestershire Scheme as at present operated

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., paras. 8-9, p. 3.

and as ultimately conceived. Scheme No. iii describes a two-tier plan in which "all pupils on leaving primary school transfer to a junior comprehensive school, but at the age of 13 or 14 some pupils move on to a senior school while the remainder stay on in the same school,"¹ and this is basically the system at present operated in Leicestershire. In Leicestershire all children move at 11 from their Primary Schools to a "High School" which are former Secondary Moderns.² For the first seven years of the experiment 8% of the Primary School intake comprising the academic cream of the Junior School moved up at ten instead of eleven.³ This was because the old Grammar Schools, which became "Upper Schools" under the plan, insisted upon the equivalent of a "fast stream". With the agreement of the Upper School Heads this practice has now been abandoned.⁴ At fourteen the pupils in the "High Schools" have to decide whether they are willing to stay at school until at least the age of sixteen. If the answer is yes they move on to the "Upper School", which is in fact an old Grammar School minus its bottom three years and with a more comprehensive range of ability.

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., paras. 8; p. 2.

2. "Comprehensive Planning", symposium on reorganisation of secondary education, Stuart Maclure (Ed.), London: Councils and Education Press, N.D., p. 51.

3. Ibid., p. 53.

4. Ibid.

It has been universally recognised in Leicestershire that the greatest weakness of this scheme lies in the 55% of the age-group who elect to stay behind in the High School to complete their fourth and final year in school.¹ The "Times Educational Supplement" correspondent described the problem in the following terms: "The difficulty is that with their old third year classes decimated and possibly half the school transferred, these children are caught in a limbo between the climax of school life at the end of the third year and the temptations of money and work immediately they leave. Almost all those I talked to were conscious of marking time, some said wasting time, and no elaborate staging of curriculum could conceal this."²

Leicestershire has therefore decided that 1970, when the school-leaving age will be raised to 16, would be an appropriate time from which automatically to transfer all pupils at 14 to the Upper School, since all pupils will then be assured of a minimum stay of two years in the Upper School.³ Such an arrangement is described in Circular 10/65 as scheme No. ii under which "all pupils transfer at 11 to a junior comprehensive school and all go

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1. "Comprehensive Planning", symposium on reorganisation of secondary education, Stuart Maclure (Ed.), London: Councils and Education Press, N.D., p. 54.
 2. "Times Educational Supplement", Feb. 12th 1965, "A Look at Leicestershire", p. 431.
 3. "Comprehensive Planning", op. cit., p. 56.

on at 13 or 14 to a senior comprehensive school."¹ Circular 10/65 gave its approval to scheme No. ii but was only willing to accept scheme No. iii as a transitional one on the grounds that No. iii was substituting a measure of selection at 13 or 14 for selection at 11+.²

Both the two-tier schemes described so far, however, have one serious weakness and this concerns the age of transfer from the bottom to the top tier of the Secondary stage. If transfer takes place at 13, as at Bradford for example, the junior Comprehensive School provides a two year course, in which pupils are likely merely to mark time whilst waiting for transfer to the Senior School at 13 when the most important part of their secondary education begins. On the other hand, if transfer takes place at 14 then the Senior School is faced with the problem of preparing for examinations like G.C.E. "O" level in two years. This was the objection which was raised by the West Riding against transfer at 14 and accordingly it has instructed its Divisional Executives not to prepare two-tier schemes on this basis.³ Circular 10/65 makes the same objection to transfer at 14 and points out that whilst for subjects like history and geography the age of transfer

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 3, p. 1.

2. Ibid., paras. 11-12, pp. 3-4.

3. "Times Educational Supplement", Sept. 2nd 1966, "Local Administration".

might not be so important, for others, such as science and modern languages delay of transfer until 14 might be harmful.¹ Faced with this dilemma the Circular opted for 13 as being less disadvantageous than 14 as the age of transfer.² It also urges close co-operation between junior and senior schools over curricula, syllabuses, teaching methods and school records and regular exchanges of information and views in order to secure greater continuity during the secondary stage.³

It can be argued, however, that this dilemma can be resolved by transferring children from the Primary School to the Junior School a year or two earlier than eleven, thus creating a kind of middle school covering the age range 9 to 13 which is a solution proposed for the Hemsworth Divisional Executive of the West Riding,⁴ and which is to be experimented with in Bradford. This kind of solution is covered by scheme No. vi of the Circular where it is described as "a system of middle schools which straddle the primary/Secondary age ranges".⁵ Until the passage of the Education Act 1964 such a solution would have been illegal since the 1944 Act only recognises education as being carried on

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para 32, p. 7.

2. Ibid., para. 31, p. 7.

3. Ibid., para.34, p. 8.

4. "Comprehensive Planning", op. cit., p. 78.

5. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 3, p. 2.

in Primary, Secondary and Further stages, and very closely defines the age at which transfer from the Primary to the Secondary stage takes place. It was in fact, precisely because of proposals like that of the West Riding Middle School plan that section one of the 1964 Act amends the 1944 provisions in order to permit Middle School experiments.¹

It is extremely significant that the West Riding experiment with 9 to 13 Middle Schools was the result of consultation with teachers and it was they who elected for the nine to thirteen age range.² Consequently the curt refusal of the Secretary of State in the Circular to give his approval to anything other than "a very small number of such proposals"³ appears astonishing and is perhaps the most serious single weakness in the Circular. It appears even more astonishing when it is made clear that this decision was made "notwithstanding the prima facie attractiveness of middle school systems."⁴ The reason for this attitude was stated to be unwillingness to anticipate any recommendations on the age of transfer that might be made by the Plowden Report on primary education. The Circular therefore requested the L.E.A.s

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1. "Times Educational Supplement", May 20th 1966, "West Riding Experiment".
 2. "Comprehensive Planning", op. cit., p. 76.
 3. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para 22, p. 6.
 4. Ibid.

to prepare their plans on the assumption that eleven would remain the age of transfer.¹ There is an undoubted illogicality in this since if the Department was unwilling to anticipate the findings of the Plowden Report then it was equally inappropriate for any L.E.A. to reorganise its secondary structure before the Report was published.

Since the issue of Circular 10/65 the Secretary of State has modified his stand on Middle Schools, although by the time this was announced planning must have reached an advanced stage in most L.E.A.s. In April 1966 he announced in the House of Commons "Our attitude has shifted in the light of experience since the day when we used the language in the circular. We would now be more willing than we were to consider possibly, 9 to 13 schemes. We would still ask to be shown that these schemes could produce a clear advantage in terms of teachers and buildings, but supposing that they could, we should be more inclined than it appeared from the circular to approve such schemes."² Formal expression was given to this shift of ground in Circular 13/66.

The Plowden Report when it appeared in January 1967 did in fact come down firmly in support of a Middle School type of organisation and presented the arguments in favour in an extremely

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 30, p. 7.

2. "Times Educational Supplement", April 29th 1966, p. 1304.

authoritative and convincing manner. Plowden argued in favour of compulsory education in three stages, an infant school stage lasting three and not two years, as at present, and a Middle School stage from eight to twelve.¹

Transfer from the infant school at eight rather than seven was favoured on the grounds that the existing two year course was too short. It was pointed out that there was overwhelming evidence that many children had not achieved a mastery of reading by the time they left the infant school.² In Kent, the N.F.E.R. found that 45% of children in the first year of the Junior School still needed the kind of teaching found in infant schools, but for which the Junior teacher was often untrained.³ The same survey showed that this could have serious consequences since the chances in learning to read in the Junior School were "very gloomy indeed!"⁴

After pointing out that transfer at 11+ owed its justification more to administrative and historical factors than to psychological ones,⁵ four main arguments were adduced in favour of later transfer to the secondary stage. First, that transfer at eleven cut across an important stage in a child's development, in which

1. "Children and their Primary Schools" (Plowden Report) Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England, H.M.S.O., 1967, para. 386, p. 146.

2. Ibid., para. 362, p. 140.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., para. 366, p. 141.

"an unselfconscious period in art, dramatic movement and writing, for example, may last till 12 or 13."¹ The Secondary School emphasis on "class instruction, adult systemisation and precision"² might be premature for an eleven year old and might even retard his progress. It was pointed out that Piaget had shown that the quality of abstraction which is important in the secondary school was something which emerged late in a child's development.³

Many secondary school teachers would agree with this. Specialisation at the Grammar School in practice rarely begins before 13 and most teachers are aware of a malleability and unselfconscious curiosity in the first and second forms which disappear around about 13 when discipline becomes a problem.

Second, the Report argued that transfer at 11+ creates too wide an age-range in the Secondary School, especially so because of the trend toward the prolongation of school life.⁴ "It is difficult to cater in one institution for the needs of 11 year olds and pupils of 11 to 18: either the presence of children will

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1. "Children and their Primary Schools" (Plowden Report) Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), H.M.S.O., 1967, para. 371, p. 142.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid., In terms of Piaget's stages of development 12 or 13 is the age at which most children pass from the stage of "concrete operation" to "formal thinking". Cf. Inhelder, B. and Piaget, J. "The Growth of logical thinking from childhood to adolescence", Routledge, 1958.
 4. Ibid., para. 373, p. 143.

prevent the development of the near adult atmosphere, that older pupils need: or, if priority is given to creating an adult community, the younger pupils may feel lost, or even by contrast be treated as younger than they are".¹

The third argument was that the present secondary course was simply too long.² The middle years of school life between the excitement and stimulus of entering secondary school and the enjoyment of "established position, responsibility, seniority",³ were the "drab years of boredom",⁴ which could create a potentially dangerous restlessness. "It should not all be blamed on adolescence".⁵

The fourth argument, and one which has already been indicated is that a later age of entry might enable Comprehensive Secondary Schools to be smaller in size and therefore obviate the need for a two-tier organisation of secondary education.⁶ Plowden was clearly opposed to two-tier schemes because of the necessity of one or other stage lasting two years only, and described such schemes as "all legs and no body".⁷

1. "Children and their Primary Schools" (Plowden Report) Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education(England), H.M.S.O., 1967, para. 373, p. 143.

2. Ibid., para. 374, p. 143.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., para. 375, p. 143.

7. Ibid.

It might also be pointed out, although Plowden did not do so, that middle school schemes have the advantage that they create a series of schools running broadly parallel to the independent school system of preparatory (9-13) and public schools (13-18). Clearly, if the Newsom Commission, were to recommend the integration of the independent and state systems a system of middle schools would facilitate this process.

On the question of whether or not the transfer age should be twelve or thirteen the Plowden Report considered that the arguments were fairly evenly balanced on each side but they considered "that the balance of advantage is just with 12 year old transfer".¹ The arguments put forward in support of this decision were three in number. First, that transfer at 13 would mean too short a course to be of benefit to those children leaving school at 15 or 16.² Second, that transfer at 13 would demand the provision of more specialist accommodation, science laboratories, handicraft rooms, gymnasiums etc., in the middle school.³ Third, that transfer at 13 might not produce the kind of middle school that Plowden wished to see in which semi-specialist teachers would bridge the gap between the unspecialised teaching of the

1. "Children and their Primary Schools" (Plowden Report) Report of the Central Advisory Council of Education (England), H.M.S.O. 1967, para. 385, p. 346.

2. Ibid., para. 379, p. 144.

3. Ibid., para. 380, p. 145.

infant school and the subject centred specialisation of the secondary stage.¹ Delaying transfer until 13 would be bound to increase the emphasis on subject specialisation in the middle school.

What makes the Plowden case particularly appealing is that it appears to offer a way of reorganising on a middle school basis which is practicable and realisable in terms of buildings, staffing and expenditure. One moreover which would lead to relatively little disruption of existing schools since Plowden conceived of Middle Schools as being developed from the existing Junior Schools.² Moreover by shifting the emphasis in the school-building programme away from the secondary and on to the primary stage it was shifting it on to what many people would regard as a hitherto dangerously neglected sector.

Two-tier scheme No. iv in the Circular was one "whereby all pupils transfer at 11 to a junior comprehensive school with a choice of senior schools at 13 or 14."³ Under this system the junior school had the same age range for all its pupils, none remaining beyond the age of 13 or 14. Pupils then have a choice between a senior school catering for "A" level and sixth-form

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1. "Children and their Primary Schools" (Plowden Report) Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), H.M.S.O., 1967, para. 381, p. 145
 2. Ibid., para. 386, p. 146.
 3. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 14, p. 4.

work and another not taking its pupils beyond 16 and "0" level. This is fundamentally the system operated at present at Doncaster and Bradford. It secures, however, the worst of both worlds and was rejected by the Circular except as an interim solution.¹ It is not truly comprehensive because it merely postpones selection until 13 or 14 and its junior schools are open to the same objections as apply to schemes ii and iii.

The most controversial of all the two-tier systems outlined in the Circular was scheme No. v, "Comprehensive schools with an age range of 11 to 16 combined with a sixth-form college for pupils of 16 and over."² The Circular was willing to permit "a limited number of experiments"³ in this direction. This kind of scheme originated in Croydon, although it was subsequently abandoned, but has been taken up by a number of authorities including Darlington, Ealing, Rotherham, Stoke-on-Trent, Newcastle-under-Lyme, the South-East Division of Essex, Harrow and the West Riding (at Mexborough).⁴ It arouses intense passions amongst its protagonists and opponents as the correspondence columns of the "Times Educational Supplement" testify.⁵

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 15, pp. 4-5.

2. Ibid., para. 15, p. 5.

3. Ibid., para. 20, p. 5.

4. "Times Educational Supplement", Aug. 19th 1966, "Sixth-Form Colleges", E.G. Beynon, p. 363.

5. Cf. "Times Educational Supplement", Sept. 2nd 1966.

Two kinds of 16+ College are visualised. The first, in the words of the Circular, is a college "catering for the educational needs of all young people staying on at school beyond the age of 16", the other kind, "would make entry to a college dependent on the satisfaction of certain conditions (e.g. five passes at Ordinary level or a declared intention of preparing for Advanced level)".¹ The latter type is often described as a Sixth-Form College of which that planned for Luton would be an example, and the former as Junior College of which Wigan would be an example. The Luton College plans, originally, at any rate, demanded 4 "O" levels, and would be in practice an "A" level Academy.² Wigan, on the other hand, plans to admit any student whether "qualified" or not hoping to pursue "O" or "A" level, vocational or pre-professional courses.³

The arguments for and against schemes of this kind may be summarised as follows. Six basic arguments are advanced in favour of such schemes.⁴ First it is argued that earlier physical and emotional maturity, plus the emergence of a distinctive teenage sub-culture make it irksome for pupils of 16 and over to conform

1. Circular 10/65, *op. cit.*, para. 16, p. 5.

2. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", Survey No. I of the Comprehensive Schools Committee, Oct. 1966, p. 11.

3. *Ibid.*

4. For an excellent summary of the arguments for and against see "Sixth-Form Colleges", N.U.T. discussion document, not dated.

to the standards required of schools as a whole. It is therefore contended that the relaxation of rules over such things as dress, smoking and other matters which would be possible in a separate Sixth-form College would make for easier relations between students and staff and for a less rebellious attitude amongst many students who find the present atmosphere uncongenial. Many would in consequence stay on in College rather than leave school prematurely.

Second, too many students in College and University are unfamiliar with unsupervised study. The Sixth-form College would enable students to become used to working on their own and the transition from school to University would thereby be eased.

Third, a Sixth-form College serving several secondary schools could offer a greater variety of courses than could be offered in even a very large comprehensive school. The provision of expensive and specialised equipment and of specialist services such as those of laboratory technicians would become an economic proposition in such an institution.

Fourth, the Sixth-Form College could be set up with a minimal interference with present arrangements. Secondary Schools could remain small and would need very little alteration either physically or organisationally. Existing Grammar Schools might be adapted for use as Sixth-form Colleges.

Fifth, and perhaps most important, such institutions would enjoy great prestige and would attract highly qualified staff. This would lead to a more economic use of scarce highly qualified teaching ability. This would be particularly significant in science and mathematics. If the existing force of graduate science and mathematics teachers were to be dispersed throughout new and existing comprehensive schools, instead of being concentrated in the Grammar Schools, as at present, there would be no possibility of guaranteeing the adequate staffing of individual schools in these subjects.

Thus Mr. George Taylor was quoted in the "Times Educational Supplement" as calculating that by 1980 there may be something between 3,000 and 5,000 Comprehensive Schools in the country, each with Sixth Forms including between 70 and 120 boys and girls doing "A" levels. Basing his figure on the Robbins Report, Mr. Taylor pointed out that in 1961 there were 4,500 teachers with first or second class degrees in mathematics and science teaching in the maintained Grammar Schools, and the present evidence was that the number of good honours graduates in these subjects was likely to decline. Even if this teaching force were evenly distributed this would mean only one good honours graduate in science or mathematics per school in 1980.¹

1. "Times Educational Supplement", Aug. 26th 1966.

This argument appeals particularly to those who, like the Editor of the "Times Educational Supplement", see in Comprehensive education the probability of a dilution of academic standards. The Sixth-form College is therefore seen as a means of counter-acting the harm done at a lower level in the educational system by academically weak teaching geared to the needs of the average rather than the above average student. For example, in August 1966 the "Times Educational Supplement" declared, "It is a reasonable assumption then that if comprehensivism sweeps the board in Britain the same holding back of the able that happens in America will become common practice here Here lies the case for the Sixth-Form College. If we are determined, for social reasons to blunt the edge of the academic element in the general secondary schools, it seems desirable to have places of intense study under selected teachers where students aspiring to higher education can be brought up to its standards."¹

The Sixth and last argument heard in favour of Sixth-Form Colleges is that, by making the break in a two-tier structure at 16, it would be possible to organise the 11 to 16 school around an integrated 5 year course culminating in "O" level and the statutory school-leaving age. Such a unified course would be impossible in any other two-tier structure where the break takes

1. "Times Educational Supplement", Aug. 19th 1966.

place at any age below 16, a point which the Circular underlined in regard to transfer at 13 or 14.

Perhaps the most important argument against the Sixth-Form College is that since the break in schooling would coincide with the school-leaving age in 1970, this would tend to act as a check on the tendency of pupils to prolong their school-life. Faced with the choice of entering the Sixth-Form or entering work some children would choose employment rather than a Sixth-Form course, if this meant a change of school.¹

The opponents also challenge the assumptions behind much of the argument in favour of Sixth-Form Colleges. In particular they would challenge the assumption that existing Sixth Forms are in fact restrictive, or that the best Sixths do not already prepare their students for the undirected freedom to study of the University.

The alleged economy in the use of specialist teachers is seen as having a two-sided consequence. It is pointed out that it is of great value to both teacher and taught that Sixth-Form teachers should spend time teaching the lower forms. Furthermore, because of the prestige of the Sixth-Form Colleges, it is prophesied

1. It is interesting and perhaps significant that Sixth-Form College schemes appear to be most popular in northern England where early leaving is more common than in the South. Cf. C.S.C. interim survey, op. cit., p. 5.

that the levels of salaries in the Colleges and Secondary Schools will tend to diverge so that the Secondary Schools will find themselves unable to attract teachers of the high calibre found in the Colleges. In any case the economies to be gained in the use of specialists are felt to be exaggerated, since even in very large schools the provision of Sixth Form courses in certain minority subjects (e.g. Classics) is often possible only where the appropriate teachers are able to teach other subjects at the same or a lower level.

Finally Sixth-Form Colleges would extinguish the role of the Sixth-Form in providing leadership and example to the lower forms. It is felt that in consequence the development of qualities of responsibility and maturity would be hindered. The debate continues and it may be appreciated that it is often conducted in much more emotive terms than have been employed here.

There is, however, one aspect of such a two-tier structure which receives relatively little attention and to which the Circular very rightly drew the notice of the Local Authorities.¹ This concerns the implications of Junior or Sixth-Form Colleges for the existing Colleges of Further Education. The existing F.E. Colleges already have accumulated a great deal of experience in the running of G.C.E. "O" and "A" level courses, vocational

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 19, p. 5.

and pre-professional courses both part-time and full-time for school leavers. In many cases they have well-equipped teaching and laboratory space and highly qualified staffs.

Many Principals of F.E. Colleges are anxious to ensure that if a Sixth-Form or Junior College is set up its work shall be brought into organic relationship with the existing F.E. College either by becoming a part of it or at least being built side by side with it and sharing certain common facilities. Aside from the obvious desire to avoid a wasteful and unnecessary duplication and competition of resources there is another important motive, and this lies in the desire to end the division of educational responsibility for the 15-19 age group between secondary and further education. The F.E. Colleges fear that separate Sixth-Form and Junior Colleges would intensify this dichotomy and that a Sixth-Form College in particular would increase the prejudice which exists at present in favour of academic and non-vocational education as against vocational and technical education. In the words of the Principal of the Cambridgeshire College of Arts and Technology, "By segregating our ablest children into institutions (Sixth-Form Colleges) which are wholly academic in outlook, with staff who, whatever their academic qualifications, have normally little or no experience of the worlds of industry and commerce, we ensure that university academic departments are perpetually

over-subscribed, while the faculties of technology and applied science have unfilled places."¹ On the other hand he viewed with great favour the idea of a junior college as part and parcel of the provision for further education. "By providing courses in such fields as Engineering, Applied Science, Building Construction and Business Studies, alongside the academic G.C.E. courses, which under our present system normally exist in isolation, the junior college could be a powerful instrument in breaking down the uniquely British prejudice against technology and commerce and vocational education generally."²

The Voluntary and Direct Grant Schools.

Having outlined its position on each of the six main schemes of secondary reorganisation current in 1965 the Department of Education and Science made a number of general observations on related problems. These included a request to the Local Authorities to include Voluntary Schools in their reorganisation plans and asked the Governors of Voluntary Schools and the L.E.A.s "to enter into discussions to this end and at the earliest practicable stage in the preparation of plans;"³ although it was made plain "that it is not essential that the same pattern should be adopted

1. "The Junior College", M.E. Mumford, "Forum", Vol. 7, No. 2, Spring 1965, p. 47.

2. Ibid.

3. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 37, pp. 8-9.

for denominational and other voluntary schools in any given area as is adopted for that area's county schools."¹ The essential objective was simply that "selection is eliminated."² Second, it requested those Local Education Authorities with Direct-Grant Grammar Schools in their areas to discuss with the Governors of these schools, "ways in which the schools might be associated with their plans,"³ a noticeably vaguer instruction than that given in the case of Voluntary Schools.

Neighbourhood Schools

The Circular also sounded a warning note on the dangers of the so-called "neighbourhood" comprehensives which took on particular social and intellectual characteristics from the neighbourhood which they served, and urged the authorities "to ensure, when determining catchment areas, that schools are as socially and intellectually comprehensive as possible."⁴ In small and medium sized towns (upto 250,000?) this is presumably possible if catchment areas are designed on the pie-crust principle, narrow in the centre and broadening out towards the suburbs. In large conurbations like London, however, it is extremely difficult to see how neighbourhood schools can be avoided without excessively

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 38, p. 9.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., para. 39, p. 9.

4. Ibid., para. 36, p. 8.

long travelling times for the children or excessively big schools. It would appear to be the case that in the U.S.A., for example, many High Schools are neighbourhood schools and that consequently some schools in the middle-class suburbs are much more sought after by teachers and taught than others in "down-town" areas.¹

Consultation and the timetable for submission of plans.

The Circular concluded with a plea for "close and genuine consultation"² with teachers in the preparation of plans and for parents to be "informed fully and authoritatively as soon as practicable in planning stage."³ Local Authorities were requested to submit their plans in two parts.⁴ Part One should consist of a general statement of the authority's long term aim and should include the voluntary schools. There should also be an indication of the authority's intentions in regard to those free places provided by the authority in independent and Direct Grant Schools, and of the extent to which the Direct Grant Schools were participating in the plan.

Part Two was to consist of concrete and detailed proposals, including estimates of building costs, for an interim 3 year

1. Gambs J.D. "Schools, Scholars and Society", Prentice-Hall: New Jersey, 1965, pp. 46-56.

2. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 41, p. 9.

3. Ibid., para. 42, p. 10.

4. Ibid., para. 44, pp. 10-11.

period beginning in September 1967. Incredibly, both Parts were expected to be submitted within one year of the appearance of the Circular, i.e. by July 1966, although the Secretary of State "may exceptionally agree an extension to this period in the case of any individual Authority."¹ In August 1966 the Secretary of State announced in the Commons that 16 Authorities had requested such an extension, and this had been granted, up to a limit of nine months.²

The Response to the Circular

The most complete, accurate and detailed interim survey so far published on the response of the L.E.A.s to Circular 10/65 was that produced in October 1966 by the Comprehensive Schools Committee,³ when almost two-thirds of the 162 English and Welsh L.E.A.s had either submitted plans or were already operating comprehensive schemes. The outstanding impression left by this survey, compiled from information supplied by Chief Education Officers, supplemented by the local membership of C.S.C. and the local press in some instances is of the overwhelmingly favourable response to the Circular and the tremendous variety in the plans submitted or under active consideration. Only seven Authorities,

1. Circular 10/65, op. cit., para. 44, pp. 10-11.

2. "Times Educational Supplement", Aug. 12th 1966.

3. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", op. cit.

Bournemouth, Worcester, Rutland, Croydon, Harrow, Buckinghamshire and Westmorland are listed as authorities where reorganisation schemes are either "not to be submitted" or have been "deferred indefinitely".

It would however be unwise, as the survey points out, to assume that this represents the sum total of recalcitrant authorities.¹ For one thing, of course, 50 authorities have not yet submitted plans. The Comprehensive Schools Committee believes that about half of these will have been submitted by the end of 1966 and that a few of these, such as Bromley will in fact retain selection at eleven.² Of the other 25 authorities delay has been occasioned by difficulties due to such things as boundary changes but also by precarious political majorities which have resulted in indecision. Examples of this latter type of authority would include, Bath, Plymouth, Leicester and Wolverhampton.³ It is unlikely that all these 50 late-starters will produce comprehensive schemes.

The second reason for caution lies in the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish the genuinely comprehensive schemes from those which preserve a greater or lesser amount of selection

1. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", op. cit., p. 1.

2. "Comprehensive Education", Bulletin of the Comprehensive Schools Committee, No. 4, 1966, p. 9.

3. Ibid.

in various guises. For example, the multilateral and campus scheme appears in thinly veiled forms. Hertfordshire plans a "campus" system with grammar and modern schools co-existing on the same site, sharing the same uniforms and games facilities, and with common Boards of Governors, but with selection at eleven retained for both types of course.¹ Bath is actively considering a scheme for "consortia" of ex-Secondary Modern and Grammar Schools but with selection and transfer between the members of the consortia at twelve.²

About 15 to 20 Authorities are adopting two-tier scheme No. iv, in which selection is deferred until 13 or 14, when a decision has to be made between a "long" academic course in the ex-Grammar School and a "short" less academic and vocational course in the ex-Secondary Modern.³ Where such an element of selection persists a process known as "guided parental choice" is often substituted for the old 11+ exam, as in Wiltshire.⁴ Some schemes are mixed ones retaining the old system along with new comprehensive developments.

The factor making for the most difficulty in assessing these

1. "Secondary Reorganization", op. cit., p. 9.

2. Ibid., Cf. Local Authority List.

3. Ibid., p.p. 9-10.

4. Ibid., Cf. Local Authority List.

schemes lies in the distinction between "interim" and "long-term" plans. In Keighley excepted district for example "guided parental choice" and selection at 13 is clearly interim only, and a precise timetable for conversion to a fully comprehensive system has been laid down;¹ but the survey found that about half the authorities with allegedly interim schemes could provide no timetable for the conversion from interim to long-term.²

It is quite clear too that segregation and selection could be maintained inside a nominally comprehensive school by organising it on rigidly bilateral lines. The important point is that this kind of thing is not easy to determine until much detailed study and investigation has taken place.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the vast majority of L.E.A.s are co-operating both with the spirit and the letter of Circular 10/65. The October survey concluded that only about 20 to 25 Authorities were retaining selection at eleven in some form beyond the present school generation, or not submitting a scheme, or developing the present system along existing lines over the greater part of their area.³ Perhaps as many as five were contenting themselves with providing "a further year of comprehensive

1. "Secondary Reorganization", op. cit., pp. 9-10

2. Ibid., p. 5.

3. Ibid., p. 9.

education in the Primary School by raising the transfer age to twelve."¹ This is a rather larger number of laggard authorities than the optimistic and somewhat vague ministerial statements made in the House of Commons would have led one to expect,² but much lower than the figures quoted by some press correspondents.³

This broadly favourable reaction to the Circular is easily explained. As the N.F.E.R. report on "Admission to Grammar Schools" in 1957 and the N.U.T. survey of reorganisation plans in 1964 showed the tide was already flowing strongly in favour of comprehensive education well before the issue of Circular 10/65. There had, over the twenty year period that had elapsed since 1944 been a great shift of opinion amongst many educationists and teachers in the face of the kind of evidence outlined in the previous chapter.

There can be no doubt too that some local authorities realised that if they were opposed to Circular 10/65 the most politic response to it would not be outright refusal but that outlined in an editorial in the "Times Educational Supplement", which at least had the merit of frankness. The "Times Educational Supplement" wrote: "The wisest attitude for those who oppose

1. "Secondary Reorganization", op. cit., p. 9.

2. Cf. "Times Educational Supplement", Aug. 12th 1966, "Questions in Parliament".

3. Cf. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", op. cit.p.1.

comprehensive policies as harmful to education will be to regard the campaign against them as having to be long drawn out, to be waged for a generation and through the life of several governments. Opinions change in the course of years and so do conditions, and it would be a great mistake to assume that the battle for keeping a strong element of selective schooling in the system has been lost. A diplomatic resistance, the skilful use of delaying tactics, a certain haziness in plans presented for the future are weapons which local authorities can use to effect when satisfied that their present provision of secondary education is efficient and just. If the power of the central authority is increasing it does not follow that authority in the locality has ceased to exist!¹

Circular 10/65 merely requests the Local Authorities to produce reorganisation schemes, and in an answer to a question in Parliament in March 1966 the Minister of State said, "It is true there is no statutory power to enforce some parts of the circular, except in so far as an application is required under section 13."² Section 13 of the 1944 Act requires Ministerial approval of any proposal to close an existing school or open a new one. The implication of this reply was that legislation would be required to enforce comprehensive reorganisation. This would however appear to be a debatable point and would largely depend upon the legal

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1. "Times Educational Supplement", editorial, reprinted in "Your Children, Your Schools, Your Government", London, 1966, p.23.
 2. Cf. "Times Educational Supplement", May 4th 1966, "Questions in Parliament".

interpretation of Pt. I, 1 (i) of the Act which states, "It shall be the duty of the Secretary of State for Education and Science to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area". Section 68 of the Act also appears to give him powers of direction over any Authority which, in his opinion, is acting unreasonably, or proposes so to act, despite the fact that the issue lies within the discretion of the authority.

There are in any case a vast number of other things in addition to those outlined in Section 13, such as the school building programme or the appointment of a new Chief Education Officer, which require the Secretary of States approval. So that in the words of Taylor and Saunders, "If he cares to exercise his power he can assume almost complete control over the national educational system."¹ In any head-on collision with a recalcitrant authority therefore the Secretary of State would be in an infinitely stronger position.

The second impression given by the survey, is that, unless

1. Taylor, G. and Saunders, J.B., "The New Law of Education", 6th Ed., London: Butterworth, 1965, p. 4.

the Secretary of State insists upon widespread and drastic modifications of the schemes submitted or about to be submitted, and in the light of Circular 10/65 this would appear unlikely, then secondary organisation over the foreseeable future is going to present a picture of almost bewildering variety. On present showing only about half of all L.E.A.s will adopt a single scheme for the whole of their area.¹ Of these, 25 have opted for all-through 11-18 schools, 25 for a two-tier scheme with the break at 13 or 14, 20 for a two-tier scheme based on Sixth-Form Colleges, and 15 for middle school schemes.² The remaining Local Authorities have opted for mixed systems embracing a combination of sometimes 3 or 4 different schemes.³ The West Riding, for example, is permitting each of its Divisional Executives to submit its own reorganisation scheme.⁴ A Lancashire working party was reported in "The Guardian" as having recommended 3 separate schemes (all-through, Sixth-Form College and Leicestershire 2 tier) for one of its Divisional Executives, No. 14, which covers an urban area near Wigan.⁵

Taking both whole and part schemes into account the approximate numbers for the different kinds of scheme, is about 65 for

1. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", op. cit., p. 4.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

4. "Comprehensive Planning", op. cit., p. 77.

5. "The Guardian".

all-through schools, 55 for two-tier schemes, 35 for Sixth-Form Colleges and about 35 for Middle school schemes.¹ There are still many variants on these basic schemes. For example middle school schemes can be cited covering three different age ranges, 9-13 as in Bedfordshire, 8-12 as in the West Riding and 10-12, also in the West Riding.² The picture becomes even more complicated when account is taken of differing timetables of changeover and the fact that many schemes embrace makeshift school units constructed from separate buildings and those which are purpose-built.

The Comprehensive Schools Committee decided against attempting to survey the voluntary school reorganisation although a record is kept. But they claimed that "most denominational bodies are trying to match their own school developments to their Authority's comprehensive plans."³ In some cases however this involved separate schemes and therefore increases the baffling complexity of the picture of secondary reorganisation which is now emerging in the aftermath of Circular 10/65.

In one area, however, the C.S.C. indicated that there was very little sign of a response to Circular 10/65 and this was over the problem of the relationship of the highly selective

1. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", op. cit., p.5.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Ibid., p.6.

Direct Grant Grammar schemes to the new comprehensive systems. Some Authorities had indicated that they would like a clearer exposition of government policy over this problem and others that negotiations with Direct-Grant Schools were holding up plans for the area.¹ A few plans have been made public including the one suggested by the Leeds Authority.² If the Leeds plan is followed in principle by other authorities and is accepted by the D.E.S. it will leave the Direct-Grant Schools intact as super-selective schools taking only children of the very highest academic potential. Leeds has agreed with the Governors of Leeds Grammar School that as from 1969 it will send between 25 and 35 boys to the grammar school at the age of 16 for a two-year sixth-form course. A pupil will only be nominated if his parents wish it, and only if his school cannot offer the sixth-form course of his choice.

It should be clear from the evidence presented so far that any judgement on the relative merits of individual reorganisation schemes submitted by a Local Authority must be based on a close and detailed examination. It is suggested that in arriving at a judgement four main questions need to be answered. First, does the scheme eliminate selection and segregation and so afford maximum opportunity throughout the period of school life? Second,

1. "Secondary Reorganization in England and Wales", op. cit., p.7.

2. "Times Educational Supplement ", Nov. 11th 1966, p. 1160.

does it embrace Voluntary and Direct Grant Schools in a unified and integrated structure? Third, does it avoid makeshift solutions dictated more by administrative expediency than educational principle? Fourth, does it avoid serious damage to the morale of teachers through failure either to safeguard salaries and status or to consult and inform? In the next chapter an examination will be made of the Bradford scheme, and in doing so these four questions will be borne in mind.

CHAPTER VI

Secondary Reorganisation in Bradford

The history of secondary reorganisation in Bradford covers a period of twenty years, beginning in 1945, when for the first time in the history of the city the Labour Party secured a majority on the Council.¹ During this twenty year period secondary reorganisation has been a permanent bone of contention between the two parties.

The first task which faced the Local Education Authority in 1945 was the preparation of a Development Plan under the terms of the 1944 Act. As far as Secondary Development was concerned it was not until September 9th 1947 that the Council approved in principle the lines upon which Secondary education should be developed. The plan for Primary education, which involved no fundamental reconsideration of policy, was prepared separately and given earlier approval by the Council.

The ostensible reason for this delay was that the Authority was awaiting the results of a survey by the City Architects Department² into the building programme which would be necessary

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1. "Telegraph and Argus", Friday 2nd Nov. 1945.
 2. "Schedule of Accommodation Deficiencies", issued to the City of Bradford Education Committee 19th Nov. 1946.

in order to bring the Bradford Schools (Primary and Secondary) up to the standards laid down by the Ministry (Regulations Prescribing Standards for School Premises, Statutory Rules and Orders, 1945, No. 345.). This survey showed, in the words of a Council Memorandum on the subject, "that no school completely met the requirements of the regulations, not even the most recently built!"¹

The post-war building regulations of 1945 were, it is now generally conceded, conceived in a spirit of post-war idealism. They laid down extremely high standards, were particularly lavish as far as minimum site acreages were concerned, and have since been modified. Consequently all Local Education Authorities in the country were faced with similar discrepancies between the standards laid down by the Ministry and those actually existing. However, as has been pointed out earlier there is no doubt that Secondary educational provision had been neglected in Bradford, at least during the inter-war period, and that the situation in Bradford was therefore particularly bad.

The biggest problem was presented by the restricted nature of the existing school sites which in the words of the survey did not in "very many, probably most cases ... permit of the extensions and improvements which the Regulations prescribe."²

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1. Memorandum on the 1st portion of the Authority's Development Plan, dealing with Secondary Education", approved in principle by the City Council, 9th Sept. 1947, p. 3.
 2. "Schedule of Accommodation Deficiencies", op. cit., p. 3.

The Memorandum therefore commented, "It was the realisation of the almost insuperable nature of the difficulty which the requirements of the Minister on the one hand, and the condition of the buildings and the sites on the other made clear, that led the Committee after careful deliberation to reach the conclusion that the only means of providing the City with satisfactory Secondary Schools in the future was to look to the outskirts of the City where adequate sites could be secured and new buildings could be erected which might not only provide the amenities required by the Regulations, but provide them in such a way as to contribute to the efficiency, and, in the long run, economic working."¹

The Committee therefore passed a resolution instructing the Director to "prepare for submission to the Education Committee a scheme for the erection of 13 or 14 new Secondary Schools, each to contain 1,250 places, at suitable points in the City, such schools to be organized on a multilateral basis, and to supersede the existing Secondary Schools!"² The scheme which the Director ultimately presented did in fact propose eleven new 10 form entry schools, each of 1,550 places and providing a total of 17,050 places.³ Three of the schools were to be for boys,

1. "Memorandum on the 1st portion of the Authority's Development Plan", op. cit., p. 4.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 8, 10 and 11.

three for girls and 5 were to be mixed. Eleven suitable sites were designated, each of 55 acres, and a map prepared showing them.¹ It was also suggested that the Junior Art Department could be absorbed by one of the new schools.² The ailing Junior Art Department was in fact closed down in the nineteen-fifties and it may well be that another of the reasons why the Authority adopted the comprehensive principle was that there had never been in Bradford a strong tradition of tripartism in its post-primary educational system. As has already been pointed out this scheme was approved in principle by the Council in September 1947 and received the approval of the Minister on the 12th March 1952.

The striking fact is, however, that in spite of Bradford's explicit commitment to a Comprehensive system and Ministerial approval of it, its first Comprehensive School at Buttershaw was not completed until 1961. If we seek reasons for this remarkable delay one reason stands out above all others and this is the fact that the local Labour Party was itself deeply divided over the issue. As the local press pointed out the Council approved the scheme by only 30 votes to 24 with 35 absentees or abstentions.³ The outstanding indication of the divisions within the party is

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1. "Memorandum on the 1st portion of the Authority's Development Plan", op. cit., p. 12. See Appendix 5 for a reproduction of this map.
 2. Ibid., p. 10.
 3. "Telegraph and Argus", Wednesday, 12th Feb. 1947.

however the fact that the Chairman of the Education Committee in 1947, Ald. W. Leach, was himself opposed to Comprehensive reorganisation. Alderman Leach believed, as some members of the Party still do, that the Grammar Schools had been the most effective instrument that had been discovered of increasing social mobility by mobilising the talents of working-class children and pushing them on into University. By the time that the division of opinion within the Labour Party had been resolved in favour of the Comprehensive idea, the Labour Party lost its overall majority in 1959 and the City entered a period of political stalemate.

In November 1947 Alderman Leach retired from the Chairmanship of the Education Committee and it was widely assumed that he would be succeeded by the Vice-Chairman Mr. J. Backhouse who was a firm supporter of Comprehensive education. In the event, however, Ald. Leach was succeeded by Ald. Kathleen Chambers who, like Ald. Leach was opposed to it; a series of events which was the subject of widespread comment at the time.¹

A second reason for the delay was that in 1948 the City introduced a new procedure for the allocation of children to Grammar Schools which replaced the 11 plus written examination; and this seems to have lessened any feeling of urgency over the

1. "Telegraph and Argus", 13th Nov. 1947, p. 2.

need to replace the bipartite system. It must be remembered that in 1948 the evidence which has since accumulated on the influence of environmental factors upon the process of educational selection did not exist. In the immediate post-war years dissatisfaction with bipartism tended to focus on the injustices and inconsistencies of the 11 plus examination itself. Public complaint was mainly directed against such things as the alleged unfairness of coaching for the examination, the effects of parental anxiety, and the strain of the examination itself upon young and nervous children. The Bradford procedure eliminated the formal written examination and therefore, apparently, much of the public anxiety.

Until 1947 admission to the City's Grammar and two former selective central schools was based on an order of merit list determined by the candidates' total scores in three Moray House tests, in Arithmetic, English and general intelligence. Two groups of these tests were set, with an interval of some weeks between them; the candidate's total score being the sum of his three highest scores, one in each type of test.

In the summer of 1947 the City Council passed a resolution instructing the Director to prepare "a scheme for the selection of pupils for all types of secondary education, by some means other than qualifying and/or competitive examination." After consulting with an Advisory Committee of teachers and inspectors

a scheme was drawn up which was approved by the Council and put into operation in 1948.¹

The procedure adopted was as follows:-

1. The parents' choice of school was ascertained.
2. The Head Teacher of the Primary School assessed each child on a five point scale (A,B,C, D,E) under six headings, mental ability, attainment in arithmetic, attainment in English, perseverance, conscientiousness and suitability for secondary education requiring comparatively intensive and sustained effort.
3. Two intelligence tests were administered, separated by an interval of some weeks. The first being a Moray House Test and the second a Lewis.
4. The information thus accumulated plus any additional information which the Head Teacher might supply, including the results of any objective tests set by the school, were considered by a Selection Panel. This comprised the Chief Local Authority Inspector of Schools, the Senior Woman Inspector, two Heads of Grammar Schools, two Heads of Modern Schools and four Heads of Primary Schools. Expert opinion, such as that of the School Medical Officer might be called in cases of difficulty and the child's Head Teacher, parent, or even the child himself

1. For a description of the old and new procedures see Skinner J.C. "An enquiry into the Success of the Bradford Scheme of Allocation to Secondary Schools", in "Researches and Studies", University of Leeds Institute of Education, No. 11. Jan. 1955, pp. 7-8.

could be interviewed.

The Panel began its work by preparing 3 scores. The first score was known as the "assessment-sum" and was obtained by giving a numerical value to each of the six assessments. Each "A" counted 6, each "B" three, each "C" 0, each "D" -3 and each "E" -6. These values were then added to 100. The second score was known as the "test-sum" and was obtained by adding together the two intelligence test scores. The third score was known as the "total score" and was obtained by adding together the assessment-sum and test-sum.

Although individual consideration was given to each child, and in many instances the Panel moved children from one group to another the allocation to Grammar School was usually made on the basis of three factors. The first and most obvious one was parental choice of a Grammar School, the second was the attainment of an A, B, or C assessment, with not more than one D, or, if there was one D, a total score of 327 or above. A D for "suitability" was not counted. The third factor was a test-sum of 215 or more.

It was originally intended that a check on the success of the scheme should be made by examining the subsequent school careers of all the 4,482 children admitted to Secondary Schools of all types in the September 1948 entry. In fact this proved

impossible because of the amount of work involved and only a limited enquiry was mounted in the shape of an investigation into the Grammar School entrants only at three stages in their school careers.¹ The Grammar School Heads were requested to provide lists of the pupils concerned in order of merit at the end of the three school years, 1948-9, 1949-50, and 1951-52. These rankings were then used in reverse order as school ranking marks (SR). The school-ranking marks were then compared with the 1948 tests-sum, assessment-sum and total score.

The results of this enquiry, which was conducted by the Chief Inspector of the Bradford Local Authority were published in 1955. These showed a correlation co-efficient in 1950 of .744 between the SR mark and the assessment-sum, of .784 between the SR mark and the total score, of .728 between the SR and the Moray-House test and of .685 between the SR and the Lewis Test.² The enquiry therefore concluded that the total score "is a better predictor than either the assessment-sum or the test-sum by itself."³ This result should, however, be compared with the results of a very similar enquiry conducted by the N.F.E.R. at Twickenham into the performance of 1951 Secondary School entrants at the end of their second

1. For a description of the old and new procedures see Skinner J.C. "An enquiry into the success of the Bradford Scheme of Allocation to Secondary Schools", in "Researches and Studies", University of Leeds Institute of Education, No.11, Jan. 1955, pp. 8-11.

2. Ibid., Table 5, p. 11.

3. Ibid., p. 13.

year in school.¹ In this case the predictive value of nine kinds of test was measured against a scaled order of merit produced by the Secondary Heads. This produced three tests all with higher correlation co-efficients than those obtained in Bradford. The three highest were .821 for Primary Heads' assessments scaled by the Foundation's own method, .796 for Primary Heads' assessments quantified by a method used in Middlesex and .789 for a verbal intelligence test.²

It is therefore by no means clear that the Bradford Scheme was in any way superior as a method of predicting academic performance to the more orthodox methods employed by other authorities; indeed it may have been slightly worse. Above all, of course, however much the Council might wish to avoid the use of the terms "qualifying", "competitive" and "examination" the procedure adopted was bound to contain all three elements since the number of Grammar School places was strictly limited. Whatever name was applied to it, the procedure adopted at 11+ remained a selective one.

The Post-war building programme.

In spite therefore of the Development Plan the new Secondary Schools that were built in Bradford between 1945 and 1959 when the

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1. Yates A. And Pidgeon D.A., "Admission to Grammar Schools", N.F.E.R. Report, Newnes, 1957, pp. 57-76.
 2. Ibid., Table V/i, p. 63.

Labour Party was in undisputed power were all of them Secondary Modern in type, although nominally they were supposed to be the first instalments of future Comprehensive Schools. The old Central Schools, Gregory and Priestman were retained as "selective secondary schools" taking the Grammar School near misses and retaining them until 16 and the end of the "O" level year. At that point any pupil with sufficient "O" levels could be transferred to the Sixth Form of one of the city's Grammar Schools in order to do an "A" level course. This policy was in fact adopted by most Local Authorities after 1945 who inherited old Central Schools.

Even here, however, the Secondary School building programme seems to have been curiously slow in getting under way. The first new Secondary School was only opened in 1956 (Buttershaw), the second (Eccleshill) in 1957 and two more (Rhodesway and Wyke Manor) in 1959. The Authority would argue that this delay is more apparent than real and would point to the 5 new Voluntary R.C. Secondary Schools built in Bradford since 1945 as having substantially reduced the amount of government financial help available to the Bradford Authority for the building of maintained Secondary Schools.

The Roman Catholic population in Bradford is a very large one and the proportion of Secondary places provided in R.C. Schools is approximately one fifth. The reason for the success of the

Catholic community in obtaining priority in the school building programme lies in the fact that whereas, as we have seen Bradford reorganised its All-Age schools on Hadow lines before the outbreak of World War II the Catholic Education Authorities did not. Consequently the needs of the Catholic schools were so urgent that their rebuilding programme had to a great extent to take precedence over that of the Maintained Secondary Schools. As a result 5 of the 6 existing R.C. Secondary Schools in Bradford are in new post-war buildings.

There is no doubt that there exists considerable feeling in Bradford over this question. Many people argue that the Authority has lost 5 new post-war Secondary Schools because of its progressive activities in the inter-war period and has been made the scapegoat of Catholic educational negligence. This feeling is exacerbated by the fact that many of the children in the Catholic Secondary Schools come from places outside of Bradford. In one or two years indeed both Cardinal Hinsley and Margaret Clitherow Schools have had a majority of West Riding children, but the Authority was not of course relieved of the burden of supporting these schools from the Bradford rates.

The 1947 decision that the City should go Comprehensive did not go by without opposition. The Joint Four, for example, resolutely and predictably opposed the scheme outright and the

N.U.T., equally predictably, declared itself not to be against limited experiments on Comprehensive lines.¹ The Conservative opposition on the City Council was also clearly opposed to the scheme, but as long as little more was done than build Secondary Modern units on new sites in the City the Labour majority met little real opposition. The first real clash in the Council did not come until the mooted idea in 1957 of a new South Bradford Secondary School.² The reason for this was that unlike the other new Secondary Schools, the site chosen for the new school was on the playing fields of an existing Grammar School.

The Grammar School chosen was Bolling Girls' High School and it was argued that this would mean that when a Comprehensive School was ultimately constructed around the new South Bradford School it would be easy to amalgamate with the existing Girls' Grammar School and so ensure a genuinely Comprehensive entry. This was of course perfectly true and it was because it represented a direct threat to an existing Grammar School that the scheme met fierce opposition from the Conservative Party.

An alternative site existed a couple of hundred yards away from Bolling High School in Lister Avenue, and it was decided to

1. "Telegraph and Argus", Monday, 16th June 1967, p. 3.

2. Most of the information which follows on the Bolling High School controversy is derived from personal conversation with members of the Bradford Education Departments. The decision of the Council to build at Bolling High School was made on the 16th April 1957.

use this as joint playing fields for the two schools. Some delay was experienced in implementing the plan, partly because the ownership of part of the land in Lister Avenue could not be determined and partly because the Ministry insisted upon the purchase of a further 2.3 acres of land on the Bolling High School site.¹ Consequently by the time that the Authority was ready to begin building in 1959 the Labour Party had lost its overall majority on the Council which thereupon entered a period of political stalemate between 1959 and 1961 when decisive action by either party was impossible. A period of time which is looked upon by the permanent officials of the Education Department as one of intense frustration and difficulty for them. At this point the Ministry queried the estimated cost (£50,000) of laying out the playing-fields on Lister Avenue and this obviously provided the Conservative Party with useful ammunition in the bitter fight which ensued in the City Council. On the 23rd July 1959 the City Council therefore decided, by a majority of one vote not to proceed with the scheme to build on Bolling High School playing fields but to seek an alternative site for the South Bradford School. Subsequently the new school was built on the Lister Avenue site and opened in 1963 as the Fairfax Secondary Modern School.

1. Letter from the Ministry to the Authority dated 12th March 1959.

Opposition also met the proposals, during this same period of political deadlock, to purpose-build a new all-through Comprehensive School at Tong and to extend the existing Buttershaw Secondary Modern School and convert it too into a Comprehensive. It was only with the greatest difficulty that agreement was reached in principle to proceed with both projects.

In 1961 the Conservatives secured a clear majority on the Council and promptly began to reverse the policy initiated by the Labour Party. As the result of a Resolution passed by the Education Committee on the 4th December 1961 the Chief Education Officer was required to draw up a revised Development Plan. The revision had to secure a number of points.

First, the new plan was to retain the existing Buttershaw School as a Comprehensive School and secure the completion of Tong as a Comprehensive School. So that to this extent the Conservatives accepted a fait accompli. Second, the new plan was to modify the old one to the extent that Eccleshill, Wyke Manor and Rhodesway Secondary Modern Schools were not to be developed as Comprehensives. Third, a five year building programme was to be drawn up which should include the replacement of the older existing Grammar School buildings. At this point reference was made in the resolution to the Government White Paper of 1958 entitled "Secondary Education For all - A New Drive", with its

stress on an accelerated building programme.

The detailed plan subsequently drawn up by the Chief Education Officer¹ provided for a 30% Grammar School entry and for extended G.C.E. "O" level courses in all Secondary Modern Schools. An undertaking was also given that the Authority would provide in all its Secondary Modern Schools whatever examination course for 15 year old school-leavers resulted from the recommendations of the Beloe Committee (these in fact resulted in the establishment of C.S.E.)

The building programme for the period 1962-1970 provided for the building of the South Bradford (Fairfax) Secondary Modern School and new Secondary Moderns at Horton, Thackley and Bolton. It provided for the replacement of Hanson Girls', Belle Vue Boys' and Grange Boys' Grammar Schools, and the improvement of Bolling Girls and Thornton Grammar Schools. Finally, it included the building of Tong Comprehensive School and the completion of Buttershaw.

In May 1963 the Labour Party was returned to power on the City Council and promptly began, in its turn, to reverse the previous policy. However, as a result of the Conservative revision of the Development Plan Belle Vue Boys' Grammar School was rehoused in new premises on the outskirts of the City in 1964 thus relieving

1. Information on the revised plan provided by Bradford City Education Department.

congestion at the old Belle Vue premises, and a replacement for Hanson Girls was begun which was due for completion early in 1967. Certainly all this work needed to be done but it is one of the charges now levelled by the Labour Party against the Conservative interregnum that it badly disrupted a carefully thought-out long term building programme.

The Labour Council of 1963 was a very different one from that of 1945. As with the Party nationally the doubts over Comprehensive education had disappeared, and the Party was united in its determination to establish a comprehensive system in the City. Education loomed very large in the Election campaigns for the City Council from 1961 onwards and the Labour Party declared in 1962, "The bogie of the 11+ examination must be laid, the 11+ must be finally abolished ... the segregation of children at the age of 11 must cease as it is both educationally and socially wrong. Every child must have the opportunity to use his or her ability in education, the correct type of education to suit the child's aptitude must be found. To this end Labour believes that the Comprehensive system of education can and will do this if given the chance. A Comprehensive system of education must be introduced into Bradford's schools".¹

1. Bradford Labour Party press conference statement of policy.

Thus in May 1963 when the Labour Party returned to power it immediately began to reconstruct the system on comprehensive lines and anticipated Circular 10/65 by about two years. This time, in contrast to the slow pace of development in previous years, the new scheme was pushed through with great, indeed precipitate, haste. The last 11+ selection process was held for the year beginning in September 1963 and the new scheme of secondary reorganisation began to be put into operation from September 1964. The only obvious explanation for this fierce pace of change is that in the light of previous experience the Party was frightened of yet another change of control on the Council and was determined to reconstruct the system to a degree that would make a radical change of policy by any future Conservative Council an economic and practical impossibility. No objection to the new scheme was made by the Conservative Minister Sir Edward Boyle although the Ministry did express doubt over the phasing and speed of the change.

A draft scheme of reorganisation was submitted by the Chief Education Officer to the Education Committee only 3 months after the May Election on the 20th August 1963. Clearly, the basic problem facing the Chief Education Officer was an administrative one, how to secure comprehensive reorganisation with the existing and therefore limited physical resources. This meant inevitably

that any scheme produced would have to be, at least temporarily a two-tier one, whatever it might become in the long term. It is for this reason that the existing scheme must be seen as an interim one only, although with all the deficiencies inherent in a scheme which is makeshift and governed more by administrative expediency than by any other consideration. Indeed the closer one examines the scheme the more one is conscious that what amounts to a mere two years of somewhat indifferent comprehensive schooling beyond the age of 11+ has been purchased at the cost of an enormous educational upheaval which has brought a whole new train of attendant problems in its wake.

The original draft submitted in August 1963 to the Education Committee envisaged the development of the system in 3 phases, although no time-table was laid down.¹ Indeed the whole question of precisely how the transition from phase to phase was to be executed is noticeably and perhaps significantly vague. The C.E.O. wrote about timing merely that "the rate of progress from one phase to another will depend entirely on the amount of money the committee is allowed to spend on new building and the approval of the Ministry of Education of the amount of money to be spent out of the building programmes submitted."²

1. City of Bradford Education Committee proposed Secondary School Reorganisation Scheme, 1st Draft, C/AS/FH, 20th August 1963.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

During Phase I those Secondary Modern Schools in old buildings (only 4 were in post-war buildings) plus the Gregory School were to form the bottom tier of a two-tier system and would accommodate children for a period of only 2 years i.e. between 11 and 13. These schools were to be called Junior High Schools.

The post-war Secondary Moderns plus Priestman would meet the needs of children between 13 and 16 and would be called High Schools. The existing Grammar Schools were to cater for the needs of children between 13 and 18 and would be called Senior High Schools. These two latter types of school would constitute the upper tier.

In Phase II all the Junior High Schools would amalgamate with the High Schools, and in Phase III the new Junior High/High Schools would extend their age range upwards to include 16 to 18 year olds and the Senior High Schools downwards to include the 11 to 13 year olds. So that one would have the curious situation whereby the first two years are taken away from the High and Senior High Schools in Phase I only to be returned to them in Phase II and III. In this way, when Phase III was completed, the Secondary Schools would all have the same age range as the two Comprehensives at Tong and Buttershaw and the structure would then constitute an orthodox all through 11-18 system. This may be made clearer by reference to Appendix VI.

The present system (1967) in Bradford is basically Phase I with only minor modifications and was introduced over two transition years beginning in Sept. 1964 and Sept. 1965.¹ In September 1964 all children at 11 plus were accommodated in the newly designated Junior High Schools. Children of 13 plus not already in Senior High or High Schools were transferred to these schools on parents' choice. Children aged 14 plus were also offered places at these schools provided they wished to remain at school after the statutory school-leaving age. The only extra expenditure incurred was approximately £20,000 for the reorganisation of science laboratories in 10 of the Authority's Secondary Modern Schools.

The most important modifications were the exclusion of the Gregory School from the list of High Schools and its inclusion amongst the Junior High Schools, and the substitution of 4 catchment areas or zones for the 5 suggested in the draft scheme. The nomenclature was also altered and Senior High Schools are now known as Extended High Schools.

Parents have a free choice between the Junior High Schools within their catchment area at 11 and between an Extended and a non-extended High School at 13+, although two categories of

1. For a description of the existing scheme see Davies T.F., "Bradford", in "Comprehensive Planning" Maclure S. (Ed.), Councils and Education Press, N.D., pp. 9-11 and also "Some Facts About the Education Service", N.D., a pamphlet produced by Bradford Education Committee.

exceptional children are recognised. The first comprises those children reported by the Heads of the Junior High Schools as being in need of remedial treatment. The numbers of such children are quite small. Amongst the entry to the High and Extended High Schools for September 1967 for example 140 such cases have been reported out of an age-group of approximately 4,000.¹ In these cases the Authority will try to persuade the parents to accept a High School placing rather than an Extended High School, but there is no obligation on the part of the parent to accept this advice. This presents the Authority with problems since the decision to classify a child as being in need of remedial treatment is an arbitrary one which permits a great deal of room for discussion and disagreement over the diagnosis.

The second exceptional group comprises so called under age pupils. These are exceptionally clever children who are ready educationally for transfer to their secondary stage of education before they reach the age of eleven years. The experience of Bradford has been that there are between 50 and 60 such children in the appropriate age-group.² They are selected by the Primary School Heads, are transferred to the Junior High School at 10 years of age and subject to maintaining a satisfactory rate of

1. Information supplied by Bradford City Education Department.

2. "Proposed Secondary School Reorganisation Scheme", op. cit., p.7.

progress, to the Extended High School at 12 years of age.

The Voluntary and Direct Grant Schools.

As has already been pointed out the Roman Catholic Voluntary School population is large, although there are no other Voluntary Secondary Schools in Bradford belonging to any other religious denomination. Roman Catholic co-operation with the new system was therefore essential. Fortunately, there is no doubt that the City has received great co-operation from the R.C. Diocesan Authorities, and the two systems, maintained and voluntary, now run on broadly parallel lines.

At eleven all the children from the R.C. Primary Schools plus R.C. children from maintained Primary Schools go to the three R.C. Junior High/High Schools (St. Blaise, St. George and Blessed Edmund Campion). At 13 a minority of these children go on to the 3 R.C. Grammar Schools (St. Bede's, Cardinal Hinsley, and Margaret Clitherow). The majority stay behind in the Junior High/High Schools until the school-leaving age. In other words therefore the R.C. Scheme represents a modified two-tier Leicestershire plan with transfer at 13 rather than at 14 as in Leicestershire.

The selection at 13 of those who are to go on to the Grammar School is done on the principle of "guided parental choice".

It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information on this point, but it would appear that the Grammar Schools do not suffer from any problem of over-subscription, and amongst some Catholic parents there is an undoubted feeling that the choice is more "guided" than "parental".

One residual problem still remaining is that of the West Riding children sent to the Bradford R.C. Grammar Schools at the age of eleven because there are no Schools available for them in the West Riding. Present indications(1967) are that as from September 1968 the West Riding is likely to agree to the transfer of these children at 13 rather than eleven.

A much more intractable problem is provided by the 4 Direct Grant Grammar Schools to which the Authority sends children to occupy Local Authority free places. The City each year takes up at the age of eleven 36 places at Bradford Grammar School, 24 or 25 places at Bradford Grammar School for Girls, 30 at St. Joseph's R.C. College for Girls and 6 at Woodhouse Grove, a Methodist boys school just outside the City boundary at Apperley Bridge. In addition a further 30 places are taken up at St. Joseph's at the age of 13.

It will be appreciated from these figures that as a proportion of the age-group in Bradford the number of places is extremely

small and all four schools are therefore extremely selective and Bradford Grammar School is quite clearly super-selective. This is because its immense prestige and reputation as being, along with Manchester Grammar School among the top 2 or 3 Direct Grant Grammar Schools in the country results in fierce competition for the existing free places and indeed, for the fee-paying places.

Consequently the calibre of boy entering Bradford Grammar School is very high. Sir Alec Clegg, the Chief Education Officer for the West Riding estimated in 1966, that over 60% of the boys sent by the West Riding to Bradford Grammar School on free places had I.Q.s of 135 plus,¹ and there is little doubt that the situation in Bradford itself is very similar. Naturally Bradford Grammar School is reluctant to co-operate with the Authority in any way which would reduce the outstanding quality of its intake.

It is this element of super-selectivity which makes it very difficult to make any worthwhile assessment of the academic performance of Bradford Grammar School. The majority of the boys are sent by middle-class parents who can afford an annual fee of nearly £100,² and who, as we have seen, are likely to be highly intelligent and highly motivated. In some cases the boys have been through the school's own prep. department which admits at the age

1. Allsopp E. and Grugeon D., "Direct Grant Grammar Schools" (Research series no. 256). Fabian Soc., 1966, p. 12.

2. "Public and Preparatory Schools Year book", Black, 1966, pp.83-84. The fees are actually £84 per annum in the Prep. School and First Form and £94 per annum thereafter. There is a sliding-scale based on parents income.

of eight. It would obviously be very difficult not to produce good results from boys with so many natural and environmental advantages. Failure to take such factors into account vitiates the discussion which takes place in Bradford upon this subject.

However, Sir Alec has found that amongst pupils with I.Q.s of 135 plus in the West Riding maintained Grammar Schools the proportions achieving University entrance is the same as amongst those who took up free places at Bradford Grammar School.¹ Even more striking was his finding that in the next intelligence layer of between 125+ and 135+ there were grounds for thinking "that if anything success showed up in favour of the maintained schools!"² Clearly if the quality of teaching at Bradford Grammar School were higher than that of the maintained Grammar Schools one would expect somewhat different conclusions from those drawn by Sir Alec from his examination of the West Riding boys.

It will be recalled that Circular 10/65 requested the L.E.A.s and Governors of Direct Grant Schools to find ways of co-operating within a system of comprehensive education. So little progress was made however that in January 1966 the Secretary of State delivered a speech at the North of England Education Conference at Harrogate in which he warned the Schools and the Authorities

1. Allsop and Gudgeon, loc. cit.

2. Ibid.

that if progress were not made, "then the whole future of the direct grant system will inevitably come into question." However by August of the same year only 3 of the 179 Direct Grant Schools had definitely agreed to join in local comprehensive schemes.¹

As a result of this warning a meeting was held on Friday 21st January 1966 between the Bradford Local Education Authority and the representatives of the Direct Grant Schools. An agreed statement was afterwards issued to the press stating that "There was a free and frank discussion of mutual problems arising from the consideration of circular 10/65. The discussion was of an exploratory nature but all parties agreed to keep the situation under constant review." This, of course, gives away nothing and the impression obtained is that although discussion was amicable precisely nothing was achieved.

Since then and the time of writing (Jan. 1967) no other meetings have been held, and it is clear that the Authority would welcome and indeed are waiting upon a firm initiative on the part of the government, especially since the situation is complicated in Bradford by the interest that the West Riding has in the situation. Amongst some members of the local Labour Party there is certainly a reluctance to press the issue to a conclusion on

1. Allsopp and Gudgeon, loc. cit., p. 1.

the grounds that the number of free places is insignificant; although it is very difficult to reconcile the existence of such schools with the comprehensive principle and is certainly illogical.

In the words of Sir Alec Clegg, "If we believe that it is a good thing to get rid of selection for the 20 per cent who go to the grammar schools but retain selection for the top 2 per cent or 3 per cent of the ability range and we think this should be done in principle, we should say so, stating the principle ... But if we are not going to select the top 2 per cent or 3 per cent I don't see how any government can reconcile the establishment of comprehensive schools with direct-grant schools. It is a mystery to me how the great cities can abolish selection for their grammar schools and yet retain super selection for the direct grant schools. Perhaps it is that the senior burgesses send their own children to them."¹

Meanwhile the Authority continues to select children to fill the existing free places.² Every parent is sent a memorandum from the Authority, when transfer from the Primary School is being contemplated, pointing out how few free places there are and strongly urging the parent to accept the Head Teacher's advice as to whether to apply for a free place or not. If the child's name

1. Allsopp and Gudgeon, loc. cit., pl. 17.

2. "Comprehensive Planning", op. cit., p. 11.

is submitted it is considered by a panel of Head Teachers' who compile a short list of candidates. The final selection is made on the basis of a verbal reasoning test.

Consultation with Teachers and Parents.

No consultation took place with the teachers in the preparation of the original plan. This was entirely a product of the combined efforts of the Chief Education Officer and the Education Committee. The scheme was finally approved by the Education Committee on the 10th October 1963 and submitted to and approved by the City Council on the 22nd October 1963.

At the end of October 3 mass meetings were held between the Authority and the City's teachers and the new scheme was explained. It then became evident to the representatives of the Local Authority that feeling was running high and that serious efforts would have to be made to retain the teachers' confidence by involving them at least in a consideration of the detailed application of the scheme. As a result of these meetings therefore a list of about 20 basic questions which had been asked by the teachers on the application of the scheme was drawn up. It was then decided to form 4 working parties of teachers, who were to be asked to consider these questions and make recommendations. The four working parties were entitled, Curriculum and Staff, Primary Transfers, Publicity

and Guidance and General Problems. The reports produced by these working parties were then submitted to each of the professional associations for comment. Almost all these detailed recommendations were accepted by the City Council.

There is no doubt therefore that the Authority did make a genuine attempt to involve the teachers in the decision making process once they realised the strength of feeling raised by the presentation of what was in fact a fait accompli. On the other hand there is equally no doubt that the teachers were not consulted on the fundamental issues, and did not succeed in altering the main lines of the scheme, or that in creating the working parties the Authority was being led by events rather than anticipating them.

On the question of the extent to which the Authority informed parents of the meaning and implications of the scheme it would appear that the Authority went to great lengths to publicise the scheme and inform the general public. No less than 55 public meetings, arranged by the schools, were addressed by Senior Officers of the Education Department, and the total audience was estimated, as 10,000.¹ A full-page advertisement, complete with maps, was also inserted in the local Bradford newspaper, the "Bradford Telegraph and Argus", explaining both the Maintained and Roman Catholic Voluntary School scheme.²

1. "Comprehensive Planning", op. cit., p. 9.

2. "Telegraph and Argus", March 9th 1964, p. 5.

CHAPTER VII

Problems and Weaknesses of the Present System.

The most novel and distinctive feature of the existing system in Bradford is the Junior High School in which children stay for two years before transferring to the High or Extended High School at 13. Thirteen as the age of transfer was chosen because, in the words of the Chief Education Officer, "such a move will ensure a period of at least $2\frac{2}{3}$ years for settling into the school and completing the final stages of the ordinary level G.C.E. course as against $1\frac{2}{3}$ years under the Leicestershire scheme."¹ This inevitably truncates the course in the Junior High School and, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, any two-tier system based upon a Primary School course ending at eleven, must do this to either the top or bottom tier. As has also been pointed out the Junior High School was in any case originally envisaged as a transitional and temporary feature only of the Bradford secondary system.

During the short period that these schools have been in existence in Bradford a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction appears to have grown up amongst both parents and the staff of these schools about the way in which they have developed. This dissatisfaction is perhaps best summarised in the phrase "transit-camps" which has been used to describe them. Briefly, the feeling

1. City of Bradford Education Committee, "Proposed Secondary School Reorganisation, First Draft, C/AS/FH, 20th Aug. 1963", p. 7.

seems to have arisen that the shortness of the course encourages children to mark time academically whilst waiting transfer at 13. Some indications of the opinion of outside observers who have visited these schools and of staff and Heads who work in them is perhaps indicated by the following extracts of individual first year students at the Margaret McMillan College of Education, who, in May 1966 visited a number of Junior Highs as part of a period of observation in different types of Primary and Secondary School.

Although many of their impressions are subjective and therefore provide scope for debate, it will be noted that they include the faithfully reported comments and opinions of staff who work in these schools and whose views are therefore entitled to respect. It is also important to bear in mind that most of what is being analysed and described is not easily susceptible of objective statistical analysis because it relates to the sphere of morale and atmosphere, which although real enough is none the less intangible and difficult to measure with precision.

Student A.

"a great deal of creative ability is lost in the transition from Junior to Junior High School. It seems to lose in its objective however when the children are uprooted for the space of the two years they spend at this school. The children I am sure feel frustrated making new friends and then losing them again in

such a space of time and I'm sure the staff feel equally bad about not seeing the fruits of their labour."

Student B.

"Two years course - very short period of time. Mr. W.... confessed that he could not possibly get to know each child personally in two years."

"Leavingitis" - no chance for loyalty and pride for a school. One year leaves as another year arrives (50% or thereabouts). There must always be an atmosphere of coming and going. This is very unsettling both for the teacher and the children."

Student C.

"There was neither the sense of freedom and well-being happily present in most Junior Schools I have encountered, nor the sense of purpose one associates with the Grammar School."

"The head teacher agreed with the students entirely when we suggested that the two years spent in the school were perhaps not long enough for the children really to settle down and 'belong'. We gained the impression that the staff supported this attitude too, and this may have been partly responsible for a general feeling of purposelessness."

Student D.

"Two teachers admitted that they found 11 to 13 a completely inadequate time to achieve anything, and the Headmaster as much as said so himself."

Student E.

"I got the feeling that it was just a clearing house. I think that the children could possibly have felt the same. They were either 'coming or going'."

Student F.

"I was not at all sure of the aims of the school ... I feel that much of the impersonal atmosphere would be overcome and altered if the children were in school for a much longer period."

Student G.

"The impression which is immediately obvious in the school is that the whole place is in a constant state of transit."

"The children only spend two years in the school and the period can be compared to waiting in a railway station between getting off one train and getting on another."

"This Junior High School has not got a Parent-Teachers Association as they do not think it necessary as the children are only present for two years."

Student H.

"I hesitate to criticise a school beset by so many problems particularly after a mere three days observation. However, the impression I had was that the teachers were just minding children."

"There was a Parent Teacher Association which wasn't well attended, about 30 came to the meetings." (360 children on the roll)

"I thought of the less bright children who start there at 11,

leave at 13, then start another at 13 and leave at 15. There is more time coming and going than schooling. And these are the children who need more schooling and a settled routine."

Student J.

"The Head remarked that the children remained younger longer than was the case when it was a Secondary Modern, when children went to 15, there being no one older to look up to."

Student K.

"In general there was dissatisfaction at the whole conception of Junior High Schools. Teachers felt that they could not really come to know the child for long enough before he left; and they pointed out that it took some weeks for the children to settle down in a new school for the first year whilst for much of the second year they were looking forward to the next new school. The Staff was also discouraged by an almost total apathy on the part of parents, even parents of the brightest children seldom came to the school. For this reason there was no P.T.A. or even a formal speech day."

Because of a widespread feeling of the kind indicated above there have been many voices raised in Bradford calling upon the Authority either to move on to Phase II of the original plan, and therefore to the disappearance of the Junior Highs or to the establishment of a Middle School system by expanding the age-range of the Junior Highs downwards to include nine year olds. Indeed,

because of the interest that has developed in Bradford over the last few years in the Middle School idea the Authority is to build a new Middle School covering the 9 - 13 age-group.¹ Work on the school is expected to begin about the middle of 1967 and the work will cost £137,005. Industrialised building techniques are being employed using a lightweight steel framework and factory components. It will be the first school to be built in the city by the S.C.O.L.A. Mark Two system. S.C.O.L.A. (Second Consortium of Local Authorities) is a consortium of local authorities who work as a single unit for purposes of research, designing, building, and contracting, of which Bradford is an associated member. Consequently the school should be built within a year instead of the more normal 18 months. The school has been designed in conjunction with the architects and Buildings Branch of the Department of Education and Science.

It should therefore be occupied in the Autumn of 1968 and will be built at Low Moor Bradford on a seven and a-half acre site with access to it from Common Road to the north. It will be known as the Delf Hill Middle School and will have 420 children and a staff of 18, including the head teacher.

A decision on the long-term objectives of the plan is badly needed since one of the worst features of the present arrangements is the uncertainty it generates amongst teachers, particularly those in the Junior High Schools. Even if a decision is taken in the

1. "Telegraph and Argus", 1st Jan. 1966.

near future it will still be extremely difficult to foresee the end of the present arrangements. The original plan envisaged that the transition to Phase II would be accomplished by building new schools which would incorporate the Junior High Schools and the High Schools although how many would be needed was not specified. Since there are 18 Junior High Schools and 4 High Schools it is extremely difficult to envisage a realistic building programme which could bring Phase I to an end within the foreseeable future.

If a Middle School system is adopted instead, with purpose-built Middle Schools replacing the existing Junior High Schools a similar difficulty exists. Indeed the only readily obtainable way of establishing a Middle School system within the foreseeable future would appear to be the retention of the existing Junior High Schools and the extension of their age range downwards.

One of the obstacles in the way of this latter solution is that because the existing staffs of the Junior Highs were, until 1963, teaching in Secondary Modern Schools a substantial number of them are unused and in many cases unwilling to teach younger age ranges. This is, in fact, a general criticism that can be made of the speed with which the present change-over was effected, that it overnight presented staffs with age ranges and levels of ability to which they are not accustomed. Many teachers, particularly the older ones, find it difficult to adapt to the new situation

and consequently become frustrated and resentful. It is true that this situation is only a transitional one, and in these days of high turnover rates amongst teaching staffs it may resolve itself more quickly than would once have been thought possible. It may, of course, accelerate staff turnover in which case it will create a further train of problems; but however long or short the transition period may be it is bound to have deleterious effects upon the morale of teaching staffs and the atmosphere within the school.

This problem is most acute in the Extended High Schools, for there can be no doubt that as a result of the abandonment of the old selection procedures in favour of parental choice many more children are entering the Extended High Schools who, prior to 1963, would have been considered unsuitable for a Grammar School education. There is no way of knowing how big a proportion this is. The Procedure for identifying children in need of remedial attention does very little more than discourage some of the very extreme cases from entering the Extended High School. Headmasters of Junior High Schools will, in private conversation, freely admit that in spite of the advice that they have offered to parents children are being admitted to Extended High Schools who are totally unsuited to an academic education and who would never have been admitted prior to 1963.

These children clearly present a formidable challenge to

ex-Grammar School staffs unused to the lower levels of ability. Their teaching problems are magnified by the fact that they no longer are responsible for the teaching in the first two years of the Secondary course.

Nominally, the work of the Junior High Schools and that of the Extended and Non-Extended High Schools is supposed to be co-ordinated. This point was stressed in the original draft plan which declared, "It would be necessary to introduce into the Junior High Schools a common core of subjects, but this would not be difficult if the Heads and subject teachers of the different types of schools met together to determine what subjects should be taught and what subjects should receive special attention the educational success of the scheme will depend on the smooth transition of children from the Junior High School to the High School or Grammar (Senior High) School without interruption in their progress from year to year. To ensure this, there must be complete co-ordination of the work done in the Junior High School with that done at the next stage."¹

Unfortunately all the indications are that little more than lip-service is being paid to this avowed aim. The division of the city into 4 areas or zones was originally proposed in order

1. "Proposed Secondary School Reorganisation", op. cit., pp. 5-6.

to facilitate the integration of syllabuses and curricula since it was argued that this would be easier if it were attempted within four groups of schools than for the city as a whole. In theory therefore the teachers in the Junior Highs and Extended and Non-Extended High Schools within each zone are supposed to be working to common syllabuses.

Consideration was therefore given to the possibility of investigating the degree to which syllabuses were being followed within each zone by submitting a questionnaire to the schools involved. This was rejected for two reasons. First, because it was felt that a questionnaire, which would require the permission of the Authority, would, for obvious reasons, be unlikely to yield reliable results. Second, because Professor B.A. Fletcher is already engaged on an investigation of a number of aspects connected with the internal reorganisation of the Bradford Schools of which this is one.¹ Any results of this investigation are likely to be published in the latter half of 1967.² The assessment which follows is therefore based on personal enquiry, discussion and observation, and although no quantitative measurement is attempted it is believed that co-ordination does fall far short of what could or is supposed to be achieved.

1. Cf. "Research into comprehensive Secondary Education in Britain now in progress", Comprehensive Schools Committee, Supplement No. 3, 1966, p. 1.

2. Information supplied by Prof. Fletcher.

One difficulty in arriving at an accurate assessment of the true situation has to be recognised from the start and this is a conflict of interest amongst the officials of the Education Department in the City Hall. Because of the administrative problems that arise from the Zoning scheme, and which will be described later, there is a tendency on the part of the Education Department to underestimate the effectiveness of the present arrangements in promoting integration and therefore to argue that since integration is ineffective there is no need to perpetuate the zoning scheme which presents them with great problems. Consequently they tend to profess ignorance of the apparatus and the degree to which integration is being achieved and dismiss it as a principle more honoured in the breach than the observance.

To some extent the zoning scheme is already being ignored and children are being shifted across zonal boundaries. For example, the September 1967 entry at Belle Vue Girls' Extended High School, for reasons which will be explained later, has been drawn from the whole city instead of from area 4 only. A mixture of children from different areas must also take place in the case of the three "fringe" Junior High Schools, Lapage Boys', Lapage Girls' and Woodroyd which feed into 2 zones at 13. A very small number of children also change zones because of change of residence.

The most obvious effect of integration on the curricula is

that in all 4 zones only one foreign language, French, is taught in the Junior High Schools, which means that the High Schools have to prepare for "O" levels in any other language in a maximum of 3 years. It may be questioned whether, in the case of the academically weaker pupils this is a satisfactory length of time in which to prepare a second language. In the Junior High School too Science is taught (with one exception) as General Science throughout the school, since they have neither the staff nor the facilities to teach chemistry, physics or biology, even if this were felt to be desirable.

Integration of syllabuses is entirely a voluntary matter for the subject teachers in each zone. There are no statutory instructions laid down by the Authority or any statutory apparatus for achieving integration. In practice each group of subject teachers constitutes a panel which elects its own chairman or chairwoman who are responsible for drawing up a common syllabus and discussing mutual problems. These meetings are normally held at the Teachers' Centre. In practice, however, the activity of these panels can only be described as patchy, varying from subject to subject and zone to zone. Some panels meet fairly often and draw up detailed syllabuses. Some panels meet very infrequently and draw up very little more than a list of "topics" which the individual teacher may draw upon and/or supplement with topics of his own choosing. Thus the Geography syllabus of Lapage Boys' Junior High is

described as being "based on those topics agreed upon between Junior High Schools in this zone, this scheme is intended to be used as a guide only. The teacher will alter or omit any topics, or include any new topics of interest where he thinks it appropriate at the time." Some do little more than agree to the use of a common text-book. For example, in zone 4 the Mathematics panel agreed that the Junior High Schools should use Book I of Clark's "Mathematics" over the two year course, and that the High Schools would therefore follow on with Book II. In practice, however, the Mathematics staff at Thornton Extended High School, in zone 4, find that a large percentage of their 13 year old entrants have not in fact used Clark. Generally speaking the Mathematics and French panels tend to be most active presumably because progress in these subjects is regarded as more obviously cumulative than in others.

There are several obvious reasons why real integration is not being achieved - other than the traditional reluctance of English teachers to give up their classroom autonomy. One reason is that there is still a degree of mutual incomprehension and sometimes suspicion between members of the panels. The Junior High School Staff (ex-Secondary Modern) often accusing the Extended High School Staff (ex-Grammar School) of an unrealistic attitude towards the capabilities of academically weak children, and the

Extended High School Staff accusing the Junior High Staffs of academically anaemic teaching. Some Extended High School teachers declare that their function is still to provide a traditional Grammar School course, regardless of the fact that they are manifestly getting a higher proportion of academically weak children than they got previously. Disputes do, therefore arise, as for example, within the Mathematics panel in zone 4. Here the Mathematics teachers in the Extended High Schools are pressing for the adoption of the Southampton School Mathematics project which is based on a 5 year course and where therefore the agreement of the Junior High Schools is vital. Some of the Junior High School teachers feel that this scheme which is geared to G.C.E. requirements is far too ambitious for the very weak children and consequently there is a certain amount of disagreement over the adoption of the scheme.

The biggest problem arises from the very wide range in the ability of the children now entering the Junior High Schools, who vary from the very bright to the very dull and which is of course truly comprehensive. Many teachers find the recommended syllabus inappropriate for the weaker levels of ability and are forced to adopt different approaches and syllabuses for their "C" stream children. The Lapage Boys' Geography syllabus, for example, included in the second year, under "weather", the following topics:

- a) The Atmosphere The Troposphere - limit of our weather
 The Tropopause
 The Stratosphere
 The Ionesphere
- b) Air Masses and Wind The Characteristics of winds which
 affect the British Isles. Measuring
 wind direction and force.
- c) The Rain Cycle Evaporation and condensation.
 Ways in which moist air is forced to
 rise and to cool. Percolation and
 Artesian basins, taking the London
 Basin as an example.
- d) Cloud. Cirrus, Cumulus and Stratus Cloud.
 Thunder-storms.
- e) Bradford's water-supply.

It also includes Wegener's theory of continental drift, theories concerning the origin of the solar system and the problems of showing height on paper. As a syllabus for a Grammar School it is probably a good one, based on sound traditional principles, but it is clearly very difficult to see how such an abstract and academic syllabus can be easily adapted to the needs of the bottom half of the ability range.

Thus at Woodroyd Junior High School the children are streamed

and in Geography, for example, it is clear that the "C" streams are not being taught on the basis of an agreed syllabus; although the basis on which they are in fact being taught can hardly be described as satisfactory. The basis of the course for these children appears to be E.G.R. Taylor's "Foundation Exercises in Geography",¹ a book which is the epitome of the worst kind of "capes and bays" geography and manifestly irrelevant to the needs of this kind of pupil.

The Heads of some Junior High Schools, on the other hand, welcome an academic emphasis and the lead given by the Extended Highs, and this can lead to problems of another kind. For example, Wibsey Junior High teaches physics and chemistry as separate subjects instead of the General Science normally taught in Junior Highs. This is because the Extended High School which it feeds has no Biology below Sixth Form level, and it is therefore argued that integration is better served by this arrangement than by teaching General Science, which would include a strong Biological element. Clearly this arrangement leads to the neglect of the non-academic children for whom Biology could be expected to form an important element in their scientific education.

No satisfactory arrangements have been made in respect of the three "fringe" Junior High Schools which feed children into two

1. Taylor E.G.R., "Foundation Exercises in Geography", published in 8 parts, Philip, 1st Ed. 1928, 9th Ed. 1958.

zones at 13. For example at Lapage Bøys' the Geography syllabus is largely based upon the agreed list of topics drawn up by the Geography panel in zone I, simply because this panel appears to be more active than its counterpart in zone II; although, as we have seen, half the school will feed into zone II at 13.

An important piece of internal evidence on the degree to which integration of the work of the high schools was or was not being achieved appeared in July 1967 in the form of a special article in the Times Educational Supplement by an unnamed correspondent who was evidently a modern languages master in one of the Bradford boys' Extended High Schools.¹ The article, entitled "Two-Tier Disaster" was written in a noticeably moderate tone but expressed grave disquiet at the results being achieved in the teaching of French in the Junior High Schools and claimed that "the evidence points clearly to the effects of the two-tier system as being responsible for the decline in academic quality". This decline was ascribed to the failure of the Junior High School to attract or retain well qualified staff since "Graduates are understandably reluctant to teach children whom they will know and see develop for only two years. Nor are they attracted by a timetable which can only offer them the prospect of teaching the same age-group over the whole range of ability possibly 3 or 4 times a day."

1. "Times Educational Supplement", July 7th 1967, "Two-Tier Disaster", p. 33.

In consequence it was alleged that "too often the physical education mistress has had to be called on 'to do a bit of French', and there is the known case of a boy who had seven different French teachers in 2 years." In these circumstances "all attempts at liaison between junior and senior high schools are bound to be mere technical manoeuvres in a doomed exercise."

It was claimed that contact with the thirteen-year-old entrants from the Junior High Schools revealed that a number, "as many as ten in my own lower stream," had done French for less than two years, varying from none at all in some instances to eighteen months. Even where a full two years course had been gone through "the amount of ground covered in some schools fell short of what had been agreed upon, which was itself less than the work normally done in the first two years of a grammar school." It was further alleged that in some instances the course book had been neglected in favour of an entirely audio-visual approach, "contrary to agreed policy."

Four main weaknesses were diagnosed in the boys' French. First, unfamiliarity with and incapacity in written French. Second, a lack of grammatical knowledge. Third a very poor level of oral ability which showed that basic sounds had not been mastered, and fourth, inability in answering even simple questions like "Quel age avez-vous?"

The examination at the end of the first term "proved that one's impression of a catastrophic slump in standards was in no way exaggerated." The top three streams were given a normal Grammar School first year exam paper, but in the top stream (stream one) only eight boys out of 32 scored 50% or more. The article concluded, "From the boys' point of view, the excellent results previously obtained by the local grammar school cannot possibly be sustained, and their chances of competing successfully in G.C.E. and for university places with boys better prepared under a more sensible system, whether in direct-grant schools or in 'all-through' comprehensives, are bound to be affected."

It appears reasonable to conclude therefore that co-ordination of the work done in the Junior High Schools with that done in the Extended and Non-Extended High Schools is still far from satisfactory; and that whatever schemes of work are adopted, they must be sufficiently flexible to cater for a wide range of ability. Until they do much of what now exists on paper will be ignored.

Administrative Problems.

A problem which has developed since the reorganisation scheme was put into operation in 1964 is a purely administrative one which has resulted from the division of the city into 4 broad catchment areas. As will be seen from Appendices VIII and IX children leaving Primary School have at eleven a limited choice of

Junior High Schools and at 13 a choice between either an Extended High School or a Non-Extended High School. The schools available being dependent upon which of the areas the child resides in.

Area I is served by Hutton, Thorpe, Gregory, Undercliffe, Lapage Boys and Lapage Girls Junior High Schools. At 13 Area I has a choice of either Eccleshill High School or Hanson Girls and Boys Extended High Schools. At 13 Gregory Junior High School feeds its pupils into Area II, and Lapage, partly into Area I and partly into Area II. Schools, like Gregory, which serve a different area at 13 are known in the City Hall as "switch" schools and those which feed two areas at 13, such as Lapage, are known as "fringe" schools.

In Area II there are two Junior Highs, Tyersal and Highfield plus a "fringe" Junior High, Woodroyd, which is shared with Area III. Priestman Junior High is also in Area II but "switches" to Area III at 13. There are 2 Extended High Schools, Bolling and Carlton plus Fairfax High School. Area II also contains Tong Comprehensive School.

Area III contains Great Horton, Princeville and Wibsey Junior High Schools and a "fringe" Junior High, Clayton, which it shares with Area IV. The Areas High School is Wyke Manor and its two Extended High Schools are Grange Girls and Grange Boys, plus Buttershaw Comprehensive.

Area IV has four Junior High Schools, Drummond Boys', Drummond Girls', Frizinghall and Whetley. At 13 there is a choice between Rhodesway High School and 3 Extended High Schools, Belle Vue Boys, Belle Vue Girls, and Thornton. This means that Area IV is the only one where the parents of girls and boys who choose an Extended High School at 13 have a choice as between one Extended High School and another, in this case Belle Vue Girls, Belle Vue Boys or Thornton. This is because Thornton is the only mixed Extended High School in the city and because in each of the other 3 Areas there are only 2 Extended Highs, one for girls and one for boys. All the Junior High Schools throughout the city, are mixed, with the single exception of the Gregory School for Girls. This rather complex system is perhaps best understood by reference to Appendices seven, eight and nine.

The zoning plan is rigidly adhered to and was originally adopted as a result of the recommendations of the teachers' working parties, who felt that integration of syllabuses and curricula between Junior High and High Schools would be easier if this were attempted within four separate zones or areas rather than for the City as a whole.

In practice however, in the few years that it has been in operation, this zoning scheme has created very severe administrative problems for the officials in the City Hall; so much so that they

are pressing for its abolition or drastic modification. These problems arise as a result of the element of choice that parents have.

Thus at eleven parents are requested to make a first and second choice between the Junior High Schools in their area. Difficulties arise because some schools are over-subscribed in some areas and undersubscribed in others, but because of the rigidity of the zoning system children cannot be moved across zonal boundaries. Although an exception is naturally made in the case of children who change residence across a zonal boundary. The Education Department nevertheless work extremely hard to meet the parents' wishes and are to a large extent successful. Taking the city as a whole between 83% and 85% of parents are offered a first choice place, between 15% and 16% a second choice place and about 1% only are disappointed.

A further difficulty is created in Zones II and III through the existence of Tong and Buttershaw Comprehensive Schools as an alternative to a Junior High School at eleven. There are indications that a growing number of parents are opting for the all-through Comprehensive as first choice in preference to a Junior High.

At the moment over-subscription is dealt with by creating a catchment group of Primary Schools for each Comprehensive School.

If in any one year over-subscription takes place the number of Primary Schools permitted to feed the Comprehensive School is reduced. This admittedly arbitrary and somewhat obscure procedure appears to meet with little resistance from parents, but if the tendency towards placing the Comprehensive as first choice continues it could create severe problems for the Authority.

Difficulty also arises at 13 because parents who choose an Extended High School place must be given it. The Chief Education Officer estimated in his original plan that the proportion choosing an Extended (Senior) High School place would be 45%. In the first full year of the scheme, beginning in September 1966, the proportion was 50% but for the year beginning September 1967 the proportion has risen to 57%. Clearly, if this trend continues, then the difficulty of adjusting the supply of places to the demand will become more acute.

The anomalous position of Thornton as the only mixed Extended High School in the City also creates a problem, since, as has already been pointed out the parents of girls in Area IV are the only ones with a choice of Extended High Schools, Thornton mixed or Belle Vue Girls. Unfortunately for two years following Belle Vue Girls was undersubscribed by as many as 70 or 80 places in favour of Thornton, This furthermore had the effect of creating an unbalanced entry at 13 into Thornton, with girls greatly

outnumbering boys. This situation arose in spite of Belle Vue's academic record as an ex-Grammar school and was due to its situation near the city centre in an area inhabited by Indian and Pakistani immigrants. One or two incidents in which girls going to Belle Vue were accosted led to a "scare" and consequent under-subscription. As a result exceptional stop-gap measures had to be taken in the case of Belle Vue Girls and the September 1967 entry is to be filled by throwing entrance to the school open to the whole city.

Carlton Boys Extended High School illustrates another kind of problem which derives from the zonal boundaries. Carlton is the most central of all the Extended High Schools (see map) and therefore extremely near to the junction of all 4 Area boundaries. This results in an absurd anomaly whereby parents living very near to Carlton in Areas I, IV and III are unable to send their children there.

Similar anomalies exist elsewhere where schools are close to zonal boundaries; at St. Oswald's Primary School, for example, in Area III, which is very close to Priestman Junior High, but which is unable to send children there because Priestman is a "switch" school receiving children at 11 from Area II. Another example is Bradford Moor Primary School in Area II which is very near to Lapage Junior High but is unable to send children there because of Lapages' location in Area I.

Yet another consequence of the rigidity of zoning plan is that the Junior High Schools in Area I always have an unbalanced entry at 11 with a preponderance of boys over girls. This is because of the 6 Junior Highs in Area I three are mixed and Lapage is divided into a separate Girls and Boys School, leaving Gregory School as the only Girls' Junior High School not complemented by an equivalent Boys' Junior High School

Consequently the difficult task of distributing children between schools in an effort to fill all the available places evenly but at the same time taking parents' wishes into consideration as far as possible is made even more difficult and complex by zonal boundaries. The officials of the City Hall then have the difficult and unenviable task of explaining the inevitable anomalies to a stream of confused and often irate parents.

Other Problems.

Three other problems associated with the present reorganisation scheme remain to be described. The first is connected with Phase III when, as originally envisaged, the High Schools were to extend their age range upwards to include eighteen year olds and thus be in a position to offer "A" level courses. At this point a choice between Extended and Non-Extended High Schools would become unnecessary and all schools would become genuinely comprehensive. From this point on entry to the appropriate High School would

simply be determined geographically by residence in the relevant catchment area.

A reading of the original reorganisation plan of 1963 makes it clear that the then Chief Education Officer saw this as a very long term objective and that it would result from the gradual development of Sixth Forms in the High Schools consequent upon the tendency for more children to prolong their school life. In the words of the original draft reorganisation plan, "There are indications that this tendency will become even more marked in the future and the High Schools could, by natural growth, become fully Comprehensive Schools."¹

There is, at the moment, however, strong pressure to anticipate this process and to abolish the distinction between Extended High Schools and Non-Extended High Schools within the near future, possibly in 1968, and make Sixth Form courses available in all High Schools. A few "A" level courses, mostly in craft subjects, are already available in the High Schools, Rhodesway School having probably advanced most in this direction. It is clear however that the numbers engaged on "A" level courses at Rhodesway are very small and mostly involve odd individuals for whom special provision on the timetable has to be worked out.

If the distinction were abolished and entry to High Schools

1. "Proposed Secondary School Reorganisation", op. cit., p. 10.

were determined geographically it would inevitably bring about a dispersion of the total number of sixth-formers between 15 maintained school Sixth-Forms instead of the present eleven, Some doubt exists in Bradford as to whether such an increase would result in Sixth-Forms tend to be somewhat small, as will be seen from an examination of the accompanying table. It should be stressed that these figures include first, second and third year Sixths and an unknown number of "0" level repeaters.

Sixth-Form Nos. in Bradford Maintained Secondary Schools.

Source: Bradford City Education Dept.

<u>School</u>	<u>Year beginning. Sept. 1964</u>	<u>Year beginning. Sept. 1965.</u>	<u>Year beginning Sept. 1966.</u>
Buttershaw	5	14	137*
Tong	0	0	11
Belle Vue Boys	135	135	158
Belle Vue Girls	60	73	81
Bolling Girls	79	73	66
Carlton Boys	59	59	64
Grange Boys	78	89	86
Grange Girls	45	50	77
Hanson Boys	65	77	71
Hanson Girls	54	71	62
Thornton	67	64	40
Totals -	<u>687</u>	<u>702</u>	<u>853</u>

* N.B. The sudden expansion of Sixth Form nos. at Buttershaw was due to the transfer to Tong and Buttershaw from the Gregory and Priestman Schools of 14 year old pupils who undertook to remain at school beyond the statutory school-leaving age, as a part of the transitional arrangements between the old and new systems.

It will be seen that the average size of Sixth Forms in Bradford in 1966 was just over 56 and although the trend is clearly upwards this figure is well below the national average of 88 in 1963.¹ It is also useful to bear in mind the suggested minimums for Sixth Forms, reconstructed on a major/minor/general studies pattern, as proposed by the Schools Council in 1966, one hundred and eighty in the case of Boys schools and 100 in the case of Girls.² Appendix C of the Schools Council Report also affords interesting comparisons with the Bradford situation.³ Of the nine Grammar Schools and six Comprehensives investigated in this Appendix, and all in London or the Home Counties, only two Comprehensives had smaller Sixths than the average in Bradford, 51 in one case and 46 in the other. The largest Sixth Forms amongst the 15 was one of 200 in a Comprehensive of 1,952 pupils and 183 in a Girls' Grammar School of 640.

These significantly lower figures for Bradford are a reflection of a feature of Bradford's educational history which has already been commented upon, the tradition of early leaving and early employment.

There is no doubt that some of the existing Extended High

1. ROAF D.J., "Maths and Science in the Comprehensives", in the "Times Educational Supplement", Jan. 6th 1967, p. 13.
2. "Sixth Form Curriculum and Examinations", Schools Council Working Paper no. 5, H.M.S.O., 1966, para. 66, p. 16.
3. Ibid., Appendix C, p. 37.

Schools already find it difficult to offer a satisfactory range of "A" level options in the Sixth Form and that some Sixth Form classes are extremely and perhaps uneconomically small. At Thornton, for example, in 1966, the "A" level Mathematics class was only 4 in number. At the Hanson Schools an attempt has been made to create a more viable Sixth by amalgamating the "A" level work for the Boys and Girls school.¹ Even so, only 2 modern languages can be offered at "A" level, and no Latin.² This is made possible at Hanson because the two schools are adjacent to one another, as is the situation at the Grange Schools, where such a link-up would also be possible. Presumably, however, the opening of the new Hanson Girls' School at another site in the city in 1967 will bring the sharing experiment at Hanson to an end.

The problem is of course not only one of providing classes of economic size but of ensuring that adequately qualified teachers, particularly in Science and Mathematics are available. It is a striking comment upon the factual basis of educational planning in Bradford that these figures are simply not known to any member of the Education Department in the City Hall, although they could be extracted from the personal files on the city's teaching force.

1. "Times Educational Supplement", Nov. 11th 1966, p. 1159.

2. Ibid.

The second problem, which may become acute in other schools in the future if High School entrance is based solely on catchment areas and not on choice, is that of the social structure of Tong and Buttershaw Comprehensives. Both are admitted by the City Hall to be "neighbourhood" schools in which middle-class children are heavily under-represented.

This is most evident in the case of Buttershaw where each year 200 out of the 300 new entrants come from the Buttershaw Council Housing Estate and the remainder from Buttershaw old village. The latter is an old and decayed industrial village now incorporated into Bradford as a result of the city's expansion of a type very typical of Bradford and full of sub-standard back-to-back housing.

Tong is somewhat less monolithic in its social structure by virtue of the existence of what in the City Hall is known as the "Wakefield Road wedge", an area of new small "semis" and old but substantial stone-built property occupied by upper working and lower middle class families.

This situation is a result of two factors, the social structure of Bradford itself and the way in which the middle-class areas of Bradford are disposed. Bradford, unlike many, perhaps most English cities, has no continuous suburban fringe of middle-class

property surrounding the city with a ring of semi-detached and detached housing of inter-war or post second world war date. Instead, the middle-class area is almost entirely confined to the north-western sector of the city, running in a broad 45° arc from Thornton on the west as far as the A650 (T), the main northern traffic exit from the city. The middle-class arc corresponds almost exactly with Area ~~III~~⁴, one of the 4 large catchment areas used at present to determine entrance to the appropriate group of High and Extended High Schools. Bradford Grammar School and Bradford Girls' Grammar School are both found in this middle-class arc. The remaining fringes of the city are either mostly industrialised or occupied by predominantly working-class or lower-middle class housing.

The nature of the social structure of Bradford is shown by the following table, taken from the Socio-Economic Group Tables of the 1961 Decennial Census Report:-

Socio-Economic Groups (proportions) of Economically Active
Males (per 1,000). Based on a 10% sample.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Bradford</u>	<u>West Yorks. Conurbation</u>	<u>England and Wales</u>	<u>Socio-Economic Group</u>
1	28	33	36	Employers and Managers in central and local government, industry, commerce etc., -large establishments.
2	61	54	59	Employers and Managers in industry, commerce etc., -small establishments.
3	5	6	8	Professional workers - self-employed.
4	18	22	30	Professional workers - employees
5	28	31	39	Intermediate non-manual workers
6	120	107	126	Junior non-manual workers
7	5	6	9	Personal service workers
8	54	41	33	Foremen and Supervisors - manual.
9	309	357	316	Skilled manual workers
10	230	173	147	Semi-skilled manual workers.
11	81	86	83	Unskilled manual workers.
12	42	31	34	Own account workers (other than professional).
13	1	7	10	Farmers-employers and managers.
14	2	7	10	Farmers - own account.
15	1	16	23	Agricultural workers.
16	2	8	20	Members of armed forces.
17	14	15	17	Indefinite

Source: Decennial Census 1961. Socio-Economic Group Tables,
 Table I, pp. 3 and 47.

It will be seen from this table that skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers form a significantly higher proportion of the population than they do either in the West Yorkshire conurbation as a whole or for England and Wales as a whole. Whereas in Bradford there are 673 manual workers per thousand of the population, this figure drops to 657 for the conurbation and 546 for England and Wales. The numbers in socio-economic groups 1-4 are also significantly lower in Bradford. The total per thousand in these four groups in Bradford is 112 compared to 115 for the conurbation and 133 for England and Wales. In particular the proportion of professional employees is 40% lower than that for England and Wales as a whole.

This very strong working class element in Bradford is the result of two factors. First, and most obviously, it is a reflection of the fact that Bradford is a highly industrialised city in which the woollen industry is still the largest employer of labour. Average wages in the woollen industry, as throughout the textile industry generally, are not high, when compared for example, to those in the Midlands motor-car industry. Much of the work in the woollen mills is of a semi-skilled rather than a skilled nature and this is shown by the figure of 230 per thousand for semi-skilled manual workers in Bradford compared to 173 for West Yorkshire and 147 for England and Wales. The significantly higher figure for managers and employers in small

establishments is also a reflection of Bradford's industrial structure, in which small private family enterprises account for probably half of the worsted industry's output.¹

The second and less obvious factor, and one which is impossible to measure, springs from the illogicality of the existing local government boundaries of the West Riding conurbation. These boundaries pay no regard to the geographical realities of the West Riding, and, in the case of Bradford, they exclude many of its most important middle-class residential areas. Most of these are found on the northern fringes of the city within easy reach of the open country which lies along the northern edge of the conurbation and, in particular, on the floor and slopes of the Aire valley which is warmer and less windswept than the high plateau surfaces surrounding the bowl in which the centre of Bradford lies.

The most obvious example of this exclusion is the Urban District of Shipley which, to anyone travelling north out of Bradford is completely indistinguishable except as a northern extension of the city. There are a number of other such areas which are either very near to Bradford or physically contiguous with it, such as the Urban District of Baildon and even Bingley in the Aire valley, and the Borough of Pudsey on the eastern side between Leeds and Bradford. It is unquestionable that a very

1. Cf. "A Review of Yorkshire and Humberside", Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, H.M.S.O., 1966, para 109, p. 25.

high proportion of the middle-class population which works in Bradford lives in the areas mentioned but is excluded from Bradford for educational purposes. In the light of factors like these it is therefore difficult to see how the creation of more "neighbourhood" comprehensives like Buttershaw and Tong can be avoided, when the present interim arrangements are brought to an end.

Commonwealth Immigrants.

No account of the problems of secondary reorganisation in Bradford would be complete without reference to the difficulties facing the Authority as a result of the sudden influx of children of Commonwealth immigrants into the city's schools over the past few years. The problems created by this influx would of course have existed whether the Authority reorganised its secondary system or not but they add to the many problems which the Authority is faced with as a result of reorganisation and contribute to an atmosphere of instability in the Bradford schools.

The number of Commonwealth immigrants in Bradford is not known with any degree of accuracy. The 1961 Decennial Census records 5,610 Commonwealth citizens resident in Bradford but born outside England and Wales. Of these Pakistanis accounted for 3,457 (3,376 males and 81 females) and Indians for 1,512 (1,107 males and 405 females).¹

1. Decennial Census Reports 1961, "County Report, Yorkshire West Riding", H.M.S.O., Table 10, p. 52.

The discrepancy between numbers of males and females is explained by the fact that the men were busy establishing themselves in England and accumulating sufficient capital to enable them later on to bring over their wives and families. Since the passage of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962 the flow of Indians and Pakistanis into this country has been greatly reduced. In Bradford a steep rise in the Indian and Pakistani population is however still taking place mostly because the wives and families of those men already established in Bradford are permitted to enter under the terms of the Act.

The figure most often quoted for the size of the Indian and Pakistani population in Bradford is about 14,000 (1967) but it must be recognised that this is a "guesstimate" based largely on the number of children attending school in Bradford. The Bradford Health Department did attempt its own door to door Census but this proved to be something of a failure for a number of reasons. Many of the men do shift-work in the mills and consequently it was very difficult to find out if everybody was present in the household when the Census was made. There was also great suspicion of the motives behind the Census, many immigrants assuming that the true purpose was to obtain evidence of overcrowding in order to issue a summons; consequently co-operation was not what it might have been. The language problem also created great difficulties.

Because of the unreliable nature of the existing information therefore the results of the 1965 first Inter-Decennial Sample Census are being awaited with considerable interest in Bradford. In April 1963 there were only 962 immigrant children in the Bradford Schools, but by January 1967 this had risen to 3,151, an increase over the previous year of 702. The January 1967 figure was made up in the manner shown in the following table:-

Country of Origin	Infants		Juniors		Seniors		Total		
	ES	NES	ES	NES	ES	NES	ES	NES	ALL
Pakistan	114	122	186	219	212	290	512	631	1143
Indian	143	122	213	143	304	166	660	431	1091
Half-Asian	134	0	81	1	33	5	248	6	254
West Indian	210	3	169	2	115	2	494	7	501
African	14	0	9	0	7	0	30	0	30
Half-Negro	58	0	46	0	9	0	113	0	113
Others	1	0	9	0	9	0	19	0	19
	<u>674</u>	<u>247</u>	<u>713</u>	<u>365</u>	<u>689</u>	<u>463</u>	<u>2076</u>	<u>1075</u>	<u>3151</u>

(ES = English-speaking sufficiently well for the child to follow his school's curriculum with or without special help.

NES = Non-English speaking) Source: Bradford City Education Dept.

The increase of 702 in 1966 is however much less than the number of immigrant children of school age centrally registered at the Education Department during the same year, which totalled 1,086,

of which 80% were estimated as being non-English speaking. This discrepancy between the two figures is accounted for by school-leavers at Easter and Midsummer 1966 and removals away from Bradford. For the past two years the average influx of children of school age as measured by the central register has kept remarkably steady at 21 per week and this rate is being maintained in early 1967. The indications are that there are still "several thousand" adult Pakistanis and Indians in Bradford whose families are still overseas. Moreover the number of children born in Bradford to immigrant parents is rising steeply each year (222 in 1960, 601 in 1964, and approximately 850 in 1966). It is therefore quite clear that the proportion of children of immigrant parents in Bradford schools (6.3% of the total in January 1967) may be expected to rise for an indefinite period. The rapid and recent nature of the expansion is indicated by the following tables:-

Table A No. of immigrant children on roll (Primary and Secondary)

April	1963	..	..	..	962
"	1964	..	..	..	1150
January	1965	..	..	..	1739
"	1966	..	..	..	2449 (estimated)
"	1967	..	..	..	3151

Table B Percentage of immigrant children to all children.

January	1965	..	..	..	3.6%
"	1966	..	..	..	5%
"	1967	..	..	..	6.3%

Table C. Percentage of non-English speaking children to all
immigrant children

January 1965	33%
" 1967	34%

Source: Bradford City Education Department.

N.B. In Table C it should be noted that the relatively low proportion of N.E.S children is a reflection of the Authority's success in teaching English to N.E.S. arrivals. In fact during 1966 the number of N.E.S. children (1075) is almost exactly the same as the number of children admitted to school in 1966 (1086).

The arrival of these children poses tremendous problems to the Authority. The two most important problems arise from the fact that, as we have seen, the majority speak no English at all and from their very different cultural backgrounds which creates all sorts of difficulties. For example, the parents of Islamic children refuse to let their daughters expose their bodies by undressing for games and P.E., and Domestic Science teachers find the long baggy trousers worn by the girls very dangerous when bending down to attend to hot stoves etc. Problems also arise from requests for withdrawals of children for attendance at religious festivals. Perhaps an even more disturbing problem which is now beginning to arise is that of immigrant children born in this country who still arrive at school unable to speak English. This is due to the very close nature of family ties and the influence

of purdah so that children rarely trespass outside the family circle and are therefore not exposed to the English language. A few parents too are unable to adjust to a society in which school attendance legislation is extremely strict.

The Bradford Authority has reacted to this difficult and very novel situation with great vigour and it may be said, enlightenment. The Authority adopted in 1964 a policy of dispersion, as recommended by the D.E.S. in Circular 7/65, in order to prevent the development of "coloured schools". There is no doubt that such a development would have taken place since, in common with all the large cities with coloured populations something like a coloured "ghetto" is developing in the twilight zone of central Bradford, which any Bradford taxi-driver will confirm.¹

The basis of the Bradford dispersal policy is that irrespective of any special classes that might be held on the premises, no Primary School should have a proportion of immigrants greater than 25% of the School Roll. Separate consideration was given to Secondary Schools depending upon the particular circumstances of each individual school, but in practice no Secondary School has a proportion higher than 10%. Within individual classes in any school (Primary and Secondary) the proportion was not to exceed 30%, or 15% if they were all non-English speaking. Consequently in January 1967 only 80 out of 174 Primary and Secondary schools

1. Immigrants are most numerous in the Lumb Lane area, known locally as the "Burma Road".

had more than 10 immigrants on its roll, although this represented an increase of 43 on the January 1965 figure.

In order to achieve this dispersion children are allocated to schools by the Education Department which maintains the central register of immigrant children, and a fleet of 4 buses, with guides, is employed to transfer about 250 children from their homes to the more distant schools. Other children are provided with free passes to travel by service bus.

Children under 10, whether English speaking or not, are allocated to a Primary School on arrival without spending any time in a special class or centre. This policy is based upon the fact that the younger the child the smaller is the gap between his language and experience and the language and experience of an English child of his own age.

At Secondary level, however, a distinction has to be made between the English and non-English speaking children. English speaking children aged 10 or over are allocated to a Primary or Secondary School in the same way as those children under 10 years of age. Non-English speaking children go to special classes attached to Primary and Secondary Schools or to one of 3 Immigrant Centres (St. Michaels, Barkerend and Ussher Street Schools).

The function of these special classes and centres is to teach

enough English to the children to allow them to take their place in the mainstream of a Primary or Secondary School. On average the immigrant child spends about 10 months in a special class or centre. In many cases, however, the command of English is still inadequate and so many schools run what are usually known as "intermediate" classes in which the children spend a proportion of their time improving their English and receiving instruction in other subjects. Something of the same kind of thing happens in some Primary Schools where "withdrawal" groups of immigrants are formed where the children are taught for one or two sessions a week by part-time teachers.

All sorts of additional measures have been taken by the Authority in order to assist the process of integrating the children into the school community. These include the provision of special equipment where needed, additional capitation allowances, the appointment of an Immigrant Liason Officer, and additional teaching help in those schools with substantial numbers of immigrant children on the roll.

The distribution of immigrant children within the Bradford Secondary Schools is shown in Appendix 10 which is derived from the January 1967 census taken by the Local Authority. It is clear from these figures that the immigrant children are being very successfully dispersed throughout the Secondary School system.

The comparatively large numbers in the four High Schools having to be seen in the light of the fact that these are much larger Secondary Schools than the average in Bradford, being between 700 and 1,000 pupils in size. It cannot be said that any one school is being burdened at the present time with an excessively large number of immigrant children. However, it is clear that this problem will still continue to increase in magnitude for some time to come and that the restrictions on Commonwealth immigration have come too soon in order to give Bradford time to assimilate and integrate its new coloured community, as well as to cope with the problems of secondary reorganisation.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

This study has been concerned to trace the origins and development of the tripartite, or more accurately, bipartite system of secondary education which has been the predominant form of organisation, both in theory and practice, in England and Wales over the twenty year period between the passage of the 1944 Act and the issue of Circular 10/65. It has attempted to show that tripartism had its roots deep in the nineteenth century in the development of a State supported and inferior system of elementary education side by side with that provided by the older and independent Grammar and Public Schools. The post-war Secondary Modern School may be regarded as the lineal descendant of the Senior Elementary School and the post-war Grammar School as a product both of emulation and absorption of the old Endowed Grammar Schools.

At one point, in the late nineteenth century, there was a possibility that this dualism might not have developed and that the Higher Grade School movement might have provided a form of higher non-elementary education, freely accessible to all, which would have been a genuine alternative to that provided by the Grammar and Public Schools; Bradford in particular having been a pioneer in the field of Higher Grade School provision. Unfortunately the Higher Grade Schools were destroyed by a deliberate act of

public policy and the only publicly provided alternative form of non-elementary education, that provided in the post-1902 Secondary Schools, was modelled on the Grammar and Public School tradition; access to which was restricted via a competitive scholarship system. It is arguable that this was the biggest single mistake which was made in the creation of a post-primary system in the twentieth century.

To the Elementary and Grammar School tradition was added, in the twentieth century, a third element which has always been less robust than the other two. Based upon the demand for an education which stopped short of the University it prepared pupils essentially for the white-collar middle ranks of industry and commerce. This third tradition, found in the Junior Technical and Central Schools provided the basis for the third element in tripartism, the Secondary Technical School. This tradition has never developed to any extent since the war, has in fact been in marked decline for a number of years and has meant that in most places secondary provision has been bipartite rather than tripartite.

It has been argued that a series of public reports, Hadow, Spens and Norwood provided a theoretical justification for a tripartite division of secondary education, but that this was essentially a process of rationalisation. It has also been suggested that those concerned with the administration of education,

both nationally and locally, after 1945, eagerly seized upon this theoretical justification because it was administratively easy and convenient to erect a tripartite secondary system upon the structure inherited from the days before the Act. Basically, all that was done was to relabel the Senior Elementary Schools "Secondary Modern" and the Secondary Schools "Secondary Grammar". If there were any Junior Technical or Central Schools in existence these could easily be incorporated as "Secondary Technical" or "Secondary Selective" schools. In other words, therefore, historical accident and administrative convenience were the real origins of tripartism.

The fatal flaw in this arrangement lay at the very core of the 1944 Act which was widely interpreted as promising "Secondary education for all" to quote the title of a famous book by R.H. Tawney which appeared in 1922. The term "secondary" however was understood as meaning not merely a stage in the educational process but a qualitatively superior kind of education to that given in the old Elementary schools. Indeed the word secondary was synonymous with the kind of education given in the Grammar Schools. At no time since the passage of the Act has the general public really believed that tripartism, or bipartism, was providing a genuinely secondary education, in the pre-war sense of "secondary". The prophecy of the Central Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, made in 1946, about the new Modern Schools has been

amply vindicated, namely, that "status does not come with the attaching of a name or by a wave of the administrative wand ... it seems clear to many that the modern schools will in practice mean little more than what is left, once the grammar and technical types have been housed elsewhere, and that the scheme will end not in tripartite equality, but in a dualism of academic and technical, plus a permanently depressed element."¹

The 11+ has been regarded as a competitive examination in which the brightest pupils were creamed off into the Grammar School there to receive an essentially privileged education, affording the opportunity of a University place and the best jobs in an increasingly meritocratic society. The Grammar Schools have attracted the bulk of the graduate teaching force, and the Secondary Moderns have been thought of as repositories for the "also-rans", both teachers and taught. Their function has been mainly custodial, retaining the children only as long as the statutory school-leaving age. This is, no doubt, an exaggerated and unfair picture but it has persisted in the public mind and has never been eradicated.

No amount of softening or modification of the system has made any fundamental difference. The replacement of the formal written examination by other methods of selection, as at Bradford, the provision of C.S.E. and G.C.E. courses in the Secondary Moderns,

1. "Secondary Education", Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, H.M.S.O.: 1947, para. 140, p. 31.

the transfer of so-called "late developers" at 13+; all this, and much else, has failed to convince the public that there could be "parity of esteem" as between the Modern and Grammar Schools.

At the same time as those in authority have worked to establish the status of the Modern Schools there has gradually accumulated a by now overwhelming mass of evidence which points to a great wastage of talent as a result of tripartism. The result has been a simultaneous undermining of the theoretical justification for tripartism by psychologists and sociologists, and a great groundswell of public antipathy towards tripartism which, gradually gathering momentum, has resulted in a remarkable and ironic volte face in public policy. Thus a Labour Government which, in 1945, was instrumental in encouraging tripartite organisation, was later followed, in 1965 by a Labour government which was responsible for accelerating its demolition.

Approval of the government's rejection of tripartism, as expressed in Circular 10/65, need not result in approval of the manner in which the government is allowing secondary reorganisation to proceed. It is quite clear, from Circular 10/65, that the most important test that the Secretary of State will apply to any reorganisation scheme submitted to him for approval is the extent to which it does or does not secure the principle of comprehensive organisation. At least six basic ways of reorganising will be

permitted, with variations and permutations, either as interim or long-term solutions; although as has been seen, what is meant by interim is not defined in the Circular. In practice most schemes are likely to be on some sort of two-tier basis simply because of the limitations imposed by twenty years of building small, separate Grammar and Modern Schools. Within single Authorities widely differing systems will be permitted. Consequently, if present trends continue, it is likely that within a very few years secondary organisation in this country will exhibit a degree of variety from place to place quite unparalleled in English educational history.

It must be said that many educationists are evidently not perturbed at the prospect of a wide variety of systems within the same rather small country. Many argue that such variety and diversity is perfectly acceptable, that it will lead to a period of creative experimentation, and that, in course of time, by a process of trial and error a somewhat more unified and satisfactory system will emerge. This will be better than a rigid policy laid down by the central government with few opportunities for experiment and development. This indeed is the Secretary of State's declared attitude.¹ It is also expressed in a somewhat perjorative form in the following passage from a book review in the "Times Educational Supplement":- "Three hundred cheers for our own clumsy,

1. Cf. Secretary of State's answer to a question on this point at a public meeting at the Elliott Comprehensive School televised on B.B.C. 1 on the 9th January 1967.

frustrating, ill-ordered and occasionally downright wasteful in-fighting between central and local government. At least it protects us from the mass application of one theory, all over the country, at once; and makes some individuality in school organization, progressive or conservative, inevitable."¹

Nevertheless doubts still remain, and a number of points of criticism may be made against the present permissive policy. First, it has to be recognised that a substantial number of the schemes now being submitted are not satisfactory. Many, and the Bradford scheme might be quoted as an example, have too much of the hurried, the makeshift and the expedient about them; many still retain a significant element of selection, and a few authorities still refuse any co-operation with the Secretary of State. This must result in an inequitable distribution of educational opportunity. Since one of the principal criticisms of tripartism was that there were, for example, wide geographical inequities in the proportions of Grammar School places, it may be asked why such geographical inequality should be acceptable now?

Second, it may be argued that differing secondary provision will tend to act as a brake upon the geographical mobility of the population, particularly members of the professional middle-class. It is generally recognised that geographical mobility amongst the

1. "Times Educational Supplement", May 20th 1966, p. 1600, in a review of "Secondary Education in Sweden: a survey of reforms."

population is increasing and that this is desirable upon economic grounds. The Plowden Report on Primary education produced important evidence on this point.¹ According to the National Survey which Plowden undertook nearly a quarter of the children at the top of junior schools had changed schools because their families had moved house. The National Child Development Survey showed that 18% of seven year olds had attended more than one school, and the Ministry of Labour produced statistics showing an increase in gross regional migration for employed persons from 505,000 in 1952 to 610,000 in 1964. In future reluctance to create difficulties for children in making the adjustment between one kind of secondary system and another will tend to act as an even greater brake upon the mobility of the population; a view supported by Plowden.²

This point has been discussed by Sir Alec Clegg. He believes that the difficulties which a child will encounter in moving from one secondary system to another may be exaggerated. In Sir Alec's view, "if the future pattern of secondary education is thought of in terms of courses and not schools, and in every secondary building there are opportunities for the slow and the quick learner, there should be few problems of interchange."³ Sir Alec is, however, hardly disinterested in this matter since his own policy in the

1. "Children and their Primary Schools" (Plowden Report) H.M.S.O. 1967, para. 394, p. 148.

2. Ibid., para. 393, p. 148.

3. Maclure S. (Ed.), "Comprehensive Planning", Councils and Education Press, N.D., p. 78.

West Riding is to encourage Divisional autonomy and variety of organisation.

Third, the present reorganisation policy takes no account of the future pattern of local government. In February 1966 the government announced the winding up of the Local Government Commission and the appointment of a Royal Commission to review the whole structure of local government in England and Scotland, and which was expected to report "in not much more than two years."¹ All the indications are that opinion, both official and academic, is running strongly in favour of very much fewer and larger local government units based on what is usually known as the "city-region". Recent boundary changes made by the government clearly indicate this tendency. The urban areas of Teeside have been amalgamated into a single County Borough, five new County Boroughs (Wolverhampton, Walsall, West Bromwich, Warley, Dudley and Brierley Hill) have replaced the chaos of local authorities in the West Midlands conurbation (the "Black Country") and proposals similar to those on Teeside have been made for the Tyneside towns.² The reduction in the number of police authorities is also an indication of the trend of events.

Sir William Alexander, Secretary of the Association of Education

1. "Times Educational Supplement", Feb. 18th 1966.

2. "The Geographical Digest 1966", George Philip and Son, pp. 6 - 7.

Committees, in a speech to the North of England Education Conference at Harrogate in 1966 suggested a pattern of some 50 to 60 authorities only, each responsible for about a million people.¹ He went on to suggest the divorce of education from other local authority services by the creation of ad hoc committees elected directly and exclusively for education and able to raise their own money locally. An idea which represents a return to the old School Board principle. The Department of Education and Science itself, in the evidence that Sir Herbert Andrew presented to the Royal Commission on Local Government, also argued in favour of larger authorities, of about 500,000 in size, and the end of the divisional executives, which it considered introduced "an unnecessary stage in the administration of the education service."²

If the local government system is radically overhauled within the near future it must place a question mark against the future of the present reorganisation schemes which are being devised on the basis of the existing local government units. At the very least, a period of confusion consequent upon some future reorganisation of local government cannot but increase the atmosphere of instability and change which secondary reorganisation is creating at the moment.

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1. "Times Educational Supplement", Feb. 18th 1966, article entitled "Reform may Delay Reorganization."
 2. "Times Educational Supplement", Feb. 17th 1967, p. 544.

The fourth criticism of the present policy which can be made is that change is being introduced too quickly, without adequate study and investigation of the problems involved. The limit of twelve months which Circular 10/65 set for the submission of re-organisation schemes is simply too short a time in which to produce really adequate and detailed plans. In fact, in many cases this dead-line has been ignored and many authorities, early in 1967, are still in process of submitting plans. It is completely characteristic of the present situation that Circular 10/65 was issued in advance of the Plowden Report, with its very important evidence on the age of transfer from Primary to Secondary education, and that after the issue of the Circular the D.E.S. should commission the N.F.E.R. to investigate the problems of comprehensive organisation.¹ As this study has indicated, there are still a great many problems involving secondary reorganisation about which much more knowledge and information is required. For example, the question of school size is still one which appears worthwhile investigating, particularly in regard to Sixth Forms and the numbers of Science and Mathematics graduates available.

The unique nature of the way in which secondary reorganisation is being allowed to proceed in England and Wales only becomes apparent when it is contrasted with the way in which other countries have reorganised the whole or part of their educational systems.

1. "Notes on the work of the N.F.E.R. in England and Wales for 1965/6", pp. 34 - 35.

It is instructive for example to compare England with Sweden, where a similar reorganisation of secondary education on comprehensive lines is taking place. In Sweden a nine year (7 - 16 year old) compulsory comprehensive school (Grundskola) is replacing the seven or eight year elementary school, the junior secondary school (Realskola), and the girls' secondary school (Flickskola).¹

This reform was brought about all over the country by the passage in 1962 of an Education Act which laid down not only the phasing of the new reform but also the organisation, staffing, curricula, syllabi and timetables of the new schools and all in the minutest detail. This Act was preceded by more than 20 years of study by expert bodies and thirteen years of experiment with different forms of secondary organisation.²

Since 1966 reform has been carried on into the upper secondary school system which caters for the 16 - 19 year old age group. In place of three separate institutions, the Gymnasium, Continuation School and Vocational School there is to be a single "det gymnasiale skolsystemet" embracing all three types of education under the same roof.³ Similar detailed regulations to those laid down for the grundskola exist for the upper secondary schools.

1. Dahllöf, Zetterlund and Öberg, "Secondary Education in Sweden", National Board of Education Publishing Company: Uppsala, 1966, p7.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 25.

In the Gymnasium, for example, five "lines" or courses are provided with a limited number of choices between the subjects offered in each course.¹ In the Humanities course for example 14 subjects are offered including Music or Art (2 lessons per week), Civics (10.5 lessons) and modern languages (30 lessons), with 3.5 "available" (free) periods per week. Even the organisation of the gymnasium library is laid down.²

The Swedish reform is probably extreme in its detailed centralised approach, even by continental standards, but it shows how, far removed, in the other direction, the English approach is. Sweden sees education as a very important activity of the modern State, closely connected with economic growth, and capable of rational investigation which will yield reliable data upon the basis of which objective logical planning can take place.

In England much of the relevant data is not available to the committees making decisions. As at Bradford, for example, where the number of good honours mathematics and science graduates available to staff the existing, and any new Sixth Forms that may be created, is simply not known. The Secretary of State himself has said of his own Department "we are rather inclined to take

1. Dahllof, Zetterlund and Oberg, "Secondary Education in Sweden", National Board of Education Publishing Company: Uppsala, 1966, p.48

2. Ibid., p. 54.

our decisions on hunch"¹ and has set up a new planning unit at the D.E.S., with Dr. A.H. Halsey as research consultant.

The essence of the English approach to educational development was summed up by Mr. D.H. Morrell, Joint Secretary of the Influential Schools Council in the second of his three Joseph Payne memorial lectures in May 1966.² There was a danger he claimed that a research - orientated approach to the solution of educational problems was being "oversold", and that it was being used as a substitute for choice. In his view this approach was profoundly mistaken. "It supposes that schools can ultimately be run by computers; and that one can talk about the properties of the human personality in the way one talks about the properties of matter." For him educational development could only be "the organized backing of hunches."

Another criticism that can be made is that there has been insufficient attention to the effects of a period of change and reorganisation on the morale of teachers. Not enough effort has been made to consult and inform teachers either locally or nationally. No general principles have as yet been laid down safeguarding salaries and there have been too many reported instances

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1. "Times Educational Supplement", June 3rd 1966, in a report of an A.T.T.I. Conference.
 2. "Times Educational Supplement", May 13th 1966.

of, at the very least, tactless handling; as at Manchester for example.¹ An interesting little private investigation in 1966 into the attitudes of teachers towards Comprehensive reorganisation made by Messrs. Biggin, Coast and Stansfield of the Wheelwright Grammar School, Dewsbury, and based on a reply to a questionnaire from 408 Grammar and Modern teachers scattered over the country, showed that 60% were dissatisfied with the arrangements made by their L.E.A.s for consultation, and amongst the northern teachers this proportion rose to 70%.²

Finally it may be questioned whether any Local Authority can logically describe its reorganisation scheme as being truly comprehensive if it persists in filling free places in Direct Grant Schools, as at Bradford. The responsibility here would again appear to be mainly at the door of the government since it can be criticised for a probably deliberate ambiguity and vagueness over the policy to be pursued. The recent decision by the Secretary of State to approve the Leeds Grammar School Scheme seems to indicate a willingness to accept schemes for Direct Grant Schools which only the most elastic interpretation would allow to be called comprehensive.

An alternative approach to the present permissive policy,

1. "Times Educational Supplement", July 22nd 1966.

2. Biggin, Coast and Stansfield, "A Verdict on Comprehensives", Sept. 1966, privately reproduced by the Survey Group, Wheelwright Boys' Grammar School, Dewsbury, Yorks., p. 20.

without adopting the extraordinarily detailed and centralised approach of Sweden, might have been for Circular 10/65 to have introduced a two or three year moratorium on reorganisation. This interval could have been used as a period of planning during which all interested bodies and expert opinion could have been sounded, existing research findings gathered together and studied, and some sort of strategy devised. Some kind of planning body representative of the chief interests involved might have been set up to devise the strategy. A new Education Act might have become necessary as a result of these deliberations but the number of alternative schemes open to local authorities could have been reduced, national principles worked out with the professional associations for safeguarding salaries and appointments, and detailed guidance given to the Authorities on the way to proceed. By the end of the moratorium the results of the Plowden and Newsom reports would have been known and the future shape of local government, and all these things could have been taken into consideration.

The opportunity might even have been taken to have acted on Sir William Alexander's suggestion and to have divorced the administration of education from the rest of local government and thereby to have insulated it from the vagaries of party politics. At the present time the government's policy does nothing to protect reorganisation from the effects of changes of political control; and this is one of the major criticisms which can be

made of it. This was made dramatically clear by the landslide Conservative victories in the County and County Borough Elections of April and May 1967 when Labour lost control, amongst many others, of places like London and Bradford. One of the first actions of Mr. Christopher Chataway the new Conservative Inner-London Education Authority Chairman was to call in the Development Plan for review and modification and it was clear that at least some element of selection would be retained. In Bradford the likely effect of change of political control is discussed in a postscript to this chapter.

On the local level this study of Bradford's reorganisation scheme leads to a number of conclusions. Three general comments may be made to begin with. First, the extent to which education in Bradford has been involved in the political dogfight was not sufficiently appreciated when this study was begun. It is quite clear that effective long-term educational planning in Bradford has been and is being frustrated by changes of political control.

Second, this study has shown how difficult it is to judge the merits or demerits of a secondary reorganisation scheme, which may appear perfectly satisfactory on paper, without local knowledge and a great deal of investigation and discussion on the spot with those involved. This may be relevant to the question of D.E.S. approval of reorganisation schemes and may cast doubt upon its

ability to make reliable judgements at relatively short notice.

A third general conclusion is really nothing more than a cumulative impression as a result of conversation and reading is the remarkably passive role played by successive Chief Education Officers in the development of post-war educational policy in Bradford, so that their role as expert advisers seems to have been distinctly underplayed.

On the details of the scheme itself the first conclusion arrived at is that it was, for political motives, rushed through with undue haste and therefore insufficient detailed planning. This has had a number of serious consequences. It has meant first of all that a great deal of uncertainty has been generated, with consequent deleterious effects upon the morale of teaching staffs, since the long term objectives proposed in the original plan have been tacitly abandoned and no decision has yet been taken on what the long term objective should be (March 1967). Second, it has created a number of unsatisfactory interim features which show all the signs of becoming much more firmly entrenched than was originally envisaged. Chief amongst these is the two-year Junior High School, which can only be described as the most profoundly unsatisfactory feature of the present system. Two year 11-13 schools have been emphatically condemned in the Plowden Report: "A two year school is not educationally sound, particularly at this stage

of children's development. In the first year they will be settling down; in the second they will be getting ready to leave. There will be no time to become the school community which children of this age particularly value."¹ A statement confirmed by Bradford's experience.

The second conclusion concerns the extent to which the scheme is or is not comprehensive i.e. that schools should embrace the whole range of available intellectual ability. It is clear that in this respect the Junior High Schools and the two Comprehensives (Tong and Buttershaw) are genuinely comprehensive. It would appear on the other hand that a combination of parental choice and advice and pressure from the schools results in a higher proportion of the top levels of ability entering the Extended High Schools (Ex-Grammar) than the four High Schools (Ex-Modern). However it also appears that the Extended High Schools are having to teach more children of lower levels of ability than they did previously; although it is not clear to what extent they are adapting themselves to this new situation. This situation is not a static one and the tendency for a higher proportion of parents each year to opt for the Extended High School introduces an element of instability into the situation.

The social structure of the two Bradford Comprehensive Schools

1. Plowden Report, op. cit., para. 397, p. 149.

reflects the social structure of Bradford and the disposition of its middle-class areas. It would therefore appear unreasonable to suppose that the creation of "neighbourhood schools" can be avoided either in Bradford or in other similar areas of the country. It may well be that provided no "creaming-off" process takes place and provided the schools are of adequate size this may still result in a comprehensive range of intellectual ability and that to expect or demand that schools should also be socially comprehensive is unrealistic and utopian.

The third conclusion is that insufficient attention is being paid in Bradford to the question of how many Sixth-formers the city can support. There would appear to be a prima-facie case for arguing that the existing Sixths represent the limit on the number of Sixth Forms Bradford can or should expect.

Fourth, a purely administrative problem which has arisen since the scheme was inaugurated arises from the rigidities introduced by the zoning system and the difficulties of allocating children within the limitations imposed by it. The purpose of zoning was to facilitate the integration of courses and curricula between the Junior High Schools and the High Schools although in practice this appears to represent aspiration rather than accomplished fact. It is likely therefore that the zoning system may be abandoned or drastically modified.

Finally, it is clear that teachers were never consulted in the preparation of the original draft plan. Although this was later rectified they were not brought into consultation until a late stage in the decision making process when they could do no more than influence the detailed application of the scheme. Consequently the only expert opinion which was submitted to the Education Committee came from the Education Office. Great efforts were made to inform the general public of the nature of the scheme and it must be said that the Local Authority has an excellent record as far as the provision of information and the answering of enquiries about the 1964 scheme is concerned.

POSTSCRIPT

In a study of this nature of a contemporary and fast changing situation reorganisation schemes are often speedily overtaken by events and the ultimate shape of the Bradford secondary school system was placed even more in doubt by two events which took place early in 1967. The first was the recommendation by the Bradford Teachers' Advisory Council on the 22nd February "that in any scheme of reorganisation in the City there should be a place for the middle school" and that the age range for such schools should be 8-12.¹ In addition the Council recommended "a uniform age for transfer throughout the City." These recommendations were passed by 21 votes to 2 but were somewhat surprising since it was widely believed that teaching opinion in Bradford favoured the 9-13 middle school. The published report of the meeting makes it clear, however, that the Council had been influenced by the Plowden Report whose recommendations the Council considered would probably "become national policy". It was also pointed out, that for some children at least, the Plowden recommendation of a single age of entry into the Infant School, if adopted, would mean entry into the middle school at 8 years eleven months and exit at 12 years eleven months; so that the discrepancy between this age range and that proposed for the Delf School would not in practice be

1. Information Bulletin dated 10th March 1967 annexed to Bradford Education Dept. Weekly Circular.

very great.

The other event, of even greater significance, was the defeat of the Labour Party in the Bradford Municipal Election on the 11th May 1967. Before the Election the Labour Party had a majority of nine over the opposition, which comprised 32 Conservatives and 3 Liberals. In the Election the number of Labour seats shrank to 32 and the Liberals to one, giving the Conservatives an overall majority of 14 on the new Council.¹

Education was a major issue in the pre-Election campaign. The Conservative Election Address described the Party's policy in the following terms:

"The future of the child in school must far outweigh any re-organisation of schools on POLITICAL grounds only, but we favour:

1. Concentration as a priority on the provision of Primary Schools.
2. Gradual re-introduction of Grammar Schools to run alongside the Comprehensive Schools.
3. Discontinuance of the Two Year Junior Schools."

The phrase "Two year Junior Schools" is, of course, a solecism for Junior High Schools. There is no doubt that the temper of the

1. "Telegraph and Argus," May 12th 1967, p. 6.

Local Conservative Party was well expressed in a speech by Angus Maude in support of the local party campaign in Bradford on May 9th¹. In it Maude took a noticeably harder line on the importance of retaining a selective element in the secondary system than the Conservative Party's official spokesman on education, Sir Edward Boyle. Mr. Maude claimed, "Conservatives believe firmly that selection at some stage for secondary schooling is essential, except where local conditions make it impossible to maintain separate schools of adequate size." The Secretary of State's policy towards the local authorities was described as one of "blackmail" and it was also claimed that the Secretary of State "has not statutory power to enforce this policy on local education authorities, and it is almost impossible to see how he could withhold the finance needed for children who have to be educated." The Secretary of State had a statutory duty to provide an education suited to a child's age, abilities and aptitude and "it is quite impossible to do this unless those abilities and aptitudes are identified. This is what 'selection' means. The less selection there is the more likely it is that some children will have their special needs - whether they are very bright, average, or very dull - overlooked."

As a result of these developments the local Labour Party

1. "The Guardian", May 10th 1967, p. 3.

published an eve-of-poll pamphlet appealing to voters to vote against the Conservatives on the grounds that the Conservatives would "ruin your children's opportunity" and urging them to say "no more 11 plus".¹ Quite clearly of course the Conservative freedom of action will be extremely limited by practical considerations and a complete return to the pre-1963 system in Bradford is quite impossible. The Election Address is obviously extremely vague on details but some indication of the way in which Conservative thinking has been moving has been provided by Ald. J. Singleton, a Conservative spokesman on education. Alderman Singleton stated before the Election, "if we are returned it is our intention to abandon the two-year Junior High Schools and substitute three or four year junior schools ... A Conservative administration would split the present extended high schools into different types and although it was not possible to go into details yet, there would be a certain number of grammar schools in order to deal with the higher sixth-form work."²

Caution must be exercised in interpreting statements of this kind, especially in view of the fact that all the Extended High Schools are ex-Grammar Schools in any case; but it would seem to indicate that the Conservatives would probably like to move on to some kind of middle school development but with selection

1. "Telegraph and Argus", May 10th 1967, p. 1.

2. Ibid.

retained at 12 or 13 on a bipartite basis.

This prolongation of the period of uncertainty and indecision over the ultimate shape of secondary education in Bradford is likely to have a deleterious effect upon the morale of teachers and administrators in Bradford. Dissatisfaction over the present situation was expressed in the local press shortly before the Election when a Conservative victory was expected. A Bradford teacher wrote that "It is intolerable that there should be another game of treating secondary education as a tennis ball to be bounced from one political court to another¹. Similar views were expressed in an editorial review of the issues before the Election on the day before the poll: "It would be disastrous for our schools to become political pawns, their systems liable to change with the council in power, much as the steel industry has been bandied about."² The future pattern for secondary education in Bradford is therefore extremely obscure and for teachers at least, a rather bleak one.

1. Telegraph and Argus", May 8th 1967, p. 6, "Letters to the Editor."

2. "Telegraph and Argus", May 10th 1967, p. 10, "Voting For the Future."

THE NORWOOD "TYPES"

1. The Grammar School Pupil:

"Interested in learning for its own sake, who can grasp an argument or follow a piece of connected reasoning, who is interested in causes, whether on the level of human volition or in the material world, who cares to know how things came to be as well as how they are, who is sensitive to language as expression of thought, to a proof as a precise demonstration, to a series of experiments justifying a principle: he is interested in the relatedness of related things, in development, in structure, in a coherent body of knowledge. He can take a long view and hold his mind in suspense; this may be revealed in his work or in his attitude to his career. He will have some capacity to enjoy, from an aesthetic point of view, the aptness of a phrase or the neatness of a proof. He may be good with his hands or he may not; he may or may not be a good 'mixer' or a leader or a prominent figure in activities, athletic or not."

Norwood Report, p. 2.

2. The Technical School Pupil:

"Whose interests and abilities lie markedly in the field of applied science or applied art. The boy in this group has

a strong interest in this direction and often the necessary qualities of mind to carry his interest through to make it his life-work at whatever level of achievement. He often has an uncanny insight into the intricacies of mechanism whereas the subtleties of language construction are too delicate for him. To justify itself to his mind, knowledge must be capable of immediate application, and the knowledge and its application which most appeal to him are concerned with the control of material things. He may have unusual or moderate intelligence: where intelligence is not great, a feeling of purpose and relevance may enable him to make the most of it. He may or may not be good at games or other activities."

Norwood Report, p. 3.

3. The Modern School type:

"Deals more easily with concrete things than with ideas. He may have much ability, but it will be in the realm of facts. He is interested in things as they are; he finds little attraction in the past or in the slow disentanglement of causes or movements. His mind must turn on its knowledge or its curiosity to immediate test; and his test is essentially practical. He may see clearly along one line of study or interest and outstrips his generally abler fellows in that line; but he often fails to relate his knowledge or skill to other branches of activity. Because he is interested only in the

moment he may be incapable of a long series of connected steps; relevance to present concerns is the only way of awakening interest, abstractions mean little to him. Thus it follows that he must have immediate returns for his effort, and for the same reason his career is often in his mind. His horizon is near and within a limited area his movement is generally slow, though it may be surprisingly rapid in seizing a particular point or in taking up a special line. Again, he may or may not be good with his hands or sensitive to Music or Art."

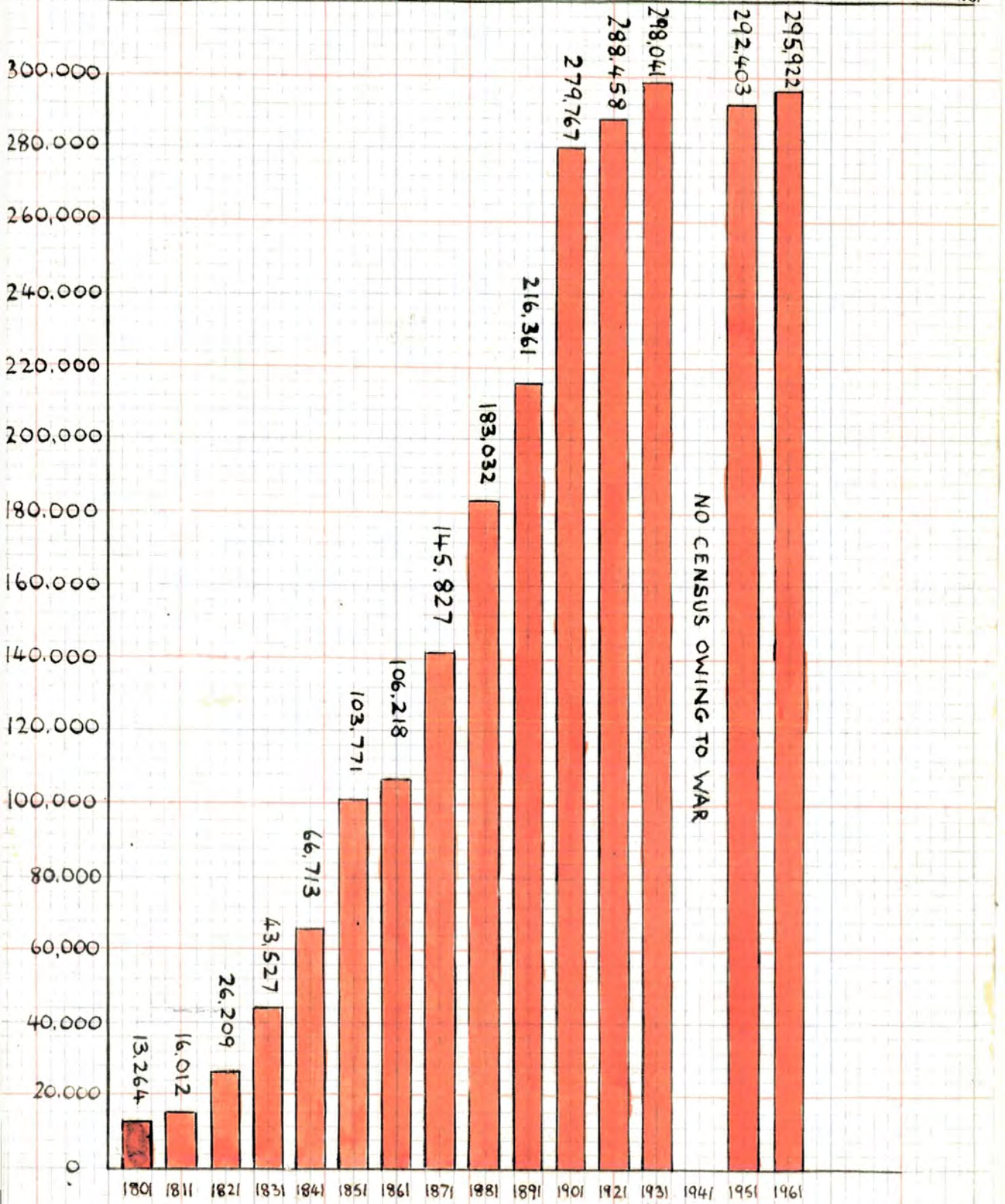
Norwood Report, p. 3.

Existing and Proposed Secondary Reorganisation Schemes

Roman numerals indicate Circular 10/65 schemes.

AGE GROUP	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Existing Selective (bipartite)	Primary School							Secondary Grammar - or free place in a direct-grant or independent school.	Secondary Modern-some to G.C.E. 'O' level.						Stop
All-through Comprehensive Scheme no. I	Primary School													Secondary	
Two-tier Scheme no. II	Primary School			Junior Secondary											Senior Secondary
Two-tier Scheme no. III	Primary School			Junior Secondary				Junior Secondary				Senior Secondary		Stop	
Two-tier Scheme no. IV	Primary School			Junior Secondary				Junior Secondary				Senior Secondary (long)		Stop	
Two-tier Scheme no. V	Primary School			Secondary											Sixth-Form or Junior College
Middle School Scheme no. VI	Primary School			Middle School				Middle School				Secondary School			

THE POPULATION OF BRADFORD 1801-1961. source: decennial census returns.



BRADFORD SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1965

Maintained Schools

<u>School</u>	<u>Nos. on Roll</u>	<u>Date of main building</u>	<u>Origins</u>
<u>County Comprehensives (11-18)</u>			
Buttershaw	1486 (10 form entry) (still building up)	1956/61	Enlarged post-war Secondary Modern.
Tong	608 (9 form entry) (still building up)	1964	Purpose-built
<u>County (Extended) High Schools (13-18)</u>			
Belle Vue Boys'	484	1963	Secondary Grammar
Belle Vue Girls'	426	1879	"
Bolling Girls'	385	1931	"
Carlton Boys'	444	1873	"
Grange Girls'	409	1906	"
Grange Boys'	499	1906	"
Hanson Boys'	418	1897	"
Hanson Girls'	417	1897	"
Thornton (Mixed)	270	1944	"
<u>County High Schools (13-16)</u>			
Eccleshill	975	1957	Post-War Sec. Mod.
Fairfax	948	1963	"
Rhodesway	880	1959	"
Wyke Manor	781	1959	"
<u>County Junior High Schools (11-13)</u>			
Clayton	231	Pre - 1939	S.M. in old blds.
Drummond Boys'	414	"	"
Drummond Girls'	331	"	"
Frizinghall	175	"	"
Great Horton	351	"	"
Gregory Girls'	365	"	Ex-selective Central

<u>School</u>	<u>Nos. on Roll</u>	<u>Date of main building</u>	<u>Origins</u>
<u>County Junior High Schools</u> (11-13)			
High field	262	Pre - 1939	S.M. in old blds.
Hutton	365	" "	" " " "
Lapage Boys'	246	" "	" " " "
Lapage Girls'	233	" "	" " " "
Priestman	418	" "	Ex-selective Central
Thorpe	363	" "	S.M. in old blds.
Princeville	229	" "	" " " "
Tyersal	229	" "	" " " "
Undercliffe	309	" "	" " " "
Whetley	263	" "	" " " "
Wibsey	253	" "	" " " "
Woodroyd	372	" "	" " " "

Voluntary (Aided) Schools

<u>R.C. Grammar Schools</u>	<u>Nos. on Roll</u>	<u>Origins</u>
St. Bede's (Boys)	873	Founded 1900
Cardinal Hinsley (Boys)	340	Post-war buildings
Margaret Clitherow	366	" " "
<u>R.C. Junior High/High Schools</u>		
Blessed Edmund Campion	768	" " "
St. Blaire	935	" " "
St. George	339 still expanding	" " "

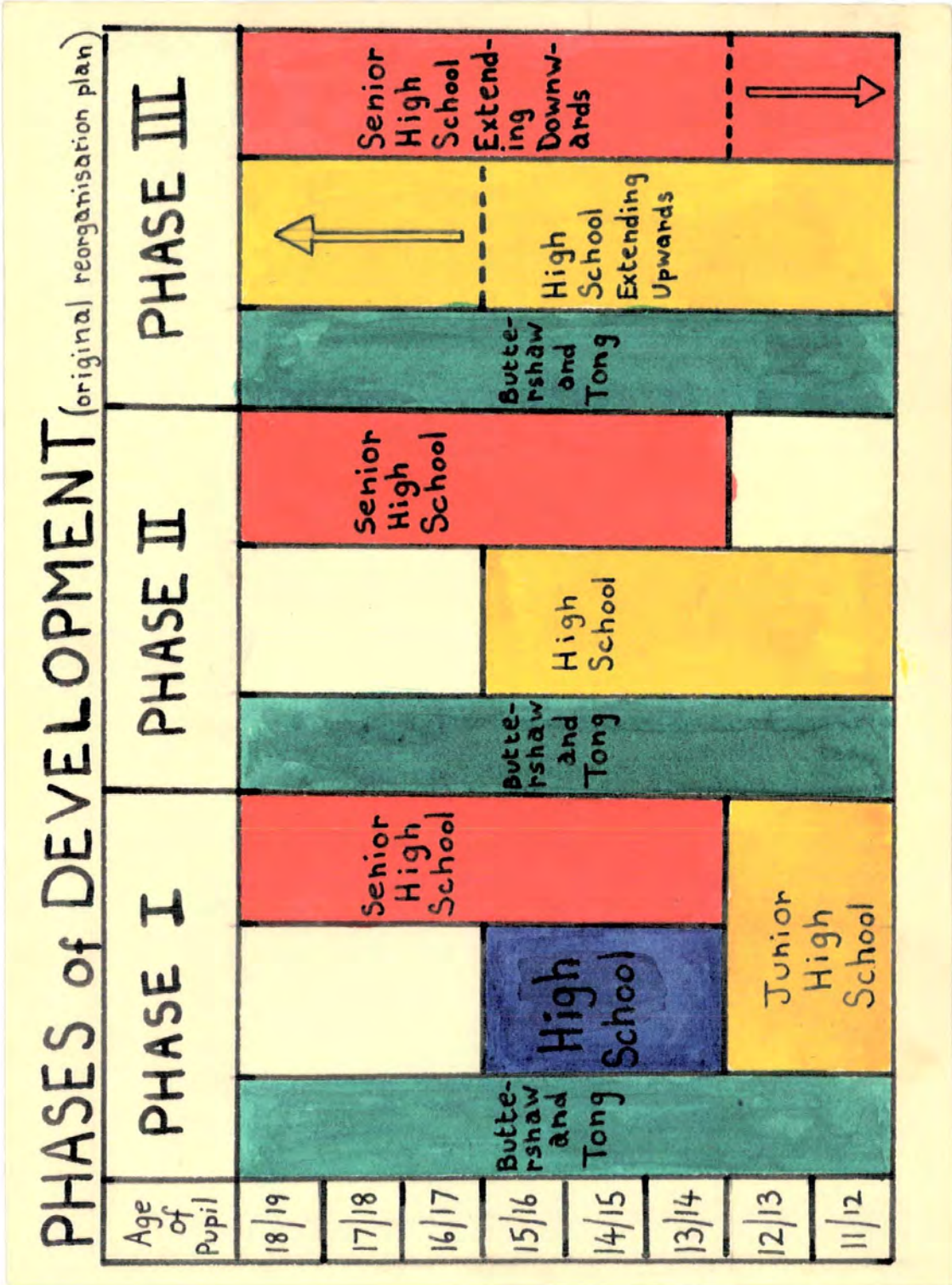
Direct-Grant Schools

Bradford Grammar School (Boys)	Refounded 1871
Bradford Girls Grammar School	Founded 1875
St. Joseph's College (Girls)	R.C. Founded 1908
Woodhouse Grove School (Boys)	Methodist. Ex-city boundary Founded 1812.

Map to show types and disposition
of new Multilateral schools in
Bradford as proposed in 1947.



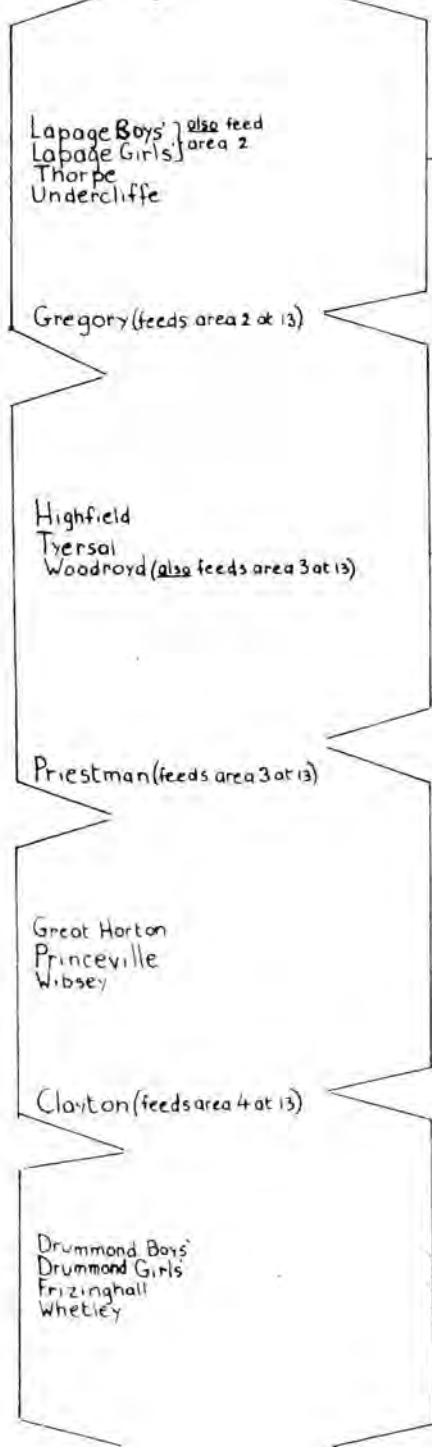
Source: Memo on the 1st portion of the Authority's Development Plan, p.12.



Secondary Reorganisation in Bradford-Zoning Scheme (extended High Schools underlined)

Primary Schools Junior High Schools High Schools Comprehensive

- Area 1
 Ferend
 Hill C of E
 Hill North
 Ingates
 son
 ton
 e C of E
 nscliffe
 Augustines C of E
 in House
 ckley
 rnbury
 rpe Edge
 pping Road
 ington Road
- Area 2
 Saints C of E
 ley C of E
 ley Courts
 dford Moor
 ley Hill
 rsham Street
 ne
 efield
 e Street
 Moor C of E
 shfield
 in Street
 Andrews Woodlands C of E
 James C of E
 Matthew's C of E
 Stephen's C of E
 rley Manor
 ng Street C of E
 et Street
 stgate Hill
 ke
- Area 3
 tershaw C of E
 tershaw County
 yton C of E
 per Lane
 field
 ange Road
 at Horton
 ton Bank Top
 get Green
 rceville
 Andrews Listerhills C of E
 Oswald's C of E
 xrs Lane
 bsey
 odside
- Area 4
 erton
 ton Woods
 sy Hill
 olt
 rweather Green
 zinghall
 een Lane
 croft
 ndy Lane
 Barnabas C of E
 Jude's C of E
 Paul's C of E
 Philips C of E
 ornton C of E



Eccleshill
Hanson Boys
Hanson Girls

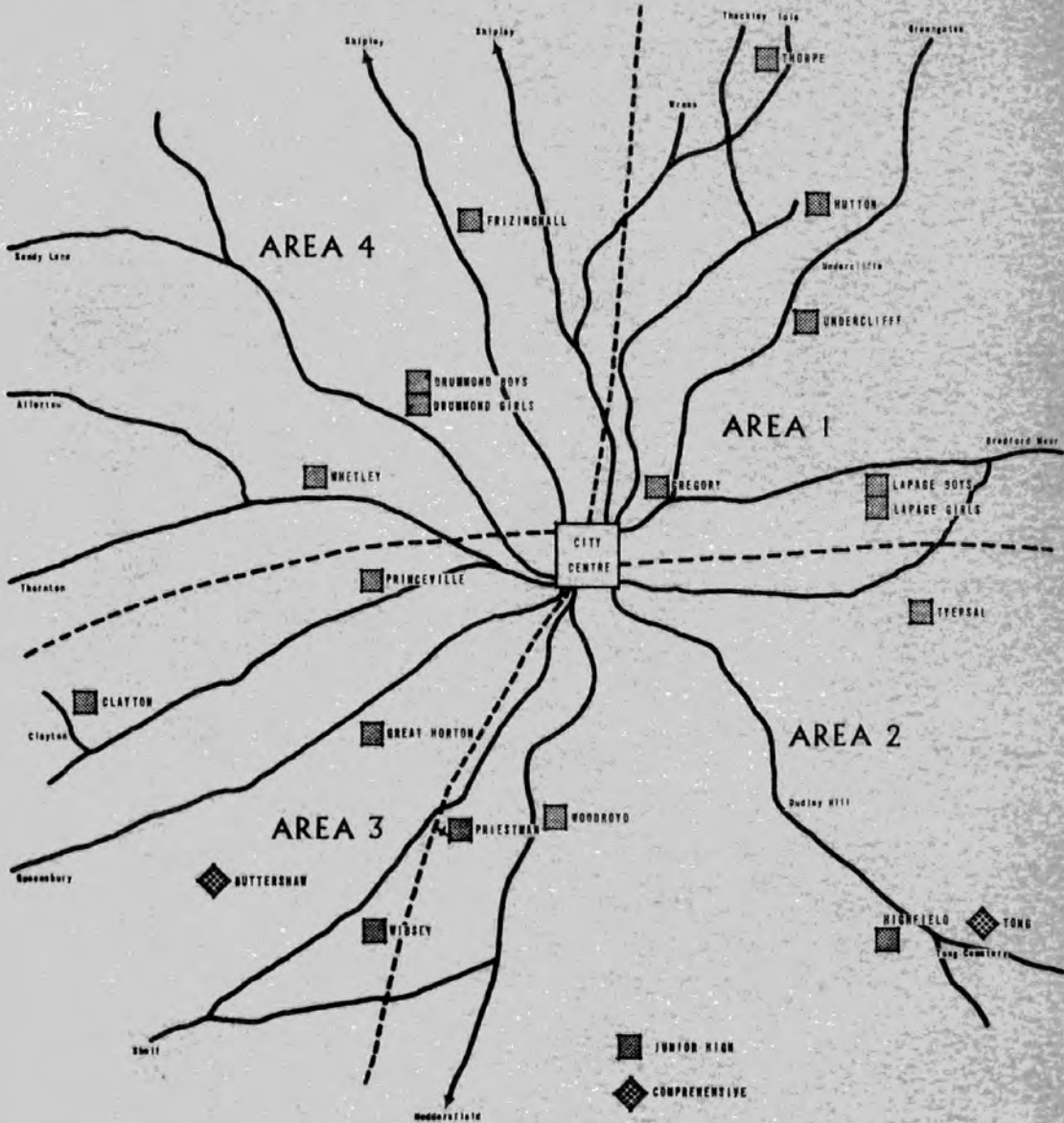
Bolling
Carlton
 Fairfax

Tong

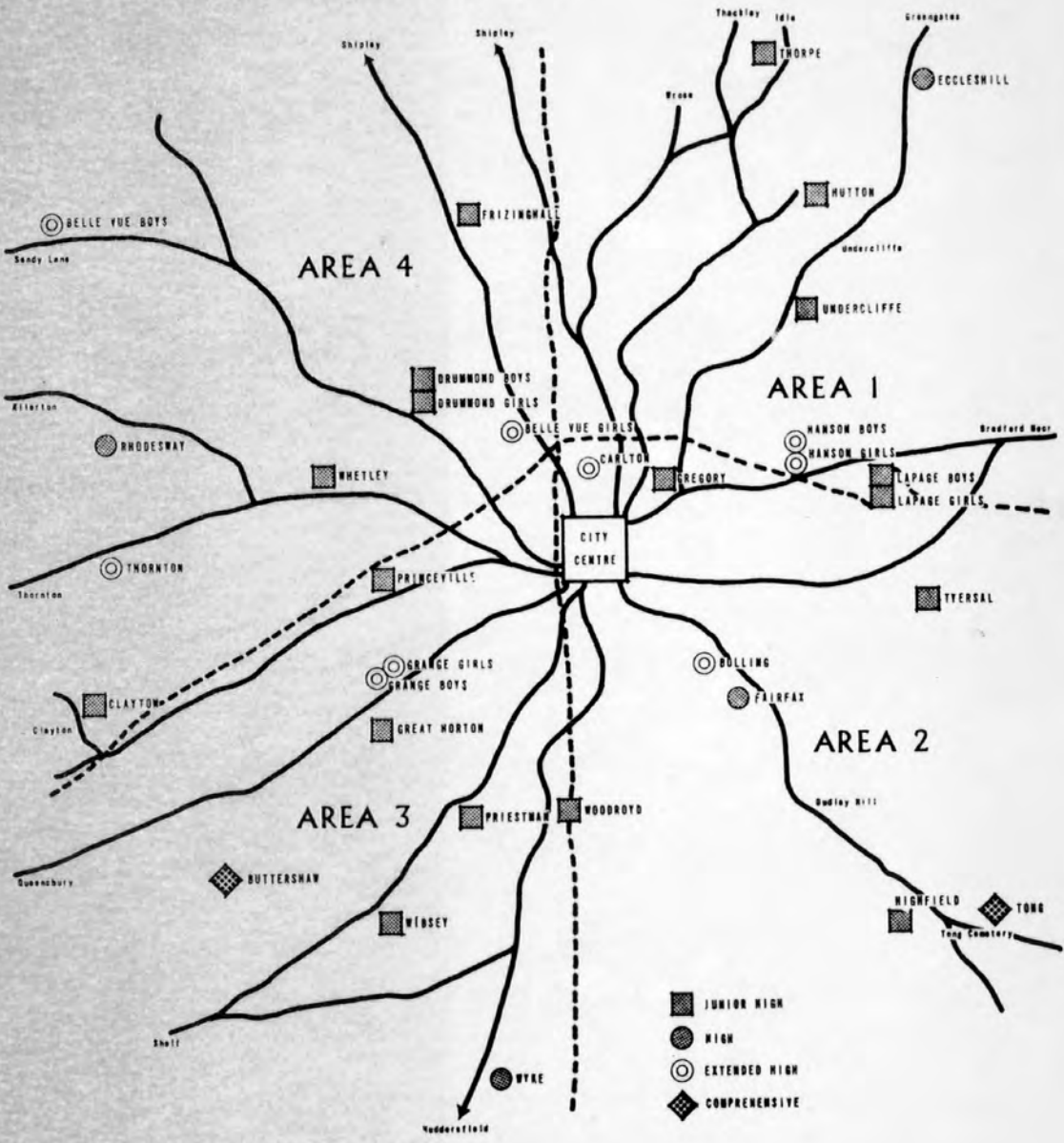
Buttershaw

Bell Vue Boys
Bell Vue Girls
Rhodesway
Thornton

MAP 1 - TRANSFER AT 11+



MAP 2 - TRANSFER AT 13 +



NOS. OF IMMIGRANTS IN BRADFORD SECONDARY
(MAINTAINED AND VOLUNTARY) SCHOOLS. JAN. 1967.

Source: Bradford City Education Dept.

(Schools with special classes indicated by
large nos. of N.E.S. immigrants.)

<u>School</u>	<u>Nos. on roll (1965 figures)</u>	<u>Non-English speaking Immigrants</u>	<u>English-Speaking Immigrants</u>
<u>County Comprehensives</u>			
Buttershaw	10 form entry still building up	1	34
Tong	9 form entry still building up	0	9
<u>County (Extended) High Schools</u>			
Belle Vue Boys'	484	19	15
Belle Vue Girls'	426	0	13
Bolling Girls	385	0	11
Carlton Boys'	444	0	4
Grange Girls'	409	0	7
Grange Boys'	499	0	16
Hanson Boys'	418	0	6
Hanson Girls'	417	0	11
Thornton	270	0	26
<u>County High Schools</u>			
Eccleshill	975	16	29
Fairfax	948	0	67
Rhodesway	880	0	73
Wyke Manor	781	20	66
<u>County Junior High Schools</u>			
Clayton	231	0	13
Drummond Boys'	414	45	24
Drummond Girls'	331	0	23
Frizinhall	175	0	20
Great Horton	351	0	35
Gregory Girls'	365	0	6
Highfield	262	0	8
Hutton	365	0	0
Lapage Boys'	246	0	20
Lapage Girls'	233	5	9

APPENDIX X
contd.

<u>School</u>	<u>Mos. on roll</u> <u>(1965 figures)</u>	<u>Non-English</u> <u>speaking</u> <u>Immigrants</u>	<u>English-Speaking</u> <u>Immigrants</u>
Priestman	418	Not available	Not available
Princeville	299	22	19
Thorpe	363	0	2
Tyersal	299	3	12
Undercliffe	309	0	12
Whetley	263	18	11
Wibsey	253	0	5
Woodroyd	372	0	23
<u>R.C. Grammar Schools</u>			
St. Bede's (Boys)	873	0	0
Cardinal Hinsley (Boys)	340	0	1
Margaret Clitherow	366	0	0
<u>R.C. Junior High/High Schools</u>			
Blessed Edmund Campion	768	0	29
St. Blaise	935	0	14
St. George	540 on roll in 1966 - still building up.	0	22

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73	12/12/45	Organisation of Secondary Schools
90	8/3/46	Development Plans.
144	16/6/47	Organisation of Secondary Education.

<u>D.E.S. No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>
7/65	14/6/65	The Education of Immigrants.
10/65	12/7/65	The Organisation of Secondary Education.

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