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The Evolution of Primary Education in England
1944-2010

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Dedication

To my beloved parents, brothers and friends

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Abstract

In England, elementary education had evolved under the main control of religious groups for centuries. The main reasons for this were the reluctance of the State to interfere in it and the opposition of the religious denominations because they believed education was a divine mission. With the evolution of the Industrial Revolution and the need for an educated labour force, the State understood the importance of education and started to interfere therein from 1870. This interference covered the elementary schools and their central and local administration, finance, the staff, the provision of welfare services and the raising of the school leaving age. However, the effectiveness of this interference was disturbed by the First World War in 1914, the Economic Crisis in 1929 and the Second World War in 1939. Following 1944, elementary education became primary education, which was characterised by the application of the Welfare State, neoliberal and Third Way policies. The latter impacted on the primary schools, their administration, finance, staff, curriculum, pedagogy and the welfare services. Therefore, the objectives of this work are to discuss the application of such policies on primary education and demonstrate the impact they had thereon.

Keywords: primary education, schools, teachers, curriculum, pedagogy, government policies.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

A.C.S.E.T: The Advisory Committee on the Supply and Education of Teachers.

A.P.U: The Assessment Performance Unit.

A.L.T.A.R.F: The All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism

A.T.L: The Association of Teachers and Lecturers.

A.T.O.s: The Area Training Organizations.

A.V.A: The Audio-Visual Aids.

B.B.C: The British Broadcasting Company.

B.F.S.S: The British and Foreign School Society.

B.N.P: British National Party

C.A.S.E: The Campaign for Advancement of State Education.

C.A.T.E: The Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education.

C.C.C.S: The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.

C.E.S: The Catholic Education Service

C.L.A.S.P: The Consortium of Local Authorities Special Programme

C.P.G: The Conservative Philosophy Group.

C.P.R.S: The Central Policy Review Staff (belonging to the Cabinet Office).

C.P.S: The Centre for Policy Studies.

C.R.E: The Commission for Racial Equality.

C.S.F.C: Children, Schools and Families Committee

D.C.F.S: The Department for Children, Families and Schools.

D.E.s: The Divisional Executives.

D.E.S: The Department of Education and Science.

D.C.F.S: The Department for Children, Schools and Families.

D.F.E.E: The Department for Education and Employment.

D.F.E.S: The Department for Education and Skills.

D.I.U.S: Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills

E.A.Z.s: The Education Action Zones.

E.D.S: The Education Data Surveys.

E.P.A.s: The Educational Priority Areas.

E.T.S: The Educational Testing Services.

E.Y.P.S: The Early Years Professional Status.

F.E.V.E.R.R (also the F.E.V.E.R): The Friends of the Education Voucher Experiment in Representative Regions.

F.L.P: The Food for Life Partnership

G.T.C: The General Teaching Council.

HIV/AIDS: The Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

H.M.F.s: His Majesty Forces.

H.M.I.s: Her Majesty's Inspectors.

H.O.R.S.A: Hutting Operation for the Raising of the School Age.

I.E.A: The Institute of Economic Affairs.

I.L.E.A: The Inner London Education Authority.

I.P.P.R: The Institute for Public Policy Research.

I.P.S.E.T: The Independent Primary and Secondary Education Trust.

I.R.R: The Institute of Racial Relations.

I.R.P.C: Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum.

I.T.T: The Initial Teacher Training.

L.C.C: The London County Council.

L.E.A.s: The Local Education Authorities.

L.M.S: The Local Management Schools.

M.P.s: The Members of Parliament.

N.A.S.U.W.T: The National Association of Schoolmaster/ the Union of Women Teachers.

N.C.C: The National Consumer Council.

N.C.P.T.A: The National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations.

N.A.H.T: National Association of Head Teachers

N.U.T: The National Union of Teachers.

Q.C.A: The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

O.C.I: The Office of the Chief Inspector.

O.E.C.D: The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

O.Q.E.R: The Office of the Qualifications and Examinations Regulator (Also the Ofqual)

O.F.S.E.C.S.S (Also the O.F.S.T.E.D): The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills.

O.R.A.C.L.E: The Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation.

P.F.I: The Private Finance Initiative.

P.G.C.E: The Post Graduate Certificate of Education.

P.P.P: The Public Private Partnership.

P.S.E: The Personal and Social Education.

Q.C.A: The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

Q.T.S: The Qualified Teacher Status.

S.A.T.s: The Standard Assessment Tasks.

S.A.C.R.E: The Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education.

S.C.A.A: The School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

S.E.A.C: The School Examinations and Assessment Council

S.E.D: The Scottish Education Department.

S.F.O.R.S.A: School Furniture Operation for the Raising of the School Age.

S.L.T.s: The Single Level Tests

S.T.P.R.B: The School Teachers' Pay and Review Body

T.E.S: The Times Educational Supplement.

T.G.A.T: The Task Group on Assessment and Testing.

T.T.A: The Teacher Training Agency.

T.U.C: The Trade Union Congress.

U.S.A. The United States of America.

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Introduction

Primary education is considered as one of the most important stages in education because it is provided to children at the beginning of their life, starting from the age of five to eleven, and in some cases twelve. This educational stage, which is generally free and compulsory, helps children to be socially integrated and acquire the early basic educational elements to be successful in their life, notably thanks to the work of an effective administration and qualified teachers.

Primary education in England had to go through different stages to acquire these characteristics. It started during the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries thanks to the work of the private enterprise, notably the religious groups, which opened the precursors of the primary schools, namely the elementary schools. The latter employed low level teachers who gave poor pupils an elementary type of education, in return for the payment of fees. With the intervention of the State in elementary education, issues began to evolve in the different educational aspects such as finance, administration, staffing, the school leaving age, compulsory attendance, curriculum and pedagogy. Naturally, the State maintained the contribution of the private enterprise to support it in its work. Throughout time, primary education became one of the main concerns of the Liberal, Conservative and Labour governments.

Henceforth, the topic of primary education in England has been the concern of a number of writers. This is notably the case of eminent historians, educationists and inspectors such as, A. W. Parry, Charles Birchenough, H. Holman, S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, Harold Silver, Brian Simon, Joan Simon, W.O. Lester Smith, James Murphy, H.C. Dent, J. Stuart Maclure, John Blackie, Gerald Bernbaum, Flann Campbell, Gerald Roy Lowe, Norman Thomas, Stephen Ward and Christine Eden, Colin Richards, Denis Lawton, Chitty, Chawla-Duggan Clyde, Rita and Pole and J Christopher. They notably tackled the evolution of elementary and then primary education, its administration, its curriculum and pedagogy, and provided a pertinent analysis of such an evolution. Nonetheless, they did not concentrate extensively on aspects

namely finance, the immigrants' primary education, gender and citizenship education in the primary education curriculum.

Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to examine the evolution of State intervention in elementary, then reformed into primary education. This implies the transfer of control from the private enterprise to that of the State. It also discusses the different primary education policies adopted by the Liberal, Conservative and Labour governments, with emphasis on the aspects that the previously mentioned writers did not go more thoroughly into.

The choice of this topic has been motivated by the fact that the issue of primary education in England has not been dealt extensively in Algeria, and that the history of education, the primary one in particular forms the basis of any Government education policy in terms of reforms. As far as the period is concerned, the year 1944 corresponds to the conversion of elementary education to primary, and 2010 deals with the end of the Labour leadership and its primary education policy.

To this end, this work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter "Elementary Education in England up to 1943" is a tentative attempt to discuss the beginnings and developments of elementary education under the leadership of the Church, and then the way it moved afterwards under the control of the State until 1943.

The second chapter "Primary Education in England 1944-1973" explains the context in which the Welfare State Policy was introduced and the way it was applied in primary education. This implies referring to the different Government acts and reports that were drafted and the way they impacted on primary education, notably on its schools, administration and finance, staff, pedagogy and welfare services.

The third chapter, "Primary Education: from a Labour Policy to a Conservative Neoliberal One 1974-1987" deals with the transition of primary education policy from a Welfare State to a neo-liberal one. It notably examines administration, curriculum, and other new aspects such as gender and privatisation.

The fourth chapter, entitled "Primary Education from Conservative Neoliberalism to Labour Third Way Policy 1988-2010" undertakes the setting up and application of the 'Neoliberal' and the 'Third Way' policies in primary education and covers schools, administration, staff, curriculum and pedagogy, gender and privatisation.

To write this thesis, both the chronological and thematic approaches have been adopted. To support it, primary and secondary documents have also been consulted. The primary sources include Government acts, reports, election manifestos and speeches, and the secondary sources comprise books, journals, reviews and newspapers' articles.

Chapter One

Elementary Education in England

up to 1943

Elementary education in England had been under the exclusive control of private enterprise for a long period, primarily the Anglican and the Nonconformist denominations. However, this monopoly did not prevail owing to the interference of the State therein. This intervention took place as a result of political, economic and social factors, and covered issues such as the erection of elementary schools, the development of the administrative and financial machinery, the training of teachers, discussions about curriculum and pedagogy, the contribution to welfare services, the raising of the school leaving age and the setting of the transfer age from elementary to secondary.

To this end, this chapter is a tentative attempt to examine the context in which elementary education evolved under the private enterprise, and the early attempts of the State to contribute thereto. It will also shed light on the reasons behind the interference of the State therein, and the way it evolved from 1870 to 1943.

I.The Establishment of the Elementary Schools and their Organisation:

Elementary education, which was based on laissez-faire policy, was left to the private enterprise, so, charity elementary schools were opened on the basis of a number of conditions for both boys and girls in different institutions such as churches, and had their own organisation. To deal with these schools, administrations were set up to manage the recruitment and training of teachers, the elementary education curriculum and pedagogy, and in some cases the welfare services. Nevertheless, these elementary schools offered low level education to a limited number of pupils.

I.1.The Origins of the Private Elementary Schools System:

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' educational scene was characterized by charity schools. They were the product of the laissez-faire policy, resulting in minimum State

intervention in the different sectors, notably the educational one.¹ The religious denominations, especially the Established Church were reluctant to see the State interfere in education, for they considered it as a divine mission whereby they could convey and maintain their religious message and supremacy. On the other hand, the political class, the aristocracy and the industrialists feared to see the established order being overthrown as a result of an eventual involvement of England in a revolution similar to that of France. Indeed, the education of the populace would make them aware of their degrading state and their important number and push them to revolt.²

The elementary schools included the Catholic Schools (1764), the Sunday schools, (1780), the dame and Wesleyan schools (late eighteenth century), the monitorial schools (1811 for the National Society and 1814 for the British and Foreign Society), the infant schools (1843), the workshop, industrial and district schools (1844) and the ragged schools (1844)³. These schools were founded by churchmen, politicians, industrialists, landowners, traders, merchants, craftsmen, philanthropists and local inhabitants. Even if they had one common objective, they differed in the motives to found schools. Actually, some of them were dissatisfied with the deficiencies of the prevailing educational system and wanted to improve it. The infant schools' founders, like those of the ragged schools aimed at protecting the increasing number of children from industrial exploitation and the dangers of the street.⁴ Others just wanted to impose the

¹ The Laissez Faire policy implies that the market principle of supply and demand and pricing mechanisms were to be left free, without the interference of the State in them. This went into the opposite line of mercantilism, which implies the interference of government in economic affairs. This means that the government controlled the manufacture and pricing of goods and the development of industry and trade to have a balanced trade for the country. Julia Evetts, The Sociology of Educational Ideas (Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973) 96.

² Denis Lawton, Education and Labour Party ideologies 1900-2001 and Beyond (Great Britain: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005) 1-7, H.C. Dent, The Educational System of England and Wales (Great Britain: University of London Press, 1967) 17-8, W.O.L. Smith, Government of Education (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1968) 77-8, W.O. Lester Smith, Education in Great Britain (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1967) 70-72, James Murphy, Church, State and Schools in Britain (Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan, 1971) 1-12.

³ The origin of the elementary schools goes back to the Middle Ages, and included the Song Schools, Pettie Schools, Almonry Schools, Grammar Schools, Episcopal Schools, Dame Schools, Writing and Reading Schools, Parochial Schools and Private Schools. Notwithstanding, some of them were closed after that Henry VIII (1491-1547) had reformed the English Church, by becoming the new religious authority. Later on, some of them were reopened during the reigns of Edward VI (1547-53), Mary I (1533-8) and Elizabeth I (1558-1603). Furthermore, the period stretching from the reign of James I (1603-25) to that of James II (1685-88) witnessed the increasing number of these schools. In fact, the historian H. Holman says that of the 159 schools existing at the time of the Reformation, and whose records still remain, 23 were known as Song Schools and 22 as elementary schools. Moreover, Francis Adam claims that of the 4.300 schools mentioned by the commissions of 1818 and 1842, some had their origins from the post-Reformation period, whereas most of them emerged after the Revolution and Restoration periods. H. Holman, English National Education: A Sketch of the Rise of Public Elementary Schools in England (Great Britain: Blackie and Son, 1898) 11.

⁴ Sir William Locke, Report of the Standing Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juvenile, 1852, www.victorialondon.org.uk/raggedschools/. Sir W.H. Hadow, The Hadow Report: The Primary Schools, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1931) 1-17.

supremacy of a given denomination over another or an ideology over another like the founders of the monitorial schools and the radical and chartist schools.¹

I.2.The Organisation of the Private Elementary Schools:

The prevailing prerequisites for the opening of these schools varied from one period to another. As far as the nineteenth century period was concerned, there was more and more emphasis on the educational aspects and the pupils' welfare, rather than political or religious constraints.² The educational aspects were concerned with the competence of the teachers, the quality of the curriculum and the teaching methods and means, and also the quality of the building and the availability of safety measures within the schools.³

The elementary schools were attended by both boys and girls of different ages and different abilities. The attending pupils had different motivations: some pupils wanted to profit from the advantages offered by these schools such as food and boarding, whereas others aimed at acquiring better occupations permitting them to ascend the educational and social ladders.⁴ But the wealthy pupils attended a different institution, known as the preparatory schools.

The entrance requirements of the elementary schools depended on a number of criteria, which comprised the pupils' gender, social rank, religious belief and the payment of fees. Indeed, the elementary schools had always been fee paying, and depended on the parents' earnings and the pupils' social class and number.⁵ However, the reduction of fees or their exemptions existed among some elementary schools. They were mainly undertaken by schools possessing large size classes, to attract the maximum of attendees. This was notably the case for the opening of the monitorial schools.⁶

The schools were initially opened in religious institutions such as churches, rented or bought houses, industrial barracks, workhouses, lofts and stables. They consisted of one class

¹Murphy, 4-6, Smith, 70-72. Harold Silver, English Education and the Radicals (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975) 51-66, 82.

² S.J, Curtis, and M.E.A. Boulwood. An Introductory History of English Education since 1800. (Great Britain: University Tutorial Press, 1966) 60-61, 189-90.

³ Few schools attempted to provide the pupils with the best schooling conditions such as reducing the number of pupils in classes or having safe and spacious classes with halls and gardens where pupils could play, as it was the case of the Infant Schools. The majority had crowded, small, dirty, ill-ventilated, gloomy and unsecure classes with pupils sitting down in backless desks, mainly because of financial reasons, rendering the schooling period rude for pupils. This was conspicuous in the state of Ragged Schools. Locke, Hadow, 1-17. Sir W.H. Hadow, The Hadow Report: Infant and Nursery Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1933), 1-46.

⁴ Joan Simon, The Social Origins of English Education (Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) 39.

⁵ Murphy, 10-1

⁶ Curtis and Boulwood, 7-12.

gathering all the school pupils, but with the increasing number of pupils and the evolution of the curriculum, these schools were then converted into premises with different classes, with pupils sitting in backless desks with the teacher in front of them, or sometimes staying in one posture during a long period and listening to the teacher, with no exercises being undertaken.

The elementary schools could be day or boarding schools, receiving pupils living far from them. They were weekday schools opening in the morning, stopping at the moment of lunch and resuming in the afternoon. One exception was the schools which were set up for industrial purposes, and which opened on Sundays only.¹

Some schools became so widespread and popular all over England, that societies were founded to administer them.² They included the Sunday School Union in 1803, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Anglican Church in 1811, the British and Foreign School Society (B.F.S.S.) in 1814, the Infant School Societies in 1824 and 1827, the Ragged School Union in 1844 and the Catholic Poor School Society in 1847.³ These societies provided the elementary schools together with religious institutions, with private donations and entrance fees so as to meet the expenses of teachers, premises and the educational materials.⁴

The teachers employed in elementary schools were generally men and women, whether religious or laymen. Some of them chose this profession because they had no other choice, whereas others just did it before moving to better and more exciting careers.⁵ The procedure of the teachers' employment generally consisted of a period of probation, during which the teachers had to show their proficiency in the field, before being nominated as permanent teachers. In some cases, this procedure was not followed mainly because most of the elementary schools did not have the sufficient funds to pay for the competent teachers, which compelled the schools to recruit any teachers who applied as long as they accepted precarious conditions such as part-time

¹ Dent, 17.

² From the period of the Middle Ages to the English Reformation, elementary education was under the local control of the Roman Catholic Church and laymen. This created a competition about who was going to provide education in the area they were located at. With the outbreak of the English Reformation, both of the religious and laymen were answerable to the sole authority of the monarch, putting an end to this competition. A.W. Parry, Education in England in the Middle Ages (Great Britain: University Tutorial Press, 1920) 92-103.

³ These administrations, which had different aims and means to achieve them, sought to end up with the children's ignorance and immorality, and improve their living conditions. Curtis, Boulwood, 2. Brian Simon, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870 (Great Britain: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974) 177-276, 350-368.

⁴ Stephen Ward, Christine Eden, Key Issues in Education Policy (Great Britain: Sage Publications, 2009), 13-14.

⁵ Sir Hadow, The Hadow Report (1931) The Primary School, 1-17, J. Stuart Maclure, Educational Documents England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day (Great Britain: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1973) 18.

employment and low salaries. At the beginning, the payment of the teachers generally depended on the Church funds, the pupils' subscriptions and donations. ¹

The training of teachers had always formed part of the teachers' career. School managers wanted to provide the elementary schools with enough teachers so as to meet the increasing demand for elementary education. Examples of educational institutions offering such a kind of training were the monitorial and infant Schools. ²

The teachers were also confronted to different problems, which made their socio-economic life difficult. In fact, the teaching profession was always seen as an unprotected part-time job with low salaries and training level. It was also badly organised, which prevented them to form unions to ask for improvements. ³

As far as the elementary school curriculum was concerned, it was framed in the last half of the nineteenth century, and was based on social utility. It was to provide the working class children of all ages attending standardised groups with a narrow, useful and cheap amount of education, being based on the basic skills, and to prepare them for the occupations related to their station. ⁴ This used to take place in an authoritarian atmosphere, and within a social context dominated by the notion of social class superiority and heredity to the detriment of that of meritocracy. ⁵

To implement such a curriculum, the courses taught generally included writing, reading, arithmetic, religious instruction and good and virtuous manners and the inculcation of hygiene, which included the early teaching of sex education in elementary schools. Some schools taught other subjects such as needlework for girls, gardening for boys, mathematics, history, geography, natural sciences, education, music, elementary military drill and some rudiments of industry comprising spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, cooking, brush making, pocket book, carpentry and shoemaking. There were also relaxing activities such as singing, dancing, swinging, playing, running, building castles with wood bricks and examining flowers and other elements of nature. ⁶ Learning these subjects in the elementary schools was also linked to examination. The pupils had to sit for a test in each of the subjects mentioned to pass their classes.

¹ Curtis and Boultonwood, 70-1.

² Murphy, 7.

³ Murphy.

⁴ R.F. Dearden, The Philosophy of Primary Education (Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968) 1-12.

⁵ Dearden, 7-8.

⁶ One example was Richard Dawes and his King's Somborne. Curtis, Boultonwood, 63-68.

Elementary education learning was generally based on memorisation. In fact, when giving information, the teachers used the “Look and Say” method based on a mechanical imitation, repetition and reliance on memory without trying to make the pupils understand. One example illustrating this kind of teaching was the monitorial system. Writing was taught by the inculcation of alphabetical letters, which were divided into three groups depending on their forms, namely those having vertical lines as H, T and E, followed by those having angles such as A, V and N, to end up with the curved letters like O, C, B and S. To support the teaching of letters, slates and sand tray were made available to the pupils. Aiming at more proficiency in writing, the pupils used to learn how to read using passages, while fulfilling a moral function. They generally started with words of one syllable, followed by two-syllable words. Then, they read short and long passages to prepare themselves for the reading of the Bible. After mastering writing and reading, the pupils passed to counting by identifying figures, which consisted in learning how to copy them on their slates. Afterwards, they were taught adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing with simple numbers, then complex ones.¹ The language of teaching, which was used in the elementary schools, was English, and its use goes back to the outbreak of the English Reformation in the sixteenth century and the translation of the Bible from Latin into English.²

For the teaching of subjects, priority was content-based rather than method-based. For instance, when teaching reading, importance was given to reading itself, not reading for the sake of understanding the content of a book and analyse it. With time, this way of teaching proved to be a failure, which encouraged the secularists to ask for its abolition and its substitution by a rational way of teaching based on reason and knowledge so as to contribute to the pupils’ mind stimulation. This was seen in the methods used in the Infant Schools, and which stressed free discussions in the form of asking questions, undertaking co-operative research, analysing data themselves, expressing their impressions and comparing them with each other.³

It should be mentioned that most of the elementary schools used religious books namely the Bible, the primer and the horn books to draft the content of their subjects. The books were

¹ C.K. Graham, The History of Education in Ghana, (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 2000) 26-27.

² The language of the Church was Latin and that of the administration was French. The former was the result of the religious allegiance the English had to the Roman Catholic Church and French because of the Norman Conquest in 1066, which brought William, Duke of Normandy to invade England and become the King of England. But according to A.W. Parry, it did not last long since its use disappeared at school, probably as a result of the Black Death. Christopher Brook, From Alfred to Henry VIII 871-1272 (Great Britain: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD, 1961) 93-103, A.W. Parry, 127.

³ Simon, 195-6.

not the property of the pupils, but that of the schools. Still, during the nineteenth century, the legitimacy of the religious books was questioned, creating dissention among the providers of elementary education, namely, the denominationalists and the secularists. Some even introduced new sources and practices in the subjects' content. For instance, the teaching of natural sciences was done through the use of natural objects, specimens, pictures, models and minerals, and that of history and geography was through charts and maps. ¹

Since teaching required some form of discipline, schools had to resort to a system of punishment common among the elementary schools. It consisted in making pupils sit down with hands on their heads, or kneel on the floor, or isolating them in some cupboards or corners.² The schools' objective was to make them good, successful, obedient and disciplined. Naturally, not all agreed on such practices, claiming that their result was just pupils' discouragement from learning at school. ³

Besides learning, elementary school pupils had always taken advantage of welfare services. They consisted of providing some pupils with free boarding, clothes, food, drink, and in some cases medical treatment. ⁴ That was mainly the undertaking of the elementary schools that were under the control of the religious institutions.

As to the location of the elementary schools, they were evenly distributed. According to S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood, the towns possessed more elementary schools than the countryside, and in some cases, they were inexistent.⁵ Moreover, the quality of courses provided was lamentable and did not reach the required level, as reported by the different commissions.⁶ On the whole, some schools proved successful to maintain themselves, namely the Anglican and Nonconformist monitorial schools, whereas others foundered particularly some of the Sunday schools. The latter were annexed to the National Society and the B.F.S.S, which became monitorial schools. Meanwhile, the need for the establishment of a national system of education

¹ Simon

² Dearden, 4.

³ Dearden

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 174.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood, 1.

⁶ According to the Selected Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis and the Newcastle Commission reports published in 1816 and 1858, respectively, the majority of the schools were reported to employ teachers of low educational level, or of no level at all. Moreover, they offered limited, arid, narrow, and poor quality of the curriculum of the teaching methods, with lack of teaching means. Parallel to this, they lacked adequate learning atmosphere. In addition, the schools were mismanaged administratively and financially. Curtis and Boulwood, 54, 69-70.

was becoming more and more intense, and the necessity for improving the situation paved the way for the State's attempts to interfere in elementary education.

II-State Intervention in Elementary Education up to 1943:

The period under discussion witnessed a gradual interference of the State in elementary education. This interference took place through three important periods, the first one stretching from 1807 to 1875, the second one from 1876 to 1914 and the third one from 1914 to 1943.

II.1.State Intervention in Elementary Education (1807-1875):

Motivated by the claim that in the monitorial schools a pupil could be instructed at a low cost, politicians like Samuel Whitbread, Henry Brougham and J.A. Roebuck attempted to provide all children being of the age of schooling with elementary education. The former introduced a bill in Parliament in 1807 to open parochial schools financed by the vestries or the magistrates, but was it rejected by the House of Lords. ¹ In 1820, Henry Brougham proposed another bill which included the establishment of compulsory State schools for all the pupils, giving an elementary type of education with the 3R's and a religious instruction adapted to each of the different denominations. Again, Parliament rejected the proposed bill owing to the opposition of Parliamentary Members, Anglicans, Dissenters, aristocrats and industrialists. The reasons advanced for opposing these bills were motivated by political, economic and religious interests, such as the disbelief in popular education, the fear to see the established order overthrown, the loss of a cheap labour force for the English industry and the Church monopoly over education. ²

Henry Brougham launched a number of investigations and proposed Bills to improve the state of elementary education. This was the case of the 1816 Parliamentary Committee investigation and the 1818 Bill to appoint a Royal Commission. They disclosed deficiencies in the elementary schools, in particular the educational and financial ones. ³

Aiming at establishing a national educational system, J.A. Roebuck put forward a compulsory scheme of education. He presented it to Parliament by making a speech, on 30th July, 1833, saying:

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 54.

² Curtis and Boulwood

³ Curtis and Boulwood

“In general terms, I would say that I would oblige by law every child in Great Britain and Ireland, from perhaps, six years of age to twelve years of age, to be a regular attendant at school. If the parents be able to give and actually give their children elsewhere sufficient education, then they should not be unable or unwilling to give them such instruction, then the State should step in and apply this want by compelling the parent to send the child to the school of the state.”¹

The attempts of educating children could not be dissociated from the need to abolish child labour and support children’s attendance at school. The issue of employing children had always existed in England, and hardened as a result of the Industrial and the French Revolutions. While the former encouraged the employment of children in factories, the latter aroused the fear that if they were educated, they would revolt against the established order.² Therefore, even though some schools were available, children were busy working in factories and mines.

But the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a struggle for the abolition of child labour. Indeed, Parliament succeeded in introducing a number of Factory Acts, which included the 1802 Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, the 1819 Cotton Mills Factory Act, the 1833 Factory Act, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, the 1842 Mines Collieries Act, the 1844 Factory Act and the 1860 Mines Act, the 1866 Mines Act, the 1866 Industrial Schools Act and the 1867 Workshop Regulation Act. They were the result of the pressure that some politicians, religious men, educationists and humanitarians exercised on Parliament, among whom were Robert Peel, Robert Owen, James Mills, Dr. James Kay-Shuttleworth, Samuel Whitebread, James Graham, Francis Place, Jeremy Bentham, the radicals and later the chartists. These acts sought to forbid the employment of children of a certain age, and to reduce the number of working hours a day for the children allowed to be employed to permit them to attend schools, which gave them the appellation of “half-timers”.³ Although all the previously mentioned acts were successfully passed, their application was not effective mainly because of the industrialists’ reluctance and defiance, ineffective inspection, lack of funds and the absence of administrative machinery. On the whole, the prevailing deficiencies of the elementary schools and the pressing need for a national system of popular education culminated in the early interference of the State in elementary education.

In response to the increasing criticism for the elementary school deficiencies and the need for improvement, the Tory government (1830-1834) decided to interfere. This interference

¹ Curtis and Boulton, 55.

² Murphy, 11.

³ Smith, Education in Great Britain, 76.

started with the establishment of an administrative structure responsible for the financing of schools, inspection and the training of teachers. By 1858, the Newcastle Commission Report and the subsequent elaboration of the Payment by Results System had also impacted on the elementary school examination.

Noticing the pressure of the demand for State financing elementary education, Parliament agreed with granting elementary schools a State financial aid in 1833. This pressure came from the Reports of the Selected Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis and Beyond in 1818, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorpe, and the civil society's petitions to the Members of Parliament (M.P.s), and as a matter of course, elementary schools received a sum of £20.000 from the Treasury. ¹Then, it was declared that:

“That a Sum, not exceeding £20.000, be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of private subscriptions from the erection of school houses for the education of the children of poorer classes in Great Britain, to the 31st, day of March 1834, and that the said sum to be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever.”²

The grant, which was administered by the National and British and Foreign Societies, and aimed at supporting the building of schools, was given to the schools that met some requirements such as guaranteeing the payment of half of the building and rebuilding or improvement expenses. Priority was given to the schools that had the support of the Societies, and were located in large towns and cities.³

In 1839, the early central educational administration, known as the Committee of Council on Education replaced the National and the British and Foreign Society, despite the opposition of Parliament, the Tories and the Anglicans. The Education Council was chaired by the politician and educationist James Kay-Shuttleworth, who was entrusted to manage the State national grants, to open training colleges and elaborate school textbooks. He notably permitted the increase of the grant from £30.000 in 1839 to £100.000 in 1846, £150.000 in 1851, £663.000 in 1858 and £813.441 in 1862, and extended the provision of grants to the Wesleyans and Catholic schools in 1847.⁴

¹ Curtis, and Boulwood, 55.

² Curtis and Boulwood

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 56.

⁴ Murphy, 16, Curtis and Boulwood, 17, G.H.D. Cole, Raymond Postgate, The British Common People 1746-1946 (Great Britain: University Paperbacks, 1961) 362.

With the beginning of State financial help and the establishment of an educational administration responsible for elementary education, aided schools were required to have a board of managers made of members belonging to the same denomination. In 1846, they were compelled to include lay members, elected by subscribers, to be responsible for the secular education provided in these schools. To avoid any conflict, the arrangements were presented to clarify what was secular and what was religious. In case of open conflict, the State was to settle the issue by sending an inspector, who was a clergyman approved of by the Archbishop and ready to be dismissed at his request. As a result, the power of the clergy started to decrease in the aided schools. ¹ The Education Committee also attempted to impose the right of inspection on aided schools. This implies that inspectors had to be appointed in order to make sure that schools were in need for help. This was announced as follows:

“The right of inspection will be required by the Committees in all classes. Inspections, authorised by Her Majesty in Council, will be appointed from time to time to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money: the inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspections to the Committee of Council.” ²

To help them, a detailed questionnaire enquired into the school, its administration and finance, its staff and teaching methods, its disciplinary rules, its building and its facilities such as lighting and sanitation.

The attempt of imposing inspection was met with antagonism from the Anglicans, Dissenters and Catholics. The Anglicans, for instance, claimed they had to inspect their own schools themselves. As a result, James Kay-Shuttleworth proposed to the Anglicans a compromise solution known as the 1840 Concordat, and which suggested that the inspectors should be Anglican clergymen to be recruited or dismissed by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury. In 1843, the right to choose the inspectors was extended to the British and Foreign Schools.

These inspectors published a number of reports for the Committee of Council on Education, which shed light on the state of elementary schools at that time. Some of the schools were highly praised and seen as efficient with reference to Lady Byron’s school at Ealing Grove,

¹ Cole, Postgate, 362.

²Curtis and Boulton, 60-61.

and King's Somborne School in Hampshire, whereas others were criticised and considered as unsatisfactory. This extract from one of their reports, criticizes one of the inspected schools:

“It was a low-roofed solitary cottage on a hill that overlooked a wide view of the Southern part of the county and the eastern of Glamoran: a bleak place for children to assemble it. When I entered, the young tenants of one desk, in number about a dozen, were all huddled up at one end of it with the heads together examining some object of curiosity. A boy was playing with a stick on the floor. In one corner stood a basin of dirty water and a kettle. On a shelf was a piece of raw button in a pie dish. While I was putting down the answers to my questions, I saw a ruddy little fellow with his face half-immersed in his master's mug of beer; drinking eagerly, and watching with raptured eyes the movements of the defrauded pedagogue.”¹

On the whole, this 1840 Concordat marked the establishment of the early education inspectorate in England, and its inspectors known as Her Majesty's Inspectors (H.M.I.s).

With the increasing pressure from the Liberals, the Education Committee obtained parliamentary recognition, and became the Department of Education in 1856 under Viscount Palmerston's Liberal government (1859-65).² Consequently, a Vice-President was appointed to represent it in Parliament, remaining however under the Privy Council's aegis.³

The Education Committee introduced the Pupil-Teacher System in 1846, when Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, a fervent critic of the inadequacy of the monitorial schools, failed in establishing State training colleges. He came in contact with a system, whose origins went back when a thirteen years old school boy, William Rush taught a class successfully in the absence of his teacher. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth knew what was missing in the teachers' training and, with the help of his friend, Mr. Tufnell and his mother and sister, decided to found a training college in the old manor house at Batticea in 1840. As a result, a group of pupil-teachers, seen as teaching apprentices began to be trained, and the workhouse school at Norwood became the experimenting centre for this new system, containing up to 1.100 children.⁴ The trainees were taught in the elementary branches of knowledge, which included mensuration and land-

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 63.

² This Department was staffed by Oxford and Cambridge graduates, who were influential. For Sir George Kekewich, Head of the Education Department during the 1890s, the Department was composed of aristocrats, who believed in the legitimacy of social classes and did not treat elementary education and its teachers very well. Moreover, they considered pupils intellectually inferior. In addition, the elementary schools were inspected by inspectors who were the product of the ancient universities. Brian Simon, Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965) 114.

³ See Appendix I on page 217 for the list of the Vice-Presidents of the Committee of the Council on Education from 1857 to 1902.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 63.

surveying, geography, elementary science, accounts, drawing, and music, and lectures on the theory and practice of teaching by Sir Kay-Shuttleworth. They had also to make their beds, to clean the floor, to get the vegetables ready and to be in charge of the garden. The experiment started to be heard of, and attracted some visitors.

However, the financial difficulties Kay James Kay-Shuttleworth had to face impeded his work in the training of teachers. In fact, he had to pay back a deficit of £2.000 to help him maintain the training college, and even though the State granted him a sum of £1.000, it was not enough. Henceforth, he had no choice other than handing it to the National Society in 1843, which stimulated the National Society to open other similar training colleges, reaching twenty-two colleges, with 540 students in 1845. ¹

Sir James Kay Shuttleworth did not give up his plan of establishing State training colleges, and in 1846, he could introduce the Pupil-Teacher System. The latter consisted of choosing abler pupils to become pupil-teachers to teach under the supervision of the head teacher. The chosen pupils numbered thirteen and their training period lasted five years. The trainees were given a stipend of £10 a year to increase to £20 later. In addition to their salary, the head-teachers received an annual sum of five pounds, for the first pupil-teacher, nine pounds for the second and three pounds for every additional pupil. ²

The trainees were also prepared for a period of time to sit the Queen's Scholarship Examination, with a view to obtaining grants ranging from £20 to £25 to attend a training college. The objective of this further training was to obtain the Teacher Certificate. Its period was three years, and they could receive proficiency grants, and those having a maximum service of fifteen years were entitled to a retirement pension. ³

The trainees generally attended lectures and had teaching practice, with the first year devoted to the provision of practical teaching, religious knowledge, reading and recitation, music, arithmetic, English grammar with little literature, geography and history, with men having mathematics and women needlework. ⁴ They were also instructed in school management and other subjects so as to have extra marks. In the second year, the same subjects were taught, with the addition of science, political economy and languages. The third and last year was

¹ Curtis and Boulwood

² Curtis and Boulwood, 62.

³ Curtis and Boulwood

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood

characterized by teaching in a school in the presence of an inspector, with a test in oral reading and recitation. After passing the Teachers' Certificate Examination, they could obtain a post in elementary schools, and later on, they could be given responsibility for other pupil-teachers.

The newly reformed Education Department introduced changes to the Pupil-Teacher System. In 1856, for instance, it decided to reduce the period of the training from three years to two. At the same time, it introduced the application of the "Pledge", which consisted of intended teachers signing a commitment stipulating they would teach for a period of time in a recognised school. Though it was signed over a sixpenny stamp, owing to the fact that they were usually under 21, it had no legal value. They had also a moral obligation to repay their grant if they did not follow it.¹ However, these developments in the teachers' training and teaching in elementary schools were interrupted by the appointment of the Newcastle Commission in 1858 and the drafting of the Revised Code in 1862.

The 1858 Newcastle Commission was formed following Sir John Pakington's demand to evaluate the state of elementary education and to propose measures to set a good and cheap kind of elementary education for the poor.² Indeed, at that time, there was a need for reducing the State expenses, mainly because of the Crimean War (1853-1856), which cost £78.000.000.³ Noticing that the increasing money spent on education did not correspond to the obtained results, elementary education was the target for financial cuts.

The Duke of Newcastle was the chairman of the Newcastle Commission and worked with ten assistant-commissioners, whose task was to examine sample districts.⁴ Other members such as the Rev. James Fraser and the thinker Matthew Arnold were sent abroad to survey foreign educational systems such as those of France, Germany and the United States of America. The Report, which was issued in 1861, criticised the poor pupils' attendance at school and the elementary school curriculum. Indeed, they saw that pupils left school early, generally at eleven and the basic subjects were not given much importance. In addition, teachers concentrated on brighter pupils to the detriment of the duller ones.⁵

For the historian and educationist, Brian Simon, the majority members came to the opinion that more emphasis should be on the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. To

¹ Curtis and Boulwood

² Curtis and Boulwood, 68.

³ Curtis and Boulwood

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood

make sure they were well taught, a system of examination had to be thought of. The following quotation from the Report sums up the issue:

There is only one way of securing this result, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, with the view of ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent to a considerable extent on the results of the examinations.¹

The Commission claimed that the grants would be based on the regular attendance of the pupils, the state of school buildings and a satisfactory report from inspectors. It was also advised to set up local boards of education in the counties and towns with a population of 40,000, and to appoint a panel of examiners made of certificated teachers having seven years of experience to organise the examinations.² This implies that each school had to obtain a grant from the rates, which would be set on the basis of the examination results.

As a result, the Vice- President of the Education Committee, Robert Lowe, devised the Revised Code in 1862, which marked the early State intervention in the elementary education curriculum permitting the application of the Payment by Result System. Indeed, he had undertaken a revision of the Minutes of the Council on Education, and accepted most of the Newcastle Commission's proposals, except for the appointment of School Boards to manage the examinations and rates-in aid to finance the grants.³ When he presented it to the House of Commons in 1861, he declared: "I cannot promise the House that this system will be an efficient one, but I can promise that it shall be either one or the other. If it is not cheap, it will be efficient, it shall be cheap."⁴

The period under discussion was stimulated by Darwin's "Origins of Species and the Struggle for Existence and Survival of the Fittest", and the secondary schools and universities opting for the application of examinations. There was also the fact that Robert Lowe was convinced of competition as being the best test since he was a free-trade believer, and which helped him applying it.⁵

¹ Curtis and Boulwood,70.

² Curtis and Boulwood

³ He did so because he did not want to arouse religious controversy. Indeed, the denominationalists were against the application of local rate in aid. When he proposed it to Parliament in 1861, it aroused protest and was delayed for the following year. There were modifications such as no examinations for infants and the continuation of the grants for the training colleges. Curtis and Boulwood, 70-71.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 71.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood, 72-3.

As a result, examinations became under the charge of the inspectors, determining thus the teachers' salaries which were to be paid through the grants by the school managers. Each grants depended on pupils' attendance and the examination results. The examinations were organised by appointed examiners who stayed one day at a school, and examined the pupils in the six standards, in reading, writing and arithmetic. They were provided with detailed instructions about how the examinations would take place. The examinations were made according to one of these standards:

Table N°1: The Standards of Examinations (1862)

	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V	Standard VI
Reading	Narrative in monosyllables	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school.	A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small manuscript	Copy in manuscript character a line of print.	A sentence from the same paragraph slowly read once, and then dictated in single words.	A sentence slowly dictated once, by few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read	A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally from examples on black-board.	A sum in simple addition, or subtraction, and multiplication table.	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive)	A sum in compound rules (money)	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures)	A sum in practice or bills of parcels.

Source: J. Stuart Maclure, Educational Documents England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day (Great Britain: Mathuen and Co Ltd, 1973) 80.

The pupils were put together in the six standards and earned 4s. for regular attendance and 8s. for a successful examination in the 3Rs. In case of failure in one of the 3R's, the grant would be reduced to 2s. 8d. For those pupils over the age of thirteen, the grant would be 2s. 6d

for attendance and 5s for passage in the examination. ¹ In 1875, new subjects were included such as geography, history and grammar. The following adopted syllabus gives an idea about how the Code was developed at that time:

Table N°2: The Subjects and Standards and their Objectives in 1875

Subjects and Standards	Objectives
English	
Standard II	To point out nouns in the passages read or written.
Standard III	To point out nouns, verbs, and adjectives.
Standard IV	Parsing of a simple sentence.
Standard V	Parsing, with analysis of a simple sentence. Parsing, with analysis of a complex sentence.
Geography	
Standard II	Definitions, points of compass, form and motion of the earth, the meaning of a map.
Standard III	Outlines of geography of England, with special knowledge of the county in which the school is situated.
Standard IV	Outlines of geography of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies
Standard V	Outlines of geography of Europe-physical and political.
Standard VI	Outlines of geography of the World.
History (not taken below Standard IV.).	
Standard IV	Outlines the history of England to Norman Conquest.
Standard V	Outlines of history of England from Norman Conquest to accession of Henry VII.
Standard VI	Outlines of history of England from Henry VII. to death of George III

Source: Charles Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (London: University Tutorial Press, 1925) 371-372.

In 1867, the Minutes of the Education Department revealed that grants were provided for other subjects for pupils from standards IV to VI, which helped to lessen the pressure of the Code on the teaching profession. ¹

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 71.

The application of the Payment by Results System had important repercussions on elementary education. First, it reduced educational expenditure from £813,441 in 1862 to £636,806 in 1865, and guaranteed better average attendance, which led pupils to stay longer at school.² Second, it permitted the State to withdraw the Government grants allocated to the building of schools. By having the school managers distributing the grants, the Code also reduced the central administration control over elementary school teachers, and lessened the administrative work at White Hall. The teachers also started to concentrate on the duller children to help them improve their level and pass the examinations, which was done to the detriment of the brighter ones, and at the same time contributed to put pressure on pupils to pass the examinations. It could be seen in the fact that in some cases, teachers falsified registers and considered absent children as present, wrapped and brought sick pupils to the class to sit the examinations, made them learn by heart, rendering them parrot learners, or signalled them the answers.³ Inspectors even noticed that some children read aloud while holding the book upside-down. Finally, it engendered a bargaining situation between the school managers, the inspectors and the teachers, which led to the deterioration of their relations and the outbreak of disputes.⁴ These events paved the way for the first official intervention of the State in elementary education, through the passing of the 1870 Education Act.

State intervention in elementary education in 1870 was the result of a number of accumulating factors, namely the disappearance of the fear of a revolution in England, and the attempt of the State to grant the working class population the right to vote in 1867, rendering education a must.⁵ There were also the disagreement among the Conservative Party members, especially on the issue of state intervention in elementary education and the impact of the development of the elementary educational system of other countries such as Germany, France and the U.S.A. The need for more elementary schools in some areas, the loss of the Church monopoly and the collapse of the voluntarist movement, mainly owing to financial reasons also had their contribution too.

The education of the poor pupils was supported by politicians, educationists, humanitarians such as Samuel Whitbread, MP Henry Brougham, J.A. Roebuck, John Russell, Mathew Arnold, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Carlyle, J.S. Mill. Other organizations also assisted

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 73.

² Curtis and Boulwood. According to Brian Simon, the Government expenses were reduced from £800,000 in 1862 to £600,000 in 1865. Simon, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870, 349.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 73.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 72.

⁵ Simon, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870, 350-56

in the development of elementary education for the poor, namely the Lancashire Public School Association in 1847 (which became the National Public School Association in 1850), and the Manchester Education Aid Society in 1864. All this led to the passing of the 1870 Education Act, which marked the first official intervention of the State in elementary education.

The 1870 Education Act permitted the creation of school boards to be managed by Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.s). They had the task of opening elementary schools in areas where they were not available by providing money from local rates, and land to build them, or to assist the ones in need for help, namely the denominational ones, or have them transferred under their authority. Notwithstanding, denominationalists opposed this financial support, refusing to be under state control. This was the case of the radical Nonconformists, Merthyr Tydfil and R.W. Dale. ¹

As a result, board schools were opened in areas where elementary schools were needed or inexistent. The following quotation taken from the 1870 Education Act illustrates it:

“There shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools...available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision not otherwise made, and where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation...Where the Education Department, in the manner provided by this Act, are satisfied and have given public notice that there is an insufficient amount of public school accommodation for any school district, and the deficiency is not supplied...a school board shall be formed for such district and shall supply such deficiency.” ²

The Boards were organized in such a way that the county was to be divided into districts, known as boroughs and parishes, and London being considered as a separate unit. Their members were elected by people whose names were on the registers in the boroughs and the rate payers in the counties. ³

As far as the denominational schools were concerned, their managers had to provide the building, repair, alterations and improvements imposed by the L.E.A.s. The latter also paid the teachers and provided them with furniture, books and teaching apparatus. As a result of all this, an educational dual system consisting of state and denominational schools started operating. The Gladstone Liberal government (1868-1874) was aware of the financial importance of

¹ Murphy, op. cit., p.54.

² The Education Act 1870 (33 & 34 Vict, CH. 75), 444-445.

³ The Education Act 1870.

maintaining the voluntary system, and at the same time of the usefulness of the local education rates to help it. It also knew that it would be met with opposition from the part of some of the Liberals and the Nonconformists. Curiously, the Nonconformists did not oppose national grants, but rather local education rates that would finance schools providing a religious education different from theirs.¹

Still, the State's provision for elementary education was not sufficient since there were areas such as Manchester and Birmingham, where school boards were inefficient or did not exist at all. The main reason for this was the authorities' lack of interest in the education of the poor.²

The 1870 Education Act made attendance to elementary schools compulsory by by-law. Notwithstanding, its application was not obligatory because it would cost much to the State. To ensure that pupils' attendance could be reached, the school boards appointed officers, whose role was so influential that some districts still called them "the School Board Man".

After much debate, the Act also maintained the payment of entrance fees, save for the necessitous children through "Clause 25". The following quotation asserts it:

"Every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department, but the school board may from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of the opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same, but such remission shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent."³

In this case, both the board schools and voluntary schools received financial help from the local rates in aid to pay for the whole or part of the fees of the necessitous pupils, and since the number of voluntary schools was larger than that of board schools, the voluntary schools received most of the local funds. This was the case of Manchester, where the school boards did not build any board schools, and paid the local rates in aid to voluntary schools to provide poor pupils for elementary education, and Birmingham, where the League was so influential that its school board did not pay for the entrance fees for poor pupils.⁴

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 163.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 76.

³ The Education Act 1870, 448-449.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 76.

Parallel to this, the Denominationalists fought a battle to counterattack the government's plan by adding more places in their schools. This was the case of the Anglicans who added over a million school places by 1880. However, it was a lost battle since they could not compete with the 1870 Education Act requirements and the Government. As a result, elementary schools which could not maintain themselves, were transferred to the School Boards, and from 1870 to 1902, their number included 981 Anglican schools, 272 British Society schools and 26 Wesleyans.¹

The infant schools and the junior departments were also affected by State intervention in elementary education. In fact, the increasing number of the schooled pupils pressed the State to resort to their incorporation into the newly established system to meet the pupils' pressing demand.

As it was mentioned earlier, the introduction of the Revised Code and the Payment of Results contributed to the withdrawal of the building grants, and the dependence of the annual grants on the pupils' results. With the passing of the 1870 Education Act, the annual grants were maintained equally among the board and voluntary schools.² To compensate for the withdrawn building grants, the annual grants were to be increased. Additional sums were also given to schools to provide them with school gardens, workshops, books as well as maps.

The school boards had to decide whether State schools would adopt religious education or undenominational teaching in their schools.³ Most of them opted for the solution of the London School Board, which was inspired by Professor T. Huxley's ideas. It is summed up as follows:

“In the school provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction there from in the principles of the morality and religion as are suited to the capacity of children; provided always...that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination.”⁴

¹ Murphy, 88.

² When elaborating the 1870 Education Act, Forster estimated that a child's education would cost not more than 30s. per head, and that School Boards would never have recourse to a rate exceeding 3d. in the £. Still, they could rely on rates to meet their needs. By 1880, the average cost per head in the board schools was £2 1s. 11³/₄ d. However, that of the Anglican schools was £1. 14s 10¹/₄ d, and this shows how it became difficult for them to compete with the board schools, which resulted in the reduction of their number. Curtis and Boulwood, 77.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 75.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 75-76.

It took almost six years for the Benjamin Disraeli Conservative (1868-1874) and W.E. Gladstone Liberal (1874-1880) governments to apply the 1870 Education Act, and to evaluate its deficiencies, they had to mend them by passing other educational acts that tackled issues such as pupils' compulsory attendance at elementary schools.

II.2. The Continuing State Reforms in Elementary Education (1876-1913):

Through the passing of the 1876 Sandon and the A.J. Mundella's 1880 Education Acts, the State made attendance compulsory for pupils at elementary schools in order to master the 3R's so as to be ready for employment. Indeed, to support the national elementary education system, the 1876 Sandon Education Act compelled parents to send their children to school, otherwise, they would have to pay a financial penalty of five shillings for not doing it. The Act stipulates that:

“It shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and if such parent fail to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by this Act...In the first case of non-compliance, if the parent of the child does not appear, or appears and fails to satisfy the court that he has used all reasonable efforts to enforce compliance with the order, the court may impose a penalty not exceeding with the costs of five shillings.”¹

In its turn, the A.J. Mundella's 1880 Education Act allowed School Boards and School Attendance Committees to compel children to attend school. One result was the registration of most of the children six years after the Act's application. The remaining ones did not have the same opportunity mainly because of the shortage of places at schools, the schools' uneven geographical distribution and the increasing number of the population.

Besides, the State limited the age of employment for pupils, and raised that of their attendance at school to allow them to attend and stay in elementary schools, which took place after the subsequent acts namely the 1876 Sandon Education Act and the call of the 1888 Cross Commission for raising the school leaving age, the 1893, 1899 and 1900 Education Acts. The 1876 Sandon Act forbade the employment of children under ten, and compelled those being ten years old and more, to demonstrate their abilities in reading, writing and arithmetic, either by bringing a certificate or proving their attendance at a certified efficient school. The employers were also inclined to pay a financial penalty not trespassing forty shillings, in case they

¹ The Education Act 1876, (39& 40, Vict CH. 79), 472-473.

employed a child of that age range.¹ The Act also permitted the establishment of School Attendance Committees where denominational or Board administrations did not exist. It also contributed to an increase in annual grants to the benefit of the denominational schools from 15s per head to 17s. 6d., and under certain conditions, it could be raised.² On the whole, the application of this Act was controlled by the School Boards, the School Attendance Committees, and inspectors and sub-inspectors operating under the Acts regulating factories, workshops and mines. The 1888 Cross Commission also called for raising the school leaving age to fourteen, which culminated in the enactment of the 1893 and 1899 Education Acts, the first setting the school leaving age to eleven without exemptions, while the second limiting the school leaving age to twelve, and after 1900, to fourteen with exemptions. Nonetheless, half the schools preferred applying the exemptions since two children out of five preferred leaving school before reaching fourteen.³

To facilitate access to elementary schools, the State went further by reducing fees or making access free for some category of pupils, namely the poor ones. In fact, with the passing of the 1891 Education Act, the parents of necessitous children had the right to make their children attend a board or a denominational school of their choice, either by paying reduced fees or for free.⁴ Then, exemptions or reductions in fees were extended to the schools whose fees did not exceed 9 pence a week.⁵ To do this, the school boards were entrusted to use rates in aid amounting 10s. 6d. for each of the attending poor children. In case there was no free school in the area, or that some schools refused to apply the law, a board school was to be opened. This decision was opposed by the Prime Minister, W.E. Gladstone and the Church of England, whereas it was approved of and applied by the Manchester and the Birmingham Boards.

With a view to bringing relief to the voluntary schools, which had to meet the rising financial difficulties to maintain their schools, the Marquess of Salisbury Conservative government (1895-1902) passed the 1897 Voluntary Schools Act. The latter discharged the voluntary schools from the payment of the sum of money allocated for the local rates in aid, increased the amount of grants that voluntary schools received by putting an end to the limited

¹ Education Act 1876, 473.

² Education Act 1876, 479.

³ David Thompson, England in the Twentieth Century (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1981) 22.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 78.

⁵ Murphy, 55.

grant of 17s. 6d, and provided the voluntary schools with an additional grant of 5s. per pupil through the Association of Voluntary Schools. ¹

Given the fact that an increasing number of older pupils could stay longer at elementary schools, new elementary schools, namely, the higher grade schools, the higher tops and the evening classes were opened. However, with the appointment of the 1888 Cross Commission, these new elementary schools were criticised for providing a secondary type of education, and hence the report called for their consideration as secondary schools.²

Changes also took place at the level of school classrooms. The larger School Boards, for instance, began opting for more progressive ideas concerning the layout of school buildings, with new buildings being made of a central assembly hall, which led to the availability of more classrooms. This was further backed up by the improvements in heating and lighting. As a result of all this, the expenses on elementary education rose, in particular for board and voluntary schools. In fact, in 1880, the cost of educating a child was £1 14s. 10¼ d, and in 1893, it went up to £1 17s. 6¼d, whereas the average cost of the board schools was £2 8s. 1½d³. The classrooms also saw the number of their pupils reduced to improve the quality of the teachers' teaching and the pupils' learning. In 1884, the pupil-teachers were also relieved of the burden of teaching pupils and training intended teachers, by teaching pupils half-time and devoting the rest of their time to the training of teachers in the Pupil-Teacher Centres. ⁴ The 1888 Cross Commission also put into question the denominational training colleges' practice of imposing religious tests for their entrance, which it considered as wastage of promising teachers. For this, it encouraged the establishment of day training colleges in link with universities and university colleges.

As a result, in 1890, the Education Department recognized the Day Training Colleges, which were the precursors of the present University Departments of Education. Later on, Day training colleges set up either by the universities or by the L.E.A.s were attached to King's College in London in 1890, the Mason College in Birmingham, the Durham College of Science, Owen's College in Manchester, University Colleges in Nottingham, in Cambridge University and the colleges in Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield in 1891 and Oxford and Bristol in 1892.⁵ Other day colleges were opened to satisfy the intended teachers' increasing demand in Reading

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 162.

² These schools were the result of the increasing number of older pupils who stayed at school. Curtis and Boulwood, 78.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 374-375.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 374.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood, 369.

and Southampton Universities in 1899. At the beginning, the Day Training Colleges were not popular and counted a small number of attendants. But afterwards, they became popular because they could provide the trainees with academic attainments necessary in the teaching profession, could accustom them to the daily routine of elementary schools and could give them the adequate formation even after they became teachers. In the following table, Charles Birchenough shows the development of all training colleges, including the university training colleges for elementary education:

Table N°3: Development of Training Colleges for Elementary Teachers

	Voluntary	Council	University	Total	Accommodation
1850	16			16	991
1860	34			34	2,388
1870	34			34	2,495
1880	41			41	3,275
1890	43		6	49	3,679
1900	44		17	61	6,011
1905	52	4	16	72	8,987
1910	48	18	20	86	12,631
1915	40	19	19	78	12,136
1920	50	22	20	92	15,557
1921	56	22	21	99	17,061

Source: Charles Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (London: University Tutorial Press, 1925) 486.

For Charles Birchenough, the provision of the training centres belonging to the voluntary enterprise, the State and the universities increased from 1850 to 1921. The voluntary enterprise

provided more training centres: from 16 in 1850 to 56 in 1921, while the State training centres rose from 4 in 1905 to 22 in 1921 and those of the universities from 6 in 1890 to 21 in 1921. The number of accommodations for the attendants also increased from 911 in 1850 to 17,061 in 1921 to meet the demand for training.

As far as the pupil-teacher system was concerned, it also knew some developments. In 1896-8, the Department of Education issued a report which criticized the quality of teacher training given in the Pupil-Teacher System. It also called the centres for changing the entrance age of the pupil-teacher system from thirteen, as it was mentioned earlier to fifteen and sixteen. In addition, it asked for elevating the level of training from an elementary to a secondary one. In 1900, the period of training, which had been of five years, was reduced to three, then to two years. This was followed by a wave of criticism against the pupil-teacher system, which made the Board of Education provide an alternative scheme that S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood explain as follows:

“Any secondary school pupil who had received instruction on the school for not less than two years (raised to 3 in 1910) could claim a bursary for a year, and afterwards either serve for a year as a student teacher or pass direct to a training college. The alternative system was adopted by many LEAs with the result that the number of P.T.s started to fall.”¹

Prior to 1868, the teaching profession had been unorganized, but with the setting of ties of common interest, various associations were formed permitting the teachers to render their work more organized. Amongst such associations were the Headmasters' Conference, the National Union of Teachers (started in 1870), the Association of headmistresses (1874), the Association of Assistant Mistresses (1885), the Incorporated Association of Headmasters (1890), and the Association of Assistant Masters (1892).

In 1875, the elementary school teachers continued with the teaching of the 3R's and religious education, and added other subjects such as geography, history, grammar, plain needlework for girls, music, cookery and drill.² In 1888, the Cross Commission went further by classifying the subjects into both essential and optional subjects, and criticized the Payment by Results System because it did not achieve the objective of economy and that its grants no longer depended on the results of the examinations. Hence, in 1897, the Revised Code and its Payment by Results System was abolished, the examinations discontinued, and later on replaced by

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 374-5.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 73.

“surprise visits” by the inspectors.¹ This was designed to improve the teachers’ working conditions by relieving them from the heavy burden of compulsory pupils’ good results. The teachers gained their freedom to decide about what to teach and when without imposed instructions, which paved the way for the early beginnings of the application of the progressive teaching methods.

Extensive use of educational means to make teaching easier and more attractive, were introduced, especially with regard to the boring subjects. Teachers started to use maps, charts, models, and introduced wireless and films in order to teach subjects like history and geography. The teaching of such subjects was maintained and practical activities like handcrafts, domestic science, physical exercises, and games were developed.² In addition, the pupils could do extra activities such as writing letters to pen friends, having cultural visits such as going to town hall, museums, parks, factories, farms and castles, and founding clubs and societies within the schools. The management of such activities required more effective administration.

The elementary administration also witnessed important changes which resulted from the problems the denominational schools suffered from, mainly owing to the dual system referred to above in the 1870 Education Act. In S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood’s view, the dual system that consisted of the board and denominational schools, favoured the former to the detriment of the latter.³ As it has been mentioned earlier, the board schools were financed by the School Boards which could levy local rates, whereas the denominational schools had to finance the schools by themselves and at the same time compete with the State schools, even if financial help had been provided by the 1876 Sandon and 1897 Voluntary Schools Acts.

The Conservative government (1902-1905) was in a dilemma because it needed the denominational schools to meet the increasing demand of elementary education. And at the same time, it could not support them with local rates because of the opposition of the Liberals and the Nonconformists.⁴ As a result, the State delayed the decision of providing local rates, which did not suit the Anglicans and Catholics who needed that financial help. To solve the problem, the abolition of the School Boards, and their replacement by both the County and Borough Councils was the alternative.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 162.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood.

As it has been mentioned earlier, elementary education was managed by the Education Department and its School Boards and School Attendance Committees, while secondary education was administered by the Charity Commission, the Boards of Governors and Committees. There was also an administrative body, known as the County and County Borough Councils, which were appointed thanks to the 1888 Local Government Act, and made of members chosen by ratepayers. Their importance grew with the passing of the 1889 Technical Instruction Act since they were given the power to levy a rate not exceeding 1d. in the pound to support technical education, and their success in the management of the “Whiskey Money”.¹

This situation created a problem known as the “Administrative Muddle”. The latter was notably discussed in 1893 by the Bradford Independent Labour Party, and during a conference on secondary education, held by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. Subsequently, the Bryce Commission was appointed in 1894 to investigate into the state of secondary education. Its report, which was published in 1895, recognized that it was difficult to distinguish between the different educational levels as expressed by one of the witnesses, the civil servant and politician, Sir George Kekewich.² The Commission recommended that certain schools, such as the higher grade schools, the higher tops schools and the evening schools should be secondary, not elementary. It praised the good work done by the County and County Borough Councils in managing the “Whiskey Money”. It also called for the management of secondary schools by these Councils and elementary education by School Boards.³

The Bryce Commission recommended that the best solution would be to establish a central authority responsible for elementary, secondary and technical education, to be managed by permanent officials of the Civil Service. To avoid any political party preference, the Minister would be assisted by an Educational Council made of the monarch, representatives of the two older Universities and those of the London and Victoria Universities, and the teaching profession. The term of office of the Council would be six years, and to ensure continuity and experience and permanence of policy one third of the members should retire every two years. But the type of relations between the Council and the Minister was the subject of debates. With

¹ In 1890, Parliament passed the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act to recompense publicans for having lost their licences in places of public houses excess. Of course, the Commons opposed the plan, but the Chancellor had a surplus which had no destination. The surplus was called “the Whiskey Money”. Therefore, he gave it to the County and County Borough Councils, and one of the issues that this money was used for was technical education. In 1893-4 almost half a million pounds was devoted and much of it was to meet the endowed grammar schools’ financial difficulties. Curtis and Boulwood, 96-7.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 101.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

regard to educational policy, encompassing curriculum problems, inspection and examination of schools, the training of teachers, and the preparation of a register of teachers, the Commission insisted that it should be outside the scope of party politics.¹

To apply the Bryce Commission's recommendations, a bill was prepared in 1896 by the Vice President of the Education Committee, Sir John Gorst, with the help of the civil servant, Sir George Kekewich and the Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, Mr. Michael Ernest Sadler. The Bill sought to abolish the School Boards and to replace them by the County and County Borough Councils for all kinds of education. It also comprised the payment of rates in aid for voluntary schools meeting financial difficulties,² but, the bill was a failure mainly because of the opposition of the School Boards, the Nonconformists and the Liberals.

Following this failure, the Conservative Prime Minister, Robert Cecil (1895-1902) had no choice other than passing the 1899 Education Act. In conformity with the Act, the Department of Education, the Science Department, the Science and Art Department and the Charity Commission had to be restructured into the Board of Education under one president in 1900.³

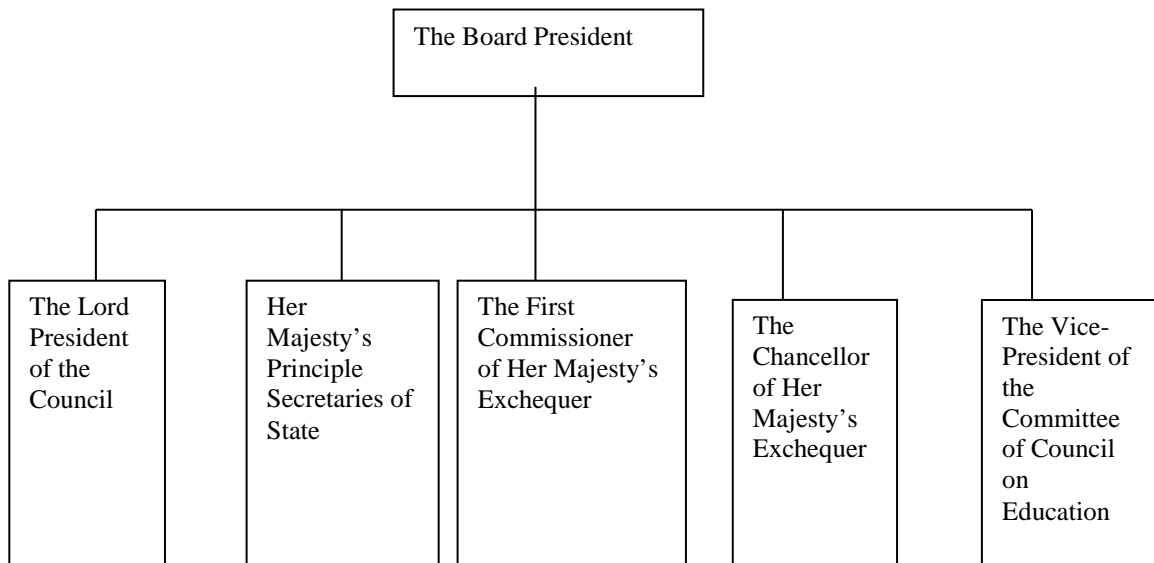
The members of the Board comprised of the Board President appointed by the Queen, the Lord President of the Council, Her Majesty's Principle Secretaries of State, the First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury, the Chancellor of Her Majesty's Exchequer and the prevailing Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education together with secretaries, officers, and servants, whose appointment should be approved by the Treasury. This diagram shows how the membership of the newly appointed Board was:

¹Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ See Appendix II on page 218 for the list of the Presidents of the Board of Education from 1900 to 1944.

Diagram N°1: The Membership of the Board of Education (1899)



This Board was entrusted to deal with for the administration of elementary, secondary and technical education.

A Consultative Committee was also set up in order to advise the President in his work and to draft a teachers' register. This Committee was made of eighteen members, including women and it operated for a period of a six-year term of office.¹ The inspectorate was also reorganized in conformity with the three divisions of the Education Board, with inspectors for elementary, secondary and vocational education, and with an increase in their number, in particular, in the number of women working in girls' schools.

For the President of the Board of Education, the Duke of Devonshire, the Board's role was inexistent since it only met once during its period of operation, and its powers were seen as vague, and were conspicuous in the meaning of the term "superintend".² It notably had the power to make its decisions obeyed, but never attempted to do it, and limited its role to advise, and encourage educational undertakings. The position of a President was neither important in comparison to that of a Minister, and was seen as a means to obtain higher positions. As far as the Consultative Committee was concerned, it only tackled problems when it was asked to do so. The period that followed witnessed attempts to abolish School Boards and their replacement by the County and County Borough Councils thanks to the passing of the 1902 Education Act.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 102.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

When the civil servant, Robert L. Morant, came back to England, he became acquainted with English education after he had read the Cross and Bryce Commissions' Reports. He came to the conclusion that the educational administration was in a state of chaos, and in order to improve the situation, the School Boards had to be replaced by local education authorities responsible for elementary and secondary education. To reach his objectives, Morant had no solution other than discrediting the higher grade schools. But, he knew it would not please the Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in the Board of Education, Sir M.E. Sadler and the Secretary of the Board of Education, George Kekewich who had trust in them. ¹ He was convinced that the School Boards operated illegally by financing the higher grade schools which in reality provided a secondary type of education. ² As a result, he introduced a footnote in a report on Swiss education in 1898, in which he explained the anomalous position of the higher grade schools. R. L. Morant made sure that Dr. Garnett, the defender of the County Council, saw the footnote. As a result, Dr. Garnett challenged the London School Board and its finance of higher grade schools. ³

The Government Auditor, Mr. T.B. Cockerton also saw the footnote, and asked the London School Board to pay back the money spent on the higher grade schools. The issue was brought before the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court, culminating in the victory of Mr. T.B. Cockerton. In an appeal, the court maintained the decision and asked the School Board to pay back the money it had used illegally to finance evening classes. ⁴ Hence, the State found itself in a delicate situation, which consisted in an attempt to maintain an illegal local administration until a solution was found. This was done through the passing of the 1901 Act which legalized the School Boards momentarily. ⁵

Both Sir A.J. Balfour and Robert L. Morant were invited to draft the new educational bill. The latter stipulated that the County and County Borough Councils would replace the School Boards. The proposal was approved of by the Webbs, in their Fabian Pamphlet N^o 106 "Education Muddle and the Way Out", but faced the opposition of the School Boards. According to S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood to be fair, "it should be said that the London School Board and the Boards of large cities had done splendid work, but in many rural districts, the smaller

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood.

ones, to put the matter kindly, left much to be desired in their administration.”¹ The rates in aid were secured for voluntary schools. Still, these rates were opposed by the Nonconformists and the Liberals. Even if opposition was tough, the 1902 Education Act was passed.

With the passing of the 1902 Education Act, the School Boards were replaced by the County and County Boroughs Councils, with the exception of London, which remained a separate unit. These Councils, generally known as Part II authorities, created education committees within their ambit and appointed L.E.A.s to manage the field. In the municipal boroughs comprising 10,000 people and the urban district with 20,000 people, elementary education became under the control of Part III Authorities.² These Councils were notably responsible for elementary, secondary, technical, adult education and the training of teachers. This implies controlling all the aspects related to the state elementary schools comprising the recruitment, dismissal and payment of teachers, the training of teachers through the opening of county and municipal training colleges and supporting the work of the denominationalists, managing the secular education of the voluntary schools and meeting their financial needs. In addition, they had the task of identifying the local educational needs and apply plans for the extension and coordination of the different kinds of education. All this would be financed by the state grants and rates. According to the 1902 Education Act:

“...the council of every county and of every county borough shall be the local education authority...The local education authority shall throughout their area have the powers and duties of a school board and school attendance committee...and shall also be responsible for and have control of all secular instruction in public elementary schools not provided by them; and school boards and school attendance committees shall be abolished...The local education authority shall maintain and keep efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary, and have the control of all expenditure required for that purpose...”³

The board schools became known as the council schools, and the denominational or voluntary schools became the non-provided schools, because the source of their finance did not come from the State.⁴

As a corollary, the fact that L.E.A.s also managed secondary education, made these authorities take into account the relationship between the elementary and secondary schools, and

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ The Education Act 1902 (2 Edw 7, CH.42), 126, 127-8.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 168.

open secondary schools to abler elementary school pupils.¹ Moreover, the 1902 Education Act rendered education one of the social services provided by the councils and their authorities. Such services included the highways, water supply, sanitation, parks and recreation grounds, the local police force, fire prevention and public libraries. The Act also provided the basis for the establishment of a national system of education in England from elementary to secondary.

The 1902 Education Act also affected the finance of elementary education. With the abolition of the Payment by Results System in 1897, there was a necessity to introduce a new way of calculating the Government grants. The objective was then to permit the poor districts having little money from local rates to maintain themselves. S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton saw that the new system of calculating had been complicated so as to be applied.² It also offered the non-provided schools with local rates, even if it was against the will of the Liberals and Nonconformists. Therefore, opposition to the 1902 Education Act continued passively by Liberals, Dr. Clifford and Mr. Lloyd George in particular, pushing Dissenters not to pay their rates. To remedy all these deficiencies, other acts were required to make the 1902 Education Act stronger and enforceable.³

This is what happened when Mr. Balfour passed the Education Local Authorities Default Act in 1904. It stipulated that in case a L.E.A. refused to provide the non-provided schools with financial help, the Board of Education would be forced to take the same sum from the national grant and to give it to the school managers directly.⁴ This happened to two local education authorities because they did not want to see the pupils being the victims of the existing political and denominational disputes. On the whole, the 1902 Education Act helped the Government put into effect considerable savings, with the 2,559 School Boards and 788 School Attendance Committees being reduced to 330 L.E.A.s, and its application continued until the accession of the Liberal government to power in 1906, with the introduction of socialist ideas in elementary education.⁵

II.3. The Impact of Socialist Ideas on Elementary Education:

It should be noted that with the coming of the Liberals to power in 1906, elementary education was affected by their socialist ideas. First, it was seen in their attempt to end up with

¹ Curtis and Boulton.

² Curtis and Boulton.

³ Curtis and Boulton, 169, Smith, Government of Education, 97.

⁴ Curtis and Boulton, 170.

⁵ Curtis and Boulton, 168.

the dual system that had been created by the 1870 Education Act, which consisted in transferring non-provided schools under the Councils' control, through the drafting of Bills, namely the Trade Union Congress (T.U.C) Bill in 1906, the Augustine Birrell's bill in 1906 and the Walter Runciman's Bill in 1908. For James Murphy, these Bills were failures mainly because of the opposition of the Conservatives, the denominationalists and the teachers. ¹

Second, the Education Board Permanent Secretary, Robert L. Morant also reorganised the Board of Education into three stages, namely elementary, secondary and technical to help establish an educational ladder for pupils to guarantee the provision of better education from bottom to top. Parallel to this, the inspectorate was organized on the same line, with the inclusion of more female inspectors for girls' schools. ²

As a result, in 1907, the Board of Education, on behalf of the Liberal Government (1906-1908), decided to establish the Free Place System, which became known as the scholarship ladder to the university. This system, which aimed at helping the elementary school pupils, ascend the education ladder, offered 25 percent of the grammar school places to the working class pupils under the form of scholarships, obliging aided-grammar schools to accept the elementary school pupils. ³ This meant paying a grant of £5 for each pupil aged from twelve to eighteen. ⁴

Prior to this period, some elementary school pupils had had access to secondary schools, but their number differed from one area to another. The pupils, who applied for the scholarship, generally did it at the age of eleven or twelve because the secondary level lasted four years. This marked the beginning of the application of the Eleven Plus Examination. The number of the applicants rose from 47.200 to 60.000 in 1913, and to reach 143.000 in 1927. ⁵

The limited places provided by the secondary schools led to the application of streaming, which consisted in selecting the pupils liable to attend secondary grammar schools. Streaming stipulated that children should be separated into two classrooms, with the first one gathering the cleverest children who were taught by the old and experienced teachers, and the second one counting the youngest and most limited children, instructed by the least competent teachers.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood, p.170.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 175.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood.

To obtain a scholarship, the pupils had to sit for examinations consisting of written papers in subjects like English, arithmetic, history, geography and sometimes general science in the junior part of the elementary schools. As a result, curriculum was criticized as being overcrowded. Hence, the 1911-12 report supported the restriction of the subjects of examinations and the provision of more grammar schools' places. There was a criticism and a call for more places in particular from the working class parents who wanted their children to have access to secondary education.

The impact of the socialist ideas on elementary education were also seen in the passing of two important acts in the field of welfare services under the Liberal Government, namely the Education (Provision of Meals) Act in 1906 and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act in 1907. They were the result of the outbreak of the Boer War (1899-1902), whose medical reports showed that thousands of men did not have the physical conditions to fight.¹ As a result, the Committee on Physical Deterioration was appointed in 1904, and revealed the deteriorating physical conditions of the population, in particular those of the children.²

The 1906 Education Act authorized the L.E.A.s to give hot lunches to pupils, with the headmaster required to look after the health of the pupils, especially those being pale and thin. It also permitted the voluntary associations to have premises and facilities to ease their charity work, all provided by the L.E.A.s. In addition, it allowed the L.E.A.s that needed funds, to levy a rate, not overtaking one half penny in the pound to have the required funds.³ R.L. Morant stressed the importance of good health among all the pupils, and welcomed the initiative.

The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act in 1907 enabled the Board of Education to create the School Health Service, and to be managed by the Chief Medical Officer of the Board, George Newman. It obliged the L.E.A.s to offer medical examinations to all the pupils. Sir Newman's health reports were of great contribution since they made the kingdom more aware about the health issue.⁴ In fact, regular medical clinics were founded and later on, medical care for elementary school pupils was extended to dental treatment.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 174.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ This Act was proposed by a private Labor Party member present in Parliament, and was welcomed by the Liberal Government (1906-1908). Curtis and Boulwood, 173-74.

⁴ This progress can be seen when consulting the 1908-9 reports and comparing them with the 1917 reports. Curtis and Boulwood, 174.

As far as the issue of the elementary school teachers was concerned, the training colleges did not meet the rising demand for elementary education, which made the Liberal Government (1906-8) decide to introduce a proposal in which the training colleges would open their doors to all the Nonconformists in 1906. One year later, a building grant was given to build more training colleges so as to increase their number. During the same year, the Preliminary Examination for the Certificate replaced the Queen's, then the King's Scholarship.¹ This concession implies that religious instruction was to be given to those who wished to receive it and the staff was not forced to belong to one given denomination. In 1908, the Liberal government continued with providing more training college places since it obliged the denominational training colleges to devote a part of their places, which represented one-half of a denominational training college, to those who had aspirations to become teachers without taking into account their religious inclination, or their refusal to attend religious worship, observance or instruction.² Teachers' training could not be successful unless the teachers were well considered.

However, the release by a Chief Inspector of a confidential report, drafted by the Education Board Permanent Secretary, Robert L. Morant, caused controversy among the elementary school teachers. It notably revealed that they were seen as lacking culture and education, and their work was based on what they had been familiar with before. This report notably shows that:

“Apart from the fact that elementary teachers are, as a rule, uncultured and imperfectly educated, and that many, if not most, of them are creatures of tradition and routine, there are special reasons why the bulk of the local inspectors in the country should be unequal to the discharge of their responsible duties. Having regard to all these facts, we cannot wonder that local inspection as at present conducted in the large towns is on the whole a hindrance rather than an aid to educational progress, and we can only hope that the local Chief Inspectors, who are the fountain heads of a vicious officialdom, will be gradually pensioned off, and if local inspection is to be continued in their areas, their places will be filled by men of real culture and enlightenment.”³

This scandal came in a context where the elementary school teachers had been excluded from the national register of teachers in 1902. As a result, the National Union of Teachers

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 375.

² Murphy, 99.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 175-176.

(N.U.T), who felt offended, criticised its content, ¹ which led both the Education Board President, Walter Runciman and the Permanent Secretary, Robert L. Morant to resign in 1911. ²

Robert L. Morant also drafted “the Code for Elementary Schools” and “the Regulations for Training Colleges” in 1904. These two documents, whose content was not as narrow as the previous Revised Code, sought to praise the importance of training elementary school teachers according to the new progressive ideas. ³ For Robert L. Morant:

“The purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life”. ⁴

In 1905, he published “Suggestions for the Use of Teachers and Others concerned in the work of Elementary Schools”. This drafting had the same reasoning of the previous documents, stating that the Board of Education would like to have the teachers to work according to the conditions and the needs of the classes in which they taught. Its preface stated:

“The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desires to see in the teaching of public elementary schools is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school...Teachers who use the book should therefore treat it as an aid to reviewing their aims and practice, and a challenge to independent thought on such matters.” ⁵

The issue of elementary education finance and its relationship with teachers’ salaries was another concern, which affected the elementary denominational schools.

In 1907, McKenna’s Bill was submitted to Parliament and stipulated that it would oblige the denominational managers to pay one-fifteenth of their teachers’ salaries. Nonetheless, the bill was a failure owing to the fact that the Liberals and Nonconformists opposed the idea of financing voluntary schools with rate in aids. After introducing amendments, the Bill was finally passed, and the non-provided schools were to receive rate in aid.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 172.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood, 172-173.

The evolution of elementary education continued with the issue of finance being under discussion after the publication of the Kempe Report in 1914. The recommendations of the report aimed at reforming the finance of education, by reorganizing the system of the L.E.A.s' grant by calculating the children's number and the assessable value of each area. However, the beginning of the First World War in 1914 left this recommendation unfulfilled and made the Coalition government adapt elementary education to the requirements of the War and later on to the post-war period.

II.4. The First World War and its Repercussions on Elementary Education (1914-1943):

In the period of the First World War, H.H. Asquith and David Lloyd George Coalition government, the elementary schools were converted into billets, military hospitals or refugees' accommodation, and priority was not to raise the educational standards, but to keep the schools open and to provide pupils with minimum education. Therefore, the L.E.A.s had recourse to the half-plan system, and the use of premises such as the Sunday schools, worship places and public halls. In their turn, the training colleges were also held in temporary premises, and in some cases, a double shift system, made of training colleges and elementary schools, was adopted and applied. This prevailing situation created more demand from the pupils, and led to overcrowded classes. To meet this problem, married women and retired teachers were hired, and the school meal services were maintained even during the holidays.

The result of these decisions was important for elementary education. The pupils could take advantage of the free time given to them through the half-plan system to play games and to do physical exercises, open air work and excursions, and to visit museums and galleries. All these activities had positive effects on the pupils' health. Subsequently, the Board of Education decided to entrust the L.E.A.s with open play centres in 1917, and to finance half their expenses.

The Prime Minister, Lloyd George and the Education Board President, H.A.L. Fisher also enacted a new educational act, known as the 1918 Education Act. Like the previous educational acts, the 1918 Education Act brought changes to elementary education. The Act abolished the entrance fees, making elementary education free for all the pupils. The Act stipulates that: "No fees shall be charged or other charges of any kind made in any public elementary school..."¹ It also contributed to the development of medical services in elementary schools by providing medical treatment to pupils suffering from minor ailments, defective vision, dental disease,

¹ The Education Act 1918, (8 & 9 Geo.5 CH.39) 139.

enlarged tonsils and adenoids. These treatments were generally fee-paying, except for the pupils whose parents were poor.

The 1918 Education Act also raised the school leaving age to fourteen, with a possibility to be extended to fifteen with exemptions. At the same time, it forbade children under twelve, to work during day school hours. As a result of the passing of the 1918 Education Act, the parents lost an important source of income for the family and the industrialists could no longer employ that cheap labour force, which had already permitted them to make profits.

While the Act contributed to decrease the number of the “half-timers”, by allowing most of the children to stay at school for the whole day, the number of pupils in elementary schools increased, which created a need for more buildings and teachers. The Board of Education estimated that 5,000 teachers were needed,¹ which made the training colleges and university departments of education offer more places. However, the number of applying teachers was more than that of the jobs offered by the Board of Education. As a result, when some intended teachers finished their training and applied for jobs, they found that the demand could not be met.²

The issue of the teachers’ salaries worsened, and to remedy this, temporary war bonuses and supplementary grants were given to them to help them face the prevailing financial difficulties of their daily life.³ Another act, known as the 1918 Superannuation Act was introduced, which was a scheme based on the increased living costs and their impact on life of the teachers, including the elementary school teachers.⁴ To take advantage of these benefits, teachers had to be sixty years old and have spent thirty years in an approved service. The Act also offered a sum of money on retirement and an annual pension based on the teachers’ recognized service or the average salary of their last five years. But the Board of Education President, H.A.L. Fisher, did not share the view of helping teachers this way, and this led to the appointment of a committee, chaired by Lord Burnham in 1919. It comprised the L.E.A.s’ and the teachers’ representatives (N.U.T), and it was responsible for calculating the scales of the teachers’ salaries.⁵

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 384.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 183.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁵ Gerald Bernbaum, Social and Change and the Schools 1918-1944 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) 27.

The period under discussion also saw the appointment of a new administrative authority, namely the Excepted District. It was different from the Part III Authorities in the sense that the borough or the district council represented the main executive administrative part, and in partnership with the Part III Authorities, they drafted the scheme for elementary education in their areas.

The setting of the Excepted District depended on the fact that the area where it was located should have at least 60.000 people living in it following the 1931 census, or have a number of enrolled pupils amounting to 7.000 or above in its elementary school on March 31st, 1939. ¹ Moreover, it had to annex other areas which had extended rapidly since 1931. As a result, thirty-nine areas could have this kind of administration in, and were mostly situated around London. With the increasing pressure by the Part III Authorities, referred to above, the conditions upon which this administration could be established changed to more 60.000 on June 30th, 1936. ² Therefore, eight other similar administrations were added in the London area, and another outside the London District, namely, Worthing. There were also special circumstances where this kind of administration could be set up, but, seven out of sixty-seven were given approval when they applied. On the whole, with time, their number reached forty-four and this number was expected to increase in the future.

According to educationist and historian Gerald Bernbaum, all the reforms mentioned above required a lot of money to be spent by the Coalition Government (1916-1920), and proved to be unworkable owing to the financial difficulties England had to face during the 1920s.³ On 8th December 1920, the same Government announced the reduction of expenditure and had to postpone educational schemes such as the building of schools.

But the situation became so alarming in 1921 that a solution had to be found, which was translated into the appointment of a committee chaired by Sir Eric Geddes in 1922, which recommended the saving up of £75 million from all Government activities, including the educational ones.⁴ It also criticized the Board of Education for its inability to make economies, and called for cuts in education grants concerned with the teachers' salaries, the building of schools and the welfare services. Nonetheless, the expected economy could not be achieved

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 200.

² Curtis and Boulwood

³ Bernbaum, 27-8.

⁴ Bernbaum, 29.

since they could only save up £6 ½ million.¹ Such economy, which also affected elementary education, was illustrated in the following table:

Table N°4: The Rising Cost of Education in England and Wales

	Expenditure by L.E.A.s		Government Grants	
	Elementary	Total	Elementary	Total
1913-1914 1918-19	25,608,000 ⁽¹⁾	30,111,000	11,558,645	14,660,311
1919-20	45,250,000	52,730,000	25,228,726	32,853,111
1920-21	58,420,000	69,409,000	32,924,635	45,755,567
1921-22	60,695,000	73,146,000	35,593,217	51,014,665
1922-23	58,424,000	70,079,000	32,602,954	45,275,000
1923-24	56,730,000	67,577,000	32,200,563	41,934,047
1924-25 (estimated)			32,492,074	41,900,010
1925-26 (estimated)	57,500,000	68,750,000	31,237,000 ⁽²⁾	40,652,754

⁽¹⁾ To the nearest £1,000.

⁽²⁾ 55.9 per cent of the assumed expenditure of L.E.A.s.'s

Source: Charles Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (London: University Tutorial Press, 1925) 480.

It can be seen that £11,558,645 was spent on elementary education from the government grants and £25,608,000 from the local rates from 1913 to 1914, and from 1918 to 1919. This amount of money increased gradually through the years to reach £35,593,217 from the government grants and £60,695,000 from local rates in 1921-1922, but started to decline to £31,237,000 from government grants and £57,500,000 from local rates.

With the accession of the Labour government to power in 1924, and the appointment of Sir Charles Trevelyan (1924) as the President of the Board of Education, attempts were undertaken to soften the imposed austerity to help elementary education evolve. Sir Charles Trevelyan found out the educational prevailing situation was downgrading and felt it was necessary to introduce improvements, by helping the progressive L.E.A.s to ease the regulations concerning the payment of grants provided by the central authority, and to put into effect educational reforms.

¹ Bernbaum

Another characteristic of the declining educational situation of the period was the decreasing importance of the denominational schools. This can be explained by the fact that the instruction in the denominationalist schools proved inadequate, and the parents lost their religious fervour and preferred sending their children to state schools. Subsequently, the President of the Board of Education, Sir Charles Trevelyan published a black list, which comprised all the unfit schools, including 2,827 of the Church schools. ¹

In 1925, the second Burnham Report was drafted and tackled the issues of teachers' training. It called for the abolition of the Pupil-Teacher System, since some of its classes continued training recognized teachers, and instead encouraged reliance on teachers coming from secondary schools. It also shed light on the isolated state of training colleges, and the need to bring them closer to the rest of the educational organization, in particular the universities. Following the recommendations of the 1925 Burnham Report, the Board of Education decided to establish ten Joint Examination Boards in 1930. These Boards comprised representatives of the staff of the training colleges and the universities, with the objective of establishing cooperation between them. But, the attempt was unsuccessful since cooperation was only limited to the examinations.²

The Pupil-Teacher System, which was used to provide elementary schools with trained teachers, was abolished and made up by pupils from secondary and grammar schools. Even though there were training colleges and university departments, the demand remained unsatisfied, especially to meet the post-war period needs.³The Board of Education estimated it would need about 70.000 teachers, and began the Emergency Training Scheme in 1943, but the continuing war rendered the task difficult.⁴ The scheme consisted of a one-year course of intensive training, with 124.000 applicants, out of whom 54.000 were accepted for training, and those who joined the scheme were deceived by it as "a dilution of the teaching profession."⁵

Curriculum and pedagogy were subject to novelties. This was the case of psychological tests which were introduced by the L.E.A.s in the selection of pupils in grammar schools. Areas like Bradford, Northern England and Northumberland, North East of England, started taking into account these tests, in parallel with the written examinations. From 1921, mental tests had been

¹Bernbaum, 37.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 378.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 385.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 384.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood

added to the grammar school selection arrangements in the county of Northumberland. Notwithstanding, the 1924 Report of the Consultative Committee on Psychological Tests of Educable Capacities, criticized the application of these tests as being ineffective, and not appropriate for solving the increasing demand of the elementary school pupils for secondary education.

Secondary education was extended to more elementary school pupils, in particular those belong to the working class. The main reasons for this were the rising income of some working class parents who aspired to extend their children's education, and the Labour Party's call for more secondary education for working class pupils in a document entitled "Secondary Education for All" in 1922. In this case, Dr. R. H. Tawney wrote:

"The Labour Party is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is one under which primary education and secondary education are organised as two Stages in a single continuous process; secondary education being the education preparatory thereto. Its objective, therefore, is both the improvement of primary education and the development of public secondary education to such a point that all normal children, irrespective of the income, class or occupation of their parents, may be transferred at the age of 'eleven plus' from the primary or preparatory school to one type or another of secondary school, and remain in the latter until sixteen."¹

Hence, Sir Charles Trevelyan demanded for an increase of the free secondary places from 25 percent to 40 percent, and subsequently, "Circular 1350 on the Organization of Public Elementary Schools" was published in 1925.

In 1926, the Board of Education published the "Hadow Report: The Education of the Adolescent". The Report was chaired by Sir W. H. Hadow, and marked a turning point in the reorganisation of the educational system by recommending the change of appellation of elementary education from "elementary" to "primary". For Sir W.H. Hadow this change was important, and he expressed it in the report as follows:

"The word "elementary" has now become misleading; and elementary education in our present system of nomenclature, which treats central schools as a part of is made to include much which is not elementary in any just sense of the word. We propose to substitute the term "primary", but to restrict the use to that term to the period of education which ends at the age of eleven or twelve."²

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Sir W.H. Hadow, The Hadow Report : The Education of the Adolescent (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1926) xxi

In this sense, elementary education had to be adapted according to the evolution of secondary education. In addition, it supported the issue of streaming which was applied in the elementary schools to permit some of their pupils to have access to secondary education.

This reorganization also affected the denominational schools, which represented a financial difficulty for them. ¹ In fact, the denominational schools found themselves obliged to implement the same reorganization, and this represented another heavy financial burden on them. To help the denominationalists, the Labour government (1929-31) introduced a bill, which provided for the needed financial help, in return for acquiring the right to appoint and dismiss teachers. But, it faced opposition by the House of Lords.

During the same year, religious education experienced an important development with the elaboration of the early national agreed syllabus, “the Cambridgeshire”. At the beginning, it was in the form of outlines, and then with the teachers’ interest, more details in terms of method, illustration and background information were added. The previous agreed syllabuses of the different denominations were also revised and enlarged, and were transformed from mere Scripture syllabuses to one presenting the Christian religion as a way of life.

In 1928, the criticism towards the intelligence tests carried on with the publication of “Pamphlet No. 63”, which pressed the need for secondary education for all, and reliance on English and arithmetic without intelligence tests when granting the secondary school scholarship. It also encouraged the application of scientific methods in selection.

The progressive ideas of philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick influenced the elementary school teachers to put the pupils at the centre of the teaching and learning process to the detriment of the subjects’ content or the teachers, especially during the 1920s. The objective behind was to end up with the rigidity of the old curriculum, and help pupils express their interests and needs to build up the subjects’ content, and to discover and master it by themselves. However, its application by teachers was slow to develop to all the elementary schools in England. ²

This was further stressed by the publication of two other Hadow Reports, namely “Primary Education” in 1931 and “Infant and Nursery Schools” in 1933. The former, which was influenced by the ideas of John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick supported the progressive

¹ Curtis and Boultonwood, 186.

² Curtis and Boultonwood, 188-189

educational ideas by advocating the application of intellectual and physical activities according to the pupils' abilities.¹ This is summed up in a quotation taken from the Report:

“The curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored. The schools whose first intention was to teach children how to read have thus been compelled to broaden their aims until it might now be said that they have to teach children how to live. Junior children were little workmen, looking out for jobs to do, and largely incapable of finding them for themselves.”²

It asked the teachers to understand the method, to have faith in it before applying it, and not to overwork it.³ The report also encouraged streaming by proposing to the elementary schools the adoption of a system comprising a series of ‘A’ classes for brighter pupils, ‘B’ classes for average pupils, a smaller ‘C’ classes to include retarded pupils.

The 1933 “Infant and Nursery Schools Report” also gave importance to the pupils by introducing progressive ideas in the elementary schools’ infrastructure by criticizing the inadequate buildings and arrangements of infant and nursery schools, favouring roomy classes with space to move freely, walls with light pastel colours, fresh air and sunlight, and replacing rigid desks by suitable chairs and collapsible tables. This criticism was mainly based on the country districts, where there were still “all aged schools”, out-of-date buildings, and unsatisfactory cloakrooms and lavatories.

The issue of streaming was again brought to light thanks to the publication of the “Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers” by the Board of Education in 1937. The report stipulated that there should be large junior schools to count “A” and “B” streams. However, streaming created a feeling of injustice among the pupils. This did not only create competition between the schools themselves, but also created a competition with the maintained fee-paying preparatory schools.

As far as the transfer of pupils from elementary to secondary education was concerned, there was divergence of opinion concerning the age of transfer. While the Hadow Report (1926), the Spens Report (1943), the Norwood Report (1943), and the psychologists believed that eleven was an early age, others argued that because the school leaving age was at fourteen, eleven was

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Sir Hadow, The Hadow Report: The Primary Schools, 153, 57.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 189.

the most suitable age for transfer to permit the pupils to have at least three years at the secondary level.

The place where the pupils lived also played an important role since some areas were more generously supplied in terms of grammar and technical schools than others. In fact, the elementary school pupils had more chances to attend them if they were numerous. The parents were also aware of the better quality of education given in grammar schools, and they had the feeling that attending them would guarantee their children a better future. Hence, they criticised the Eleven Plus selection because they wanted to have their children attend the grammar schools.

The British National government (1931-1940) also attempted to raise the school leaving age to fifteen. In fact, it was renewed at three occasions, on 1st April 1931, 1st September 1932, and 1st September 1939, but with the passing of the 1936 Education Act, and each time, it was postponed.¹ The reasons for such a postponing were the lack of sufficient teachers and buildings, unemployment and economic problems as a result of the 1929 Economic Depression, the opposition of parents and industrialists and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1945.²

II.5. The Second World War Evacuation Process and its Impact on Elementary Education (1939-1943):

With the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945), the evacuation of the children revealed important deficiencies in the elementary education system. Before the beginning of the war, the National Government (1931-1940) had already decided to plan the evacuation of the children and pregnant women living in big and attackable cities like London. They were taken from risky areas to safer reception ones.³ The evacuation process, which started in 1939, was managed by the Ministries of Health, Transport, Home Security and the Board of Education.⁴ But, difficulties aroused, and impeded the evacuation plans, due to the voluntary character of the plans, the reluctance of the authorities to assure the evacuation of children to their right destinations and the fear of parents to let their children go in unknown places, especially, in such a context.⁵

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 190.

² Curtis and Boulwood.

³ The attacks were expected to come from the air, and would be of great severity. Curtis and Boulwood, 194.

⁴ The evacuation plans should have been organised by the State. But, because of the War, it was not done. In addition, the participation of the head teachers, who knew the location of the reception areas, was expected. But, it seldom happened. Curtis and Boulwood.

⁵ This implied the assurance of having the parents taking part in the evacuation process. Curtis and Boulwood.

Evacuation took place in a smooth and efficient way. Most of the children were taken to the right reception areas, with the exception of some children who were lost, then taken back to the appropriate area. The number of the evacuated children reached three millions in 1941.¹

When they arrived, they were received in billets, which were normally places which soldiers used during wartime. No effort was made to assure similar living conditions for these children so that they could feel at home. For instance, some poor children found themselves in wealthy people's houses, whereas those who had a more comfortable life were sent in country cottages, where the living conditions were considered as primitive.² The resulting change in their living environment for most of the children was positive, but in some cases, it aroused clashes due to the differences of social classes causing misunderstanding and irritation.³ The situation got better as the expected air raids stopped. Teachers, inspectors, education officers and voluntary welfare workers also contributed to bring order.

After their evacuation and placement in suitable families, the children were given some amount of education. This depended on the area they were placed in, and it generally took place in places like halls, Sunday schools, or in the existing schools of the area. It meant that pupils were taught in either separated buildings or in double shift. In spite of the difficulties encountered, namely the lack of teachers and the teaching means, they could get by. Indeed, teachers were obliged to improvise, which allowed them to discover they were able to do their job properly without relying on the means they had had before. Classes were organised in open-air when the weather was fine. Practical pursuits and physical activities were held and became part of the school life.

With the beginning of the Blitz in the autumn of 1940, a number of schools located in dangerous areas were closed.⁴ Once the air attacks weakened and shelter was available, the

¹ R.J. Rootes, Britain since 1700 (Great Britain: Longman, 1982) 296.

² Later on, noticing that the risk of air raids was absent, they permitted parents to see their children. This created a problem since the children who started adapting themselves to their new environment, wanted to come back to their houses with their families. This is what happened with some children. The beginning of the Blitz in the autumn of 1940 made them come back. Curtis and Boultonwood, 195.

³ Some working class children behaved in such a way, being unfamiliar to the middle class receiving families, that it aroused misunderstanding and therefore clashes. Curtis and Boultonwood.

⁴The Blitz, which comes from the German word, "Blitzkrieg", whose meaning is lightening war, is the name that was given to the attacks that the Germans undertook on the most important cities of London, which reached their peak from September 1940 to May 1941. The cities included Plymouth, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. Juliet Gardiner, The Penguin Dictionary of British History (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 2000) 75.

schools were reopened. The only problem was that the children missed schooling for a period of time.¹

The evacuation process brought the town and country together, and helped the population learn how poor children were living. In fact, according to social workers, the poor children were “filthy and verminous”, and lived in a family milieu considered as “unbelievably bad”, and lacking decency and discipline.² This was thanks to the spread of stories and letters that were published in the press. Hence, the population was shocked, which led to the development of a strong feeling that culminated in a universal demand for social reforms, particularly in education.³ As a result, an examination of the state of the educational system was required.

Such revelations and the resulting public awareness led to the beginning of a debate on educational reconstruction. To do so, the Coalition government (1940-1945) had to gather the opinions of those who had knowledge and experience, which was first translated into the drafting of a memorial called “A Christian Basis for Peace”, written by the Anglican Archbishops, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council in 1940. This memorial was followed by the creation of a deputation led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. W. Temple, and made of Anglicans and Free Churchmen. They met the President of the Board of Education, and discussed the issue of the organisation of religious education. Thus, discussion on educational reconstruction involved all those concerned with education.

The demand for more and better education also became pressing, especially during the 1940s. It came mainly from organisations, teachers, social workers and parents, who had complained of the prevailing injustice that the working class pupils had suffered from during the 1930s. Books and pamphlets showed to the English population the important role of education in society, and included Francis William’s “Democracy’s Last Battle”, in 1941, which discussed the problem of class discrimination in education.

As a corollary, a confidential memorandum, entitled “Green Book” was prepared in 1941, and took into account individuals whose views were worthy of consideration, but in the words of Lester Smith: “It was distributed in such a blaze of secrecy that it achieved an unusual degree of

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 195.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 196.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

publicity”.¹ Its publication aroused discussions among the civil life, His Majesty Forces (H.M.F.s), discussion groups, the official and voluntary bodies, and even the BBC, which led to the analysis of every aspect of the educational reconstruction.

Consequently, the “White Paper on Educational Reconstruction” was drafted by the President of the Board of Education, R.A. Butler. The document was generally accepted and subsequently, R.A. Butler drafted an educational bill, which was passed on 4th, August, 1944, leading to the 1944 Education Act on elementary education.²

To conclude, the passage of elementary education from the hands of the private enterprise to those of the State permitted the educational stage to witness several developments. These developments were related to the elementary schools, their administration and finance, staff, curriculum and pedagogy and welfare services. This was noticeable in the increasing number of school places and teachers to meet the pupils’ demand for elementary education, and later on, secondary education. The teachers were also granted more freedom in their work which culminated in the passage from a conservative and traditional curriculum and pedagogy to a more liberal and progressive one, with the teaching of subjects based on the needs of the pupils in the classroom and the extension of the subjects such as science, history and geography. There were also establishment of a structured educational administration at the national and local levels responsible for elementary education, and the growing importance of elementary education also involved more finance, either at the national and local levels.

Even though there were impediments that delayed the evolution of elementary education, efforts were made to overtake them. They were the results of the contribution of politicians, educationists, religious men and philanthropists and even some parents, which ended up in the passing of the 1944 Education Act, which is one of the main concerns discussed in the second chapter.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² The same year witnessed the publication of the 1943 Norwood Report which referred to elementary education through its criticism of the application of intelligent tests on pupils for obtaining scholarships to have access to secondary education. Instead, it encouraged reliance on school records to discover intelligent and talented pupils. Curtis and Boulwood, 197, Bernbaum, 83.

Chapter Two

Primary Education in England

1944-1973

Both post-war difficulties and planning together with the evolution of ideas compelled the English Labour and Conservative Governments to adopt the Welfare State policy, which impacted on elementary education. This was translated into the conversion of elementary education into primary education, and the application of progressive pedagogical ideas in primary schools, which were the result of the passing of acts and the publication of reports namely the 1944 and 1964 Education Acts and the 1967 Plowden Report.

To this end, this chapter will tackle the impact of the consensual Welfare State Policy adopted by both the Labour and Conservative Governments. For this, primary education administration, finance, schools, staff, curriculum and pedagogy will be examined from the periods of 1944 to 1963 and from 1964 to 1973.

I-Primary Education and the Welfare State Policy from 1944 to 1963:

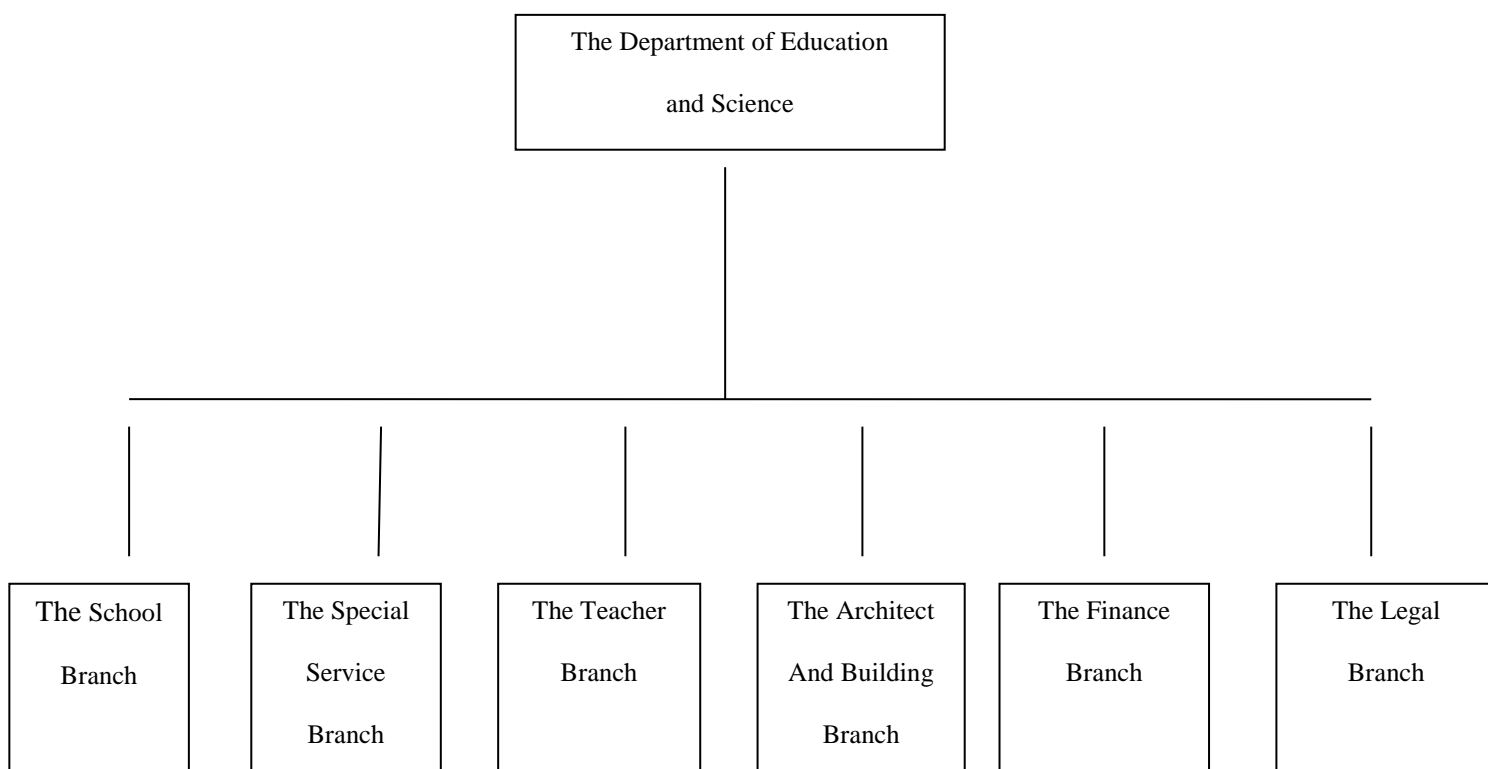
The post-war period saw primary education evolve in the context of the modern Welfare State approved of by both the Conservatives and the Labourites, which pressed them to redistribute the nation's wealth among the population, particularly, the most destitute with relief. In this case, the Government became a "nanny state", and primary education, a social service for the public good. Educational acts and reports as the 1944 Education and the 1963 Robbins Report evolved around the central and local administration, the schools, their staff, curriculum and pedagogy, welfare services and finance.

I.1.The 1944 Education Act and the Educational Administration:

The 1944 Education Act brought changes at both the central and local educational administration. The Board of Education under the headship of the President of the Board of

Education became the Ministry of Education, and presided over by the Minister of Education. ¹ The Department's functions comprised the preparation of bills and white papers, the management of the daily educational issues, and the settlement of disputes between parents and L.E.A.s. The Department was also made of a number of branches: the School Branch, the Special Services Branch, the Teachers Branch, the Architect and Building Branch, the Finance Branch and the Legal Branch. ² In their turn, these branches were divided into divisions, as shown in the following diagram:

Diagram N° 2: The Different Branches of the Department of Education and Science (1969)



These branches developed in parallel with the development of the educational sector. For example, the Architecture Branch created a Development Group in 1949 to advise and support the L.E.As in architecture.

The Minister of Education had to fulfil a number of functions, which were set by the 1944 Education Act. The latter stated that:

¹ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Ministers of Education from 1944 to 1964.

² The School Branch was made of territorial and functional teams and had to link the central authority to the local one and at the same time, to handle the voluntary and independent schools, nursery education, religious instruction, immigrant children and welfare. The Special Services Branch dealt with the School Health and the School Meals and Milk Services. The Teachers' Branch dealt with the teachers' recruitment, training and salaries, and the Architect and Building, Finance and the Legal Branches just advised the Department in architecture, finance and law. Tyrrell Burgess, *A Guide to English Schools* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1969) 32.

“It shall be lawful for His Majesty to appoint a Minister (hereinafter referred to as “the Minister”), whose duty it shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose...The Minister shall for all purposes be a corporation sole under the name of the Minister of Education...”¹

The Minister of Education also took into account the view of different bodies before taking any decision, among which were H.M.Is and the Central Advisory Councils. The former body under the control of the senior chief inspector was made of ex-teachers, six chief inspectors and the Department staff inspectors.² They generally inspected schools, individually or in a full team, wrote reports to L.E.A.s, and offered long or short refresher courses, backed up by pamphlets and booklets. The Central Advisory Councils replaced the Consultative Committee, and the Minister of Education appointed their members, who comprised a chairman, members and a secretary, being experienced in education.³ As a result, Sir Fred Clarke was appointed chairman of the Advisory Council in England and such a choice was welcomed. These Councils undertook investigations and published reports about the state of education, in particular that of primary education. These reports helped the Minister adopt the appropriate educational policies.

The Minister could also decide about a given policy and make it known through acts, regulations, circulars and memorandums. The implementation of the acts and regulations was compulsory, whereas that of the circulars and memorandums was not, since they served as an explanation or clarification of previous acts or daily routine matters.

At the local level, the 1944 Education Act contributed to the enforcement of the L.E.A.s’ responsibility for the management of primary education:

“...and it shall be the duty of the duty of the local education authority for every area , so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area... It shall be the duty of every local education authority to secure that there shall be available for their area sufficient schools – (a) for providing primary education, that is to say, full-time education suitable to the requirements of junior pupils...”⁴

¹ The Education Act 1944, (7 & 8 Geo 6, CH 31) 224.

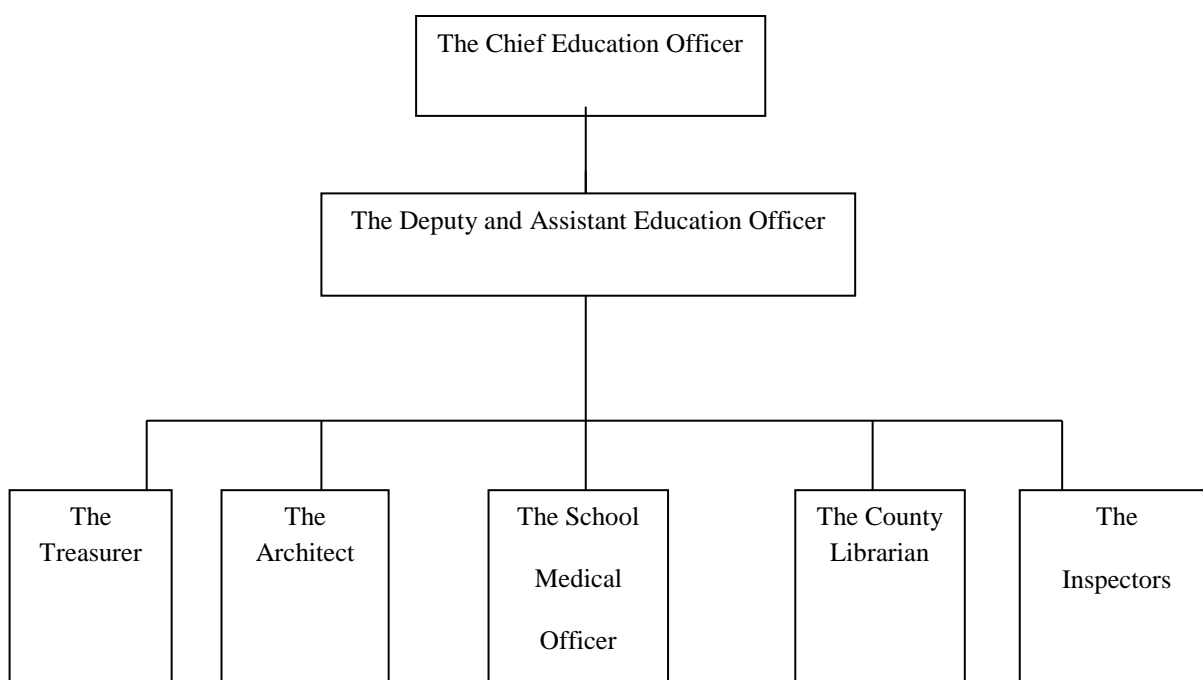
² The six chief inspectors were responsible for the different particular aspects of education like the training of teachers. The Department staff inspectors dealt with one of the educational aspects like the teaching of various subjects and the stages of education. Burgess, p.45.

³ The Minister decided about the members’ details about terms of service, retirement of members and procedure. Curtis, Boulwood, 198.

⁴ The Education Act 1944, 227.

These L.E.A.s were made up of elected councils, and each one of them appointed an education committee composed of sub-committees. These committees were headed by a chief education officer controlling permanent paid officers employed by the Councils, including the deputy and assistant education officer, the county librarian, the school medical officer, architect, treasurer and L.E.A.s' inspectors. The following diagram presents the way these committees were organised:

Diagram N°3: The Membership of the Education Committees (1969)



The members of these committees were experienced people in education and in the local educational conditions of the area they administered. According to “The Times”, there existed twenty-nine city and town councils and one county council, with 934 members among whom 283 were retired, 239 housewives, 165 company directors, 68 trade union officials, 63 solicitors and barristers, 52 builders and contractors, 32 state agents and surveyors and 32 doctors.¹ The teachers also worked with them as part-time employees.

The chairman of the education committee and the sub-committee used to discuss prevailing educational issues. After taking the decision, the chairman referred to the Council for

¹ Smith, Government of Education (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1968) 138.

approval. Some of the Councils applied their education committees' recommendations, whereas others did not take them into account.

As it was mentioned in the first chapter, the L.E.A.s included the County and County Borough Councils, the Part II and III authorities and the Excepted Districts. While Part II Authorities were maintained, Part III Authorities were abolished, and converted into Divisional Executives (D.E.s). In fact, after a debate concerning their maintenance or removal, which had been referred to in the 1943 "White Paper on Educational Reconstruction", a compromise was reached and culminated in the establishment of 171 D.E.s. However, this number decreased because they were either grouped under one Divisional Executive or were abolished.¹

Unlike the Part III Authorities, the D.E.s' responsibility was extended to the three levels of education. They had both executive and advisory functions such as levying rates and negotiating loans, and their membership varied from one area to another, comprising four types, the representatives of the council, the representatives of smaller local authorities and representatives of educational and religious institutions, together with other people whose special knowledge and experience of education was required to join the D.E.s.² The continuation of these Authorities became subject to public opinion, with some who expected them to be abolished, whereas others wanted their maintenance. Though the Government had in mind to reorganise the local administration by abolishing the D.E.s, it did not do it.

With respect to the Excepted Districts and County and County Borough Councils, the Labour Government (1945-1951) decided to maintain them, but, some of them were small and financially unable to carry out their job.³ As a result, the Minister had to form a Joint Education Board by the Soke of Peterborough and the City of Peterborough. Later, some of them were amalgamated with the D.E.s to reduce the expenses of the areas they operated in, while others such as the Lancashire and West Riding were maintained and carried out their jobs.⁴

According to S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood, all the local authorities mentioned above, the governors and managers of non-provided schools had been entrusted to provide the Ministry with development plans with respect to primary and secondary education by 1st April,

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 199-200.

² The representatives of smaller local authorities included municipal boroughs or urban or rural districts. Curtis, Boulwood, 200.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 206.

1946, but, they had to submit later owing to lack of time.¹ Since the formulation of policies could not be dissociated from the general framework of central and local authorities, the Minister accepted the L.E.A.s plans and rejected others.

The relationship between the central and local authorities also culminated into the rise of criticism concerning the L.E.A.s' performance and the powers of the Ministers of Education. The first one was about the downgrading performance of some L.E.A.s. In fact, this criticism came from many people and organisations, topped by Dame Evelyn, a former member of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.² The second one concerned the increasing Minister's powers, and the fear to see the Minister act as a dictator. This fear was not justified because the Minister was responsible to Parliament and was required to submit an annual report giving an account of the way in which he had exercised his powers and duties. Any statutory order of regulation he issued had to be laid before Parliament for a period of forty days, during which a Member of either House could raise an objection, which if sustained would annul the regulation. In his annual report, the Minister had to include an account of the composition and proceedings of the Advisory Council and any M.P. could question the actions of the Minister and his officers. Every citizen had the right of criticising the actions of the Minister in a public meeting or through a letter to the Press, and could write to his M.P. to draw his attention to any matter which he felt should be discussed. All these checks were to secure that the powers of the Minister would not be exercised in an arbitrary fashion. Those who read a daily newspaper of the "Times Educational Supplement" would have noticed that in every week of the sitting of Parliament the Minister had the duty to deal with questions raised by members.³

However, the L.E.A.s remained suspicious about the extensive powers of the Minister which led to disputes between the central and local authorities. As a result, the Local Government Manpower Committee, appointed in 1949, had to settle the issue. It ended up in the publication of a report in 1951, which limited the functions of the Minister of Education to six musts. They comprised the satisfaction of the provision of sufficient and varied educational facilities and auxiliary services, efficient management, the provision of educational equipment, the availability of staffing, the maintenance of educational establishments and the improvement of auxiliary services. Other issues were taken into consideration as to the freedom of parents, teachers and other third parties, the qualification of teachers and medical officers, the control of

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Some people encouraged the return of a kind of administration similar to the School Boards. Roy Lowe, The Changing Primary School (Great Britain: the Falmer Press, 1987) 140.

³ Smith, Government of Education, 133-134.

the fees, awards and allowances, and the provision of educational premises. On the whole, their relationship was generally based on partnership.¹

Given the load of work the minister was responsible for, the 1963 Robbins Report: “Half our Future” recommended the management of the Ministry of Education by two separate ministers.² To defend his proposal, Lord Robbins recommended that the schools and the universities should have two different functions, the former being to provide knowledge and the latter to develop it, and therefore should be managed separately.³ Mr H.C. Shearmann, a former Chairman of the London County Council (L.C.C), opposed the proposal, and expressed it in a “Note of Reservation” summed up as follows:

“I submit therefore that a single Minister for Education...with one or two Ministers of State to assist him is the more satisfactory answer. He would take over the present sphere of responsibility of the Minister of Education and that of the Chancellor in respect of the University Grants Committee, and conceivably some of the other functions alluded to in Chapter XVII, but he would be at the head of a new department from which a forward-looking outlook might be expected.”⁴

In the House of Lords, the M.P. David Eccles was surprised to hear Lord Robbins proposing the idea of having two weak ministers, rather than one strong minister. Other views were expressed by the Labour Party and the T.U.C. that favoured the idea of one strong minister, whereas the Representatives of the Association of University Teachers, Lord James of Rusholme, Vice-Chancellor of York and Sir William Alexander, Secretary of the Association of Education Committees. Whatever the divergences, their main concern was obviously the organisation and management of education.

I.2.The Reorganization and Building of Primary Schools:

The 1944 Education Act converted elementary education into primary education, such a decision, which was based on the recommendations of the 1926 Hadow Report, mentioned in the first chapter, permitted the pupils receive education from the age of five to eleven, and to pass to the secondary stage.

¹ Smith, Government of Education.

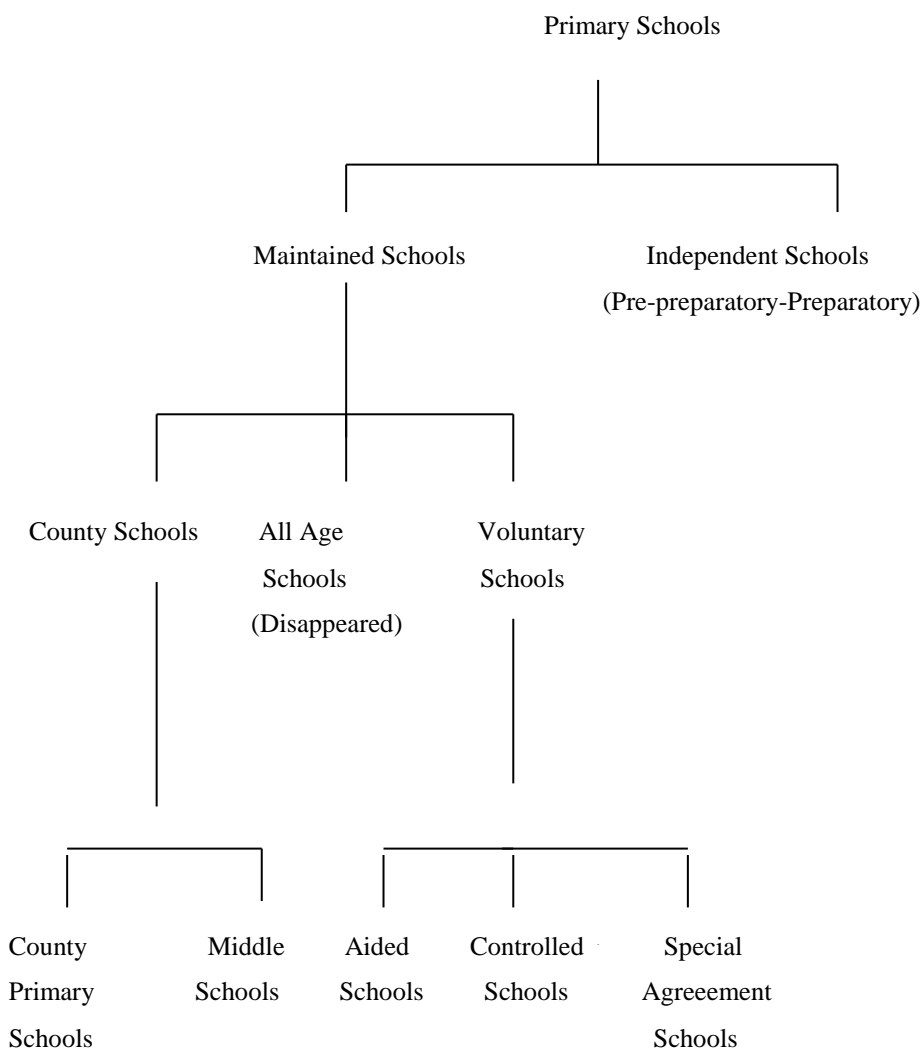
² Curtis and Boulwood, 442.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 443.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 442.

The Act also led to the reorganisation of primary schools. This reorganisation is illustrated in the following diagram:

Diagram N°4: The Structures of Primary Schools (1944)



As the diagram shows, there were both maintained and independent schools. The former, which is the concern of this work, comprised the county (state) primary schools, with their infant and junior levels in all range or separate schools,¹ the all aged schools which almost disappeared and the voluntary schools, with their aided, controlled and special agreement schools.² In

¹ The fact that separate infant and junior schools existed aroused criticism. Christopher Jarman, for instance, put forward the argument that when infants entered the junior schools, they discovered that they were not as important as they had been in their previous stage. Christopher Jarman, "The Different Types of Primary School", *Where*, N° 100, (1975): 25-26.

²The State succeeded in having a compromise agreement concerning voluntary schools as a result of consultations with different religious bodies. This meant that the State acknowledged the work which had been done in providing education and its support to the national system. The voluntary schools had to undergo a heavy financial burden to meet the new demands of the post-war period. In fact, the increasing number of pupils, as a result of the "bulge" meant that voluntary schools had to provide more premises and teachers, which became financially more difficult for them. Moreover, they found difficulties meeting their daily expenses. This led their number to fall from 9,204 schools in January 1947 to 8,210 in 1957. The other small schools were forced to close leading their number to

addition to the reorganization of the primary schools, the Labour Government (1945-51) decided to start a building program to provide more school places to meet the educational demand.

It should be underlined that due to German Bombing about 5,000 schools were destroyed,¹ which made it difficult for the remaining squalid and unsanitary schools to satisfy the post-war pressing demand. Consequently, in 1945, the Labour government decided to launch an Emergency School Building Programme to compensate for the existing gap.

The situation worsened when the need for more schools became more pressing, given the rise in the birth-rate, the lack of heavy materials and the deteriorating economic situation.² As a result, the Minister of Education, Miss Ellen Wilkinson (1945-1947), provided prefabricated classrooms with suitable furniture, known as the Hutting Operation for the Raising of the School Age (H.O.R.S.A) and School Furniture Operation for the Raising of the School Age (S.F.O.R.S.A).³ The Standards for School Premises (S.R. & O. 345, 24 March 1945) were also revised to make the building costs less expensive, and beneath scrutiny by the Coalition Government (1940-1945).

A new program for building private houses for the lower-middle class families in the suburbs was launched, which went along with the provision of other primary schools for the children of these families. Hence, the construction of these primary schools could threaten the previous construction programs given the fact that the Government provided more finance to them, and that parents had to take their children from the previously built schools to new ones in the suburbs.

All the newly built primary schools were better than the old ones. Some of them comprised a limited number of classes to ease the circulation of the pupils and avoid the use of corridors such as in the Amersham Primary School (1958), whereas others were thorough going open-plan buildings like the Rolleston Infants' School in Leicestershire (1960).⁴ According to the educationist and historian, Roy Lowe, these schools were airier and were popular in the

decrease to 3,527 aided and special agreement schools, 4,412 controlled schools, and 271 whose status was still undetermined. Curtis and Boulwood, 201-2.

¹ Mickael. B. Gaine, "Education", Penelope Hall's Social Services of England and Wales, (New York: Humanities Press, 1971) 49.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 210.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁴ In 1972, HMI published a report on the work of a sample of over fifty open plan schools. The results of the report were favourable. Still, three years later, it was shown that one pupil in ten was taught in an open plan classroom. Lowe, 13.

architectural press. However, they reflected the social inequality and injustice that characterised the period. ¹

The 1957 Consortium of Local Authorities Special Programme (C.L.A.S.P) was founded and marked the beginning of the local authorities' involvement in school building. As a corollary, it led to the standardization of the primary schools' building. By 1970, seven consortia had been operating with the L.E.A.s. ²

As to the classroom organisation, it varied from one school to another. Some schools lined up the pupils in backless desks, whereas others gathered pupils of different ages in a classroom empty of desks or rows and organising them into groups. Such an organisation eased the work of the teachers for they could deal with each pupil individually.

Still, the primary school classes were overcrowded since almost 2,000 classes comprised fifty or more than fifty pupils. ³ Indeed, the objective of the post-war period was to keep more pupils of a certain age at school and to provide for older ones. This was seen in the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen in 1947, the pupils' tendency to stay at school, and the increasing demand for higher education. Naturally, these issues made the primary sector face difficulties in their struggle for resources.

In 1962, the Ministry of Education came to the conclusion that after building efforts, most of the primary schools where pupils had their education were old, and were no longer suitable as shown in the following table:

¹ Lowe

² Lowe, 10.

³ There were still a million of pupils attending these schools. Lowe, 9.

Table N°5: Age of Primary and Secondary School Buildings (England 1962)

Age of Oldest Main Building	Primary Schools	Nos. of Pupils (1000s)	Secondary Schools	Nos. of Pupils (1000s)
1. Pre-1875	6,580	725.7	349	135.6
2. 1875 to 1902	5,986	972.0	818	326.0
3. 1903 to 1918	2,582	559.5	817	364.3
4. 1919 to 1944	2,483	675.3	1,619	789.5
5. 1945 to date	3,424	941.2	1,869	1,037.5
6. All schools and pupils	21,055	3,873.7	5,472	2,652.9

Source: Source: Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (Great Britain, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 389.

In this table, Bridget Plowden shows that the period from the pre-1875 to 1944 saw a decrease in the number of primary schools from 6,580 to 2,483, while increasing to 3,424 from 1945 to 1962. This resulted from the Government building programs referred to above. However, it depicts the sad reality that in 1962, most of the pupils attended old primary schools since the number of old primary schools represented 2,483 compared to 971 new primary ones.

The Ministry of Education also identified a set of deficiencies in the primary schools accommodations, which are summed up in the following table:

Table N° 6: Specified Defects in Primary School Accommodation (England 1962)

	No. of Schools	Nos. of Pupils (1000s)
1.No piped water supply	166	6.8
2.No warm water supply for pupils	4,701	531.5
3.No water borne sanitation for pupils	1,280	52.2
4.Sanitation mainly out of doors	13,810	2,179.7
5.No central heating system	5,014	437.7
6.No electricity	135	8.8
7.No kitchen or scullery on school site	4,119	603.6
8.No staffroom	7,463	653.5
9.Half or more of school in temporary premises (i)	524	119.7
10.Buildings on more than one site (ii)	1,598	381.8
11.Seriously sub-standard site (iii)	8,304	1,304.3
12.No hall (iv)	3,666	732.8
13.Dining in classrooms (unless designed for the purpose) (iv)	2,144	433.4
Schools with none of these defects	4,541	1,197.2
Schools with one or more of these defects	16,514	2,676.5
All schools	21,055	3,873.7

Source: Source: Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (Great Britain, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 392.

Bridget Plowden also shows that primary schools had deficiencies that affected primary school pupils since they lacked piped and warm water supply, central heating, cleanliness, electricity and places where to stay or have lunch or dinner. This is backed up by the fact that out

of the 21,055 primary schools in 1962, the number of schools having one or more of these deficiencies comprised 16,514 compared to the 4,541 schools that had none of them.

The National Union of Teachers Report, “The State of our School”, which was published in 1963 as a result of complaints made concerning the deteriorating situation of certain schools, also contributed to the debate over bringing reforms to primary schools. The objective of the Report was not to criticize the Government’s policy, but to shed light on the prevailing deficiencies of the educational system, in particular in the primary modern schools and to encourage further developments.¹ The investigation was done through sending 30,000 questionnaires to schools, and receiving back more than 20,000 answers.² The members of the N.U.T. reported that:

“Many classes were found to have larger numbers of pupils than the standard demanded by the Ministry. Some schools were housed in buildings erected in the Victorian era and which had only received minor improvements... Overcrowding was more common in the south of England, but the proportion of out-of-date buildings was greater in the north. Many defects were found in primary schools, aided or controlled. Thus many schools reported that they had no hot water supply and the condition of the toilets was most unsatisfactory. In a few cases, the teachers’ toilets were outside the main building and in severe spells of frost such as were prevalent during the winters of 1966 and 1963, they were invariably frozen. Modern equipment was scarce and even in some of the larger schools there was no library, nor satisfactory accommodation for handicrafts, physical education, and school meals. In many urban districts...”³

The Minister of Education, Sir Edward Boyle, recognized the important role played by this survey, but claimed that the main concern of the period was how to improve the teachers’ training and working conditions.⁴

I.3.The Primary School Teachers’ Training and Salaries:

The training and salaries of teachers were the objectives of the 1944 Education Act, the 1944 Mc Nair, and the 1963 Newsome and Robbins Reports. The 1944 Education Act provided the L.E.A.s with the power of appointing and dismissing teachers. The Act stated that:

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 218-219.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 218.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 219.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood.

“In every county schools, and, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained as to religious education, in every controlled school and special agreement school, the appointment of teachers shall, save in so far as may be otherwise provided by the rules of management or articles of government for the school, be under the control of the local authority, and no teacher shall be dismissed except by the authority.”¹

In 1944, the Mc Nair Committee, called after its chairman, Sir Arnold Mac Nair, published its report: “The Supply, Recruitment and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders”, which mainly dealt with the teachers and their training. For the Committee members, the existing system of teachers’ training did not meet the demand and called for more contribution. However, they were divided about who would train the teachers. Some wanted universities to be in charge of the teachers’ training, while others encouraged the role of a more effective Joint Board System. As a result, the Committee proposed two schemes, namely Scheme A and B. The former, which could be financed by the University Grant Committee, consisted of opening Schools of Education or Institutes of Education. To be able to do so, the supporters of this solution recommended that universities should undertake a “major constitutional change”.² Scheme B, which was modified to become Scheme C, opposed the fact that the Institutes of Education could be under the universities’ aegis, but they should be rather separated and supported financially by the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, the schools’ governing bodies would comprise members from the university, the local authorities, the university training departments and training colleges.³

The second issue that the Mc Nair Report tackled was the teachers’ salary scale. The Committee had first to face the problems of the recruitment and supply of teachers. To attract teachers, members of the Mc Nair Committee believed that teachers should be recruited from the senior pupils, older men and women of the grammar schools, especially coming from the Forces being demobilized after the War. To this end, it had to review the salary scale of the teachers, in particular that of old men and women. Moreover, the salary scale had to cover all the teachers of all the schools, and that those having special qualifications and experience had to be given special increments, and special allowances to those having special responsibility.⁴

¹ The Education Act 1944, 243.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 379.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁴ They had to be given at the minimum and maximum of the scale. For those having special responsibilities, they included the senior masters and mistresses and heads of departments. Curtis and Boulwood, 382-3.

The Mc Nair Report also called for the abolition of the “Pledge System”, which was established in 1856 and referred to in the first chapter. It also considered that undergraduates coming from different fields and desirous of becoming teachers could have access to teachers’ training.

Since the two-year training period was considered short and overburdened, the Report asked for an extension period of three years.¹ The members differed in the way of framing the third year. The older generation of teachers thought that more time would be given to practical teaching, but after consideration from the part of the training colleges and institutes, the third year would not be considered for the teaching practice, for they believed that students would have enough time to acquire it. Time would be then devoted to back up their academic training.²

The report also called for the abolition of the Diploma in Education given to graduate students in the Departments of Education at university, while it aroused different reactions among the universities.³ Some of them, for instance opposed it, in particular after they had provided it to their students for more than twenty-five years.⁴ However, S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood referred to the case of one university which found a compromise consisting in giving a graduate candidate a certificate by the Board of the Faculty of Arts. Its neighbouring university attempted to do the same, but came to conclusion that it was not efficient and brought back the Diploma.⁵

The teachers’ training scheme came to an end in 1951, providing thus the primary schools with 35.000 teachers, of whom 23.000 were men.⁶ But the majority of the colleges, which provided the training were later closed, with the exception of some whose period of training was extended to two years.

With respect to the teachers’ salaries, it should be reminded that the 1919 Burnham Committee was in charge of primary and secondary school teachers. It was made of teachers and L.E.A.s who were entrusted to define the salary scales, on the basis of the teachers’ qualification, the period of training and the geographical location of the work place.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 383-4.

³ In addition, some training colleges set training for graduates, and were given a graduate certificate at the end. Curtis and Boulwood, 380.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 379.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood, 380.

⁶ H.C. Dent, The Educational System of England and Wales (London: University of London Press, 1969) 383-4.

When the Mc Nair Committee presented its recommendations concerning the teachers' salary scale, they had taken into account the Burnham Committee recommendations. Their proposed new teachers' salary scale was approved on 1st April, 1945, taking into account the social changes the country witnessed, in particular, those related to the living costs.¹ But this was rejected by the teachers who still considered these increases as inefficient, in particular when compared to those granted to the industries.² Another salary scale was elaborated by the teachers' professional association in 1961, and presented by the Burnham Committee, which offered £45,500,000 to support it. After obtaining the approval of the Committee, it was sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who decided to reject the new scales, since he had already imposed taxes, and set the pay increases to three percent to stop the continuing inflation.³ Mr. Selwyn Lloyd also announced that the Minister of Education, David Eccles (1959-1962) should reduce the amount to £42,000,000, and that an amendment would be introduced to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer full powers to change salary agreements.⁴

This infuriated both the Burnham Committee and the teachers, who started to negotiate with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister of Education. The proposed compromise was to delay all these legislations, which did not suit the Burnham Committee and the teachers. All this ended up in a one day strike and the teachers' refusal to supervise the school meals on 1st November. However, they had no choice other than accepting it at the end because the cuts decided by the Government were not so harsh to organize a whole strike.⁵

. Back to negotiations, the Burnham Committee proposed an increase of £50 for each scale, which would amount to an expenditure of £21 million, favouring partly the experienced teachers, to be operational after 1st April 1963.⁶ The new Minister of Education, Edward Boyle, was ready to accept this proposal, but did not agree with more government expenditure on teachers' salaries, and their allocation. For him, the granting of equal salaries among the teachers would push more intended teachers to join the profession, in particular the graduates and the people having graded jobs, or jobs of responsibility and experience.⁷ No compromise was then reached since no party wanted to give up, and it ended up in a deadlock situation and no solution was found to solve the problem. All this led to the passing of the 1963 Remuneration of Teachers

¹ Dent.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 386.

³ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 386-7.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁶ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁷ Curtis and Boulwood.

Act, which stated that the new teacher salary scale would go in accordance with what the Minister would decide.

Given the expected increasing number of pupils in the future, it was then decided to provide primary schools with more teachers, but there was also awareness about the fact that the work of training colleges and university departments of education was deplorable. In fact, only thirty-four L.E.A.s' training colleges were operating, and the quality of their training was frenetic and brief, which rendered the newly recruited teachers' comprehension of the new teaching methods difficult.¹

The Institutes of Education, as recommended by the Mc Nair Report, were already established and became known as Area Training Organizations (A.T.O.s). Everything started with most universities opting for Scheme A, except Cambridge, Liverpool and Reading Universities which preferred Scheme C, and Oxford University refusing to take part in the process, but later, decided to opt for "Scheme A".

The A.T.O.s accepted both graduate and non-graduate students. However, the non-graduate students were more numerous than the graduate ones, because they were unable to read for Master of Arts (M.A), Master of Education (M.Ed) or Philosophical Doctorate (PhD) studies in education.² Registration was confined to the conditions of being British living in England or Wales, being 18 years old, holding the O and A Levels, convincing the L.E.A.s that they were made for this profession and proving their participation in the Second World War.³

The A.T.O.s offered them courses of one, two or three years depending on the students' period of stay in the training. The one year course was generally full-time, and the three-year course was part-time. The courses were generally given by full-time staff and the staff of the university departments and training colleges. The students received a general professional training in the form of lectures, seminars, tutorial groups, private study, demonstration supervised and self-directed practical activities, observation and teaching practice in schools. Some of the Schools of Education were equipped with laboratories, art and craft studios libraries, and audio visual aid centres, which rendered the training more interesting and beneficial.

¹Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 380.

³ Dent, 216.

The students also sat for written examinations consisting of 'Special Study' of educational topics and continuous assessment.¹ 'External Examiners' were appointed by the A.T.O.s, to be in charge of managing the examinations. Then, the students were given an education award certificate for their success in examinations, and were recommended to the Ministry for the Qualified Teacher Status. Parallel to this, the institutes offered facilities for study and research in education, such as refresher courses and advanced instruction for teachers. All this led to granting diplomas in primary, secondary and religious education, and for teachers working with backward children.

When an A.T.O was opened, it was chaired by a University Vice-Chancellor, and consisted of an Institute of Education, headed by a Professor of Education and at the same time a member of the University Senate, who had administrative and pedagogic functions, and a Board known as the governing body made of representatives of the university, the training colleges and member institutions, and the local education authorities.² To deal with the daily affairs of the Institute, the Professional Committee and the Boards of Studies were appointed. They were made of sub-committees, which dealt with issues such as lectures, courses, the library, research apparatus and school textbooks. Their membership comprised the teachers and two assessors appointed by the Minister of Education, who could take part in the discussions, but had no right for decision-making.

The institutes were located in suitable buildings, having a library, and rooms for lectures, conferences and seminars. For instance, in London, the buildings were modern and properly built to meet the students' needs. A number of institutes published a bulletin, containing interesting topics and news, and a quarterly journal with articles dealing with research. When established, these institutes were not well appreciated by the training colleges and the academic and education departments of the universities.³ For S.J. Curtis and M.E.A Boulwood, these institutes, which faced the same criticism that the Education Departments had faced before, needed time to become accepted.⁴ Some Department heads did not share the same view about this comparison, arguing that when they started their work, they had not had the funds, means and the staff the institutes had.⁵ Curiously, the Departments started helping the institutes to maintain themselves by cooperating with them. In fact, the fear of the training colleges and the

¹ Dent, 218.

² They notably appointed and paid their officers, provided and maintained their premises and dealt with courses, curricula, syllabuses and examinations. Dent, 213.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 381.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood.

⁵ Curtis and Boulwood.

Departments of Education to have their autonomy threatened vanished away. They also came to the conclusion that these institutes could only help them in their work.¹

In September 1958, the Minister of Education David Eccles decided to expand the training colleges so as to accommodate the new 12,000 students, and to meet the future demand for primary education, by adding 4,000 further places.² This scheme comprised developing sixty-six existing colleges and erecting four new ones. These training colleges included trainees who lived in Nottingham, Walsall and Brentwood.

The L.E.A.s of Leeds decided to open a day training college in 1959 to welcome older students, especially those who had families and could not attend a residential college. Those who were taken were generally people who had more time such as retired men and women having grown children. The University Grants Committee contributed to raise the amount of the grants to the university education departments in order to provide 600-700 more places with a view to increasing the number of teachers. Given the increasing birth-rate and therefore the increasing number of pupils after 1964, the MacMillan Conservative government (1957-1963) decided that September, 1960 would be the appropriate date to start the third training scheme in university colleges.

Following the Mc Nair Report's recommendations, the Churchill Conservative government (1951-55), through the Minister of Education, abolished the "Pledge System" in 1951. The Minister of Education removed the obligation of the registered students to sign a declaration to remain in the teaching profession in 1956.³ Hence, the students were allowed to decide about staying in the profession or not at the end of their training.

The MacMillan Conservative government agreed on the Mc Nair Report's recommendation of extending the period of training to three years. However, it did not apply it mainly owing to the increasing number of the population, in particular the schooled one and the need for more teachers. Instead, the Minister of Education declared that the teachers' training would be extended to three years from September 1960.

The following table illustrates the number of full-time primary school teachers in the primary maintained schools in 1962:

¹ Curtis and Boulwood.

² Curtis and Boulwood, 385-6

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 383, 386.

Table N°7: Full-Time Teachers in Maintained Schools (England and Wales), January, 1962

Primary Schools	Teachers' Gender	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Total
Infants	Men	0	0	44	44
	Women	18	20	31,689	31,727
	Total	18	20	31,733	31,177
Junior-with-infants	Men	15	2	14,917	14,934
	Women	27	646	43,172	43,845
	Total	42	648	58,089	58,779
Junior-without-infants	Men	1,742	4	15,772	17,518
	Women	696	2,072	23,776	26,544
	Total	2,438	2,076	39,548	44,062
All-age	Men	515	0	1,864	2,379
	Women	147	655	3,223	4,025
	Total	662	655	5,087	6,404
Total	Men and Women	3,160	3,399	134,457	141,016
	Total	3,160	3,336	134,457	141,016

Source: W.A.L. Blyth, English Primary Education, A Sociological Description, Volume One, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) 135.

According to W.A.L. Blyth, more teachers were employed in junior and junior-with infant schools than in all-aged or infant schools with the mixed schools followed by the boys' schools, then the girls' schools. For instance, the junior-without-infant schools for boys employed 2,438 teachers, 2,076 in girls' schools and 39,548 in mixed schools, compared to 18 teachers in boys' infant schools, 20 in girls' infant schools and 31,689 in mixed infant schools. It also demonstrates that women were more employed than men in most of primary schools. This is the case of the boys, girls and mixed junior-with-infant schools with 43,845 women and 14,934 men, then the boys', girls' and mixed infant schools with 31,727 women and 44 men, followed by the boys, girls and mixed junior schools, with 26,544 women and 17,518 men, and the all-aged schools with 4,025 women and 2,379 men. One exception is the boys' junior schools with 1,742 men compared to 696 women.

The fact that more women were employed than men caused a problem for the primary schools during the 1960s because some of these women were susceptible to premature retirement, after a few years of employment. Their premature departure did not suit the policy of the State, which had to employ enough teachers to meet the rising number of pupils attending primary schools. So as to solve this problem, the Ministry of Education started a campaign in February, 1961 to attract more women back to the teaching profession.

The Newsome Report, which was published in 1963, also referred to issues related to the teachers' training. It agreed with "the National Advisory Council on the Teaching and Supply of Teachers" on the fact that graduates should receive a kind of training to be able to teach at primary and secondary schools, and this had to be done soon. For those untrained graduates who had already started teaching, an in-service became necessary to help them deal with teaching problems. The Newsome Report also encouraged the use of television and films in schools and training colleges. It also referred to British Broadcasting Company (B.B.C), which had to develop school television, and the L.E.A.s to make them part of the learning process. ¹

Since difficulties persisted in the teachers' training, the 1963 Robbins Report "Half our Future" called for more places for training teachers in higher education.² This implied changing the training character, appointing new teachers to train the students and introducing B.E.d degrees in the late 1960s so as to grant the primary school teachers the status of graduate.³ These recommendations in the teachers' training went in parallel with reforms introduced in the primary school curriculum and pedagogy, which were not the result of the Government intervention in the field, but the cooperation of those concerned with primary education at the local level.

I.4.The English Societal Changes and their Impact on the Primary School Curriculum and Pedagogy:

Given the fact that pupils became less religious, the 1944 Education Act also introduced the "Agreed Syllabus", to make the primary school pupils more aware of the importance of religion.⁴ The Agreed Syllabus was elaborated by a group made of the Church of England, the Free Churches, the Teachers' Associations and the L.E.A.s, but some of the L.E.A.s opted for a

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 417.

² It formed part of the government attempt to permit to the others the access to opportunities. Lowe, 11.

³ At the beginning, these degrees were to be validated by the university institutes of education. Lowe.

⁴ Curtis and Boulwood, 202.

syllabus drawn up by some other authorities. The Agreed Syllabus was also inspected by H.M.I.s in county schools and under arrangements made by the governors and managers in voluntary ones.¹ The Agreed Syllabus consisted of a compulsory act of worship and religious education in all the state schools, with the act of worship taking place at the beginning of the day in an assembly hall, and not at the beginning or the end as it used to be, whereas in small schools, it was held in classrooms where no space was available. Still, parents could withdraw their children, and no teacher was forced to provide the act of worship. Worship in county schools was not different from the other denominational schools and religious instruction as conformed to the Agreed Syllabus which was applied by the local authority, which the school was located in.

Hence, a debate followed on the Agreed Syllabus since the learning of certain aspect of religious education became difficult for the pupils. Parents were then associated to play an active role this way; still, it was difficult for them since some of these parents needed this kind of instruction.² Teachers also met difficulties in teaching religious education for they did not have enough knowledge and training. As a result, the Ministry of Education, the university departments of education, and the training colleges began to provide training for this subject. This was the case of the Institute of Christian Education and the Institutes of Education, which offered courses and lectures to help teachers in the teaching of religious education, and at the end, granted them a certificate in religious education.³ The teachers could also consolidate their training through journals about religious education as it was the case of “Religion in Education”, by the Institute of Christian Education.

Besides religious education, foreign languages were introduced as a subject in the primary school curriculum in 1961, with a view to making the pupils master a foreign language that might be useful for them when travelling or improving their relations with other countries, the European ones, in particular. As a result, the Nuffield Foundation was given a sum of money amounting to £100,000 to start an experiment in the field. In 1961-2, it chose the French language because of the fact that France was close to England, and that French had always been taught in English schools, but, the number of teachers capable of teaching it was limited. Hence, in 1963, the Foundation started a three-month-program in France, and once back, the trained

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 202-203.

² John Blackie, *Inside the Primary School* (London: HMSO the Department of Education and Science, 1967) 130-32.

³ Curtis and Boulwood, 203.

teachers were spread among the pilot areas, where the experiment was undertaken.¹ In addition to the existing teaching methods such as *Bonjour Line*, or the American *Parlons Francais*, the Foundation elaborated a method known as *En Avant*.

The teaching of religious education and foreign languages could not be dissociated from that of English to immigrant pupils. Indeed, the post-war period, in particular the 1950s had seen the arrival of different immigrants such as the Indians, the Bangladeshis and the Ugandans. Their settlement in cheap housing areas in inner cities in England, and the registration of their children in English schools contributed to a demand for education for their children. Subsequently, the number of immigrant pupils rose from 42,700 in 1955 to 136,000 in 1961.

At the beginning, the Conservative governments (1951-1963) saw the immigrant pupils as a “racial problem” because these pupils did not speak English, had different religions, cultures and food, but the Government had no clear policy on how to manage them.² Consequently, the Conservative governments had to rely on the support of the local authorities, the schools, the professionals and the academicians, which culminated in the elaboration of an “immigration education” policy to deal with the immigrant pupils at school, and consisted in assimilating them into the English culture, by teaching them the English language and replacing their mother tongue. Nonetheless, the immigrant parents insisted on the inclusion of their respective mother tongues and cultures in the primary school curriculum; this and the use of their native language at home impacted negatively on the pupils’ schooling results in English. To remedy this, the Conservative governments doubled the number of English hours at school.³

However, this Government policy was not appreciated by some nationalists like the Conservative M.P. for Wolverhampton South West and the Shadow Minister for Defence, Enoch Powell in claiming that the continuing immigration flow would lead to “rivers of blood” during a speech in Birmingham in 1968. The reaction was so controversial that he was removed from his office as shadow minister, and became a hero for those who were opposed to immigration, notably the working class people who were afraid of losing their jobs⁴.

Reforms in the curriculum were strongly connected to the application of the Eleven Plus Examination and its selection procedures to have access to secondary education. The 1958 White

¹ The areas included Bedfordshire, Monmouthshire, Blackpool, Northumberland, Dorset, Nottingham, Durham, Hillingdon, Oxford, Staffordshire, Hull and West Sussex. Blackie, 107.

² Burgess, 79.

³ Stephan Ward and Christine Eden. *Key Issues in Education Policy*. (Great Britain: Sage Publications, 2009) 136.

⁴ Ward and Eden, 137.

Paper: “Secondary Education for All: A New Drive” recommended the adaption of the examination and selection procedures according to the pupils’ abilities, to increase of their chances to take advantage of secondary education and to do so, the primary and secondary classrooms’ size had to be reduced. The White Paper was based on the principle that: “every child shall be able to travel along the educational road so far as his ability and perseverance will take him. This is in accordance with the spirit of the 1944 Education Act...”.¹

As far as pedagogy in primary schools was concerned, the application of the teaching progressive ideas were supported by the 1944 Education Act since it stipulated that the education given had to be adapted according to the “age, ability and aptitude of the pupil”. At the same time, the Act obliged the parents to make sure that this kind of education was given to their children, which implied controlling whether or not it was provided, and this marked the early stirrings of the direct parents’ involvement in the education of their children at school.² These ideas were further backed up by the publication of the 1952 “Handbook for Suggestions”, the 1957 Ministry’s publication, and the 1959 “Handbook on Primary Education”.

Consequently, more and more primary school teachers were applying the teaching progressive ideas in their classrooms, through the use of the discovery approach in both the infant and junior stages. In the infant stage, the pupils learnt independently to understand and discover what the teachers gave them through informal activities. Once the pupils reached the junior stage, they were mature enough to receive time-tabled formal lessons, and tests to pass from one year to another. The development of the progressive ideas illustrated the dominating policy of the Government, in particular the Labour one, namely the Welfare State policy, which was also applied through the development of the welfare services and finance in primary schools.

I.5.The Development of the Welfare Services and Finance in Primary Education:

During the period under discussion, primary schools witnessed the introduction of reforms in the welfare services to provide poor pupils with medical services, meals and milk, transportation, clothing and other necessities of life. The primary schools were also affected by the changes that were brought to the finance of education.

¹ Curtis and Boulwood, 208.

² The Education Act 1944, 252-253.

In fact, the 1944 Education Act also favoured the physical welfare of the pupils. It compelled L.E.A.s to establish and develop social and game facilities such as playing fields, camps, swimming-baths, gymnasia, and other kinds of recreation.

The 1944 Education Act also interfered in the primary schools' welfare services because it entrusted the L.E.A.s to provide free medical and dental inspection for the pupils. To this end, each L.E.A. had to establish a School Health Service with its School Dental Service:

“It shall be the duty of every local education authority to provide for the medical inspection, at appropriate intervals, of pupils in attendance at any school or county college maintained by them, and every local education authority shall have power to provide for such inspection of senior pupils at any other educational establishment maintained by them...It shall be the duty of every local authority to make such arrangements for securing the provision of free medical treatment for pupils in attendance at any school or county college maintained by them...”¹

To manage all this, each authority was to appoint a principal school medical officer and a principal school dental officer, and they would be helped by other medical and dental officers and nurses. Hence, the creation of this service encouraged the cooperation between the Ministry of Education, the L.E.A.s and the Ministry of Health. Nevertheless, not all the primary schools could take advantage of this service.

The health service became more important as a result of the 1946 National Health Service Act, which made the Regional Hospital Boards and teaching hospitals free for the county schools from 1948. In general, the inspection of the pupils, which was obligatory, took thrice or four times during the primary school period. Cases of parents who did not take their children to these visits existed, but were rare.²

Accordingly, in 1958, the Chief Medical Officer decided to opt for a selective inspection, which consisted in concentrating on the children who did not take advantage of the medical inspections and who really needed it. This selective inspection had been tested by some L.E.A.s, and approved of by the Ministry of Education through circular 352.³

With the evolution of the school medical service, the medical staff, which included different competent specialists, gathered full and part-time doctors, dentists, nurses, auxiliary

¹ The Education Act 1944, 263-64.

² Dent, 142.

³ Dent.

helpers, psychologists, therapists and consultants. The school medical services and treatment were also extended to all the primary schools, and since 1948, they had been under the charge of the Ministry of Health.

The importance of maintaining such a health service for pupils was mainly due to the fact that children still died of harmful illnesses that could be detected at school and dealt with in advance. The following table shows the prevailing diseases that threatened children's health:

Table N°8: Causes and Numbers of Deaths in Children Under 15 (with percentages of total deaths in brackets) 1931 and 1963

Causes of Death	1963	1963
Age	<i>Age 1-4</i>	<i>Age 5-14</i>
All causes	2,780	2,437
Tuberculosis (all forms)	22 (1%)	10 (0.4%)
Other infectious diseases	175 (6%)	82 (3.3%)
Respiratory diseases	307 (11%)	449 (14%)
Malignant disease (including leukaemia)	307 (11%)	449 (14%)
Congenital defects	249	233
Accidental (including traffic accidents)	626	736
Cardio-vascular diseases	17	33
Rheumatic fever	6	15
Digestive disease	94	16
Diabetes	8	21
Age specific death rate per 1,000 total population	0.86	0.38
School population (millions)	-	7.09

Source: Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 76.

This table clearly shows that in 1963, all the causes of illnesses could kill pupils aged from 1 to 4 and from 5 to 14, mostly affected by accidental, malignant, respiratory, congenital, infectious and tuberculosis diseases. At the same time, it shows that the difference of death risk between the 1-4 age range and the 5-15 age range was slight.

Following the end of the Second World War, Lord Woolton, Minister of Food and R.A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, considered feeding the children at school a necessity. Thus, the 1944 Education Act made the L.E.A.s responsible for the provision of fee-paying meals and milk for pupils, calculated according to the prevailing costs of living, with midday and dinner meals prepared in kitchens located in schools or in central kitchens and eating held in dining halls or classes. In some cases, some primary schools were unable to provide this service, or had resource to the services of the larger primary schools.

The results were that pupils received a nourishing meal at a reasonable price, which also permitted them to learn how to behave in a civilised world, notably by learning table manners. Accordingly, the demand for meals at primary schools increased, which led to the rising number of canteens and places in primary schools. However, they could not meet the increasing number of primary school pupils demanding this service.¹ Later on, the Government intended to make this service free once the number of canteens in the primary schools became sufficient.²

The 1946 Family Allowances Act made the milk service free for all the pupils in primary schools. From that period on, pupils received free milk everyday on the mid morning break, which had to be approved by the Medical Officer of Health after controlling its source and quality. If the price or the quality was not satisfactory, the primary schools generally gave full-cream dried milk or milk tablets to the pupils.

However, the management of the welfare services led to the outbreak of conflicts such as the one that resulted from the obligation of the teachers to work in the canteens. To solve the conflict, the Minister of Education published the 1945 Milk and Meals Regulations, which appointed School Meals Organisers, who were helped by a staff in cooking, serving, washing up and transporting meals, to do the job.³ But, the Organisers were not effective and therefore the meals service fell upon the teachers again. Consequently, the N.U.T. protested to the Minister of

¹ Curtis and Boulton, 205.

² Dent, 142.

³ Teachers could help in case help was needed. This implies that it would not affect their job. Dent, 146-7.

Education, and pushed the Minister to publish Circular 349 in 1959, relieving the teachers from any task in the canteens for good.

The Act also ensured that L.E.A.s could provide transportation for pupils who lived far from the primary schools. The 1944 Education Act states that:

“A local education authority shall make such arrangements for the provision of transport and otherwise as they consider necessary or as the Minister may direct for the purpose of facilitating the attendance of pupils at schools or county colleges or at any course or class provided in pursuance of a scheme of further education in force for their area, and any transport provided in pursuance of such an arrangement shall be provided free of charge.”¹

The pupils concerned with transportation were those living three miles or more from their schools, or two miles for those under eight years old. Therefore, the L.E.A.s either paid the pupils' fares of public transport or rented a bus from a public or private company.

The 1944 Education Act asked L.E.A.s to offer decent clothes and books for the necessitous children and make sure that the medical officers would control their cleanliness. The Act stipulates that:

“Where it appears to a local education authority that a registered pupil at any school maintained by them is unable by reason of the inadequacy of his clothing to take full advantage of the education provided at the school, the authority may provide him such clothing as, in the opinion of the authority, is necessary for the purpose of ensuring that he is sufficiently clad while he remains a pupil at the schools...”²

To apply all these primary education policies, the Government had to readjust and adapt its finance.

As a corollary, the 1944 Education Act brought minor modifications to the finance of primary education. In fact, the local grants, which consisted of 36 per cent to be provided by the L.E.A.s from local taxes, was increased to 54 per cent to help the L.E.A.s to cope with the new educational requirements³. The Exchequer also granted a sum ranging from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 to support the poorer authorities, which led to the improvement of the partnership between the central and local authorities.⁴

¹ The Education Act 1944, 268.

² The Education Act 1944, 265.

³ H.C, Dent, The Education Act 1944 (Great Britain: University of London Press, 1964) 70-1.

⁴ Dent, The Education Act 1944.

Still, these State financial improvements were seen as insufficient, which led to more criticism. As a corollary, the 1948 Local Government Act was passed, and stipulated that the Exchequer would give 64 per cent of the L.E.A.s' expenditure.¹ In 1958, the Harold Macmillan Conservative Government (1957-63) went further by replacing the grants, which were on a percentage basis, by a general block grant to local authorities, which implied that the Ministry of Housing and Local Government was to give the total sum of the grant to the County Councils and County Borough Councils, whose task was to decide about the amount of money attributed to education through negotiations between the Department of Education and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, and also between the Association of Municipal Corporations, the County Councils Association and the Greater London Council. In case the authority did not succeed in meeting the prescribed standards, its grant would be reduced. This decision produced a good deal of controversy, emanating mainly from teachers, educationists and all those concerned with education, who feared to see education put at the bottom of the Councils' priorities list. Fortunately for them, education was granted an important deal of money from the block grant in comparison with the other fields.²

On the whole, according to educationist and historian, W.O.L. Smith, the amount of money spent on education was important during the post-world war period since it overtook the expenditure devoted to the Ministry of Defence. Indeed, in 1956-7, the Government (1955-57) spent £649 million, which increased to £1,402 millions in 1963-4.³ The same Government policy on primary education continued to evolve from 1964 to 1973.

II. The Evolution of Primary Education under the Welfare State Policy from 1964 to 1973:

The implementation of the welfare state policy continued under the Labour and Conservative Governments. This policy impacted on the different educational aspects, namely the administration, the schools, the teachers, the curriculum and pedagogy, the welfare services and the education finance.

¹ Dent, The Education Act 1944.

² Dent, The Education Act 1944.

³ W.O.L. Smith, Education an Introductory Survey (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1966) 94-5.

II.1. The Evolution of Primary Education Administration and Schools up to 1973:

In 1964, an Education Act was passed which converted the Departments of Education and Science into one department, known as the Department of Education and Science (D.E.S), and appointed the Secretary of State for Education and Science, generally called, the Education Secretary to manage education in the country and defend its interests at the national level.¹ For this, he could appoint two State Ministers, and establish an administrative branch within the education Department known as the Secretariat to help him in his task. The Secretariat was made of a permanent head secretary who could be assisted by three deputy under secretaries, assistant secretaries, principals and assistant principals and finally executive and clerical officers. The Education Secretary also appointed the Schools Council, which was responsible for advocating research and development in the areas of the curriculum and examinations. The Schools Council had the support of the teachers, but its work was evaluated as being mediocre and the institution became seen as the opponent of the D.E.S.²

The 1964 Education Act also set up new primary schools, known as the middle schools, which generally accepted poor pupils whose age range varied from 8 to 12 or 9 to 13.³ Being encouraged by the Education Secretary, Edward Short (1968-1970), the objective behind was to establish a comprehensive system, which consisted of preparing the poor pupils attending these schools to have access to comprehensive secondary schools, which reflected the prevailing idea of equal opportunity among all the pupils.⁴

Some primary schools, which were mainly located in inner city areas, were discriminated and this was seen in the deteriorating state of the primary schools, the low housing quality the pupils were living in, the location of many immigrant families and the low morale of teachers who spent short periods teaching in these schools. As a corollary, the Plowden Report: "Children and their Primary Schools" in 1967 recommended the application of positive discrimination, and to enquire whether a primary school needed the application of positive discrimination or not. For this a number of aspects were taken into account, such as the parents' occupation, the size of the families, supplements in cash or any kind of help from the State, the overcrowding and sharing

¹ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Education Secretaries from 1964 to 1974.

² Lawton, 92.

³ The establishment of middle schools put an end to the uniformity of the primary school leaving age. Lowe, 11.

⁴ Noticing that some L.E.A.s were reluctant to apply the comprehensive system, the Education Secretary, Edward Short (1968-1970) went further by proposing a bill forcing the reluctant L.E.A.s to apply comprehensiveness, and passing it in 1970. Lawton, 74.

of houses, poor attendance and truancy, proportions of retarded, disturbed or handicapped pupils and incomplete families and children unable to speak English.¹

To finance the project, the Education Secretary, Anthony Crosland (1965-67) invested £16 million to start action research in five deprived areas, which became known as the Educational Priority Areas (E.P.A.s).² Despite the fact that the experience started to show signs of success, it was not sustained since the idea of positive discrimination was assailed by the Conservatives and not defended appropriately by the Labourites during the 1970s.³ In Denis Lawton's view, the success of such an experiment could have been a success if the Government had kept expenditure to finance it along the 1970s and 1980s.⁴

As it has been mentioned earlier, the expected results for the Government to build primary schools was not satisfactory, it permitted to increase the number of state schools to the detriment of religious ones. The following table illustrates the number of State (county) primary schools in comparison to the voluntary schools in 1968, years after the launching of the schools building programs:

¹ Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 57-59. For more details about the criteria, see Appendix IV on page 221.

² Lawton, 73.

³ This campaign set doubts on ideas like positive discrimination and equality of opportunity. Denis Lawton, 73-4.

⁴ Lawton, 73

Table N° 9: State Schools County and Voluntary Schools 1968

	Primary	Secondary	Total
County	13,929	2,355	16,284
Voluntary (total) Including:	8,596	990	9,586
Aided... C. of E.	2,709	115	2,824
R.C.	1,907	408	2,315
Other	44	86	130
Controlled C. of E.	3,811	73	3,884
R.C.	1	...	1
Other	121	155	276
Special Agreement			
C. of E.	2	31	33
R.C.	1	121	122
Other	...	1	1
Not Determined			
C. of E.

Source: Tyrrell Burgess, A Guide to English Schools (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1969) 76.

The educationist and historian, Tyrrell Burgess shows that the number of State county schools in 1968 reaching 13,929, overtook the number of voluntary schools which only counted 8,596. Most importantly, the number of State county schools was almost six times the number of State secondary schools, which shows the Government's concern for this educational level. The following table illustrates the number of state primary schools, with all their types in 1967:

Table N°10: The States Schools January 1967

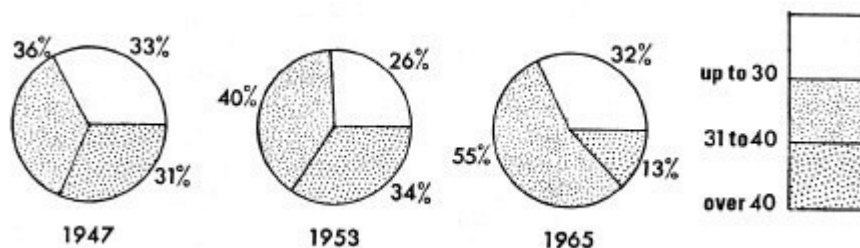
Kind of Schools	Number of Schools or Departments	Number of Pupils	Number of Full-Time Teachers
Primary	464	24,232	920
Nursery	5,489		
Infant	5,489	1,062,276	35,011
Junior with infants	12,342	1,973,020	68,554
Junior without infants	4,929	1,450,759	47,350
All-age	71	16,142	47,350

Source: Tyrrell Burgess, A Guide to English Schools (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1969) 75.

Tyrrell Burgess also gives details about the different kinds and number of State primary schools, the number of their pupils and their full-time teachers in 1967. As it can be seen, the junior with infant schools remained more numerous in number of schools, pupils and teachers in comparison with the junior schools, infant schools, primary schools and the all-aged schools.

To ameliorate the teaching and learning conditions in the primary schools, Prime Minister Harold Wilson (1964-1970) and his Education Secretary, Edward Short (1968-1970) promised to reduce the number of pupils in the classrooms to an average number of 30 pupils per class. The following diagram illustrates the importance of the issue at that period of time:

Diagram N° 5: Infant and Junior Classes



Source: Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 208.

In this diagram, the chairwomen of the Plowden Report, Bridget Plowden shows that in 1965, the class size was divided into three categories, the classes with up to 30 pupils, the classes with 31 to 40 pupils and those over 40 pupils. The classes with 31 to 40 pupils represented a majority of 55 per cent in the country compared to 32 per cent of classes having a maximum of 30 pupils. Even though classes over 40 pupils represented a minority of 13 per cent, the reality was that this kind of classes could spread in case the problem was not taken into consideration seriously.

In 1967, with the publication of the Plowden Report, Bridget Plowden shed light on a number of deficiencies the primary schools had to deal with, which are listed in the following table:

Table N° 11: Cost of Remedying Defects in School Accommodation. (England only).

Specified Features	Average cost of improvement	No. of Schools	Total Cost £m
1. No warm water supply for pupils	400-500	4,701	2
2. No water borne sanitation for pupils	4,000	1,280	35-55*
3. Sanitation mainly out of doors	2,000-4,000	13,810	35-55*
4. No staffroom	1,500	7,463	11.5

Source: Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 393.

Bridget Plowden recommended that important deficient aspects had to be remedied namely, warm water, cleanliness, and the availability of staffrooms in a total of 27,254 primary schools. It also estimated that the total cost for their improvements would be from £83.5 to £123.5 million.

But, with the degrading economic situation in the country, in particular during the early 1970s, which led to the beginnings of a worldwide economic crisis, cuts in education expenditure became inevitable, which made the pledge water down. Reforms in primary schools

and administration could not be effective without tackling the issue of the primary education teachers.

II.2. The Primary School Teachers' Salaries, Working Conditions and Training:

In 1965, the 1963 Remuneration of Teachers Act, discussed previously, was repealed. This means that the teachers' salary scale would no longer be in accordance with the Education Secretary's wishes. Still, the inclusion of the Minister's representatives in negotiations and the recourse to independent arbitration in case of conflict were preserved.¹

Considering the increasing number of the birth-rate and the subsequent need for more teachers, the Education Secretaries, Anthony Crosland (1965-1967) Edward Short (1968-70) and Margaret Thatcher (1970-1974) attempted to increase the number of teachers by welcoming more students in the education colleges and departments, calling for married women, who had worked as teachers before, to resume their jobs, but their answers were adamant. They also expanded the teachers' training as a result of the recommendations of the Plowden Report: "Children and their Primary Schools", in 1967, which made the Education Secretary, Edward Short ask for the appointment of the Area Training Organisations to have their own investigation in the teachers' training and education in 1970. In its turn, the James Report: "Teacher Education and Training", in 1972 suggested a complete reorganisation of the education of the teaching profession into three cycles, namely general higher education, professional training and in-service training. Indeed, the teachers could attend a university or polytechnics and take a first degree, go to a College of Education for two years, obtain a Diploma in Higher Education (Dip.HE), and have a professional training, or releasing the teachers with a payment for the equivalent of one term every seven years, which was favoured.² To validate the new qualifications, the report recommended the setting up of a National Council for Teacher Education, which would be empowered to award the degrees of B.A. (Ed.) and M.A. (Ed.).

The successive Education Secretaries, Anthony Crosland, Edward Short and Margaret Thatcher also ameliorated the working conditions of the teachers at school through the introduction of visual aids, closed-circuit radio and television and the development of programmes of learning in classes to ease the teachers' work. They also improved the pupil-

¹ The Independent school teachers did not follow the Burnham salary scale. Notwithstanding, to attract more teachers to work in the Independent schools, they had no choice other than following the same scale. Burgess, 72.

²The training given might include some education, but would be general in character. Lawton, 79.

teacher ratio, which resulted in the reduction of number of pupils in the classes to an average of 25-30 pupils per teacher, as it is illustrated in the following table:

Table N°12: The Numbers of Primary Pupils per Full-Time Teacher, January 1965: England

Pupil-teacher ratios	No. of counties	No. of county boroughs
21.1 – 25	2	-
25.1 – 30	40	16
30.1 – 35	7	65
35.1 – 40	-	1

Source: Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools, (Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 317.

In this table, Bridget Plowden demonstrates that in 1965, both 40 counties and 16 county boroughs had a pupil-teacher ratio varying from 25.1 to 30.1, followed by seven counties and 65 borough counties, which had a ratio of 30.1 to 35.1, two counties with a ratio of 21.1 to 25 .1and one county borough with a ratio of 35.1 to 40.1. In 1972, the Education Secretary, Margaret Thatcher went further by publishing the White Paper: “Framework for Expansion”, which called for expanding the prevailing pupil-teacher ratio for primary schools to 18.1 to be reached by 1981.¹Accordingly, the result of all this concern for the teachers’ training was rather positive for the primary schools, their teachers and pupils.²Still, the economic realities of the early 1970s referred to above, the criticisms of the Government Reports and the reduction of the pupils’ number as a result of the demographic decline made the need for more teachers less pressing. As a result, the colleges of education were either closed or incorporated into polytechnics or universities. This Government policy towards the primary school teachers went in parallel with changes that were taking place in the primary education curriculum and pedagogy. Unlike the previous aspects, the Government did not intervene directly in the primary school curriculum and pedagogy, but this did not impede both educational aspects to experience tremendous developments.

II.3.The Development of the Primary Education Curriculum and Pedagogy up to 1973:

As far as the curriculum was concerned, a change in the way its subjects were provided took place, which consisted of having the teachers teach the subjects’ content and the pupils

¹This improvement corresponded to pupil: teacher ratio of 18.5 1 by 1981 for both the primary and secondary levels together. Norman Thomas, Primary Education from Plowden to the 1990s (Great Britain: the Falmer Press, 1990) 80.

² Ibid

applying and explaining it to the teachers to show whether they had understood or not. The objective behind was to make the 11 old year-pupils acquire the rudiments that would help them along their life such as writing and counting and the habits of health and hygiene. The adapted subjects comprised English, mathematics, science, history and geography, French, music, dance, drama, painting and physical education.

Concerning the teaching of English, it consisted in writing, which was considered important in the pupils' life to help them express themselves and their emotions. First, the teachers started accustoming the pupil to the use of a pen having a chisel-shaped nib by showing to the pupils how to do, then to have the pupils imitating them, to make the pupils write in an eligible and elegant way. This was followed by the reproduction of simple words, which implied drawing pictures the pupil had to describe, and thereafter, to learn how to overcome their difficulties on their own. Therefore, teachers started encouraging pupils to write whatever came to their mind, such as their daily life activities. On the whole, some pupils were successful in acquiring the writing skill, whereas others still encountered difficulties.¹

After writing, reading was the following target because it helped the pupils explore different topics such as spaceflights, insects, myths and legends, poetry and even religion.² To this end, books were made available at public libraries, and on the shelves of the primary school classes, which permitted the pupils to borrow them in the classroom or to take them home. The pupils generally chose the books they wanted to read or sometimes they were advised by their teachers or parents. John Blackie, a former inspector of primary schools (1933-66), divided the books read by pupils into five categories namely, the books that were interesting for them, the folk and legend books, the classics, the modern books and the poetry books.³ The result of

¹ All this shows that the teaching of writing via text-book activities, which had characterised the elementary stage for years, was abolished and replaced. Blackie, op. cit., pp.68-78.

² Christopher Jarman explained in his article "the Different Types of Schools", that separate infant schools contributed to help pupils read early to provide the separate junior schools with few non-readers. He also referred to a survey made by the county senior educational psychologist, Eric Shearer in Cheshire in which separate infant school pupils were found superior in reading standards. Nonetheless, when they reached the separate junior schools, this superiority declined. Another research proved that the opposite happened at the all-age primary schools. Christopher Jarman, 25.

³ Folk and legend books were universal and were about princes, princesses, gods and goddesses, and introduced pupils in to the different aspects of life. In their turn, the classics were old fashioned, but were still attractive to pupils. They stressed qualities made for the children. They included "King Solomon's Mines, Heidi, the Secret Garden, Little Women, Treasure Island, Uncle Tom's Cabin, What Katty Did and Hucklebury". The modern books comprised "Johnny the Clockmaker, the Shoes Fit for a Kind and Nicolette and the Mill". They were known thanks to the teachers and sometimes parents' efforts. The poetry books were generally boring. This is why parents and teachers had to select the appropriate poems to encourage them to read. Good examples of childish poetry were "Mother Goose and the Cherry Tree". Blackie, op. cit., pp.63-4, p.65, p.67.

encouraging reading among the pupils was to have a better-reading generation that read for pleasure.

English pronunciation started to be taught informally via four methods namely, the alphabetic, the phonetic, the look and say and the sentence methods. But most of the teachers preferred using a blend of the phonetic and the look and say methods, which consisted in using cards pasted on furniture, and making the pupils remember the form of the word and what it represented, or books of pictures, prepared by former pupils. The parents also played an important role in the sense that they could help their children with questions about the items that surrounded them at home. After the pupils had acquired a number of words, the teacher could make the pupils familiar with more difficult words such as “cough”, “rough”, “thought”, “and drought” because they contained the same letters, but had different pronunciations.¹

The mastery of English could not be complete without reliance on conversation within the classroom, which was one of the changes introduced during the period under discussion. The objective of encouraging conversations among the pupils and the pupils and teachers was to help them express themselves fluently with clear English and good articulation. To this end, the teachers encouraged the pupils to speak about different topics or their own activities. As a result, the pupils learnt how to exchange information and compare their notes, and to master the notions of agreement, disagreement and weighting up arguments.²

The teaching of mathematics also witnessed some changes mainly owing to the need to have pupils master a set of mathematical issues and to increase the number of mathematicians in the country. Still the method and material used in the subject and the difficulty of establishing continuity from the primary to the secondary stages were the main impediments. As a result, the Nuffield Foundation undertook an experiment in mathematics, which consisted in leaving the pupils work on their own on mathematical problems. Therefore, the teachers explained the theory and gave activities to the pupils, who had to solve them and explain them to the teachers and the rest of the classroom to show whether they had understood or not. To help the teachers apply this method, publications were provided to explain how to teach mathematics, and how to use the material to help them in their work such as pots and pans, sticks, marbles, scales and

¹ Blackie, 57.

² Not all the conversations were relevant since some pupils were caught speaking about cartoons. This is why the teacher's role was to attract their attention. Blackie,79-82.

shells. ¹ For John Blackie, a pupil at the end of the primary stage should master addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, sorting, measurement, conversion of measures, the relationship between one unit and another.²

The teaching of scientific subjects became based on the discovery approach with the freedom of choice of topics and investigations. The link between this subject and others such as mathematics, electricity, mechanics and history was also encouraged. For the educationist, G.W. Bassett,

“The keeping of animals, fish, birds, and other pets in school, and the study of the botanical environment (often with the aid of horticultural or agricultural plots), the keeping of weather records, and similar projects, have been an accepted part of the primary-school science for many years. These activities are now extended to include phenomena that might be classified as falling within the scope of the physics, chemistry, geology or astronomy; and simple apparatus such as magnets, cells, basic, chemicals, are provided. Observations, measurements, experiments are supplemented by science from history or contemporary description. History is full of exciting science stories, many of which cannot be, or should not be, repeated. They may be too expensive (the conquest of space for example) or too dangerous (the conquest of dread diseases for example)”.³

For this, the material used developed to include the barometer and the telephone, and all the objects aroused interest in the pupils learning process.

As a result, the pupils learnt how to acquire the scientific steps to follow in their future studies, in particular those who would like to carry on in the same field. They also mastered how these objects worked, how to ask the appropriate questions, how to find their answers and how to check their accuracies. The relationship that existed between science and the other subjects like mathematics was also stressed, which also contributed to the development of the intellectual maturity of the pupils.

Science also continued to be the vehicle through which sex education was taught, but such teaching was limited. Indeed, the content of sex education comprised the reproductive

¹ G.W. Bassett, “Modern Developments in Primary Education in England”, “The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development” (Great Britain: Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and the Open University Press, 1971) 474.

² These relationships included the pence and shillings, inches and feet, ounces and pounds, pints and quarts, shape and size. Blackie, 79-82.

³ Bassett, 478.

systems of animals, the pollination of flowers and the early introduction of the human reproductive system by describing these processes, not observing them.¹

Geography and history were also adapted to help the pupils understand the world they were living in from the past to the present. In history, the pupils had difficulties in understanding the way historical events such as the English Reformation and the Great Civil War were taught, and to remedy this history was taught through listing the different English historical periods, events and personalities chronologically, at the local or national levels, through the use of time-charts, which consisted of drawing a straight line with events and their respective dates. Photographs, pictures and films were also encouraged.² In geography, local studies were given more importance to help the pupils understand the characteristics of the external areas such as the neighbouring towns, the British Isles and the foreign countries. In fact, pupils could learn better from what surrounded them or what they could touch, and for this, they were supported by books, maps, pictures, photographers, projectors and television sets.³

In French, the Nuffield Foundation started its experiment in 1964, with 8 years old pupils, and lasted until July, 1967, with the pupils' transfer to the secondary level. The "En Avant" method was mostly used since eighty per cent of the teachers relied on it.⁴ The objective behind was to provide primary school pupils with speaking, reading and writing in French, and at the same time to inculcate French customs and institutions, and to develop the pupils educational experience. The experiment was a programme which started at the primary level for the last three years, and continued up to the secondary stage for two years. It was made of four stages, with Stage One devoted to oral expression, Stage Two to reading and writing, and the last two stages to reading and writing to be able to write in French.⁵ To help the teachers, materials were provided to them, to name just a few suggested by G.W. Bassett:

- (i) "Teacher's book. This contains the text and the teachers' notes for twenty lesson units with suggestions for exploitation of the material presented. The full text of all the recorded material is included. The book also contains an introductory unit, a list of French names and of classroom phrases, and an index of the vocabulary and sentence patterns which occur in these units.

¹ Prof. Michael, Reiss. A Brief History of Sex Education. Friday 16th September, 2005. London: Institute of Education, University of London, <http://www.open.edu/openlearn/body-mind/health/health-studies/brief-history-sex-education>, 13th August, 2016, p.1.

² Blackie, 102-5.

³ Blackie, 99-100.

⁴ Blackie, 108.

⁵ Bassett, 480.

- (ii) Flannelgraph figurines in colour. These sheets of figurines which are to be cut out depict the objects and people which occur in the stage I lessons.
- (iii) Flashcards, printed in two colours-two sets numbering twelve and ten cards respectively. The first set depicts animals and the numbers 1 to 12, and the second illustrates the verbs of action included in the first two lessons.
- (iv) Tape recordings. Twelve tapes (at 3 ³/₄ i.p.s. half track). These are made by native speakers, male and female, adults and children. They include the presentation of sentence patterns and vocabulary, songs and exercises, etc.
- (v) Three films (sound, colour, running time 7 ¹/₂ minutes). These are regarded as ancillary, but are closely linked to the course, and use the structures and vocabulary which it introduces. They depict the adventures of the three puppet characters, Boupah, Nigot and Fléon.”¹

But, the experiment was a failure because of the lack of both skilled and competent teachers of French and its continuity from the primary level to the secondary one.

Physical education was also offered to help primary school pupils discover their capacities by themselves, and to master specialised movements that would be useful for their future careers in sport or in any other craft. It was achieved via the setting up of new materials like the climbing frames and nets, the organisation of camping, mounting-walking and sailing and the introduction of new sports like swimming so as to have physical exercises and to discover the pleasures of the country and water. One illustration of such an adaptation was the introduction of the German Rudolf Laban’s Movement, which consisted in the teacher suggesting and commenting a movement and the pupil interpreting it.

Creativity, imagination and self expression were also given consideration through stressing the importance of subjects like music, dance, drama, painting and handicraft activities. These subjects permitted children to discover or develop a talent or skill, and to perform it as a future professional activity. Therefore, a primary school pupil could become a painter or a musician, instead of a lawyer or an architect.

With regard to examinations in primary schools, the Eleven- Plus Examination and the application of streaming and selection to have access to grammar schools continued to be important, and became the concern of experts and parents, in particular the working and lower middle class parents.² Indeed, these parents were ready to use all the means to guarantee to their children a better social position in the future by promising them expensive gifts to pass the

¹ Bassett.

² David Victor Glass, “Education and Social Change in Modern England”, The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development, (Great Britain: Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and the Open University Press, 1971) 33-34.

Eleven Plus Examination and the selection process with good results, and have access to grammar schools.¹ According to the sociologist David Victor Glass the day of the results was a day of “national mourning” for middle class parents.² On the other hand, the upper middle-class parents had no concern for these issues because they could afford providing their children with a secondary education of high quality in the public schools.³ David Victor Glass explains the public schools’ popularity among this category of middle-class parents:

“Standing outside the general system, and protected by a cordon of preparatory schools, the public school has tightened its link with the university, and in so doing it has helped to reinforce the widely held views that the ideal type of secondary schools is the public school and that the main function of the university is to staff the professions and to supply the administrators.”⁴

However, the application of the Eleven-Plus-Examination, streaming and selection revealed some shortcomings. While the authorities differed in their appellation and application, the parents, teachers, educationists, L.E.A.s and politicians believed that they should be replaced by another system. The L.E.A.s, for instance, favoured the tests of general intelligence, the head teachers’ opinions about the pupils and the junior school reports. This was to substitute the Eleven Plus Examination and selection. This was further encouraged by the opening of middle schools in 1964, which abolished the Eleven Plus Examination and permitted all the pupils to attend the comprehensive secondary schools.

As a result, the Education Secretary, Anthony Crosland introduced a circular, which had been drafted by the former Education Secretary, Michael Steward (1964-65) to the House of Commons in January 1965, which called for an end to the selection at the Eleven-Plus-Examination and the existence of different kinds of secondary schools. The circular planned the organisation of a comprehensive education into six main forms:

- (1) “A two-tier system by which all pupils enter a junior comprehensive school at 11 and at 13 or 14 they transfer to a senior comprehensive school.
- (2) A two-tier system under which all pupils have the primary school and transfer school while the remainder stay in the same school. There are two variations of this system. In the first the comprehensive pupils remain in the school until 15. In the other the school provides census for G.C.E. and the C.S.E. and the pupils remain at school to at least 16 and they are

¹ Glass, 34.

² Glass.

³ Glass.

⁴ Glass.

encouraged to transfer at the appropriate stage to the sixth form of the senior school.

- (3) A two-tier system in which all pupils leave the primary school for the junior comprehensive school and at 13 or 14 can choose to enter a senior school for those who expect to remain well beyond the compulsory age or go to a senior school which caters for those who do not.
- (4) Comprehensive schools with an age range of 11 to 16 combined with sixth form colleges for pupils over 16.
- (5) A system under which pupils transfer from the primary school at 8 or 9 to a comprehensive school with a range of 8 to 12 or 9 to 13. From the middle school they will enter a comprehensive school which had an age range of 12 or 13 to 18.”¹

Nevertheless, the Education Secretary, Anthony Crosland, was not enthusiastic about the success of these six forms and called for their application in areas where more new secondary schools were built.² On the whole, the abolition of the Eleven Plus Examination, streaming and selection was difficult to realise mainly on account of the reluctance of the grammar schools’ managers to open their schools to all the working class pupils and because of the difficulty, if not the impossibility to set another system which would be fairer as it was claimed by the Labour Party.

The transfer from the primary schools to the secondary ones was also an issue of political clash. While the Conservatives supported the transfer of pupils on the basis of examination and selection process, and their passage to the secondary grammar, technical and modern schools at eleven, the socialists favoured a direct passage to the comprehensive secondary schools at twelve.

The issue of the progressive ideas was again backed up by the publication of the 1967 Plowden Report and the community-centred supporters. In fact, both of them encouraged the idea of putting the children at the centre of the educational discussions and debates so as to identify their needs and interests, and to adapt the curriculum content according to them. For this, they advanced the intellectual and emotional fragility of the pupils attending primary schools.

There was also the contribution of Labour L.E.A.s and H.M.I.s, psychologists, sociologists, policymakers, commentators and educationists.³ The latter included Stephen

¹ Curtis and Boulton, 445.

² Curtis and Boulton.

³ The 1950s primary schools were characterised with a commitment in ‘child centred’ education. According to Peter Cunningham and Don Jones, some local authority advisers, and in some areas, H.M.I.s could influence some teachers to reconsider their methods. For instance, in Leicestershire, Dorothea Fleming and L.G.W. Stanley were

Wiseman who published “Education and Environment” in 1964, which dealt with the level of reading comprehension, mechanical arithmetic and verbal reasoning of two samples of 14,000 pupils of fourteen years old in 1951 and in 1957 in Manchester, in the north of England.¹ He demonstrated that the effects of the progressive ideas were positive on the pupils’ attainment during the 1950s.

As a corollary, the primary school pupils’ attitude in the classroom changed considerably; pupils became more active and showed interest in learning. They started asking questions and did extra activities.²The relationship between the teachers and the pupils also improved since it became friendlier and more co-operative, and resulted in the establishment of an atmosphere of discussion and communication. Notwithstanding, corporal punishment was still practised, but it was not frequent. Later on, it was abolished as a result of a movement of protest.

Nevertheless, some Conservative L.E.A.s and their primary schools located in urban areas, opposed the progressive ideas and decided not to apply them. Consequently, the community-centred supporter, E. Midwinter wrote “Priority Education” in 1972, in which he accused these urban schools for not applying a curriculum corresponding to the community context, which would help the pupils to cope with the area they lived in, in particular the ones living in disadvantaged areas.³

The Conservatives also expressed their dissatisfaction and disenchantment with the progressive ideas with the publication of the “Black Papers”. The latter, which comprised “Fight for Education and Crisis in Education” in 1960 and “Goodbye Mr. Short!” in 1970, were written by right-wing academics, teachers, psychologists, writers and politicians who obtained their degrees in Cambridge and Oxford such as A.E. Dyson, Arthur Pollard, G.H. Bantock, Rhodes Boyson, Kingsley Amis, and Cyril Burt, and edited by C.B. Cox and A.E. Dyson. These writers, were influenced by writers of a long literary and moral tradition, like Frank Raymond Leavis and

appointed by Stuart Mason and were influential. In Oxfordshire, the inspector Robin Tanner was responsible for the creation of a classroom revolution by placing self-expression through art, giving a great liberty of movement to the pupils and a more heuristic approach to the study of nature. Still, the counties’ approach was exceptional and their primary schools represented the mood of the fifties. Lowe, 9.

¹ Lowe, 107.

² They always asked questions about surrounding things like how a clock works or why the sky is blue and undertook extra-activities like stamps, leaves or insects collection. H.C. Dent, The Educational System of England and Wales, 97.

³ Colin, 17.

his “Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture” (1930), and “Culture and Environment” (1934),¹ E.M.W. Tillyard, Matthew Arnold and his “Culture and Anarchy” (1869)², Sidgwick and Coleridge.³ The papers were published as special supplements of the literary journal, “Critical Quarterly”, and were read by a lot of people because of their populist style.

On the whole, these papers attacked the Labour comprehensive policy and the recommendations of the 1967 Plowden Report, and instead defended the traditional teaching methods, and the application of meritocracy based on intelligence and I.Q, early selection and limitation of opportunities and the preservation of culture for a minority of people within society.⁴ This represented an important change in the definition of meritocracy by the Conservatives who no longer saw it in terms of social classes, but of intelligence, in other terms, from “social elitism” to “intellectual elitism”.⁵

Strangely, the publication of the first “Black Paper” concentrated more on the criticism of the expansion of university and the students’ unrest at the London School of Economics and the Hornsea College of Art and the events of ‘Mai-Juin’ in 1968 at the Sorbonne and Nanterre Universities than on the progressive ideas in primary schools, since only one article, entitled “Comprehensive Disaster” and a short note were about primary education.⁶ The second “Black Paper” developed the attack of the first “Black Paper” on primary education, and became more determined and aggressive.⁷ Indeed, to explain the perversity of the students’ demand, primary

¹ While the Labour Party was busy with countering the Black Papers’ attacks on, the Conservatives with Keith Joseph and Margaret Thatcher set the Centre for Policy Studies in 1974 to deal with the social policies, including education. Colin.

² He was against modernity, with all it encompassed including the machines, coal, iron, the great cities, and extensive railroads, and was for the preservation of the established order of the period. He supported his argument by the fact that the standards of perfection were reached and the need for change was not necessary. He also predicted the negative changes that would result later on. Fortunately, what was predicted did not materialise because society diversified with the middle class forming part of the literary scene, which was characterised with the diffusion of artistic culture, arts with newspaper gossip about arts and even English literature degrees. This kind of literature was taught by outstanding snobs living in the past. This was the case of Walter Raleigh, George Gordon and Leavis. Lowe, 115-121.

³For others, like Graham, Hough, Raymond Williams at Cambridge University and Lionel Trilling at Columbia University, the influence was not obvious believing that the periods were different and added that there was improvement for the better, not the worse. Lowe, 116-17.

⁴ The previous generations started criticising the fact that children learnt less than their forefathers and backed up their claims by the declining reading standards. The notion of considering the coming generation as being low in level, in comparison to the old one, has existed since Socrates. Thomas, 76.

⁵ The notion of intellectual elitism was not that new since it formed part of the old and previous social status elitism. In fact, for the conservatives, wealth went with intelligence. Lawton, 85.

⁶ In Black Paper One, Dyson wrote an article entitled, “the Sleep of Reason”, in which he tried to save all the students from the nature of the Dionysian impulse, conveying disorder and unreason in a modern subversive progressive literature and deplored self expression because civilisation is after all dependent on man’s rational control. Lowe, 120-21.

⁷ Lowe.

education was pointed at, and to back up their statements, researches undertaken by the psychologists Richard Lynn, Barker Lunn and Cyril Burt were referred to. ¹

According to the historian and educationist, Roy Lowe, the first “Black Paper” was stylish and its tone was flippant and high on theatricality, and the second one provided the reader with an amount of arithmetic to support the claims of the pupils’ downgrading level in comprehensive schools. But, the fact of using a certain written style or giving statistics was not enough to reach the desired effect. On the whole, these “Black Papers” were not of a better quality in comparison with the coming ones, which will be discussed in the third chapter. ²

Attempts to counter attack the claims of the “Black Papers” were undertaken by the Education Secretary, Edward Short (1968-1970), who criticised the first “Black Paper” published in 1969. Still, his criticism was not based on effective and intellectual argument, but on emotions.³ This was considered as a mistake in the sense that this criticism gave the “Black Paper” media publicity. In its turn, H.M.I.s 1972 Report did not show any sign of fall in the literacy standards, as was stipulated by the Black Papers, and the result was a gap between what was happening in the primary schools revealed by reports and inquiries, and what was believed and shown by the press.

Primary school curriculum was again an issue of importance as a result of the economic problems of the early 1970s. In fact, Prime Minister, Edward Heath, in a speech given in a Conference of the Society of Education Officers, in 1973 spoke about using education in order to help ameliorate the economic situation of the country, this time by interfering in the education curriculum, which had been the secret garden of the teachers for decades, and adapting it to meet the economic needs of the period. Last but not the least, Government intervention was also conspicuous in the development of the primary school welfare services and the adaption of its finance to realise all the primary educational reforms.

II.4.The Evolution of the Primary School Welfare Services and Finance:

The issue of primary school welfare services was characterized by the teachers’ opposition to being employed to supervise the School Meals Service. This opposition raised the problem of the lack of personnel to take responsibility for this task. As a corollary, the Secretary

¹ Lowe.

² Lowe.

³ Lowe.

of State for Education, Patrick Grosland Walker (1967-8) decided that this task would be voluntary in March, 1968.

Being a defender of the child-centred approach, the 1967 Plowden Report stressed the importance of the welfare services for the pupils in the primary schools. It started by pointing to the improvements that had been already accomplished in the pupils' health, through their physical, teeth and skin conditions, and the reduction in diseases, that had caused their death before due to scabies, ringworm, impetigo, diphtheria, tuberculosis, poliomyelitis and measles as shown in the following passage from the Plowden Report:

“The improvement in the health of young children during the last thirty-five years has been tremendous. They are on the average taller. Routine medical examinations in 1965 showed that the general physical condition of more than ninety nine per cent of those examined was satisfactory. Their teeth are beginning to be better cared for; and the incidence of skin diseases has been greatly reduced. The number of children treated for scabies, ringworm or impetigo fell from some 115,000 in 1947 to about 12,000 in 1963. Despite an increase in the school population of nearly two million the number of deaths of school children between the ages of 5 and 14 fell from 11,813 in 1931 to 2,437 in 1963... The reduction in the number of deaths from diphtheria, tuberculosis and poliomyelitis has been especially marked - 1,744 children died from tuberculosis and 1,344 from diphtheria in 1931; the corresponding figures for 1963 were ten and nil. Measles is now the only serious infectious disease which attacks young children on a large scale. In 1963, for instance, 200,705 school children caught the infection of whom 29 died.”¹

The Report added that the frequent remaining diseases found during medical inspections were mainly caused by respiratory or gastro-intestinal problems, or by new diseases that evolved through the prevailing period.²

The report also discussed the successful work done by the School Health Service, and the competence of its staff in spite of the fact that it was not prepared for such a task.³ At the same time, it reminded that the progress made in the field of medicine had its contribution too, as explained by Bridget Plowden in the Plowden Report:

¹ Bridget Plowden, 75-76.

² Bridget Plowden, 75-76.

³ Bridget Plowden, 77.

“The improvement in the health of school children is not wholly attributable to the better care provided by the health services, important though that is. Much is due to general advances in medicine, to a more rigorous practice of immunisation and to the improvements in diet and hygiene which have resulted from a general rise in the standard of living.”¹

The Report also referred to the positive effects of the provision of free meals and milk to the pupils’ health. However, it claimed that access to food remained a serious problem in the English society since more than 300,000 pupils still continued to ask for free meals. Hence, malnutrition became a priority that had to be dealt with outside the sphere of schools.²

On the basis of these observations, the Report recommended the continuing application of these welfare services at school, by providing free meals and medical inspection before and during schooling, and to check the evolution of the pupils’ health all along, either physical or mental. It also stressed the fact that more staff was needed and had to be provided to meet the prevailing demand.

Nonetheless, in 1971, the progress made in the primary school welfare services knew a serious blow as a result of the economic situation. Indeed, Prime Minister Ted Heath needed to put into effects cuts in expenditure, and at that time, his Education Secretary Margaret Thatcher (1970-1974) proposed the suppression of the free milk service at school. This proposal culminated in the passing of the 1971 Education Milk Act, and the end of such a free service, which aroused discontent, in particular among the parents. This led to a jibe associated with Margaret Thatcher known as “Thatcher Thatcher, milk snatcher”.³

To realise all these reforms in primary education, the Government had to undertake changes at the level of finance. For instance, the Labour Government (1964-1970) passed the 1966 Local Government Act, which repealed the application of the general block grant, and replaced it by the previous system of national grants supported by local ones, which were used to finance the Government educational plans. The Labour government also devoted £1,800 million in 1966-7 to education, and such an increase in expenditure was mainly spent on primary education.⁴

¹ Bridget Plowden.

² Bridget Plowden.

³ Jacques Leruez, *Le Phenomene Thatcher* (Belgium, Brussels: Edition le Complexe, 1991) 67.

⁴ Smith, *Education an Introductory Survey*, 94-5.

Nonetheless, the Government expenses on primary education declined considerably in comparison with the period from 1944 to 1963 owing to demographic and financial problems. In fact, the reduction of the number of pupils number in primary schools was due to a decline in birth-rate.¹ On the other hand, England had to face the devaluation of the Pound in 1967² and the 1973 Oil Crisis and its consequent world-wide economic crisis. As a consequence, Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1967-70) and his successor, Anthony Barber (1970-1974) opted for the application of financial cuts,³ notably in education to lessen the economic problems that England had to face.⁴

In sum, the post-war period was characterized by the introduction of the welfare state system in primary education, based on a consensus between the Labour and Conservative Parties, which led to the establishment of the educational settlement. This settlement was translated into the passing of the 1944 and 1964 Education Acts and the publication of the Newsom (1963), Robbins (1963) and Plowden (1967) Reports.

This educational policy impacted on primary education since it brought several improvements to it. This was shown in the Government attempts to set up the comprehensive system with more access to secondary education for the poor pupils, to ameliorate the teachers' training and the welfare services, and to make the educational atmosphere enjoyable for both teachers and pupils in the classroom with the introduction of the progressive ideas and a change in the content of the subjects. Naturally, all this aroused the opposition of sections of the population concerned with Government education policy, including the Conservatives and the educationists. However, the deteriorating economic realities of the post-1973 period contributed to a shift in the Labour Government education policy, whose main objective was to use education to solve the economic crisis of the period, which is the concern of the third chapter.

¹ The born babies fell from one million in 1964 to 650,000 in 1977. Lowe, 81.

² In November 1967, the Labour government had to devalue the pound from £2.80 to £2.40. This was mainly due to the problems caused by the closing of the Suez Canal and the dock strike of October 1967 in Liverpool and London, which lasted six days. Walter. L. Arnstein, Britain Yesterday and Today 1830 to the Present (Lexington Massachusetts: DC. Heath and Company, 1971) 339.

³The financial cuts that Anthony Barber proposed in December, 1973, amounted to £1200 million. Lawton, 80.

⁴ The Oil Crisis was the result of the rising oil prices. In fact, the Arabs decided to start an embargo on the shipment of oil as a result of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. This had the effect of increasing the oil prices and causing a worldwide inflation. Gardiner, 501.

Chapter Three:

Primary Education: from a Labour Welfare State Policy to a Conservative Neoliberal One (1974-1987)

The period under discussion witnessed an important change in policy on the part of both the Labour and Conservative governments due to both national and international politics, namely, globalization. Naturally, this change had repercussions on primary education in England.

Therefore, this chapter will shed light on the effects of this change in policy on primary education by tackling both the policies adopted by the Labour and Conservative governments from 1974 to 1979 and from 1979 to 1987 respectively. As far as the Labour government (1973-1979) was concerned, it attempted to adapt its Welfare State policy on primary education to meet the new economic needs and the rising criticism, whereas the Conservative government (1979-1990) sought to put an end to the Labour policy and introduce the early glimpses of the neoliberal in primary education.

I.The Labour Government and its Policy towards Primary Education (1974-1978):

Following the outbreak of the economic crisis in 1973, which was discussed in the second chapter, the Labour government (1974-1979) decided to adapt its Welfare State educational policy, primary education in particular, to meet the new economic realities of the period. This was clear in the centralisation of the educational administration and its expansion, the concern for the primary education teachers' salaries and curriculum and pedagogy, the introduction of gender and immigration education policies, and the survey of the prevailing primary schools and their finance.

I.1.The Centralisation of the Education Administration and its Development:

The education administration was one of the most important aspects that witnessed transformation to help the country meet the new educational demands of the period. In fact, the

education administration, with its complex partnership basis came under criticism by the historian and educationist, Denis Lawton, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1974 (O.E.C.D) and the Parliamentary Expenditure Committee Fookes Report in 1976, which shed light on its deficiencies. With the increasing pressure to adapt education to meet the economic difficulties of the period, the issue of accountability had never become so topical, which compelled the D.E.S to review its structural organisation. This involved giving up the partnership between the central and local administrations, referred to in the second chapter to that of a centralised one, rendering the L.E.A.s less powerful, and setting up the Downing Street Policy Unit in 1974 and reconsidering the role of H.M.I. At the same time, the Conservatives founded New Right think-tanks to contribute to the societal debate that was taking place, notably in education.

As it was mentioned in the second chapter, the education administration was made of a central authority, known as the Department of Education and Science (D.E.S.) and a local authority named the L.E.A.s, working in partnership and contributing to the development of primary education.¹ To make this policy of partnership more effective, the central authority decided to reorganise the local authorities into larger and stronger administrations in 1974.

However, for Prof. Denis Lawton, this administrative partnership was threatened by the concept of “tension system”. For him, the politicians and their advisers, the D.E.S’s officials and H.M.I had different views about how education should be, and this could lead to the outbreak of tensions within the central authority and repercussions on the local one, and therefore on the evolution of education.²

In 1974, the D.E.S also came under criticism, through the Schools Council’s O.E.C.D. report in which it was recognised that even if the D.E.S. was the only prevailing institution capable of handling the educational field at that time, it had a limited role in planning its future, and consequently elaborated a non-consistent educational policy, which failed in putting into question its basic issues.³ The reaction of the D.E.S. was to attempt to abolish the Schools’ Council, but the Education Secretary Shirley Williams (1976-1979) could not take any decision at that time, which compelled her appoint another committee, publishing the James Waddell’s Report in 1978. Further criticism with regard to the D.E.S came from the Parliamentary

¹ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Education Secretaries from 1970 to 1989.

² This does not mean that they could not come to an agreement on other issues. Clyde Chitty, *Education policy in Britain* (Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 119.

³ Chitty, 120.

Expenditure Committee's Fookes Report in 1976. The report described the D.E.S. as excessively secretive, working with limited people when planning a policy and not able to meet the change needed in the field of education.

This criticism took place in a context of intense economic crisis, which led the D.E.S. to adapt its administrative policy through a shift from partnership to centralisation. Hence, from 1976 on, the L.E.A.s had seen their role limited their role and their importance minimized. This shows that Prof. Denis Lawton's predictions about the outbreak of tensions within the D.E.S since its politicians and bureaucrats opted for a common vision of education administration.¹

To compensate for the policy of centralisation, the D.E.S. decided to expand its central education administration with the appointment of the Downing Street Policy Unit in March, 1974. It was a separate unit from the Central Policy Review Staff belonging to the Cabinet Office (C.P.R.S) and led by the scientist, Bernard Donoghue.² The Unit's role was to help plan and develop Government policies, in particular those in the short or medium terms. When describing the main functions of the Unit, Bernard Donoghue wrote in a memorandum directed to its members:

“The Unit must ensure that the Prime Minister is aware of what is coming up from the departments to Cabinet. It must scrutinize papers, contact departments, know the background to policy decisions, disputes and compromises, and act as a general ‘early warning system’. The Unit may feed into the system ideas on policy which are not currently covered, or are inadequately covered...The Unit should feed in ‘minority reforms’ which departments may overlook, or which fall between departmental boundaries, or which are the subject of worthy but unsuccessful Private Members Bills. This is especially the case with issues which concern ordinary people (and of which Whitehall may be unaware).”³

As far as the Unit's membership was concerned, Bernard Donoghue spent the spring and early summer of 1974 interviewing and recruiting the Unit's members. He was helped by eight policy specialists and a group of research assistants. He also worked with Elizabeth Arnott, who had been a member of the Transport House's social policy research staff, and James Hamilton, a member of the Cabinet Office, who became the new D.E.S. Permanent Secretary in 1976.

¹ Later on, with the coming of the Shirley Williams and Sheila Browne, there were some reservations from their part concerning the new educational consensus, but helped the Unit in its task. Chitty, 128.

² The Central Policy Review Staff (C.P.R.S) was founded in 1970 under Edward Heath's period (1970-74). Chitty, 123.

³ Chitty, 123-124.

The Unit's role was so effective that Prof. Peter Hennessy declared that its importance was such that it could be compared to a Prime Minister's Cabinet.¹ In fact, the newly appointed body was radical, challenging and not afraid of facing the D.E.S. and H.M.I.² Bernard Donoghue himself was well aware of it and he made it clear in his book of memoirs in 1987:

“The Policy Unit was obviously the newest part of the Downing Street machine. Previous Prime Ministers had employed individual advisers. However, until Harold Wilson created the Policy Unit in March 1974, there was no systematic policy analysis separate from the regular civil service machine and working solely for the Prime Minister. These are the three characteristics which clearly distinguished the new Policy Unit from what had existed before: it was systematic; it was separate from the Whitehall machine; and it was solely working for the Prime Minister.”³

The D.E.S. also became aware of the important role of H.M.I in the development of the educational enterprise to meet the needs of the prevailing context. Indeed, the bureaucrats of the D.E.S. started to change their view about H.M.I.'s role, which had been limited to collecting data, but now starting to be seen differently, namely taking part in the educational debate with their inspections and findings. For the historian and educationist, Clyde Chitty, the inspectors were “the organic intellectuals of the D.E.S”.⁴

To counter attack Labour education policies, and to prepare the Conservative Party's education policy for the future elections in 1979, New Right think-tanks were established. They were pressure groups, which sought to defend a “freer, more open and more competitive economy” and to bring back social and political authority in the country by influencing the different aspects of society, notably education.⁵ They were made of economists, philosophers and educationists, and were supported by the Downing Street Policy Unit, the Education Secretary, Margaret Thatcher (1970-1974) and media. At that time, one important Conservative pressure group was predominant in the educational field namely, the Centre for Policy Studies (C.P.S.) in 1974 to find solutions to the existing educational problems and to apply them once the Conservatives were in power.⁶ These New Right think tanks also agreed on the fact that accountability had to be the basis of their education policies to face the new economic challenges

¹ Chitty, 124.

² Chitty.

³Chitty.

⁴Chitty, 121.

⁵ Chitty, 132.

⁶ The C.P.S. was made of the Shadow Home Secretary and M.P. Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary, Margaret Thatcher (1970-1974) and the councilor, Alfred Sherman. Clyde Chitty,133.

of the country.¹ These adaptations covered primary education teachers, curriculum and pedagogy.

I.2. The Teachers' Salaries, Curriculum and Pedagogy:

Primary education teachers witnessed an improvement in their salaries in 1974, even if the economic and financial situation was at its low ebb. This was followed by the development of the primary education curriculum and pedagogy through the launching of a debate about the different kinds of educational doctrines namely, the traditional conservative, progressive and the newly liberal pragmatic ones, the reforms in examinations and the review of the transition from primary to secondary education. All this had an indirect repercussion on the teachers since they were required to raise the low educational standards and to be more accountable to the Government and parents.

The teachers' salaries came under consideration during the Wilson Labour government period (1974-1979). The issue was dealt with in the 1974 Houghton Report, which suggested that the teachers would receive a pay reward amounting to £432 millions.² Hence, the leader of the Burnham Committee at that time, Sir Edward Britton, put pressure on the Labour government (1974-1979), and succeeded in obtaining a pay rise of about 30 per cent for all the teachers.³

As far as the primary education curriculum and pedagogy were concerned, the D.E.S, the Schools Council, the Nuffield Foundation and the Scottish Education Department (S.E.D) published Science 5-13 in 1975. It listed the objectives that pupils would have to reach in science. It called for reliance on experience to learn in science, and to continue it from the primary to the secondary level. At the end, it provided teachers with workbooks they could rely on when teaching their pupils and managing the experiments with the pupils in the classroom.

There was also the publication of reports, some favourable to the progressive ideas, whereas others were not. In 1975, the Bullock Report: "A Language for Life" claimed that the downgrading results of the pupils were not due to the progressive teaching method.⁴ It also

¹ Chitty.

² Lawton, 90.

³ "None." Sir Edward Britton". The Telegraph. GMT 07 Jan 2005 12:03am. 20th July, 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1480580/Sir-Edward-Britton.html>

⁴ Still, one of the members of the Bullock Report was against the prevailing view, and wrote a note of Dissent claiming that the level of attainment was really following. In 1977, he criticized it openly claiming that it was

defended the idea of making the teacher a consultant for the other colleagues, by calling for the need of better resources and in-service education for teachers to become experts in one subject, and recommended a system of monitoring by the Inner London Education Authority (I.L.E.A). It also scrutinized the issues of the primary school examination and the pupil result assessment, which was translated into the introduction of new assessment procedures.

This was followed by the Lancaster Study: “Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress” which was led by Neville Bennett at Lancaster, and published in 1976. It confirmed that teaching and learning benefits came from the traditional teaching methods to the detriment of the progressive methods. Its main conclusions were that junior school pupils attending formal classes were four months ahead of those who attended informal classes, and had therefore progressed.¹ The conclusions were the result of the tests held in English and mathematics. As a remedy, the Lancaster Study put the blame on the teachers, and advocated more accountability when teaching these subjects. This study had the support of the media and was depicted as a full-scale scientific study demonstrating the failure of the progressive teaching methods, but its critics put into question its research design and simple categorizations of the teaching methods.

During the same year, the Bennett’s research: “Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress” called for more structure in the primary schools. In fact, after setting the relationship between the teaching methods and the pupils’ evolution, stress was put on the structuring of the classroom activities and the cognitive curriculum content, which would have helped progress to take place. The curriculum was also seen as inappropriate vis-à-vis the pupils’ needs and interests, their capacities and the work given to them.² This was considered as common to most of the pupils, the gifted ones in particular.

The attacks on the progressive methods were also seen in the William Tyndale Affair and the A.P.U. Auld Report. It was the result of problems which aroused in the William Tyndale Junior School in Islington in north London between 1973 and 1975. The conflict opposed the teachers and their head to the parents, managers and the Inner London Education Authority for teaching a progressive curriculum which did not give importance to reading, writing and mathematics. As a result, an inquiry on the school’s management, followed by the publication of

dishonest and fraudulent. For him, some researches should have been shown to the public, but were not. One example was D. Cookson, an educational psychologist for Staffordshire. Lowe,110.

¹ Chitty, 37.

² This was seen in the marked mismatch between abler and average and below average pupils and older compared with younger pupils. Colin Richards, *Primary Education-At a Hinge of History* (Great Britain: Falmer Press, 1999) 17.

the “Auld Report” published in 1976 revealed that there were extremist teachers who were permitted to continue the mismanagement of the curriculum, and therefore, it called for their accountability. It also criticised the primary schools applying the progressive method, in particular, the infant departments as being negative. Thus, its content was an indirect attack on progressivism, proving that the press and the critics of progressivism were right. The Auld Report (1976) also reprimanded the I.L.E.A for not setting clearly the aims and objectives of the primary curriculum in its schools.

For Clyde Chitty, the press took this opportunity to show how permissive the progressive teachers could be, in a school where parents were put aside and had no say, and managers and inspectors could not do their statutory duties.¹ The press also continued criticizing and revealing other cases of harmful progressive practices, as was the case of the “Times” and the “Guardian” which published articles which associated teachers to trade unions, to disruptors and wreckers, and called for patterns of accountability and control as being necessary. The Guardian wrote:

“Only the naive now believe that teachers can be left to teach, administrators to administer and managers to manage. Anyone who still believes this should be led gently to the Report of the William Tyndale Inquiry, which demonstrates the great difficulties of drawing clear boundaries of accountability in education.”²

So the general picture depicted by the media was that of teachers who were either incapable or not desiring to raise standards, and managers, governors and inspectors who were not able to handle the malaise. This was added to the general assertions that parents were frustrated by the lack of discipline and low standards, particularly in literacy.³ The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (C.C.C.S.) at Birmingham University also disapproved it in 1981, by stating that:

“The reforms of the 1960s, especially the introduction of progressive methods and of comprehensive schools, were held responsible for an alleged decline in general standards and basic skills, for a lack of social discipline and the growing incongruence between the world of school and the world of work”⁴

Hence, the Callaghan Labour government (1976-1979) was criticized for doing little to meet people’s preoccupations, and the Conservative Party ceasing this opportunity to counterattack. However, there were divergences which split the Party into two camps, those who wanted to maintain the grammar schools and the return to the Eleven Plus System, and those

¹ Chitty, 38.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty, 38-9.

who wanted to apply an education voucher to strengthen parental choice and reduce L.E.A.s' power.

In such an electrifying atmosphere, the head of the newly Downing Street Policy Unit, Bernard Donoghue, drafted a memorandum in 1976, which focused on the raising of the educational standards. It was drafted in a context where Donoghue's Unit wanted to challenge the different existing departments and interest groups such as the D.E.S and the National Union of Teachers to reduce their influence on the Prime Minister's decisions in educational matters.¹ At the same time, it sought to install the Unit's influence to push the Prime Minister, James Callaghan (1976-1979) to take more interventionist decisions. James Callaghan was also anxious about the success of raising educational standards and for Clyde Chitty, "it was an important area of hotly contested views where the new Prime Minister would be in a strong position to convey his personal commitment and concern".² In fact, pupils were no longer prepared to the world of work, and to reach this objective, the Government had to make the teachers more accountable to politicians, employers and parents, with a degree of central involvement and guidance.

Consequently, James Callaghan asked Bernard Donoghue to prepare briefing papers to interview leading ministers and to take appropriate decisions about the prevailing context. One of these ministers was Fred Mulley, a discreet Secretary of State for Education and Science. When Prime Minister Callaghan interviewed him, he asked him four questions dealing with the administrative preoccupations for the following years namely:

- “-Was the Department satisfied with the basic teaching of the three Rs?
- Was the curriculum sufficiently relevant and penetrating for older children in comprehensive schools, especially in the teaching of science and mathematics?
- How did the examination system shape up as a test of achievement?
- What was available for the further education of the 16-19 years old?”³

He asked him to draft a document, entitled the “Yellow Book” after both David Donoghue and James Hamilton had convinced him to do it. Thereafter, the Education Secretary, Fred Mulley, helped by his civil assistants started preparing the “Yellow Book”, which was ready two months later.

¹ For the Downing Street Policy Unit Head, Bernard Donoghue, the teachers' unions aimed at spreading their influence over the Government to the detriment of the pupils' educational development. Chitty, 124-125.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 41-42.

The D.E.S. “Yellow Book: the 5-16 Pupils’ Curriculum” was a 63-page Government confidential document, which had never appeared in its complete version, and had the objective of bringing back confidence in the English educational system. It notably tackled prevailing issues, such as agreeing on the criticism of the press and the media on the lowering schools’ performance. However, it did not put the blame on the progressive child-centred approach, which could bring positive results, but rather on the teachers and their blind application of the method without adapting it to their respective classroom situation.¹ The “Yellow Book” praised the application of a core curriculum by making several proposals, but only three could be accepted by James Callaghan and Bernard Donoghue, namely:

- “-The need to restore rigor to the teaching of the three Rs in primary schools and to establish generally accepted principles for the composition of a ‘core curriculum for pupils in secondary schools
- The need to make suitable provision for vocational elements within school education for those combining ‘average’ and ‘below-average’ ability with practical interests.
- The need to make politicians and the teachers’ union realize that an essential prerequisite for effective change along lines approved of by the Government was a general assault on the principle that ‘no one except teachers has any right to any say in what goes on in schools.’²

It added that the Ministers, in particular the Prime Minister should draft an authoritative pronouncement concerning the division of responsibility in schools, with the D.E.S. having a strong lead. It also stipulated that the D.E.S. would not intend to have control over curriculum and teaching methods to satisfy its personal objectives, but to realize appropriate changes in primary and secondary schools. Such a proposal was motivated by the fact that D.E.S. civil servants had a legitimate right of ensuring standards and efficiency because they were answerable to the politicians and parents who asked for ‘value for money’.

The Prime Minister approved of the memorandum and to test the water, he leaked key sections to the “Guardian” and the “Times Educational Supplement” to be published. This is what happened since the “Guardian” published an article entitled “State Must Step into Schools” and two days later, the “Times Educational Supplement” added three pages on the same issue from the report.³

The Prime Minister also opted for the foundation stone-laying ceremony at Ruskin College on 18th October, 1976, Oxford, to deliver two important speeches about the new

¹ Chitty, 42.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty.

educational direction of the Government.¹ During the “Ruskin College Speech” in Oxford, he referred to his new education policy announcing that:

“It should begin a debate about existing educational needs and should ask some controversial questions. It should avoid blandness and bring out some of the criticisms I had heard in my travels around the country, whilst explaining the value of teachers’ work and the need for parents to be more closely associated with their children’s schools. It should ask why industry’s status was so low in young people’s choice of careers, and the reasons for the shortage of mathematics and science teachers.”²

According to Bernard Donoughue, the speech referred to the improvement of standards and teachers’ accountability³, and added that he:

“...made sure that I included all the feelings which I shared with the Prime Minister on the need for more rigorous educational standards, for greater monitoring and accountability of teachers, for greater concentration on the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, and for giving greater priority to technical, vocational and practical education.”⁴

Indeed, the Prime Minister praised the efforts made by the teachers in their job, and at the same time, criticized the fact that these efforts were not enough because of the downgrading level of some of the pupils, and at the same time were not directed to meet the industry and parents’ needs by acknowledging that he had been:

“...very impressed in the schools I have visited by the enthusiasm and dedication of the teaching profession...I recognise that teachers occupy a special place in these discussions because of their real sense of professionalism and vocation about their work. But I am concerned on my journeys to find complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job required ...To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets the requirements and the needs of our children.”⁵

Meanwhile, he informed the teachers that from that period on, when it came to deal with educational standards, their opinion was no longer the only one to be taken into account, as shown in his statement:

¹ Part of the speech was written by Bernard Donoughue and Elizabeth Arnott, the education members in the Downing Street Policy Unit. Chitty, 40.

² Chitty.

³ To read the whole speech, see Appendix V on page 222.

⁴ Chitty, 43-44.

⁵ Chitty.

“I take it that no one claims exclusive rights in this field. Public interest is strong and legitimate and will be satisfied...To all the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of our children. For if the public is not convinced, then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future.”¹

Then, he spoke about the six areas of concern that needed further investigation and had to be dealt with according to their priority. These six areas included” the methods and aims of ‘informal instruction’, the case for a so-called ‘core curriculum’ of basic knowledge. the means by which the use of resources might be monitored in order to maintain a proper national standard of performance, the role of the Inspectorate in relation to national standards, the relationship between industry and education, the future structure of public examinations.”²

The Prime Minister also referred to the fact that no increase in the expenses on education was on the agenda. For him, there had been much financial contribution to satisfy the increasing number of the pupils and to raise their level, and even if there were claims that more expenses in education would help improve the situation, the prevailing difficult economic situation would not allow it. He added that the only sum of money allotted to education, amounting £6 billion in 1976, had to be spent effectively to meet the number of pupils in schools and to raise educational standards.³

For Clyde Chitty, the speech marked an end to educational expansion, which had been set up after the publication of the White Paper: “Education: A Framework for Expansion” (1972) and which was discussed in the second chapter. This implies the redefinition of the objectives of education, the use of limited resources, and more Government control. In addition, it was seen as the construction of a new educational consensus aimed at meeting the needs of economy.⁴This new educational consensus backed up the occurrence of the following event, namely the “Great Debate” in 1976-1977.

This debate was held around the different educational ideologies and doctrines of the period namely educational conservatism, liberal romanticism and liberal pragmatism. Educational conservatism advocated past methods for the transmission of culture from generation to generation, whereas liberal romanticism consisted of the child centred approach, supporting learning via experiences. As far as liberal pragmatism was concerned, it represented a

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty, 44.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty, 45.

blend of the two previous educational ideologies since it supported learning via experiences with pupils' individuality and the transmission of culture and social democracy, which praised the importance of pupils' social experience in the classroom to reach social justice.

The debate was also around the kind, content, and consistency of the curriculum. It comprised the core curriculum and common core curriculum, which put emphasis on the teaching of the 3R's with the inclusion of a minimum of other subjects, and went with the control of the content of the curriculum and the teachers during the classes, through tests and assessment, either common to all England or adapted according the local areas. The protected-part curriculum, which implied maintaining the prevailing teaching through experience with a partial interference of the State to bring reforms, the broad curriculum that taught all the subjects on a cross curricular basis and the subject-based curriculum providing all the subjects to the pupils without connection between them.

Hence, in 1977, the debate was held with the publication of the Green Paper: "Education in Schools", which shared the Labour government's view. The Green Paper called for the establishment of a core or part-protected curriculum with the cooperation of the L.E.A.s since it praised the benefits of the teaching of the basics, and at the same time the application of the child centred approach, as being complementary. But, it criticised the teachers for their failure in reaching high educational standards because of their inexperience.¹ To improve the situation without affecting the positive benefits of the child centred approach, it defended a protected-part form of curriculum by suggesting that the range of the curriculum should not be affected, but that the following features about the teachers should be applied:

1-in all schools teachers need to be quite clear about the ways in which children make and show progress in the various aspects of their learning. They can then more easily choose the best approach for their pupils.

2-Teachers should be able to identify with some precision the levels of achievement represented by a pupil's work. In parts of the curriculum such as arithmetic, it is relatively easy to organise a series of targets for the pupils according to a logical sequence of difficulty. In other parts of the curriculum where teachers are planning to develop their pupils' imagination and social awareness, it may not be possible to be so precise. Teachers can nonetheless plan a progression in these parts of the curriculum and so ensure that they make their proper contribution to the child's education.

3- Teachers in successive classes or schools need to agree about what is to be learned. They should as a matter of

¹ D.E.S, Green Paper: Education in Schools: A Consultative Document (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1977) 8.

professional habit pass on clear information about work done and levels of achievement.

4-Even allowing for local and individual needs, children throughout England and Wales have many educational requirements in common. It is therefore reasonable to expect that children moving from a primary school in one part of the country to another elsewhere will find much that is familiar in kind if not in detail.

5-There are some skills for which the primary schools have a central, and indeed over-riding, responsibility. Literacy and numeracy are the most important of these: no other curricular aims should deflect teachers from them. By definition they must form part of the core of learning, the protected area of the curriculum.¹

It also stated that the difficulty of reaching the desired higher standards was also due to the wastage and turnover of the teachers in primary schools, in particular, in some of the deprived urban areas, already discussed in the previous chapter.

It also called for bringing reforms to the training of teachers, which should emphasise the mastery of the teaching of the 3R's, the acquaintance with the fields of industry, commerce and technology and the introduction of multiculturalism to meet the prevailing economic and social demands and competition of the period. This training should also be accompanied by a practical guidance, provided in higher education institutions, to help them acquire professional skills, and become more effective in the classroom.²

Meanwhile, the Green Paper: "Education in Schools" praised schools to set aims so as to evaluate their work and therefore to be able to identify the ameliorations needed all along. The Green Paper attempted to list a set of aims that primary schools could target such as:

1-to help children develop lively, enquiring minds; giving them the ability to question and to argue rationally, and to apply themselves to tasks.

2-to instil respect for moral values, for other people and for oneself, and tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life.

3- to help children understand the world in which we live, and the interdependence of nations.

4-to help children to use language effectively and imaginatively in reading, writing and speaking.

5-to help children to appreciate how the nation earns and maintains its standard of living and properly to esteem the essential role of industry and commerce in this process.

6-to provide a basis of mathematical, scientific and technical knowledge, enabling boys and girls to learn the essential skills needed in a fast-changing world of work.

¹ D.E.S. Green Paper: Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, 8-9.

² D.E.S. Green Paper: Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, 26.

7-to teach children about human achievement and aspirations in the arts and sciences, in religion, and in the search for a more just social order.

8-to encourage and foster the development of the children whose social or environmental disadvantages cripple their capacity to learn, if necessary by making additional resources available to them. ¹

The application of these objectives and their importance had to depend on the schools and the localities they were in. But it was a difficult task at that time because of the different conflicting ideologies of the period.

The issues of the primary school examination and assessment were also under scrutiny. Indeed, the Green Paper: “Education in Schools” praised the role played by H.M.I, the A.P.U, the L.E.A.s and the teachers in assessing the pupils’ educational achievements, and at the same time, called for the introduction of new assessment procedures corresponding to the prevailing context. It notably disclosed the importance of the pupils’ assessment for teachers, the pupils themselves and the parents by listing their benefits:

(i) to provide teachers with information about the progress and needs of pupils for whom they are responsible, and to enable them to assess the effectiveness of their own planning and teaching;

(ii) to enable the pupils to know how they are progressing and to provide incentives to better performance;

(iii) to enable parents to be informed about their children's educational progress;

(iv) to provide information about pupils at points of transition within the education system and when they leave school to start work or to go on to further and higher education.²

Though there was concern for school examination, emphasis was on the secondary level.

It also warned against the negative repercussions of the lack of continuity between the schools on the teaching of subjects like mathematics, science and modern languages, being due to the “insufficient contact” between the primary and secondary school teachers within the same area, and suggested the application of educational records to solve the issue.

The debate around curriculum continued with the publication of the 1977 D.E.S. Document: “Educating the Children, Four Subjects for Debate”. In fact, it tackled the issues of the kind, content, and consistency of the curriculum. The distinction between the definition of a common curriculum and a common core curriculum, for example, was not clear among the primary schools, and did not correspond to the continuing secondary level. This created difficulties for those pupils who moved from one class to another of the same primary schools,

¹ D.E.S. Green Paper: Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, 7.

² D.E.S. Green Paper: Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, 18.

from one primary school to another or from one primary school to a secondary one. This was a novelty in the sense that this document was among the first official documents that dealt with this issue in the 1970s.

One year later, H.M.I.s Survey: “Primary Education in England” was published, after the inspectors had visited a number of primary schools. H.M.I.s classified them into two categories, the schools which stressed the core curriculum with emphasis on the teaching of the 3R’s and the schools with a broad curriculum which gave importance to all the subjects without distinction, and taught them in a cross-curricular way. They came to the conclusion that the second category was the better one, and defended their choice by the fact that the second category gave importance to subjects, varying from English, mathematics and science to foreign languages, history, geography, painting, modelling, movement, music, storytelling and Christianity, sexual, political, environmental, family life education, world studies, technology and industry.¹ Nevertheless, the inspectors noticed deficiencies in these schools such as the fact that abler pupils were not given activities that would challenge their intellectual abilities and that they needed more attention and that there was no pupils’ detailed observation when they studied art, science or social sciences, which brought back the issue of the quality of work of the primary school teachers and their accountability.²

The inspectors also examined the issues of the primary school examination and the pupils’ results. They found that 11 year primary school pupils obtained better results in reading and mathematics, except in the inner city schools where the teaching and learning conditions were difficult.³ They also came out with the conclusion that pupils in primary schools favouring the teaching of all the subjects without distinction had better results than pupils who followed the teaching of the 3R’s.

The inspectors also described the primary schools, and their transition from one class to another or from one school to another, with teachers either visiting the classes of their pupils before they taught them, having a look at their educational records and even tests to see the pupils’ level. They reported:

¹ Vincent Rogers, “Primary Education in England-Results of a National Survey”, *Educational Leadership*, May (1979) : 567.

² Rogers, 568.

³ The results of the reading tests were considered as better, compared to those of 1955, which is not the case of mathematics results because its tests were not provided at that time. Rogers, 567.

“Three quarters of the teachers indicated that they were able to refer to the school's records on the progress of individual children and in over a third of the classes teachers received individual folders containing samples of each child's work. Tests devised by the school were considerably more likely to be given to children in the 9 and 11 year old classes...In over four fifths of the schools heads, and occasionally other teachers, were able to visit the schools to which children would be transferring and in over 90 per cent of the schools the children visited their future school before the transition took place. Half of the schools received information on the subsequent progress of the children in their new.”¹

The inspectors added that the transition from primary to secondary education was overlooked, and the teaching of primary French was discouraged for the same reason.

Meanwhile, there were independent researches and criticism that characterised the debate on the primary school curriculum and pedagogy. In fact, the progressive ideas witnessed a revival at a period of time when the Conservatives thought they won the battle. This was thanks to sociologists, such as M.F.D. Young who published “Knowledge and Control” in 1971, G.M. Esland’s “Teaching and Learning as the Organisation of Knowledge” in 1971, N. Keddie’s “Tinker, Tailor...The Myth of Deprivation” in 1973, and Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis and their “Schooling in Capitalist America” in 1976.

The application of the progressive methods and their criticism culminated in the elaboration of a third teaching approach, known as ‘liberal pragmatism’. It was liberal because it could provide pupils with experiences via different teaching and learning styles, and pragmatic because it contributed to the building and extension of what was practised. It represented a “middle ground” between the traditional and progressive approaches, and it saw curriculum as a group of learning experiences to be mostly determined by teachers with a certain extent of respect for the children’s individuality and the transmission of culture. For its supporters, the curriculum had to be broad preparing pupils to attend secondary schools. It took into account the fact that learning was through first hand and second hand experiences with the use of children’s knowledge and interests, followed by the contribution of the teachers. As a corollary, this would shape and refine children’s experiences along the teacher’s structured lines. However, this new ideology added fuel to the prevailing enflamed debate around curriculum and pedagogy.

During the same period, the Black Papers namely “The Fight for Education” in 1975 and “Black Paper” in 1977 by Cox and Rhodes Boyson were published again, and renewed their

¹H.M.I.s, Primary Education in England: A Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1978) 38.

distrust to the progressive ideas. They claimed that they did not provide pupils with the required kind of education they needed at their age, and that they created a gap between what was claimed and what was applied at school. They also criticized the disastrous consequences of the comprehensive system, egalitarianism and the lack of discipline, which did not make the pupils work hard and obtain good results. ¹ In addition, they blamed the Labour ministers for their responsibility in contributing to the decline in educational standards, and the rejection of the idea of excellence.² There were also Conservative views expressed by Prof. G.H. Bantock, a dissident teacher at the William Tyndale School, Dolly Walker, and Stuart Froom, who criticised the new educational ideas and supported the “Black Papers”. For instance, G.H. Bantock stated that these ideas defended the progressive method and represented attacks on middle class values, knowledge, institutions and hegemony. ³

However, for the historian and educationist Roy Lowe, some Conservatives drafters of the “Black Papers” failed to see that the new ideas were in reality conservative, and this was conspicuous in their basis on Durkheimian thought.⁴ For the educationist Neville Bennett, the “Black Papers” were excessive and that their real concern was the fear of anarchy, not educational standards, as it had been the case of nineteenth century education as presented by Matthew Arnold.⁵

The period under discussion was also characterised by other publications that corresponded to the prevailing critical view of the progressive ideas. These researches included the project of the Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation (O.R.A.C.L.E) (1975-1980), whose findings revealed how limited the use of progressive methods by the primary school teachers was.⁶ This was followed by attacks of sociologists like Maurice Punch and his evaluation of “classical progressivism” at Dartington Hall, entitled: “Progressive Retreat” in 1971, Kate Evans’ research on the spatial openness of junior schools known as “the Head and his Territory” in 1974 and “the Physical Form of the School” in 1979; Rachel Sharp and Anthony Green and their research at Mapledene Lane Junior School, known as “Education

¹ H.M.I.s.

² Chitty, 39.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Durkheim’s ideas gave importance to moral education and the external and obligatory character of social facts. Lowe, 122.

⁵ Lowe

⁶ Only fifth of O.R.A.C.L.E’s teachers applied an individualized teaching approach, a tenth of Bennett’s sample having a progressive kind of teaching, and only one teacher in twenty, opting for an explanatory approach after the primary survey inspection. At the same time, it put into question the traditional method with the teaching of the basics as boring and repetitive. Richards Colin, op. cit., p.20, D.G. Reay, “Effective Primary School Practice”, Durham and Newcastle Research Review Vol. IX, No.48, (1982): 374.

and Social Control” in 1975 and the Chief Opposition Spokesman on Education from 1974 to 1978, Norman St. John-Stevas and the chairperson of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Conservative Parliamentary Education Committee Leon Brittan, who published “How to Save your School”, where they explained how to protect grammar schools from the prevailing educational chaos through the use of legal procedures. These teaching, curricular and pedagogic issues were also related to important societal aspects, namely gender and immigration.

I.3. Gender and Immigration Issues in Primary Education:

Primary education was also confronted to changes that were taking place in the English society namely, the increasing importance of gender issue with the position of women in education and employment and the continuing arrival of immigrants, which led to the increase of the school population. It also adopted the multicultural education policy for immigrant children to be assimilated in the primary schools, the anti-racist education policy to solve the immigrant pupils’ failure at school.

The primary schools were confronted to the question of gender, in particular when the D.E.S. published “Curriculum Differences between Sexes” by the D.E.S in 1975. As a result, primary schools and their teachers had to take another aspect into consideration when teaching namely sex differentiation awareness and the access of girls to certain courses or institutions were encouraged. This was further stimulated by the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, which sought to defend and confirm the right of women in the workplace, which had the automatic impact of reconsidering the role and work of the primary schools vis-à-vis the female pupils.

The period under discussion also witnessed the adoption and application of the multicultural education policy by the Callaghan Labour government (1976-1979).¹ This was translated into the appointment of the 1976 Commission for Racial Equality (C.R.E.), whose objective was to help the ethnic minorities. The result was a call for considering the cultural differences of immigrant pupils at school with the teaching of their mother tongues besides compulsory English, their mother cultures and their religions. This included the Caribbean music, India’s history, and world religions such as Islam and Sikhism.² At that time, the Labour government (1976-1979) wanted to help the English pupils discover and become acquainted with the different cultures and languages that became part of their society. In Stephen Ward and

¹ The European society also changed by becoming pluralistic. This implies accepting individual and group values, beliefs and lifestyles, even if they were not greeted or sustained. This was known as cultural pluralism. Richards, 33.

² Ward and Eden, 138.

Christine Ward's words, "the school should be a microcosm of a harmonious society in which different peoples live in a social cohesion, sharing each other's cultural assets."¹

This policy started to become popular, mainly thanks to the efforts of the professionals, teachers and the left-wing Labour L.E.A.s. This was the case of the I.L.E.A, which encouraged the schools it controlled, and where there was an important number of minority ethnic pupils to apply multicultural education. Still, some schools, mainly located in areas controlled by Conservatives opposed its application.²

However, the most important concern of the period with respect to the immigrant education was the fact that minority ethnic pupils did not succeed at school. As a result, the Callaghan Labour government appointed the Rampton Commission in 1976, which investigated into the reasons behind the underachievement of minority pupils, in particular the black pupils. Two years later, its report was published and its dazzling result was that the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils was due to the teachers' and the schools' racism. This was exemplified in the stereotypes that teachers held about black pupils who were more successful at sport and useless in mathematics.³ This was also the point of view of black writers such as Bernard Coard who agreed on the idea that the teachers and the system's low expectations made the minority ethnic pupils feel low and sub-normal. The writer, M. Stone, saw no usefulness to multicultural education in a market economy society where the ethnic minority pupils could not compete for jobs, and for this they needed to study subjects such as English and mathematics.⁴

Consequently, the Labour government adopted the anti-racist education policy, which rejected considering the black pupils as a problem. It was also possible for all the races to live in harmony in a pluralistic society, and to understand the working and effects of white racism. To do so, the anti-racists had to combat racism at school, in the classroom, in the playground and among the staff and the pupils. For this, a number of instructions were set for those concerned with the education of immigrants namely:

- racial abuse should be explicitly forbidden;
- all incidents of racial abuse should be identified, recorded and acted upon;
- staff should be made aware of racism and its effects;
- the curriculum should include teaching about race and racism;
- the progress of BME pupils should be monitored;

¹ Ward and Eden.

² Ward and Eden.

³ Ward and Eden.

⁴ Ward and Eden,139.

-the school should endeavour to include black members among its staff.¹

All these educational issues could not be dissociated from what was taking place in the primary education finance and schools.

I.4.The Labour Government’s Concern for Education Finance and Schools:

The Government policy of austerity adopted as a result of the economic crisis had its effects on primary education. The publication of the Green Paper: “Education in Schools” in 1977, and H.M.I.s Survey: “Primary Education in England” in 1978 also provided detailed information about the state of primary education schools.

In fact, for Denis Lawton and Richard Collins, the Education Secretaries, Reg Prentice (1974-1975) and Fred Mulley (1975-1976) put into effect these financial cuts, but these did not affect primary education much.² Denis Lawton continued by saying that increase could be envisaged in the future since a rate of growth was expected at the end of the decade.³

The publication of the Green Paper: “Education in Schools” by the D.E.S, in 1977 referred to these cuts. It supported the cuts undertaken by the Labour government (1976-1979), by saying that they were necessary in such a period. It carried on claiming that “education in company with other programmes such as housing and roads has had to take its share of the period...”.⁴ However primary education did not witness any cuts but rather an increase in its expenses. The following table from the Green Paper details such an increase:

¹ Ward and Eden.

²Richards, 14, Lawton, 90.

³ H.M.I.s, 4-5.

⁴ H.M.I.s, 6.

Table N° 13: Education Expenditure in England and Wales at Constant (1976 Survey)

Prices in £ millions	1965/66	1975/76	1977/78
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Total Recurrent + Capital	3,843	6,223	6,074
Recurrent: Total of which	3,290	5,580	5,700
Post Schools			
Universities (GB)	425	712	705
Further Education including teacher training	546	965	1,017
Total	971	1,677	1,722
Schools			
Primary and nursery schools	809	1,338	1,380
Secondary schools	964	1,550	1,593
Other Schools	171	348	366
Total	1,944	3,236	3,339
Other expenditure			
School Meals and Milk	207	366	332
Administration and Research	135	240	245
Youth Service	33	61	62
Total	375	667	639
Capital			
Total of which	553	643	374
Post Schools			
Universities (GB)	176	111	66
Further Education including teacher training	86	84	56
Schools	277	438	237
Youth Service	14	10	15

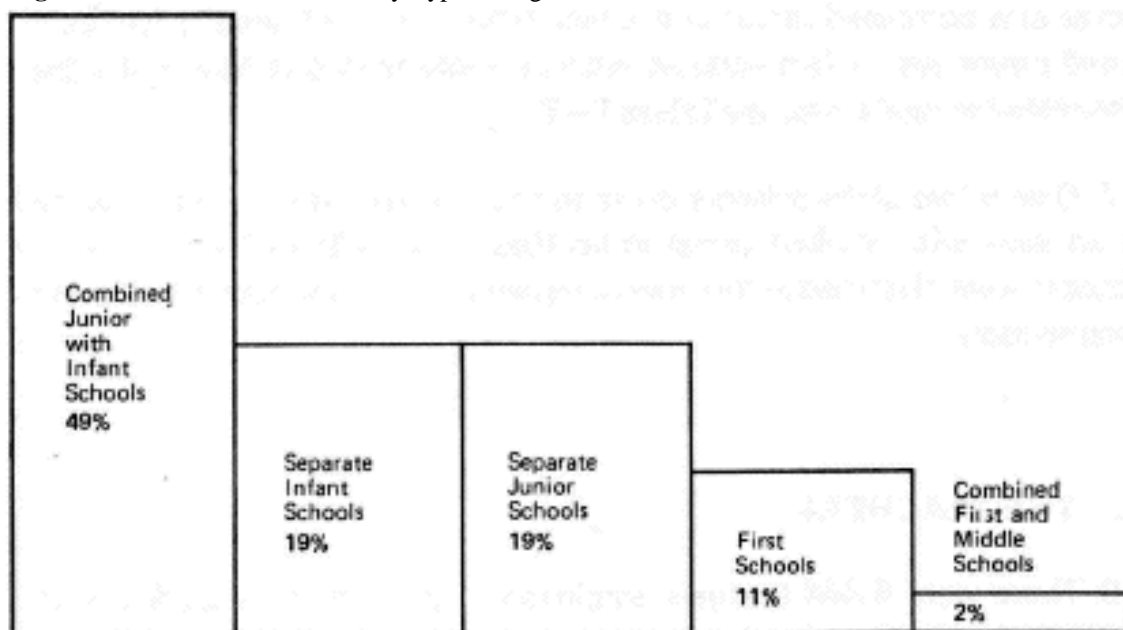
Source: D.E.S Green Paper, "Education in Schools: A Consultative Document" (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1977) 52.

This table shows clearly that primary education witnessed a slight increase in financial allocation. In fact, in recurrent expenditure, there were no cuts since the Labour government continued to increase its expenses from £1,338 million in 1975-1976 to £1,380 million in 1977-1978, which represented an extra of £42 million, but still, it remained less important compared to what was spent in secondary education with their £1,550 million in 1975-1976 and 1,593 in 1977-1978. There was also a slight increase in the administrative and research sectors from £240 million to £245 million, which asserts the prevailing Labour government concern for primary education, but a decrease in the school meals and milk service from £366 million to £332 million and £240 million to £245 million, which denotes the declining place of this service in the Labour government's priorities. As to capital expenditure, financial expenses decreased from £277 million in 1965-1966 to £438 million in 1975-1976, to £237 million in 1977-1978. With regard to further education and the training of teachers in general, there was a decrease in capital expenditure from £84 million to £56 million.

Concern for primary schools had been the object of H.M.I.s Survey, "Primary Education in England" in 1978. The report sought to provide information about the primary school organization. The inspectors found that the prevailing primary schools were arranged into separate infant and junior schools, combined infant and junior schools, and other first schools and combined first and middle schools, and were distributed into urban, rural and inner city areas.¹ The following diagrams, taken from the report, describe the division of the surveyed schools according to their type and their classification by locality:

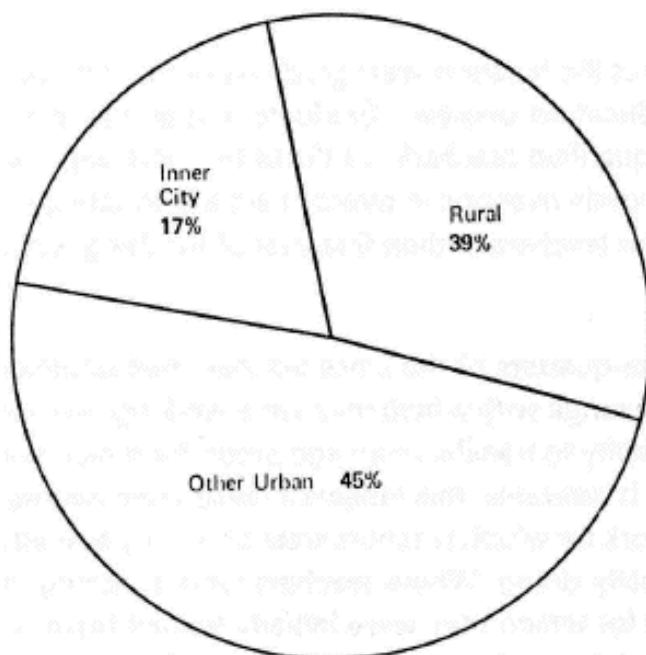
¹H.M.I.s, 4-5.

Diagram N°6: Division of Schools by Type of Organisation



Source: H.M.I.s, Primary Education in England: A Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1978) 5.

Diagram N°7: Schools in the Sample Classified by Locality



Source: H.M.I.s, Primary Education in England: A Survey by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1978) 6.

Diagram 5 shows that the combined junior and infant schools represent the majority with 49 per cent, followed by separate infant schools and separate junior schools with 19 per cent respectively, first schools with 11 per cent and combined first and middle schools with 2 per cent. The resulting system of the 1944 Education Act succeeded in dominating the sphere of the primary schools and at the same time the middle schools, a creation of the Labour

comprehensive system, had difficulties in becoming important in number. Diagram 6 discloses that these schools were distributed in majority among the other urban areas with 45 per cent, the rural areas with 39 per cent and the inner city areas with 17 per cent. This shows that there was disequilibrium in the availability of primary schools between the three areas with more primary schools in urban than in rural areas, and that the newly built inner city areas still needed more primary schools to meet the demand. The following table supports the idea that the urban areas were dominating the primary education sphere, with detailed percentage of each school type and how it fell on the localities:

Table N°14: The Percentage of Schools of Each Organizational Type Falling within the Different Localities

	Infant	Junior	Junior with infant	First
Inner city	24	19	13	17
'Other urban'	63	69	26	52
Rural	14	12	61	32
Total %	100	100	100	100

Source: H.M.I.s, Primary Education in England: A Survey by HM Inspectors of Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1978) 4.

This table details the dominating kinds of primary schools along the inner city, urban and rural areas. This confirms the prevailing idea of the previous diagram that the urban areas possessed 63 per cent of infant schools compared to 24 per cent in inner city areas and 14 per cent in rural areas. It also reveals the fact that the urban areas had more junior schools with 69 per cent against 19 per cent in inner city areas and 12 per cent in rural areas. The first schools were also increasingly found in urban areas with 52 per cent, to 32 per cent in rural and 17 per cent in inner city areas. However, the infant and junior schools were more numerous in rural areas with 61 per cent to 26 per cent in urban areas and 13 per cent in inner city areas.

The survey also provided a detailed description of the state of the urban, rural and inner city primary school buildings. Indeed, it categorised some of them as newly built, whereas others were either old, or modernized and renovated. These schools included a small or a large number

of pupils and were organized into separate classrooms or shared teaching spaces with withdrawal areas.¹ It added that most of the primary schools with their pupils were affected by the declining economic sector and demography leading to the beginning of a decrease in the number of pupils and schools. Still, the 1979 General Elections put an end to the Labour government and paved the way for the coming of the Conservatives, led by Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister. The latter began introducing her neoliberal policy, particularly in primary education

II. The Conservative Government and the Early Introduction of Neo-Liberalism in Primary Education (1979-1987):

With the victory of the Conservatives led by Margaret Thatcher in 1979, a new economic policy, known as neoliberalism was introduced. The factors behind its introduction were the prevailing pessimism, pragmatism and retrenchment in England, which came from the continuing effects of the economic crisis,² the decline in English demography,³ and the changes happening at the level of the English society in terms of English people's life style, gender, race and multiculturalism,⁴ and the introduction of new technologies therein.⁵

Being based on the market forces, the new policy extolled efficiency and effectiveness, competition in supply, provision of the consumers with all their needs and wants and the

¹ H.M.I.s, 4.

² The period spanning from the 1970s to the 1980s, was characterized with output reductions in manufacture, and rising unemployment with 6.8 percent of unemployed people in 1980 to 13.5 percent of unemployed in 1985. Richards, 33.

³ The decline in demographic growth was above all a European phenomenon. In England, such a decline in the birth rate was from one million in 1964, to 650,000 in 1977, to rise to 750,000 in 1980 and to fall again in 1985 and 1986. This had an impact on the number of pupils in the primary schools. Indeed, England counted 3,970,197 primary school pupils in January 1980, and this fell to 3,372,318 in January 1985. Richards, 31.

⁴ The domestic life of the English people also changed. In fact, according to the report of the Council of Europe's Steering Committee on Population in 1982, improvements in education helped change people's mentality since they started working outside the localities they lived in, planning family size in an effective and responsible way, and ending up with the fear of unwanted pregnancy for women. All this had the positive result of rendering women more independent than before. This was also conspicuous in the improvements, which took place at the level of equality between sexes, which changed the roles of men and women at work and at home. For instance, since 1965, the number of women has increased at work, and with the increasing number of unemployed men, the number of those staying at home also increased. In addition, they started sharing the different responsibilities and tasks undertaken at home since couples started to negotiate, and renegotiate their home roles as society developed. In addition, the pattern of the family changed since some of the children lived in 'one-parent families' or in a new family as one of the parents, after divorce, decided to remarry. In addition to the English cultural pluralism, which comprised class and regional variations, there was the establishment of new ethnic minority groups from ex-European colonies. Richards, 32-3.

⁵ This was linked to the development of micro-processing and robotics, and the micro-computers availability at a cheap price. Of course, it impacted on the primary schools and the content of what they taught since it pushed them to examine their different uses, especially the advantageous ones so as to utilize them at school and at the same time to know what the pupils would need to master them. Their availability also made unemployment grow and changed the character of paid employment and even leisure. Richards, 34

freedom of choice. All this would reduce the interference of the State in economy and would leave the task to the market. However, this policy established social injustices and inequalities through the creation of social groups, some privileged, others not, with no possibility of shared experiences and integration.

Consequently, the introduction of the neo-liberal policy impacted on primary education. It converted primary education from a social service given to the interests of the population to a market-led oriented economy for the interests of the State, which went through taking primary education from the hands of the consumers to those of the producers.

Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) attempted to adapt education, primary education in particular, to the neoliberal policy. It consisted of restructuring the education administration and its finance, the demographic changes and their impact on primary schools, the curricular and pedagogic policies, the welfare services, the education of the immigrant pupils and the early privatisation of the education sector. All this led to the preparation of an educational bill, which was approved of and known as the 1988 Education Act.

II.1. The Conservative Policy towards Primary Education:

When Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979, she limited the role of certain administrative bodies such as the aids in Ten Downing Street and the Policy Unit and some of her ministers. She preferred relying on the right-wing think tanks and their views. She also weakened the central-local partnership administration by strengthening the D.E.S. role in taking decisions, taking power from the hands of the L.E.A.s and governing bodies and giving it to the parents by passing the 1980 Education Act. During her period, the strong Schools Council, which became so critical of the D.E.S., was abolished and divided into sub-bodies. As to the finance of education, the Conservative government (1979-1990), passed the 1984 and 1986 Education Acts to meet the economic and demographic realities of the period, which led to the decrease of the number of primary schools.

To elaborate her educational policy, she relied on her advisers, in particular the committed right-wing think tanks and their analysts.¹ They were made of those who wanted a nineteenth century tradition with its hierarchy and social order characteristics and those neoliberals who called for free market, competition and control over public spending. But, they all shared the same idea which was that State authority accompanied with free economy was the

¹ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Education Secretaries under Margaret Thatcher's period.

best alternative for the welfare of the State. Examples of these think tanks were the education unit of the Institute of Economic Affairs (I.E.A.) and the role of the Hillgate Group in 1986.

The period under discussion was characterized by the continuing revision of the relationship between the central and local authorities, with the objective of strengthening the powers of the D.E.S's and weakening those of the L.E.A.s, the governing bodies and Schools Council. To do so, the Conservative government passed the 1980 Education Act, which restrained the L.E.A.s from accepting pupils' enrolment outside their jurisdiction, as stipulated in the Act:

-The duty imposed by subsection (2) above in relation to a preference expressed in accordance with arrangements made under subsection (1) above shall apply also in relation to-
-Any application for the admission to a school maintained by a local education authority of a child who is not in the area of the authority; and. ¹

The L.E.A.s were also asked to formulate their policies, in particular, those related to curriculum in order to be discussed by the D.E.S.² Indeed, Joseph Keith (1981-1986), the Education Secretary at that time, was against a statist education and wanted to diminish the power of local bureaucrats.

The 1980 Education Act also gave more power to the parents. Effectively, it conferred the right to parents to be part of the school governing bodies, and permitted them to be important actors during the meetings. According to the 1980 Education Act, the governing body:

“... of a county or controlled school shall include at least two parent governors, that is to say persons who are elected by parents of registered pupils at the school and who are themselves such parents at the time when they are elected; and the governing body of an aided or a special agreement school shall include at least one parent governor.” ³

Based on the suggestions of the 1978 H.M.I.s “Primary Education Survey”, the Act also introduced “parental choice”, which permitted L.E.A.s and the members of the governing bodies to advise parents to choose the schools, and to provide them with the choice they thought fit for their children, which is referred to as follows:

¹ The Education Act 1980, Ch 20, Elizabeth II, 6.

² Paradoxically, this strengthened the partnership tradition since the central authority needed the L.E.A.s to collect the necessary data to be discussed. Lawton, 93.

³ The Education Act 1980, 2.

“Every local education authority shall make arrangements for enabling the parent of a child in the area of the authority to express a preference as to the school at which he wishes to be provided for his child in the exercise of the authority’s functions and to give reasons for his preference....it shall be the duty of a local education authority and of the governors of a county or voluntary school to comply with any preference expressed in accordance with the arrangements.”¹

If the parents were not satisfied, they could oppose the L.E.A.s’ decision by having recourse to complaints and appeals in committees established for this purpose. In fact, the Education Secretary, Keith Joseph, was for more parents’ power, and expressed it openly in a speech during the Conservative Party Conference in 1981:

“I personally have been intellectually attracted to the idea of seeing whether eventually, *eventually*, a voucher might be a way of increasing parental choice even further...I know that there are very great difficulties in making a voucher deliver-in a way that would commend itself to us-more choice than policies already announced will, in fact, deliver. It is now up to the advocates of such a possibility to study the difficulties-and there are *real* difficulties and then see whether they can develop proposals which will really cope with them.”²

As a result, it increased the parents’ participation in the administrative affairs of the schools attended by their children and made both the L.E.A.s and governing bodies depend on them.³ This went with the prevailing concern of the Conservative government (1979-90) to encourage choice at the expense of the comprehensive school system and the philosophy of education for all. For the teacher and writer, Mike Arkinstall, it was a structural shift in the management of primary schools.⁴

During the early period of the Conservative government in power, the Schools Council were also under the threat of being abolished, in particular after having criticized the role of the D.E.S. The reasons put forward were the facts that the Schools Council spent much money and was under the influence of the teachers, which made the Education Secretary, Joseph Keith ask the Principal of St. Anne College, Oxford, Mrs Trenaman to launch an inquiry that culminated in the publication of a favourable report to the Schools Council.

However, it did not prevent Joseph Keith from abolishing the Schools Council and replacing it by two smaller and cheaper committees, namely, both the National Curriculum

¹ The Education Act 1980, 6.

² Chitty, 49.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Lowe, 14.

Council and the School Examinations and Assessment Council (S.E.A.C) under the Education Secretary's control. Hence, during the British Educational Management and Administration Society Conference in 1985, the leader of the Labour Party, Neil Kinnock criticized such a decision as aiming to weaken the powers of the education local representatives and hinder the educational partnership tradition.¹

The 1980s were also marked by the continuing effects of the economic crisis, which required financial cuts and the Conservative plan to reduce the power of the local authorities, which resulted in the passing of two financial education acts, the 1984 and 1986 Education Acts. The latter replaced the 1958 Block Grant system, discussed in the second chapter, by the Capping system, which granted the D.E.S and the Education Secretary full control of the education finance, and the power to give the amount of money it considered necessary to the L.E.A.s. For instance the 1984 Education Act stipulated that:

“1-The Secretary of State may, in accordance with the provisions of this part of this Act, make grants to be known as education support grants.
2-Education support grants shall be payable to local education authorities in England and Wales in respect of expenditure incurred or to be incurred by them of any class or description specified in regulations made by the Secretary of State under this section, being expenditure for or in connection with educational purposes which it appears to him that those authorities should be encouraged to incur in the interests of education in England and Wales.”²

This had the domino effect of pushing the local authorities to reconsider their ways of distributing money among the different services since they asked the L.E.A.s to be convincing when proposing a new plan or maintaining an existing one.³

Meanwhile, English demography witnessed a change with the birth-rate falling from 4,763,000 in 1975 to 3,644,942 in 1985, and the number of the population aged over 65 increasing.⁴ Thus, it compelled Thatcher's Conservative government to direct its attention towards this category of people to the detriment of the younger one, including the primary school pupils.

¹ Lawton, 103.

² The Education (Grants and Awards) Act 1984, Ch 11, Elizabeth II, 1-2.

³ The declining number of birth-rate was a European phenomenon and represented a fall of 20 per cent in the UK, 30 per cent in the Federal Republic of West Germany and Austria, and less than 10 per cent in Norway and Denmark. Richards, 31.

⁴ Richards.

Consequently, some primary schools were either closed or amalgamated to others, which led to their decrease from 20,942 in 1973 to 20,454 in 1980 and 19,068 in 1985. ¹ As a corollary, the declining number of primary schools aroused problems of limited classrooms' size in both urban and rural areas, and the increasing number of mixed age classrooms rendering the task difficult for both the L.E.A.s and the teachers.

II.2.The Contraction and Changing Functions of the Teaching Profession and their Effects on Primary Schools:

As it has been mentioned in the second chapter, the recommendations of the White Paper "Framework for Expansion" (1972) called for support for the improvement of the staffing standards of 10 percent to have a national ratio for pupil: teacher of 18.5 by 1981 for both primary and secondary schools and the training of 25,000 teachers by universities, and also the formation of an Advisory Committee on the Supply and Education of Teachers (A.C.S.E.T.).² Nevertheless, such an expansion did not materialise during the period stretching from 1973 to 1979 because of the financial difficulties the country had to face, the fall in birth rate, and the consequent attempt to reduce the profession wastage of teachers.

The reduction of the number of teachers from 40,000 to 20,000, starting from the 1980s, had the negative impact of misbalancing the pupils-teacher ratio. In fact, it became tight, but just enough to assure balance with regard to the pupil: teacher ratio. ³

The primary school teachers also suffered from unequal ratio among the primary schools since the larger primary schools had more staffing than the smaller primary schools. One result of the contraction of primary school teachers was the declining number of recruited teachers and the redeployment of some operating ones from schools where they were no longer needed to others where need was pressing. This permitted the staffing stabilization of some schools in difficult areas, and helped contribute to the improvement of their educational standards.⁴

The teachers experienced changes in their functions, which started with the adaptation of the training of the intended and operating primary school teachers. For the intended teachers, instead of being trained in the teaching of all the curriculum subjects, they concentrated on one subject to become experts therein, the objectives being to teach it properly and to share their

¹Richards, 31-2

² Thomas, 80.

³ D.E.S. Green Paper, p.24.

⁴ D.E.S. Green Paper.

expertise with the other colleagues. They had also to master demanding skills, after a period of training of two years to cope with the changes of the new English society. For the operating teachers, they had in-service courses in a specific subject, given by private agencies or personnel, and had the support of the educational staff like the head teachers, the headmasters, the educationists and the inspectors, and benefited from their advice, guidance, time and facilities. Therefore, intended teachers or operational ones, experienced or not, started tackling one subject of the curriculum. They started giving and receiving advice from each other, which permitted them to take advantage of the fruitful experiences of others, to encourage cooperation and to put an end to their individual work.

All these issues led to the introduction of an important change in the teachers' functions. Indeed, in addition to teaching pupils, the teachers started acting as consultants of a given subject for their colleagues, taking part in the formulation and endorsement of policies of the subject they were specialized in or in correlation with items like anti-racism or anti-sexism, evaluating the school activities,¹ tackling the staff issues, which might lead to school development and collaborating with parents in the education of their children.² Naturally, all these functions required a long-term commitment from the part of the whole staff.

The changing functions of the teachers also received favoured echo in the D.E.S. Document: "Teaching Quality" in 1983, which shed light on the fact that even though one teacher responsible was for the teaching of all the subjects in one classroom was advantageous, the primary school teachers could not teach all the subjects of the curriculum satisfactorily. Indeed, after attending a number of lessons given by primary school teachers, H.M.I.s noticed that the teachers showed signs of insecurity in nearly a quarter of lessons.³ Therefore, the solution of having one teacher being trained in the teaching of one subject, and to become a consultant to help other teachers in other classes was welcomed. Moreover, it suggested the teaching of topics to pupils by teachers with specialist expertise. However, for Norman Thomas, these changes in the teaching profession and their resulting novelties contributed to the establishment of a feeling of insecurity for the teachers.⁴ This could be seen in the reinterpretation of their responsibilities and their application within the schools. However, other teachers adapted themselves to the new changes by professional intelligence and imagination.

¹ This implies using the LEA's materials and schemes such as Guidelines for Internal Review and Development in Schools (G.R.I.D.s). Richards, 43.

² They can include plans like those sustained by the ILEA on the primary schools. Richards.

³ Thomas, 95-6

⁴ Thomas, 96.

The Document:“Teaching Quality” recommended the assessment of the teachers, through organizing visits to the classes, either by the head-teacher or the head of department and appraising the children’s work and the teachers’ participation in the school life.¹

With regard to the teachers’ gender, level and position, the non-graduate female teachers continued to represent the majority in maintained primary schools with 46,292 for the female teachers and 3,582 for the male teachers in 1984. But, no progress was made in the position of the head teacher since the male teachers remained dominant with 12,140 compared to 9,881 female head teachers.² Given the fact that there were more women than men in primary schools, these schools were still seen as inferior in terms of status in comparison to secondary schools or universities.³

On 26th, February, 1985, the N.U.T and the National Association of Schoolmaster/ the Union of Women Teachers (N.A.S.U.W.T) decided to launch a one day strike to ask for pay increase in a period when the Thatcher government (1979-1990) was trying to weaken the trade unions in general. During that day, almost 2,000 schools were forced to close leaving pupils without education. The N.U.T. and N.A.S.U.W.T continued these sporadic one-day strikes for two years, while negotiating with the Burnham Committee for salary increase. These negotiations were organized among six teacher unions, the local authorities and representatives of the D.E.S. This issue became so problematic that a special Cabinet Committee was set up to find solutions to the problem, and culminated in the passing of the 1987 Teachers’ Pay and Conditions Act. The latter set up the early form of the pay review body, and provided the teachers with allowances. Even though the teachers obtained satisfactory results, their reputation was at low ebb among public opinion, which strengthened the position of the Government, and helped it introduce educational reforms.⁴ Aspects of the primary school teachers were always related to changes taking place in the curriculum and pedagogy.

II.3.The Conservative Policy on the Primary Education Curriculum and Pedagogy:

In 1980, the Conservative government introduced the Assisted Places Scheme and attempted to apply the voucher system. There were also reports which attempted to define the most appropriate kinds of curriculum to be applied in primary schools such as “A View of the

¹ Thomas, 95.

² Lowe,7.

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⁴ Mike Baker, “Schools Pay Strike, Then and Now”, B.B.C. News, Friday, 25 April 2008 00:59, last updated at 23:59 G.M.T, UK, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/education/7367471.stm.

Curriculum” and “Framework for the School Curriculum” in 1980, “the School Curriculum” in 1981, the D.E.S. Document: “Teaching Quality” in 1983, “The School Curriculum” in 1981, “Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum: Concepts and Content” by the educationist Richard Pring in 1984, the D.E.S. Documents: “Better Schools” and “Science 5-16” and H.M.I.s “5-16 Curriculum Issues” in 1985, and “Achievement in Primary Education” in 1986 with the objective of changing Margaret Thatcher’s view about State interference in the primary education, in particular in curriculum and pedagogy.

In fact, the 1980 Education Act put into place the Assisted Place Scheme, with the objective of setting up a scholarship ladder that would help poor pupils attend better grammar schools and have better education. For the Education Secretary, Mark Carliste (1979-1981), the purpose was “to give children a greater opportunity to pursue a particular form of academic education that was regrettably not otherwise, particularly in the cities, available to them...”.¹ This stipulated that some pupils from maintained schools would be selected to attend independent schools, by reducing the fees for some, or abolishing them for others, depending on the parents’ income.

The establishment of the Scheme represented an important change of policy in the sense that it gave the parents the right to choose the future of their children’s secondary education. Of course, the parents, who became members of the governing bodies, were to be advised by the governing body members and the L.E.A.s. The Education Secretary, Mark Carliste, saw this as a radical decision, and the Labourites defended their comprehensive system and considered the Scheme as a means to disturb the welfare of the comprehensive schools, preventing them of good elements, and rendering them “sink schools”. Still, the Scheme did not reach its objectives since the places it offered were taken by pupils whose parents had advantageous financial means, and the Labour Party asked for the abolition of the scheme.

During the same year, the newly appointed Education Secretary, Keith Joseph (1981-1986), who believed that offensive neoliberal educational policies had to be undertaken, decided to apply the voucher system with the view to encouraging market forces in schools. As a result, an experiment was undertaken in Kent, southeast of England, but, it showed that its application was expensive and difficult. Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government had also to put into effect financial cuts due to the economic realities of the period and had to meet the opposition of the D.E.S. civil servants. In fact, Keith Joseph asked them to prepare a document which would

¹ Chitty, 48.

contain all the problems that could be solved to establish the voucher system. The result was a negative and hostile paper that put a stop to Keith Joseph's plan, which pushed him to admit that he could not apply it in 1983 during the Conservative Party Conference. In an interview, he explained that the scheme was given up for political rather than economic reasons.¹

Surprisingly, it was a victory of the Conservatives of his own camp, in particular the far-right who saw him as having no strength and energy to manage his civil servants. On a TV programme on BBC 2 in 1983, the chairperson of the Friends of the Education Voucher Experiment in Representative Regions (F.E.V.E.R.R, also F.E.V.E.R), Marjorie Seldon, claimed that "...the bureaucrats, if ordered to do so would produce a perfectly workable scheme. There is no difficulty that cannot be overcome with ingenuity".² Later on, in 1986, the Daily Telegraph published an article which stated that:

"Measures dear to the Prime Minister which fell by the wayside between 1983 and 1986 include: education vouchers, student loans, repeal of rent control... Though her inspirations reflect *Popular* feeling, they run counter to those of the political and bureaucratic classes- The establishment in this country that is now accustomed to rule, whomever *demos* elects."³

This was followed by the passing of the 1986 Education Act, which obliged L.E.A.s to draft other policy statements in order to have a local influence and to execute what was asked from them, in particular to deploy the staff and to assure a continuous 5-16 curriculum:

- (1) It shall be the duty of every local education authority-
 - (a) To determine, and keep under review, their policy in relation to the secular curriculum for the county, voluntary and special schools maintained by them;
 - (b) to make, and keep up to date, a written statement of that policy; and
 - (c) to furnish the governing body and head teacher of every such school with a copy of the statement and publish it in such other manner as the authority consider appropriate.
- (1) In discharging their duty under subsection (1) above, an authority shall consider, in particular-
 - (a) the range of the secular curriculum; and
 - (b) the balance between its different components.
- (2) In carrying out their functions under this Act or any other enactment, a local authority shall have regard to their policy in relation to the secular curriculum for their schools, as expressed in their statement.

¹ Chitty, 50.

² Chitty, 131.

³ Chitty.

- (3) Every head teacher to whom any copy of a statement is furnished under this section shall make it available, at all reasonable times, to persons wishing to inspect it.”¹

According to the 1986 D.E.S Report: “English from 5-16: The Responses to Curriculum Matters Series I”, five sixth of authorities drafted curricular policy statements or planned to do it, with some of them dealing with the age range of 5 to 16 or others dealing with primary and secondary education separately.²

The schools and their governing bodies were also asked to prepare policy statements referring to their intentions, and set appropriate expectations being based on their pupils’ abilities, aptitudes and educational needs:

- “(1)The articles of government for every county, controlled and maintained special school shall provide for it to be the duty of the governing body to consider-
- (a)The policy of the local education authority as to the secular curriculum for the authority’s schools, as expressed in the statement made by the authority under section 17 of this Act;
 - (b)What, in their opinion, should be the aims of the secular curriculum for the school; and
 - (c)How (if at all) the authority’s policy with regard to matters other than sex education should in their opinion be modified in relation to the school;
- And to make, and keep up to date, a written statement of their conclusions.
- (2) The articles of government of every such school shall provide for it to be the duty of the governing body-
- (a) to consider separately (while having regard to the local education authority’s statement under section 17 of this Act) the question whether sex education should form part of the secular curriculum for the school; and
 - (b) to make, and keep up to date, a separate written statement-
 - (i) of their policy with regard to the content and organization of the relevant part of the curriculum; or
 - (ii) where they conclude that sex education should not form part of the secular curriculum, of that conclusion.”³

The governors were also asked to draft an annual report for parents and to meet them to discuss it:

- “The Secretary of State shall make regulations requiring the governing body of every county, voluntary and maintained special school to make available to parents of registered pupils at the school, in such form and manner and at such times as may be prescribed-
- (a)such information as to any syllabuses to be followed by those pupils; and
 - (b)such other information as to the educational provision made them by the school; as may be prescribed.”¹

¹ Education Act (No.2) Act 1986, Ch 61, Elizabeth II, 20-1.

² Richards, 40.

³ The Education (No.2) Act 1986, 21.

Naturally, this enterprise would demand conscious and coordinated planning by primary practitioners.

The Government had to deal with sex education given in science or programmes of personal social education; and hence, topics like detailed description of human reproductive systems, decision-making about hetero and homosexual relationships, contraception were discussed in the classrooms. This was the result of changes related to the development of the feminist and gay lobbies and their influence in the English society. Therefore, the 1986 Act removed the control of the teaching of sex education from the hands of the L.E.A.s, especially the Labour ones, to those of the governing bodies. The objective behind was to put a brake to the Labour Authorities' attempt to encourage discussions about new societal phenomena such as sexual liberation and homosexuality in classes.

The debate about the primary education curriculum continued with the publication of a number of documents. In 1980, "A View of the Curriculum" was published, and called for the application of a broad curriculum. This is clearly stated in its conclusion as follows:

"This paper has argued briefly for a broad curriculum for all pupils up to 16. It implies a substantially larger compulsory element than now in terms of the range of studies pupils carry forward to the end of the fifth year, but with suitable differentiation in detailed content and presentation, and still with some provision of choice, to match different abilities, aspiration and need. It also seeks greater coherence and continuity in school education as a whole. It is concerned with a framework for the curriculum and therefore rightly leaves many details to be determined. It assumes a fairly lengthy subsequent process of consultation, locally and nationally, to establish broad policies on the structure of the curriculum as a whole and to develop a range of documents further defining the parts of the curriculum and their relationship to each other. These will need to take the form of statements identifying necessary skills and knowledge. There is already useful experience on which to draw the cooperation necessary to the local formulation of curricular statements. In a number of LEA areas, working parties of teachers and LEA advisers and inspectors have produced guidelines, particularly for mathematics; some local schemes have effectively brought schools and industry and commerce together in considering curricular content an necessary skills."²

¹ The Education (No.2) Act 1968, 24.

² H.M.I, A View of the Curriculum (Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1980) 23.

It claimed that children should be engaged in a programme permitting them to take advantage of a variety of relationships and experiences and to improve their language abilities. The issues of the kind, content, and consistency of the curriculum were also dealt with.

This was followed by the “Framework for the School Curriculum (1980)”, which claimed that there were divergences of opinion about the content of the curriculum. One example of such a divergence was the teaching of science which might include observation and experiment in one school, or might be confined to gleaning information from books in another. Through discussions about the consistency of curriculum, concern was about the extent to which the primary schools could apply the same and appropriate kind of curriculum, whether core, protected-part, common or common core. In this document, the Education Secretary, Mark Carliste (1979-1981), advanced the introduction of guidance in the pupils’ learning because of the recent diversity of practices within the primary schools, which “makes it timely to prepare guidance on the place which certain key elements in the curriculum should have in the experience of every pupil during the compulsory period of education”.¹ As a corollary, hopes for the Conservative government to interfere in the curriculum and establishing a national one were in the air.

When the document “The School Curriculum” was published in 1981, these hopes vanished away. In fact, in this report, there was no indication that the Conservative government (1979-1990) was going to interfere in the primary school curriculum by attempting to introduce a national curriculum.

In 1984, the educationist Richard Pring wrote a book entitled, “Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum: Concepts and Content”. It was concerned with the concepts and content of personal and social education, and contributed to launch a debate on citizenship. It stressed the importance of the personal, social and moral development of pupils in schools, and included a quotation in a letter written by an American high school principal to his newly appointed teachers at the beginning of every new academic year:

“Dear Teacher
I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness. Gas chambers built by learned engineers. Children poisoned by educated physicians. Infants killed by trained nurses. Women and babies shot and burned by high school and college graduates. So, I am suspicious of education. My request is: help your students to become

¹ Richards, 18.

human. Your efforts must never produce learnt monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmans. Reading, writing and arithmetic are all important; but only if they serve to make our children more human.”¹

The content of the letter was to inspire the teachers, notably the primary school ones, to introduce citizenship education in the content of teaching to make pupils aware of what it was like to be a citizen.

This was followed by the publication of the 1985 D.E.S. document: “Better Schools”. The latter did not refer to the Government intention to interfere in the curriculum, but, it put emphasis on its traditional view of leaving it as it had been. It stated that:

“It would not in the view of the Government be right for the Secretaries of State’s policy for the range and pattern of the 5-16 Curriculum to amount to the determination of national syllabuses for that period. It would, however, be appropriate for the curricular policy of the LEA, on the basis of broadly agreed principles about range and pattern, to be more precise about, for example, the balance between curricular elements and the age and pace at which pupils are introduced to particular subject areas (e.g. a foreign language...) The establishment of broadly agreed objectives would not mean that the curricular policies of the Secretaries of State, the LEA and the school should relate to each other in a nationally uniform way...The Government does not propose to introduce legislation affecting the powers of the Secretaries of State in relation to the curriculum.”²

Hence, curriculum became an object of discussion at the national, local and increasingly the school level. This discussion sought to provide the pupils with a similar, consistent and continuous curriculum, and four curricular areas were under concern namely: the purposes of learning at school, the contribution of each main subject area or element to the curriculum as a whole, the organization and content of the 5-16 curriculum and statements of expectations of pupils’ performance.

This is what was done in science, with the drafting of a definitive policy statement by the D.E.S in 1985, known as “Science 5-16”. The aim behind was to reach a broad, consistent and continuous science policy statement corresponding to all the pupils regardless of their intellectual abilities, their schools or the social context or environment they lived in. This statement on science policy was achieved thanks to the preparation of a general approach, after

¹ Chitty, 231-232.

² Chitty,155.

setting priorities and listing broad criteria for the selection of content, the areas of study, and the factors contributing to the implementation of primary science.

In 1984, the Committee of the House of Commons Education Science and Arts was entrusted to undertake an investigation into the different aspects of primary education, and in particular, the curriculum.¹ When drafting its report, the Committee took into account the content of the A.P.U, D.E.S, H.M.I.s and L.E.A.s' documents.² Two years later, it issued a report entitled "Achievement in Primary Education", which defined what science was in "Science 5-16: A Statement of Policy", and encouraged the same for the other aspects of the curriculum.³ It also called for the need to have a detailed choice of the material linked to the pupils' nature and circumstances when teaching science and the need for progression and continuity in it, which should be extended to the other curriculum aspects. It also advocated the application of practical approaches and highlighted the L.E.A. advisory services and teacher trainers' role.

It also claimed that the role of determining the L.E.A or school curricular policy was not that of the Secretary of State for Education, but that of the L.E.A.s and the school governors themselves.⁴ It stated that L.E.A.s had to elaborate and show the content of the curriculum they were giving to the primary and secondary pupils who attended their schools.⁵

This implies that the roles of the governors were to draft schemes of work explaining how the curriculum was covered and to submit copies and amendments with the cooperation of L.E.A.s and H.M.I.s. At the same time, it called for the Secretary of State not to interfere into issues such as the level of the pupils' performance, the definition of the teaching methods and the school organization.

The Report also recommended the establishment of a second Committee, semi-attached from the D.E.S, characterizing the inside and outside of the education service, and fulfilling the function of advising the Secretary of State on curricular matters. Its composition was to be made of teams from primary and secondary education teachers, L.E.A.s and H.M.I.s, with the job of preparing papers for the committee on the curricular aspects. The possibility of having an intermediate group would be from the support teams, whose task was to advise the said

¹ The House of Commons Education, Science and Arts Committee is a kind of invigilator of education for the House of Commons, having a look at what is happening in the DES. It is made of backbencher members forming an all-party. Thomas, 100.

² It stipulated what pupils could do in such an aspect. Thomas.

³ Thomas.

⁴ The L.E.A.s and governors in question were those working in county, controlled and special schools. Thomas.

⁵ Thomas.

committee on issues such as the links between the aspects of the curriculum. The report was approved of by both the Conservative and the Labourite committee members. The Conservative government's concern for financial expenses and weakening the position of the L.E.A.s was also noticeable in its policy towards the welfare services in primary education, the education of the immigrant pupils and the privatisation of the educational sector.

II.4.The Primary Education Welfare Services, Immigrant pupils' Education, Prejudice and the Early Privatisation of the Educational Sector:

The 1980 Education Act, referred to above, contributed to bring changes to the welfare services, particularly in the provision of food. In fact, in an attempt to weaken the position of the L.E.A.s, the Act removed the L.E.A.s responsibility for providing hot meals at school.¹ As a result, family meals started to become a less applied practice mainly because the parents and their children were busy outside home, and parents and governors also found themselves in charge of the choice of the healthy and suitable food that the pupils had to eat at school.²

As to the policy towards immigrant pupils, the Conservative government, was opposed to the prevailing Labour anti-racist education and did not give importance to the immigrants and their children's education.³ Even though the number of immigrants and their children was increasing, especially after the wave of immigration of Asians and Caribbean during the 1980s, the Government continued to ignore their increasing importance.

This led to the outbreak of riots, whose origins went back to a police drugs raid on the Black and White Café in St. Paul's, Bristol, in April, 1980. As a result, people went out in the street to protest, leading to street violence, stone throwing and attacks on police cars.⁴ These events spread to Toxteth in Liverpool and Brixton in south London, where petrol bombs were thrown.⁵ The situation worsened when the Thatcher economic policy led to the decline in economy in Britain, which led unemployment to rise and poverty to intensify, affecting mostly the black communities.⁶

¹ The Act also removed the application of the "national fixed price" for the meals and the "minimum nutritional standards" at school. Marlene Morrison, 'Cross-cultural Perspectives on Eating: A Hidden Curriculum for Food', Reshaping Education in the 1990s: Perspectives on Primary Schooling (Great Britain: RoutledgeFalmer, 1996) 94.

² Morrison, 91.

³ Ward and Eden, 140.

⁴ Ward and Eden.

⁵ Sociologists linked these events to the continuing oppression the Blacks were enduring and whose origins went back to slavery and colonialism. Ward and Eden.

⁶ Ward and Eden.

Thus, the Conservative government appointed a Commission, chaired by Lord Scarman, to investigate into the riots. The report of the commission concluded that these riots were the results of the political, economic and social situation in the country. It also referred to issues related to “racial disadvantage” and “racial discrimination”, but rejected the idea of “institutional racism.”¹ It called for the application of “positive discrimination” to avoid the repetition of such events.

The Conservative government took into account the recommendations of the “Scarman Report” seriously, but did not see education as a solution. In fact, for Margaret Thatcher, it was left-wing activism whose objective was to weaken the free-market capitalism.² Meanwhile, the left-wing L.E.A.s carried on applying the anti-racist education policy in the areas they controlled. They were also helped by teachers and others educationists who supported such policy. For instance, the I.L.E.A could develop the strongest anti-racist education policy in its schools, and was helped by active teacher groups such as the All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (A.L.T.A.R.F), the N.U.T, the C.R.E. and the Institute of Racial Relations (I.R.R.). The L.E.A.s also relied on the contribution of advisers to guide them on what approach to apply, the opening of multicultural education centres, and the training on racism awareness for teachers being available.³ However, the Conservative government started criticizing the policy adopted by the Labour L.E.A.s and accused them of sending spies to the schools under their jurisdiction to see whether the teachers applied the anti-racist education in their classrooms or not.⁴

In 1981, the Rampton Commission published its Interim Report and its results upset the Conservative government. In fact, the latter expected the results to put the blame on the black families for their children’s failure at school. Thus, when the Report emphasized that racism was the main cause of failure, the Conservative government appointed another chairman, namely Lord Swann. The latter spent four other years and his results, which were published in 1985 under the Report: “Education for All”, were the same. As a result, the Government set the price of the report at £25, which was expensive and therefore unaffordable.⁵ Instead, it prepared a summary and sent it to all the schools and teachers where there was no mention of racism as the cause of black pupils’ underachievement.

¹ Ward and Eden.

² Ward and Eden, p.141.

³ All these initiatives were financed by the Home Office which was more interested in social cohesion rather than educational initiatives. Ward and Eden.

⁴ Ward and Eden.

⁵ Ward and Eden.

The black community did not watch unconcerned by what was done by the Conservative government: opening schools for black pupils and taught by black pupils. For Maureen Stone, who published “The Education of the Black Child in Britain” in 1981, these schools had existed in the form of band sessions and West Indian Dialect classes held on Saturdays by volunteer teachers of Indian origins to make up for the existing gap in state schools, in terms of discipline and standards. One example was the Seventh Day Adventist John Loughborough School, which was located in Tottenham, in the north of London. It was mainly made of members of African Caribbean origins, and the reason for its success was the fact that the black teachers who taught in it expected achievement from their pupils. It was then an alternative to all those who considered the multicultural schools of the State as promoting prejudice and discrimination.¹

The Conservative government tackled the issue of prejudice by minimising it and rendering it ridicule, but the Labour called for fighting against prejudice of all kinds, for the schools and their classrooms were seen as efficient means to put an end to it. This fight would be done through the organization of discussions in the classroom during Personal and Social Education (P.S.E) and citizenship sessions to make the pupils aware of these issues so as to establish a fair and civilized society. However, the Conservative government looked unfavourably upon it, and it was conspicuous in the 1986 Hillgate Group article: “Whose Schools?”, which called for fighting the pupils’ indoctrination of radical left issues such as anti-sexism, anti-heterosexism and the call for homosexuality, and peace education for nuclear disarmament. Margaret Thatcher also attempted to ridicule the combat for diversity and social justice, during the 1987 Conservative Party Conference.² They all agreed on the fact that schools had to be taken out of the local government control and the influence of certain L.E.As contributing in perverting the pupils’ minds and souls.³

As far as privatization in the educational sector was concerned, the Conservative government attempted to submit State education to the market system by introducing privatization. The latter had three forms, namely the purchasing of educational services at private expenses and free in the public service, the purchasing at public expenses of educational services in private institutions and the Government’s abandonment of its commitments to educational services in maintained schools. The first one dealt with how parents and private firms were asked to pay for essential and non-essential services in the public sector. This comprised special

¹ Chitty, 246.

² Chitty, 237.

³ Chitty, 237-238.

lessons or additions to the curriculum, resources and books, repairs and maintenance, basic facilities and buildings and teaching posts. There were also extra-curricular activities such as going to the theatre or abroad that parents could contribute to. Hence, in most of the cases, parents were expected to enrich the curriculum and ensure basic curriculum provision. According to the National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations (N.C.P.T.A.), the mid 1980s was characterized by £40 m a year to be paid by parents for what they considered as essentials such as books, equipment and lessons.¹

H.M.I.s' reports, published during the 1980s showed that parents contributed considerably in the finance of their children's education owing to the L.E.A.s' inability to meet the shortage of what they considered as essentials such as books. They added that there were differences between the schools and the contributions given to them as it was the case of the D.E.S. Report of the 1986 Survey. In fact, schools located in middle class areas received more and better parental contribution than those in working class areas.² In fact, the Survey showed that:

“Contributions overall ranged from £50 to £15,000 per year, the latter sum being on top of a capitation allowance of £38,000. In one exceptional case, one secondary school received £45,000, which was 25 per cent more than its capitation, and a considerable proportion of this sum came from covenants made by parents...Schools in the shire counties received proportionately the greatest level of contribution: over one-third of the schools visited received contributions in excess of £6 per pupil, while this was so in only one-fifth of the schools in the metropolitan districts and London authorities. Compared with in previous years, schools in all three types of authority were receiving more contributions from parents than ever before.”³

The objective behind the parents' contribution was to support the application of teaching resources and activities, as it is shown in the following quotation taken from the same report:

“Most commonly, the money was being used to help towards the cost of educational visits, and this was followed by the purchase of computers, audio-visual equipment, library and reference books, PE and games equipment, school mini-buses, musical instruments, textbooks and reprographic equipment. The most notable change since 1984 was the increased number of references to parental contributions being used to improve school premises. For example: in one school, the whole of the first floor was rewired using the funds provided by the parents, while in many others, parental contributions were used to provide the materials needed to redecorate parts of the school.”⁴

¹ Chitty, 94.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty, 94-95.

The second form was illustrated in the establishment of the Assisted Places Scheme, through the passing of the 1980 Education Act, which has been discussed earlier. In Clyde Chitty's words, "the Scheme was...all about providing central government money to enable a select group of 'financially eligible' and 'academically able' students to benefit from a private education".¹

As a result, in 1981, 4,185 of the 5,417 places in the 223 English independent schools were held by parents who applied for them. The end of the 1980s saw 26,899 young people taking advantage of those places, causing the Government to pay £50 million.²

In her 1990 paper, Caroline Benn dealt with the issue of the central and local authorities supporting the private sector to the detriment of the public one. She also tackled the cost of supporting a superior secondary education for a minority of pupils on the ratepayer. For this, she took into account the Assisted Places Scheme and the State's purchase of places in private schools. She put into question the exaggerated estimates of Rich Rogers (1980) and Richard Ping (1983) who announced that the State paid £654m a year and £200m a year respectively, and caricatured them as being conservative, and she argued that the amount spent was £1.3 bn in 1990.³

A third form of privatization consisted in the Government abandoning its commitment to educational services provided to pupils in maintained schools, and maintaining the private ones. This created anxiety among the parents who were afraid for the future of their children, which had the Government's desired effect of making them opt more for the private system. The implementation of the Conservative primary education policy continued in parallel with the preparation of the National Curriculum Bill.

II.5. The Preparation and Passing of the National Curriculum Bill:

Though Keith Joseph (1981-1986) was reluctant to intervene in the primary education curriculum, pressure emanating from the conservative think-tanks became increasingly important, which even convinced Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher to apply a core curriculum with six obligatory subjects. The succeeding Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker, influenced by these conservative think-tanks, enforced a subject based kind of curriculum, which resulted in the passing of the 1988 Education Act.

¹ Chitty, p.95.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the issue of the curriculum became a hot topic, and a call for State control over curriculum became increasingly pressing. However, in 1985, the D.E.S. led by the Conservative Keith Joseph, was not ready for such a change, which was clearly shown in the White Paper: “Better Schools” in 1985:

“It would not in the view of the Government be right for the Secretaries of State’s policy for the range and pattern of the 5-16 curriculum to amount to the determination of national syllabuses for that period. It would, however, be appropriate for the curricular policy of the LEA, on the basis of broadly agreed principles about range and pattern, to be more precise about, for example, the balance between curricular elements and the age and pace at which pupils are introduced to particular subject areas (e.g. a foreign language)...The establishment of broadly agreed objectives would not mean that the curricular policies of the Secretaries of State, the LEA and the school should relate to each other in a nationally uniform way...The Government does not propose to introduce legislation affecting the powers of the Secretaries of State in relation to the curriculum.”¹

The issue of State intervention and control over the curriculum was also a topic of divergence among the Conservatives. Some of whom wanted to maintain the prevailing traditional curriculum, whereas Margaret Thatcher’s close advisers thought that there was no place for it in a market system and wanted to replace it by a core curriculum.

The think tank groups, referred to above defended the introduction of the market system in education with the application of a core curriculum, through the publication of articles that influenced Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, such as “The Riddle of the Voucher” in 1986 and “Our Schools-A Radical Policy” by the I.E.A in 1987 and “Whose Schools? A Radical Manifesto” by the Hillgate Group in 1986. When Professor Brian Griffiths was appointed Head of Downing Street Policy Unit in 1985, he could help them establish direct contact with the Prime Minister and have their voice heard.² Later on, Margaret Thatcher said that their publications, were her “bedtime reading” in 1988.³ On the whole, the Unit’s role was important in helping apply the market system ideology. This was the view of Stuart Maclure who denounced the lack of general consultation among the Conservatives in the following quotation:

¹ Chitty, 155.

² In fact, he had a small office next to Downing Street and had direct access to the Prime Minister’s office. He was an evangelical Christian who wanted to back up Thatcherism morally and theologically. Chitty, 133-134.

³ Chitty, 133.

“What eventually emerged in the 1987 Election Manifesto- and therefore ultimately in the 1988 Education Act- was assembled *in secret in the nine* months before the 1987 General Election. There was a determined effort *not* to consult either the DES or the civil servants or chief education officers or local politicians. Under the discreet eye of Professor Brian Griffiths, Head of the Prime Minister’s Policy Unit, the outline of a radical reform was set down in bold lines from which there was to be no going back.”¹

Kenneth Baker, who became Education Secretary in 1986, was also influenced by the conservative philosophers, economists and educationalists, but believed in the view of establishing a subject-based national curriculum of ten separate subjects.² He published the Consultative Document: “the National Curriculum 5-16” in 1987 to explain his ideas, he set a consultation period during which people related to the world of education would give their views about the Government’s attempts, and subsequently start the preparation of an educational bill.³

However, he was opposed by Margaret Thatcher who wanted the establishment of a ‘core curriculum’ with six subjects, namely reading, writing, arithmetic, religious education and right and wrong, and therefore, decided to modify the content of the bill.⁴ The bill was also opposed by members of his own camp such as the Director of the Education Unit in the I.E.A, Stuart Sexton, who saw it as an impediment to choice and diversity. He was interviewed in the TV programme ‘A Class Revolution’ on 2nd November, 1987, revealing that the majority of her right-wing colleagues were dissatisfied by an imposed national curriculum made of ten separate subjects.⁵ The Hillgate Unit had always supported Kenneth Baker’s compulsory national curriculum, with emphasis on morality and social order, but preferred a return to traditional values, which could be achieved through emphasis on certain key subjects. Noticing the insistence of Margaret Thatcher to counter attack him, he threatened her of resignation, which helped the bill to be approved and be passed becoming the 1988 Education Act. Later on, in 1993, when he published his autobiography, he referred to this period writing that:

¹ Chitty, 134.

² Chitty, 156.

³ At the beginning, the period of consultation spanned until 30th of September, then, it was extended. However, many claimed that they did not have enough time to answer in an adequate way. The answers included until 10,000 copies and millions of words by the end of the years. Julian Haviland was entrusted to deal with the answers, and on the whole, the government’s proposals were accepted. Thomas,102.

⁴ At the same time, she was horrified by the curriculum version that the D.E.S. had backed up. Chitty,132.

⁵ Chitty, 132.

“I saw the Prime Minister privately. I said to her: ‘if you want me to continue as your Education Secretary, then we will have to stick to the Curriculum that I set out in the July Consultation Paper. I and my ministerial colleagues have advocated and stoutly defended the broad curriculum. We have listed the ten subjects, and I set them out before the Select Committee in April. You will recall, Prime Minister, that I specifically cleared my statement with you’ ... This was a tough meeting, but I was simply not prepared to give in to a last minute rearguard action, even when waged by the Prime Minister herself. The broad-based curriculum was saved-for the time being. “¹

To conclude this chapter, one can say that the changes that took place in England in terms of economy and society had important repercussions on the policies of both the Labour and Conservative governments. As far as the Labour government was concerned, it had to adapt a Welfare State policy it had defended for decades, to meet the new economic and social realities of the period. This adaption was translated in giving more importance to reducing expenses and raising educational standards to the detriment of all the socialist ideas they had cherished. When the Conservatives, led by Margaret Thatcher came to power, they started installing the early glimpses of the neoliberal policy in primary education by rendering it an item at the service of the economy of the country.

For this, both of the Labour and Conservative governments concentrated on launching a debate around the difficulties encountered in primary education, through discussion around the kinds of curriculum and pedagogic methods, the issues of examinations and assessment towards the pupils and even teachers by asking for more accountability, and the establishment of continuity in teaching and learning from primary to secondary education. To do so, both of them drafted reports proposing recommendations reforming the curriculum, which was still the secret garden of L.E.A.s, the governing bodies and the teachers, and started to privatize the educational sector, and adapted the content of the teachers’ training to meet the new educational demands. All this paved the way for the passing of a radical education act, namely, the 1988 Education Act, which permitted primary education to evolve and change. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

¹ Chitty, 156.

Chapter Four

Primary Education from Conservative Neoliberalism to Labour Third Way Policy 1988-2010

The neoliberal policy was finally introduced in primary education thanks the passing of the 1988 Education Act. The objective behind was to make primary education under the control and service of the Thatcher Conservative government (1979-1990) to reach its economic objectives and changes in the English society. However, its application had to pass through difficulties, criticism and even strike, in particular during the period of John Major's premiership (1990-1997).

With the coming of the Labour government, led by Tony Blair (1997-2010), a return to a Welfare State education with its emphasis on comprehensiveness was expected. However, it did not take place, and instead, a Third Way policy was announced. This policy consisted of positioning the Labour policy in the centre between the Labour traditional Welfare State and the Conservative's neoliberalism.

To this end, this chapter is an attempt to discuss the evolution of primary education from the Conservative neoliberal policy to the Labour's Third Way policy. This implies dealing with the period from 1988 to 1997, which was marked by the continuing primary education policy of successive Conservative Prime Ministers: Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) and John Major (1990-1997), and that of the Labour ones: Tony Blair (1997-2007) and Gordon Brown (2007-2010).

I. Margaret Thatcher's Introduction of Neoliberalism in Primary Education (1988-1990):

The application of the Neo-Liberal policy in primary education was finally effective during Margaret Thatcher's last mandate thanks to the Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker

(1986-1989) and the passing of the 1988 Education Act.¹ It affected the primary education curriculum, pedagogy and the training of teachers, the issues of multiculturalism, homosexuality, religion, race and ethnicity, education administration and finance as well as the primary school stages and their welfare services.

I.1.The 1988 Education Act and its Effects on the Primary Education Curriculum and Training of Teachers (1988-1990):

With the passing of the 1988 Education Act, the Education Secretary became responsible for establishing the National Curriculum in England. To do so, attainment targets and programmes study were set, that culminated in the elaboration of Key Stages with core and foundation subjects and religious education by working groups for each subject. At the end of the key stage, the pupils were to be assessed and transferred to secondary education according to the Assisted Place System. However, the Education Secretary did not interfere in the primary school pedagogy, leaving this autonomy to the teachers. However, opinions were divided among some of the Conservatives and the teachers concerning the 1988 Education Act and the National Curriculum.

For the first time in the history of primary education, the 1988 Education Act put the management of the curriculum under the control of the Secretary of State for Education, starting from September, 1989. Indeed, the Act stipulated that:

“It shall be the duty of the Secretary of State so to exercise the power conferred by sub-section (2) below as-
(a)to establish a complete National Curriculum as soon as is reasonably practicable (taking first the core subjects and then to other foundation subjects); and
(b)to revise that Curriculum whenever he considers it necessary or expedient to do so.”²

The application of the National Curriculum was based on of Statutory Orders related to each core and foundation subject referred to as Attainment targets and Programmes of study. The attainment targets were the knowledge, skills and understanding that pupils of different abilities and maturities were expected to acquire at the end of each stage, and the programmes were defined as the matters, skills and processes to be inculcated to pupils having varied abilities and maturities in each key stage.³

¹ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Education Secretaries from 1986 to 2007.

² Education Act, 1988, CH.40, Elizabeth II, London, Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1988, p.3.

³Thomas, 105-107.

The National Curriculum, which was compulsory and its application common to all the primary schools was made of a broad subject-based national curriculum. The subjects, which were also referred to as the National Curriculum headings, included three core subjects and seven foundation subjects to be taught through two key stages from 5 to 7 and from 8 to 11. The core subjects included mathematics, English and science, and the foundation subjects comprised history, geography, technology, music and art and physical education. As far as the content of the health education and information technology were concerned, they were incorporated in the teaching of the foundation subjects.¹

As to Religious Education, the National Curriculum did not consider it as a foundation subject, but it was obligatory for those pupils attending a maintained school. Still, exemptions from religious education existed for pupils whose maintained school or any other school of this kind around could not provide the kind of religious education needed. The L.E.A.s and the governing bodies had to make sure the conditions for such a practice were met in the maintained, voluntary and grant maintained schools.

Religious Education continued to operate as an agreed syllabus, giving a teaching about Christianity and other religions representing the country including Judaism, Islam and Buddhism. The aim behind was to show to pupils how the Christian and the multi-religious character of the country could coexist.

For the collective act of worship, it was no longer at the beginning or at the end of the school day. Its character became rather Christian, and lasted, at least, a whole term. However, after noticing that a pupil was unsuitable for it, and after discussing the issue with the school governing body, a head teacher might ask for the pupil's exemption to the local Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (S.A.C.R.E), which counted L.E.A.s.

The elaboration and application of the subjects went through the appointment of working groups for each subject, which had to follow a specific schedule, and the following table illustrates part of the whole process:

¹ The Education Act, 1988, 3.

Table N° 15: Timetable for the Design and implementation of Subjects in the National Curriculum

Subject	Working Group Set up	Final Report	Introduction to School
History	Easter 1989	Christmas 1989	Autumn 1991
Geography	Easter 1989	Christmas 1989	Autumn 1991
Foreign Languages	July 1989		Autumn 1992
Music, Art, Physical Education	June 1990		Autumn 1992

Source: Neville Bennett, Charles Desforges, "Primary Education in England: A System in Transition.", The Elementary School Journal, Vol. 92, No. 1 (1991), 72.

For the educationists and historians, Neville Bennett and Charles Desforges, the elaboration of the subjects' content was gradual and their application became effective from 1991 to 1992. For instance, the content of history and geography was elaborated in Easter 1989, its final report in Christmas, 1989 and its introduction to school was not until 1991, it was followed by the content of foreign languages in July, 1989, and music, art and physical education in June 1990, and their introduction was both in autumn, 1992.

The Task Group on Assessment and Testing (T.G.A.T) was appointed and requested to draft Standard Assessment Tasks (S.A.T.s). The latter were done according to the two primary education key stages so as to assess the pupils' individual evolution.

According to the 1988 Education Act, the pupils were to be assessed at the end of each stage through the drafting of reports, which was generally done by the teachers; a practice was

gradually incorporated in the primary schools, starting from 1989. At the same time, the Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker (1989-1990), continued to support the Assisted Place Scheme, which corresponded to the new applied education policy, and to put an end to the Labour's policy of equal educational opportunity.

The 1988 Education Act did not interfere in the pedagogy of primary education, but was left to the teachers who were free to choose between the subject and topic work. The first one consisted in teaching subjects separately and the second one in teaching topics, either wholly or partly. In this case, the schools needed to choose between the time frames where separate subject teaching and topic work could be held. These decisions might differ because of the pupils' age, the teachers' experience and expertise and the schools' policies. The Act also compelled the Education Secretary to provide the practitioners with teaching methods and forms of organisation, and to preserve the teacher's autonomy. The reasons behind such a decision might be attributed to the fear of opposition.

To meet the new requirement of the National Curriculum, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government had to adapt the training of teachers. As a result, the 1989 Consultation Document proposed new terms of reference for the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (C.A.T.E), and provided it with new criteria.¹ This was done with the support of H.M.I, but it was opposed by the Labour Party, and both Houses of Parliament. In fact, it was seen as a statist means to control the teachers' education and training, especially the initial teacher education.² Opposition referred rather to the fact that the resulting new C.A.T.E. model was based on training rather than educating the teachers, and its criteria were narrow, and more appropriate to a plumber than a teacher whose job required sensitive and flexible classroom behaviour.³

On the whole, the National Curriculum was an appropriate solution for both the Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker (1986-1989) and the members of the Conservative Hillgate Group, which comprised Caroline Cox, Jessica Douglas-Mome, John Marks, Lawrence Norcross and Roger Scruton. The argument put forward to justify the legitimacy of the National

¹ The issue of the training and education of the teachers, being a political issue, was dealt with the James Report, which tried to propose solutions. Still, the proposed solutions were waved aside. The early 1980s saw the idea of reorganisation within a national scheme becoming necessary. This was followed by the appointment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (C.A.T.E.) in 1984. Its tasks were to advise the Secretaries of State for Education and Science on issues such as the acceptance of the initial training courses for application. Lawton, 112.

² Lawton.

³ Lawton.

Curriculum was that it was a means of social control and aiming at more teachers' accountability.¹

However, the teachers complained of overwork and criticized the National Curriculum, in particular, during the period of the Education Secretary, John Mac-Gregor (1989-1990). Their criticism concerned the application of the National Curriculum, and its reliability and validity, and added that it was too detailed, over-prescriptive, managerial and bureaucratic rather than educational and professional². Therefore, they asked for more policy statements and schemes of work to help them plan, teach, learn and assess in their work.³ The head teacher of a primary school in Oxfordshire, Michael Armstrong argued that the teachers' opposition to such a kind of curriculum was due to their difficulty in applying the "primary school topic method", a characteristic of the progressive methods in primary schools. He notably praised this method writing that:

"It is rather that most of the really fruitful classroom inquiries, whether on the part of the an individual child, a small group of children, or an entire class, have a way of moving in and out of subjects, conflating, traditions, confusing boundaries, eliminating distinctions and creating new ones. So a study of the life of a frog becomes an exercise in philosophical speculation, scientific observation, literacy fantasy and artistic method. So designing a set of earrings turns into an investigation of the psychology of faces. So an examination of the mathematical powers embraces the geography of the universe and the mythical origins of the game of chess...In learning...all the significant insights tend to come to those, teachers and pupils alike, who refuse to be bounded by subjects, who are prepared to move freely *between* traditions and *beyond* traditions-from science to philosophy to art to some new field of enquiry- without embarrassment. For every significant curriculum rewrites to some degree the history of knowledge."⁴

As a result, the D.E.S provided teachers with curriculum documentation, guidance, regulations and circulars to help them.

Criticism also emanated from the head of the Independent Primary and Secondary Education Trust (I.P.S.E.T), Stuart Sexton, and some of Margaret Thatcher's closest advisers and

¹ Chitty, 156.

² Lawton, 112.

³ Following a survey of primary school teachers undertaken by Wragg et al., the teachers did not give importance to the teaching of subjects such as science, technology, design and music because they had difficulties in mastering and therefore teaching them. Neville Bennett, Charles Desforges, "Primary Education in England: A system in Transition", *The Elementary School Journal*, Vol.92, No.1, 75

⁴Chitty, 160.

supporters, arguing that the establishment of the National Curriculum was not a priority, and far from the free-market objectives.¹ It did not correspond to the world dominated by globalization and internationalism, which were the key words in the world of economy.² For others, the National Curriculum was a duplicate of the curricular grammar schools model on primary schools, which did not correspond to the learning context of the primary school pupils. This was the case of Professor Richard Aldrich who established a resemblance link between the prevailing National Curriculum subjects and the list of subjects in the 1904 Regulations.³

Criticism went far with others rejecting that the National Curriculum framework did not have any philosophical basis. For the former Deputy Chief Executive of the National Curriculum Council, the National Curriculum, Peter Watkins“...had no architect, only builders. Many people were surprised at the lack of sophistication in the original model: ten subjects, attainment targets and programmes of study defined in a few words in the 1987 Bill and 1988 Act, that was all.”⁴This change in primary education policy also affected the issues of multiculturalism, homosexuality, religion and race and ethnicity in primary education.

I.2.Multiculturalism, Homosexuality, Religion, Race and Ethnicity in Primary Education (1988-1990):

The successive Conservative governments also sought to combat the introduction of the Labour multicultural and anti-racist and homosexual education policies given to primary school pupils by passing the 1988 Education and the 1988 Local Government Acts. It had also to deal with the demand for community schools, made by religious and black communities for religious, racial and ethnic reasons.

The 1988 Education Act favoured the basic subjects to the detriment of other subjects related to race, in which the Anglo-centric view dominated. For instance, history put less emphasis on the teaching of slavery and colonialism when given to the pupils, but rather favoured the benefits provided for the colonised people.⁵

The Conservative governments continued their policy of maintaining traditional values, and fighting all those new societal phenomena such as homosexuality. It was clearly shown in

¹ Chitty, 53-54.

² They notably criticised the rigid programme of study which did not correspond to the market system in State schools. Chitty, 158.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty, 160.

⁵ Ward and Eden, 142.

the passing of the 1988 Local Government Act, through its Section 28, which took the control of sex education from the hands of the L.E.A.s, in particular those Labour authorities, and hand it to those of the governing bodies, while putting stress on the teaching of sex education according to the English traditional moral values. The Act notably stated that L.E.A.s should not “intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality, promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship”.¹ As a result, discussions about homosexuality were forbidden.

Opinion about “Section 28” differed among the teachers and religious men. Some teachers, who were open to discussions about homosexuality in classrooms felt anxiety and apprehension.² For the majority of religious men, such a section received a warm welcome because it was based on the Judeo-Christian roots of the English society. However, a few, such as the Archbishop of York, John Habgood, warned that this was a dangerous Government attempt to control ideas.³

Nonetheless, the application of the Act was not much effective. Indeed, previously, the 1986 Education Act had also transferred the control of sex education from the L.E.A.s to the governing bodies, for the same purpose, but the prohibition was not taken into account, especially the Labour local authorities which permitted their primary schools to have discussions about the new societal phenomena such as homosexuality in sex education. This was admitted by the Government in a document published in May 1988 by the Environment Department instructing that:

“Responsibility for school sex education continues to rest with school governing bodies, by virtue of Section 18 of the Education (No.2) Act of 1986. Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act does not affect the activities of school governors, nor of teachers. It will not prevent the objective discussion of homosexuality in the classroom, nor the counselling of students concerned about their sexuality.”⁴

On the whole, Section 28 was a turning point in the history of homosexuality in primary education and schools. Its inclusion and application took place in a context of public call for

¹ Chitty, 240.

² Paul Johnson and Robert M. Vanderbeck, Law Religion and Homosexuality, (Great Britain: Taylor and Francis, 2014) 179.

³ Johnson and Vanderbeck.

⁴ Chitty, 241.

stopping child sexual abuse and the spread of the of infection of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (H.I.V./A.I.D.S.). As a result, it weakened the teachers' confidence and professionalism.¹ For Rachel Thomson, a specialist in H.I.V:

“The phrase ‘the promotion of homosexuality’ had the insidious effect of constructing teachers as the potential corruptors of young people and of frightening teachers from saying what they thought was sensible and right out of fear of losing their jobs...The net effect...was to create a climate of paranoia around the teaching of sex education.”²

Therefore, the role of the teachers who did not follow “Section 28” was not to advocate homosexuality or in the case of homosexual teachers to explain that it was superior to heterosexuality as it had been noted by the Conservatives and the right wing newspapers. On the contrary, their role would be to explain homosexuality to become acceptable in society.³

Beside homosexuality, the issue of segregation in race, ethnicity and religion in schools was also under consideration during the period under discussion. Indeed, denominational schools had always existed in England and this was noticeable in the availability of Jewish, Roman Catholic, Church of England and Methodist schools, which had the effect of having other sects ask for the opening of their own religious schools. Furthermore, the black community also called for the same, believing that if their pupils were to be put separately in special black schools, they would avoid the under-achievement they had been characterized with for decades. This implies employing black pupils, black staff with teachers, governing body members and administrators.⁴ All these were associated with the education administration and its finance and the welfare services.

I.3.The 1988 Education Act and the Changes in the Education Administration and Finance and the Welfare Services (1988-1990):

The 1988 Education Act brought changes to the administration, finance of primary schools. This was seen in the appointment of both the National Curriculum and the School Examination and Assessment Councils, the application of the Local Management Schools (L.M.S), and the division of the primary education stages into two, the traditional infant and junior stages, and provision of food.

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty.

⁴ As it has been mentioned in the third chapter, Maureen Stone's “The Education of the Black Child in Britain” in 1981 refers to the already existence of this kind of schools. Chitty, 246.

To manage the National Curriculum and its assessment procedures, the Act established the National Curriculum Council and the School Examination and Assessment Council. The Act also introduced the L.M.S, which gave the Education Secretary the power to provide the L.E.A.s with education funds by a weighted per capita formula. Nevertheless, they had to give them to the governing bodies to manage them at the local level. Consequently, the power of the L.E.A.s continued to decline, whereas the power of the Education Secretary and the governing bodies were reinforced, while the parents could have a say in the financial issues of the primary schools where they children were attending.¹

The 1988 Education Act divided education into four stages, two stages out of which formed the primary education, namely the traditional infant (5-7) and junior (7-11) stages. Each stage, mentioned above, corresponded to a given type of primary school. In fact, the Act established the primary stages into:

- (a) the period beginning with his becoming of compulsory school age and ending at the same time as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age of seven;
- (b) the period beginning at the same as the school year in which the majority of pupils in his Class attain the age in which the majority of pupils in which the majority of pupils in his class attain the age his class attain the age of eleven; of eight and ending at the same time as the school year².

The 1988 Education Act also interfered in the welfare services of the primary schools by making parents, governors and even some L.E.A.s responsible for choosing what their children would eat at school. This would take place through inculcating pupils the adoption of healthy food habits through a hidden curriculum made of the teaching of formal curriculum and individualism.³ The objective behind was to make pupils develop responsibility, consciousness and to take the right decisions in different issues, notably food. The same neo-liberal policy on primary education was carried on after the resignation of Margaret Thatcher in 1990 and her replacement by the Prime Minister John Major (1990-1996).

II. Primary Education under John Major's Government (1990-1997):

With the coming of John Major to power (1990-1997), the same primary education policy was maintained. It consisted in continuing with the development of the primary curriculum,

¹ Chitty, 53.

² The Education Act, 1988, 2.

³ This formal curriculum was in the form of subject choice and cross-curriculum themes taught all along the subjects of the National Curriculum. Morrison, 92.

pedagogy and staff, the opening of grant maintained primary schools and the development of the primary education finance and administration, and the tackling of issues such as citizenship education, prejudice, equality and race and privatization.

II.1.Primary Education Curriculum and Pedagogy and its Impact on Teachers and the Issues of Citizenship Education, Gender and Race (1990-1997):

After the resignation of Margaret Thatcher in 1990 from the office of Prime Minister, and the appointment of Major, education policy focussed on specialization and selection, the overloaded content of the National Curriculum and the 1993 Boycott of Teachers, the discussions around pedagogy in the National Curriculum, and the issues of citizenship education, gender and race.

The primary education curriculum began to be gradually overloaded, in particular in the subjects' content and the tests, which hardened the work of the teachers.¹ Although the teachers worked hard to apply the National Curriculum and its tests, they came to realize like their pupils, that they were themselves under assessment, and the assessment of the teachers' work was more apparent than that of the pupils. Parallel to this, those teachers who taught in schools with an important number of pupils having difficulties were afraid to see their schools to be under classified and to lose public consideration.²

The teachers were also confronted to the difficulty of supporting and implementing the National Curriculum and its tests, which made them become more and more dissatisfied and call for the abolition of tests. This view was shared by others such as the historian, Robert Skidelsky who declared that the T.G.A.T. tests deserved to fail because they were a middle ground between those who saw them as a means to assess the efficiency of the educational system and those who considered them as a barometer to help them identify the strong and weak aspects of pupils when learning.³ In addition, there were divergences in the way the tests were viewed since the Conservative government and the Education Secretary John Patten (1992-1994) saw them as an aspect of the free market with the tests becoming a consulted source by the parents, and the schools and teachers who considered them as an educational barometer for the pupils' evolution and difficulties. All this made the Major Conservative government (1990-1997) afraid of such pressure which could cause the tests to be abolished.

¹ Chitty, 160-161.

² Chitty, 158.

³ Chitty, 158-161

After noticing that nothing was done to settle the issue of tests, a group of associations of teachers decided to boycott them in 1993, namely, the N.U.T, the N.A.S.U.W.T led by Nigel de Gruchy and the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (A.T.L). The main reason that these associations put forward was the fact that these tests represented a lot of work for the teachers and for this, they asked for their simplification. These associations stuck to their claims that Prime Minister John Major and his Government felt desperate. ¹

Following the 1993 boycott, a commission was appointed and chaired by Ron Dearing on behalf of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (S.C.A.A). Its task was to investigate into the issue of the National Curriculum and its assessment procedures. The recommendations of the Dearing Review were published one year later, which comprised the trimming of the content of lessons and the reduction of the time devoted to teaching to eighty percent, permitting teachers to have at least a day per week for them, and the replacement of the ten-levels set earlier by eight.² According to Ron Dearing:

“The primary purpose of the review at Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 should be to slim down the National Curriculum; to make the Orders less prescriptive; and to free some 20% of teaching time for use at the discretion of the school. The review should, therefore, be primarily concerned with dividing the content of the present curriculum Orders between a statutory core and optional material for use at the discretion of the school. The slimming down should take place in the context of curricular objectives for each key stage with all Orders being revised together³”

The final report was accepted by the Education Secretary Gillian Shephard (1994-1997) who threatened that it was the last offer for the teachers. ⁴ On the whole, the teachers’ boycott was a success in the sense that the proposals mentioned above were accepted by teachers, the Conservative government and the Labour Shadow government.⁵

Pedagogy was also given importance during the period under discussion, and this was mainly seen in the evaluation of the teachers’ teaching practices. For instance, during the period of Kenneth Clarke, as Education Secretary (1990-1992), interest was on the teaching content, methods, classroom groupings and time management without watering down teachers’ efforts, particularly by the O.F.S.T.E.D.

¹ Chitty, 162.

² Chitty.

³ Ron Dearing, The Dearing Report: The National Curriculum and its Assessment (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary, 1994) 07.

⁴ Chitty, 162.

⁵ This was done to the detriment of the fact that it lost coherence in terms of national curriculum. Moreover, it stopped from being common since the entitlement notion was destroyed. Lawton, 112.

The publication of Alexander Robin's "Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools" in 1992, also suggested that teachers would evaluate the positive and negative sides of the applied teaching techniques and organisational strategies so as to consider whether they were suitable or not for the teaching objectives set at that time. The educationist and professor Alexander Robin wrote that:

"The introduction of the National Curriculum with its statutory demands has brought the question sharply into focus, but HMI reports since the seventies point to the close relationship which exists between the knowledge of the subject which the teacher possesses and the quality of his/her teaching. The idea of the curriculum coordinator was developed to try to ensure that a school could make maximum use of the collective subject strength of its staff. The idea was subsequently built into initial training courses through the Secretary of State's 1984 and 1989 accreditation criteria... In principle, the curriculum coordinator ought, in the larger school at least, to be able to sustain the work of the generalist teacher. In practice, while coordinators have often had a significant impact upon both whole school curriculum planning and the management of resources, in many schools they have had little real influence on the competence of individual teachers and the quality of classroom teaching and learning. There is, moreover, the problem of the small school, where it is unreasonable to expect that two or three teachers can be expert in ten subjects to the depth now required."¹

The teachers' techniques in the classroom were also discussed, such as the extent to which teachers should use direct teaching techniques like explanation, questioning and instruction, the balance between group and individual work and the teachers' pedagogical decisions to be taken on the basis of their advantages and drawbacks, not on that of an unexamined past method or a 'politically correct' vision of education. In addition, there was the achievement of an acceptable degree of "differentiation" to have a better similarity of work in a class with pupils of different abilities, which made teachers reconsider their organisational strategies like the impact of difference of abilities on the classroom management and the establishment of setting cross classes in spacious schools².

As for citizenship education, it was introduced in the National Curriculum Council (N.C.C.) entitled: "Curriculum Guidance 3: The Whole Curriculum" in 1990 in a cross curricular way. The objective behind was to make pupils "establish the importance of positive, participative citizenship and provide the motivation to join in help pupils to acquire and understand essential information on which to base the development of their skills, values and attitudes towards

¹ Robin Alexander, Jim Rose, Chris Woodhead, Curriculum Organization and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools (London: Department of Education and Science, 1992) p.25.

² Richards, 49.

citizenship”¹. Nonetheless, the Conservative government sought to make the content of citizenship education non-statutory and optional in the National Curriculum.

John Major also maintained the same education policy towards gender and race. This was conspicuous in the speech he gave to the Conservative Party Conference in 1993, where he declared that the teachers’ training would help intended teachers to teach reading and writing, not gender or race². During the same year, another aspect related to race and prejudice made scandal. In fact, a Jamaican teenager Stephan Lawrence, aged eighteen years old was attacked and murdered by a group of five violent racists in Eltham in the south of London on 22nd April 1993. The situation aroused indignation among the population, in particular the black one, and it got worse when the police investigation knew some shortcomings. This led to a national indignation and a call for justice, which made the editors of the “Daily Mail” think of publishing the names of those who were thought to be the murderers. As a result, three of them were put under trial in 1996, but the case came to nothing because of the absence of strong evidence. The affair ended up one year later with the sentence of Stephen Lawrence “unlawfully” murdered by five white racist youngsters. ³ John Major’s curricular, pedagogic and staffing policy went in parallel with the opening of grant-maintained schools and the primary education administration and finance.

II.2.The Opening of Grant-Maintained Schools and the Development of the Primary Education Administration and Finance (1990-1997):

John Major’s period witnessed the development of specialisation and selection through the opening of more grant-maintained schools, the strengthening role of the governors and head teachers in managing the finance of education to the detriment of role of the L.E.A.s, and the conversion of a number of administrative bodies at the central level.

Prime Minister John Major believed in specialisation and selection which consisted in providing different specialised primary schools and their leagues of table to help parents choose among the schools. This issue was discussed in the 1992 White Paper: “Choice and Diversity: A New Framework for Schools”, which supported the idea of schools and pupils’ different needs and contexts, called for more diversity in the types of schools, and criticized the comprehensive system and its idea that all the schools and pupils had the same needs. Henceforth, it called for

¹ Chitty, 234.

² Ward and Eden, 142.

³ Chitty, 239.

diversity in the choice of primary schools to meet the different demands of the pupils. ¹ To support all this, it called for giving more money to finance these specialised schools out of the L.E.A.s' jurisdiction.

The Education Secretary John Patten (1992-1994) tackled the issue of specialisation and selection by ordering a survey of comprehensive schooling in the country. The head teachers had to answer a set questionnaire related to parental choice, open enrolment and admission to grant maintained schools, City Technology Colleges and schools with a clear religious bias. The objective behind was to support the continuing specialization of schools, with a view to encouraging competition among them.

As a result, the 1993 Education Act was passed and sought to raise the number of the grant-maintained schools. In fact, Major's government criticized the fact that their number had not been increased before, in particular in the areas of the Labour local authorities. ² Other grant-maintained schools could be set up following local parents' request, which would be based on religious or philosophical beliefs.

Nonetheless, the Labour Party responded to the Conservative government's decisions about selection during the 1995 Labour Party Conference. For instance, the Labourite Shadow Education Secretary, David Blunkett, promised not to apply selection saying: "Read my lips. No selection, either by examination or interview under a Labour government!" ³

Later on, in 1996, the same policy of opening more grant-maintained schools was referred to again in the White Paper: "Self Government for Schools". It was introduced by the Education Secretary, Gillian Shephard emphasising on issues such as choice, diversity and specialization. The White Paper explained that:

"Children have different abilities, aptitudes, interests and needs. These cannot all be fully met by a single type of school, at least at secondary level. The Government wants parents to be able to choose from a range of good schools of different types, matching what they want for their child with what a school offers. This choice should include schools which select by academic ability, so that the most able children have the chance to achieve the best of which they are capable⁴."

¹ John Major, White Paper: Choice and Diversity: A New Framework for Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, July 1992) 10.

² Chitty, 161.

³ Lawton, 138.

⁴ Chitty, 56.

At the end of the Conservative rule in 1996, there were 1,155 opted-out schools, which included 2.8 per cent representing primary school pupils¹.

As far as the finance of primary education was concerned, it was still kept under the management of the governors and head teachers, weakening the role of the L.E.A.s. Therefore, the governors and head teachers were entrusted to manage the school budget, take financial decisions on the basis of the priorities set by the school development plan and secure financial accountability. This was done in a context where the issue of management through “leadership role” was emphasised, pushing the governors and head teachers to think about issues related to leadership and local administration and apply the Local Management of Schools. It aroused the criticism of the Labour Party, the press and even some moderate Conservatives, who warned that the Government’s policy put too much emphasis on choice by opening schools out of the L.E.A.s’ control.²

The early 1990s saw the application of the “differential funding” on primary education, which consisted in adapting and providing the funds for education according to the primary education management and curriculum, and preference was for primary schools because it was believed that investing more on the pupils at the age of five would solve the prevailing problems in the future. No reference to an increase or decrease of the funds devoted to education, in particular primary education, is noted during the discussed period. However, when the campaign for the legislative elections started in 1997, the Labour Party promised to spend more money on education.

Concerning the education administration, the Education Secretary, John Patten (1992-1994) passed the 1993 Education Act, which converted both committees on curriculum and examinations, already discussed in the third chapter, into the National Curriculum Council and the School Examinations and Assessment Council, and thereafter, they became the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (S.C.A.A). Their conversion sought to make them stronger to extend their control over curriculum and examinations.

The C.A.T.E. was replaced by the Teacher Training Agency (T.T.A) after the passing the 1994 Education Act, which had the task of training the teachers, not educating them.

¹ Chitty, 57.

² Richards, 49-50

Nonetheless, the Labourite Shadow Education Secretary, Ann Taylor (1992-1994) planned to abolish it when she drafted the educational policy of the Labour Party.

In 1995, the central educational administration also witnessed an important change, namely the incorporation of the Department of Education in the Employment Department, giving birth to the Department for Education and Employment (D.F.E.E). The main reason behind such a shift was the recognition of the fact that the world of education was closely related to that of employment. Parallel to this, Major Government dealt with the evolution of privatisation in the educational sector.

II.3.Privatization in Education under John Major Conservative Government (1990-1997):

Privatization was encouraged during the 1990s, in particular during John Major's premiership. This privatization took place in a context where the traditional items to consume reached their full, and an alternative was directed to sectors such as education and health. It was applied through encouraging parents to send their children to private schools, helping private companies invest funds in schools in return for profits, providing pupils with private companies' items at school to make them become consumers, and privatising the inspectorate body. Such a private investment in education became so important that criticism against it aroused, by underlining its drawbacks.

The influence of the privatisation of education was seen in the Conservative government's attempt to direct the parents and their children to the private sector. The Major Conservative government introduced a tax reduction for those parents who preferred sending their children to private schools or set vouchers to pay for part or whole of the pupils' education. The private enterprise also attempted to invest in education, and through the Private Finance Initiative (P.F.I.) which started in 1992. It consisted of investing private funds in the public sector, such as education in return for long term service contracts and financial stability. These contracts put the obligation of the private company to build premises and provide facilities for a period stretching from 25 to 35 years. ¹ In their turn, the L.E.A.s would give them back their investment by entrusting them to maintain and manage the premises, namely "repairs, grounds maintenance, catering, cleaning, utilities, furniture and IT equipment." ²

¹ Chitty, 96.

² Chitty, 99.

Private companies also provided schools with items of their productions to provide publicity for their goods or in some cases to guarantee their longevity, and such publicity had to be neutral since all that was done had to be non-political. But in reality, it was void of “value-free”, as it was the case of a supermarket which offered a study-pack “Siting a Supermarket”, which conveyed a political message. The opponents of private investment in education argued that the need of schools for finance was so important that it could push them to accept controversial sponsors related to businesses making weapons, or not respecting animals’ right. ¹

The Conservative government also decided to privatize the educational body, known as the Inspectorate in 1992. In fact, under John Major’s premiership, the 1992 Education (Schools) Act was passed, and made H.M.I. become a private body known as the Office of the Chief Inspector (O.C.I.) within the O.F.S.T.E.D, and had the mission of employing independent inspectors to inspect primary and secondary schools. As a result, the number of H.M.I.s was reduced from 500 to 175, and the existing contact between the schools and the inspectorate lessened since these private inspectors started operating, as a quality control body, within the O.F.S.T.E.D, and inspections were held every four years, whether the inspected schools needed it or not.²

As a result, teachers were afraid of the visits of inspectors, and saw them as inquisitors. The reason of such a fear was not due to their incompetence, but rather to the paperwork required before, during and after the inspections.³ Furthermore, the Houses of Parliament and the Labour Party showed that the effects of privatising the O.F.S.T.E.D were negative and came to be extremely expensive, and saw such an attempt as an example of the de-professionalization of the teaching profession, which made it less attractive.⁴For the head teachers, the new inspecting body was not conscious of the challenges it had to face in the future. ⁵

Later, in 1996, the schools’ privatization began to be criticized vividly by the National Consumer Council (N.C.C), which was chaired by David Hatch. The N.C.C. published a report which announced that there had been an explosion of private investment since 1990, with 5,000 educational technology items and £300m directed to primary and secondary schools⁶. The report carried on by valuing the private funds, but at the same time, considering them with precaution

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty,100.

³ Lawton, 110.

⁴ Chitty, 100.

⁵ Chitty.

⁶ Chitty.

and not allowing them to interfere in the pupils' learning¹. It also discouraged reliance on the American model because it assaulted its pupils with advertisement, and demanded that: 'we want to protect British classrooms from these excesses. The classroom should be a place of learning, not a free-for-all for business interests.'²

The N.C.C. Report also added that vulnerable pupils were exploited because they were encouraged to use educational resource packs holding private companies' logos. Some of them were useful whereas others did not care about the pupils and their health. For instance, Cadbury's "World Chocolate" advertised that its product was good for health and could be taken at any moment of the day, which was not healthy and "Energy and the Environment" from British Nuclear Fuel Ltd did not even mention the main disadvantage of nuclear waste, which would take time to have it safe, and department stores such as Tesco and Sainsbury encouraged schools to make parents go and buy in them.³ To this end, the N.C.C. asked for the drafting of guidelines that would help the teachers, governors and parents to distinguish the useful educational sponsored items from those causing bad habits and fear or making parents consume.⁴ However, the Conservative government oligarchy did not last long since the 1997 General Elections paved the way for the Labour Party, led by Tony Blair to win, which led to the adoption of the Third Way policy and its application in primary education.

III. The Blair's Third Way Labour Government Policy on Primary Education (1997-2007):

The Labour Party, led by Tony Blair, marked a turning point in its political ideology from a Welfare State policy in which the State served the population to a Third Way one, which encouraged the economic aspects of Neo-Liberalism, but helping those who could not survive in it. The main reason for such a change was the Labour Party members' awareness that it would lead them to victory in the General Elections. This was translated into considering education as a market commodity to be influenced by consumer demands, namely the choice of the parents, and competition among the schools, teacher accountability and the publication of examination results through the Table Leagues. At the same time, it offered help to those unable to find their

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty.

place in the new system. The Labour government ruled from 1997 to 2007 to 2010 under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown respectively.

III.1.The Blair Labour Government and its Education Administration Policy (1997-2001):

Among the different changes brought by the Labour government (1997-2001) in the administration of primary education was the change of the body of advisers, the conversion of the S.C.A.A and the National Council for Vocational Qualifications into the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority in 1997, the appointment of the Standards and Effectiveness Unit, the conversion of the D.F.E.E into the Department for Education and Skills (D.F.E.S) in 2001 and the provision of teachers with administrative responsibilities.

When the Labour government came to power, it brought its own advisers, who included the famous writers Peter Mandelson, Roger Liddle and Michael Barber, and believed that they were better prepared than those who had already been in the Civil Service.¹ However, these new advisers were suspected of not dissociating the administrative from the political, which rendered them an army ready to defend the Labour government's interests at all costs. For the journalist Hugo Young:

“To make good the Civil Service's supposed defects, New Labour enhanced the cadre of so-called special, or political, advisers. Their number more than doubled—from 35 to 81 since the time of John Major. Some of them matched the practice of decades by bringing genuine expertise in particular policy issues, though few had any more experience than their ministers of delivering anything. In Number Ten itself, the advisers prodigiously multiplied to form, in effect, a para-government, second-guessing departmental civil servants at every turn...Most worrying of all, in the power positions at the top, should no longer be impartial, but should become instead an arm of the Party.”²

As a result, those who feared the politicization of the Civil Service called for its protection. This was the case of the Cabinet Secretary, Richard Wilson, who asked for the elaboration and passing of a Civil Service Act to maintain the White hall officials neutrality and to limit the number and role of advisers and the Downing Street Policy Unit. He pressed that: “the Civil Service has to paddle furiously under the surface to make things work, whilst presenting to the world a calm picture of business as usual.”³ The advisers' role had to be in

¹ Chitty, 135.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 136.

party politics, not in the Civil Service to influence Government policies. On this issue, he added that:

“Special advisers should never behave illegally or improperly...Special Advisers should not ask civil servants to do anything improper or illegal...They should not do anything to undermine the political impartiality of civil servants or the duty of all civil servants to give their own best advice to ministers.”¹

However, in terms of Civil Service politicization, there was no proof on whether they remained neutral or not.²

As far as education was concerned, these advisers seemed to have played an important role in the formulation of the Labour government policy. This was seen in the swift way the education policies were elaborated.³ For instance, Peter Mandelson and Roger Liddle wrote, “the Blair Revolution: Can New Labour Deliver?” which introduced the famous catch phrase, “standards not structures” that was used in the 1997 White Paper, and became part of Tony Blair’s policy. The White Paper explains the issue of “standards not structures as follows:

“New Labour now believes that, throughout schooling, standards are more important than structures. Each school should be made clearly responsible for its own performance and be subject to a mixture of external pressure and support in order to raise it. Performance must be regularly assessed in objective terms that parents can understand and compare with elsewhere...New Labour must now spell out with greater clarity what its new educational policies will mean in practice and how its new emphasis on *standards not structures*, can, in time, transform state education.”⁴

In his turn, Michael Barber wrote “The Learning Game: Arguments for an Education Revolution”.⁵ This text inspired Tony Blair to apply the idea that intervention in schools had to lead to their success. For Professor Barber:

“The general assumption behind this principle is that most schools have within them the capacity to improve themselves steadily, as long as national government provides a sensible policy and funding framework. The precise nature of intervention in a school which is not succeeding should depend on the extent and character of its failure.”⁶

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 136.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ Professor Michael Barber was the chair of the Literacy Task Force in 1996, and after the Labour government victory, he became responsible for 275 new strong Standards and Effectiveness Unit in the Department for Education and Employment until 2001. Then, he was appointed head of the Prime Minister’s Delivering Unit at 10 Downing Street, and was responsible for providing ameliorations, notably in education. Chitty, 137.

⁶ Chitty.

There was also the influence of David Miliband and Andrew Adonis. The former, who was a former researcher at the Institute for Public Policy Research (I.P.P.R) was interested in education, and was Tony Blair's adviser in 1994, and then, the Head of the Downing Street Unit in 1997. He contributed to the elaboration of the 1997 and 2001 New Labour election manifestos, and the 1997 White Paper: "Excellence in Schools".¹

Andrew Adonis was entrusted to provide advice to the Education Policy Unit in 1998, then, he became Head of the Downing Policy Unit in 2001. He made contribution to the drafting of the 2001 White Paper: "School Achieving Success", and was opposed to the comprehensive system, a view that corresponded to the future Tony Blair's policy, and made some Labour members fearful of his opinion and decisions.² In his book, "A Class Act" in 1997, he argued that: "the comprehensive revolution, tragically, destroyed many of the excellent schools without improving the rest. Comprehensive schools have largely replaced selection by ability with selection by class and house price."³ On the whole, his role in influencing Tony Blair and therefore the Labour government educational policy was important.⁴ It was shown on TV on Channel Four programme: "Tony: President or King?", which was presented by the journalist Nick Cohen, and broadcast in 2002. This programme interviewed personalities who shared this view, among whom were Roy Hatterley and David Hart.⁵

In 1997, the S.C.A.A, referred to in the previous chapter, was incorporated into the National Council for Vocational Qualifications, becoming the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority. Although it was opposed by the Labourites, it was difficult to dissolve it because its undertaking was rational forming part of re-planning which was held at that time.

The Education Secretary, David Blunkett (1997-2001) appointed the Standards and Effectiveness Unit within the D.F.E.E under the headship of Michael Barber; its role was to help the Government bring reforms to the educational sector, and its membership increased rapidly to include one hundred people.⁶ Last but not the least in Blair Labour government converted the D.F.E.E into the Department for Education and Skills (D.F.E.S) in 2001.⁷ Such a change was generally favoured, in particular by the Labour Party, which believed in getting closer the world

¹ Chitty,137-138.

² Chitty,138.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ David Hart was notably the General Secretary of the National Association of head teachers. Chitty.

⁶ Lawton, 125.

⁷ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Labour Education Secretaries, from 1997 to 2010.

of education to that of training and putting an end to the confusion between vocational and academic courses.¹

The Labour government applied the policy of providing teachers with leadership role. It permitted the extension of their role, which consisted in teaching and managing the primary school financial and curricular issues. They managed staff members, especially, the curriculum coordinators, so as to make them take part in the task of developing, implementing and monitoring policies and schemes of work at school. The Blair Labour government also adapted the primary schools to meet the needs of its new education policy.

III.2. The Blair Labour Government Policy towards Primary Schools (1997-2001):

In 1997, the Labour government issued the White Paper: “Excellence in Schools” in 1997, which culminated in the passing of the 1998 Education Act and permitted the establishment of the Education Action Zones (E.A.Z.s). This was followed by the reorganization of the key stages by the 2002 Education Act and the end of the E.A.Z. experiment and the Schools Admission.

In 1997, the White Paper: “Excellence in Schools” in 1997 was concerned with the issues of “under achievement” and “failure” and called for the organization of the pupils in primary schools according to their abilities and the establishment of about 25 Education Action Zones (E.A.Z.s) being responsible for helping motivate youngsters in deprived and under-performing areas.² It also proposed a new reorganization of schools into three types, namely community, aided and foundation schools. The community schools would correspond to the county schools, and the aided and foundation schools would have their own teachers, administrators and premises, and the Education Secretary would set the national guidelines on admission policies.³

As a result of the White Paper Content, the 1998 Education Act was passed. It established the E.A.Z.s resembling to the previously mentioned 1960s Education Priority Areas (E.P.A.s). The difference between the E.A.Z.s and the E.P.A.s lies in the fact that the former sought to take the primary schools of certain areas out of the L.E.A.s’ control, and therefore to encourage privatization.

¹ Lawton, 113.

² Chitty, 66.

³ Chitty.

Although the opening of the E.A.Z.s corresponded to the Government's desire to remedy under achievement, little importance was given to them.¹ In fact, the press announced that the E.A.Z. experiment would stop, which aroused the anger of its directors. The situation got worse in 2001 when the Schools Minister, Stephen Timms (2001-2002) informed the E.A.Z.s directors that the experiment would come to an end after their programmed five years, and those successful schools would be incorporated into the "Excellence in Cities Programme".²

The White Paper: "Excellence in Schools" called for the maintenance of specialisation through the opening of specialist schools. Henceforth, The Labour government planned to open some 500 specialist schools by 2000 to increase to 650 in 2001, among which Faith schools.³

In September, 2001, the White Report: "Schools Achieving Success", was published and in July 2002, it resulted in the 2002 Education Act. However, the Act did not affect primary education a lot since it mainly dealt with secondary education. It reorganized the key stages into two parts, the first one being from Key Stages One to Three which included the primary stage, and the second one devoted to Key Stage Four. The objective behind was to deal properly with the curricular issues in Key Stage Four.⁴ The Labour government policy on primary schools could not be dissociated from the aspects of teachers and teaching.

III.3. The Labour Government and the Primary School Teachers (1997-2003):

The Labour government tackled the issue of primary school teachers by dealing with their training and role in the primary schools. The teachers' training was discussed in the White Paper: "Excellence in Schools" in 1997, the 1998 Teaching and Higher Education Act, the Green Paper: "Teacher Meeting the Challenge of Change" and Circular 4/98 in 1998, and the contribution of the O.F.S.T.E.D, the provision of Government degrees helping the recruitment of primary school teachers. As far as the teachers' role was concerned, it was based on specialization in primary schools and their participation in the Initial Teacher Training (I.T.T), and the increasing importance of including teaching assistants.

In 1997, the White Paper: "Excellence in Schools" in 1997 suggested the introduction of an "Advanced Skills Teacher grade" to the best teachers to motivate them, and other streamlined procedures to tackle the problem of incompetent teachers. The White Paper also called for the

¹ The E.A.Z.s were given importance in the White Paper: Excellence in Schools in 1997. Chitty,74.

² Chitty, 74-75.

³ Chitty, 69.

⁴ David Blunkett, White Paper, Excellence in Schools (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1997) 76-77.

appointment of the “General Teaching Council”, which would include all the teachers all over England and the parents with a view to strengthening the home-school contacts, which the White Paper considered as one of the means to raise educational standards. ¹

Consequently, in 1998, the “Teaching and Higher Education Act” was passed, which set the appointment of the General Teaching Council (G.T.C) in 2000, which permitted the extension of the O.F.S.T.E.D’s functions in the I.T.T. It was considered as a symbol of professionalism, during a period which put teachers under increasing curricular and pedagogical control. ² On the whole, it was generally welcomed by the educationists, in particular.

This was followed by the Green Paper: “Teacher Meeting the Challenge of Change” and the D.F.E.E. “Circular 4/98” in 1998. Both of them encouraged the Teacher Training Departments in higher education to continue to deal with the T.T.A. and the O.F.S.T.E.D to inspect them regularly. Nonetheless, it was a deceit for those who hoped to see the T.T.A. abolished as it had been promised before by the Labour Shadow Education Secretary, Ann Taylor. ³

The “Circular 4/98” and the O.F.S.T.E.D led by the Chief Inspector Mike Tomlinson attempted to review the content of the I.T.T, which the teachers considered as heavy, and hoped for some relaxation in its control and bureaucratic scrutiny over them. The result was to lighten the content of the educational background theory, and although the training year for students remained crowded, the attempt was seen as an important improvement. ⁴

The Government provided students interested in the teaching profession to obtain the Qualified Teacher Status (Q.T.S.) and the Early Years Professional Status (E.Y.P.S). The Q.T.S permitted teachers to exercise their profession at the primary schools after obtaining a BA/ Bed, and a Post Graduate Certificate of Education (P.G.C.E). Concerning the E.Y.P.S, it paved the way for intended teachers to be employed in primary schools to ameliorate the teaching and care of young children. All this shows how the teacher training and children were important for the State.⁵

¹ Chitty, 66.

² Lawson,126.

³ Lawson.

⁴ Lawson,128-129.

⁵ The fact that the government gave the Q.T.S. in the teaching profession, while this was not done in other professions like doctors, nurses, lawyers and architect whose qualifications were given by universities and colleges of the professional bodies, shows how the teacher training was an important issue for the State. Ward and Eden, 107.

Regarding the changes at the level of the teachers' role at school, the teachers were grouped into generalist, specialist and semi-specialist, after a period of thinking about how to deploy the teachers' subjects and pedagogic expertise to offer pupils the suitable curricular content. There were other management issues which comprised the participation of competent and experienced teachers in the I.T.T. and the encouraging role of teaching assistants.

In 2002, during a session in the House of Commons, Estelle Morris, the Education Secretary (2001-2002) announced the restructuring of the teaching profession, which included encouraging the role of the teaching assistant. To convince the teachers' unions to accept the proposal, she linked the proposal to the amount of money that had been spent before, and to the promised increase of £14.7 billion on education by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown.¹ However, the N.U.T refused because it implied reviewing the role of the teachers in general, which culminated in the establishment of a malaise between the Education Secretary Estelle Morris and the N.U.T, which persisted even during the period of her successor, Charles Clarke (2002-2004) since he did not participate in the annual Easter Conference in 2003.²

The Education Secretary, Estelle Morris, had also to deal with the failure of the Criminal Records Bureau to complete the checking of the criminal background of all the new teachers at the beginning of autumn, 2002. The issue was controversial because it took place in a context of a series of crimes committed against children, notably the murder of two girls at Soham in Cambridgeshire³. As a result, the Education Secretary, Estelle Morris, fell under criticism, which threatened her position in the Government.

III.4. The Labour Government and the Primary Education Curriculum and Pedagogy (1997-2007):

The Blair Labour government had to examine the issues of curriculum and pedagogy by reviewing the National Curriculum and its tests by raising educational standards and specialization and selection. However, these objectives were difficult to realise and culminated in the spread of criticism and the elaboration of new policies.

The D.F.E.E published its White Paper: "Excellence in Schools" in 1997, which stated that it would give more importance to "standards" rather than "structures", and expressed its

¹Chitty, 78.

²Chitty, 79.

³Chitty.

refusal to tolerate under-performance in schools. It listed six principles that would dominate the Labour government agenda in education, which are as follows:

- “-education will be at the heart of government
- policies will be designed to benefit the many, not just the few
- standards will matter more than structures
- intervention will be in reverse proportion to success
- there will be zero toleration of underperformance
- government will work in partnership with all those committed to raising standards.”¹

The 1997 White Paper also made the provision that by the year 2002 that: “there will be greater awareness across society of the importance of education and increased expectations of what can be achieved”, and that “standards of performance will be higher.”² To apply all this, the report recommended the Standards and Effectiveness Unit led by Michael Barber and the Standards Task Force led by Chris Woodhead for the task. ³

The 1997 White Paper then recommended the assessment of pupils from the primary level through holding a baseline assessment from the first year to evaluate their performance all along their primary stage, to be applied from 1998. It called for putting priority on the teaching of literacy and numeracy in primary schools by devoting more hours to them, and their assessment and testing would become strict. It also set challenging national targets for 11 years pupils in English and mathematics, with 80 percent of 11 years pupils reaching the required standards in English and 75 percent in mathematics by 2002. The results of the assessment would be published in the League Tables to show the pupils’ evolution, and inspection would take place at least once every six years by the O.F.S.T.E.D. Meanwhile, the L.E.A.s would be in charge of dealing with schools monitoring, or intervening when necessary to close unsuccessful schools and transferring their pupils to successful ones or reopening them on new grounds. It also supported selection and specialisation. It called for the provision of specialist schools and the selection of pupils to be based on the pupils’ aptitudes vis-à-vis the specialist schools, not their general abilities. ⁴

On the whole, the report and its content on curriculum were welcomed by the press, the teachers and the parents’ organizations, as mentioned in the newspaper, the “Guardian”.⁵ In their turn, the General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, Doug Mc Avoy, the General Secretary of the National Association of Head teachers, David Hart, and the Campaign for

¹ Blunkett, Excellence in Schools, 14.

² Blunkett, Excellence in Schools.

³ Chitty, 65-66.

⁴ Blunkett, Excellence in Schools, 71.

⁵ Chitty, 67.

Advancement of State Education (C.A.S.E) expressed their satisfaction for having found what they had always called for in the White Paper.¹

As a result, the Labour government emphasised raising standards in schools, particularly the primary schools, and to do so, it concentrated on literacy and numeracy. It notably called for primary schools to reintroduce “whole class teaching” and to permit high ability pupils to have fast access to the following levels, and in 1998, it made national syllabuses such as history, geography, design and technology, art, music and physical education not compulsory for primary school pupils. Even the primary schools located in the new Education Action Zones could give up part of their National Curriculum to concentrate more on the basic subjects.

Mike Tomlinson, former Chief Inspector of Schools, confirmed that such a decision had the objective of providing the teachers with more time to devote to literacy and numeracy, but it resulted in menacing the broad and balanced primary school curriculum.² He went further by declaring that it would represent a “silent revolution” in which important subjects like history, geography, art and music would be given less time, and that it would be extended to the above educational levels.³

In 2001, the Blair Labour government, on behalf of D.F.E.E published its Green Paper: “Schools: Building on Success: Raising Standards, Promoting Diversity, Achieving Results”. It acknowledged that thanks to the national targets for literacy and numeracy in 1997, more primary schools pupils finished their level mastering literacy and numeracy.⁴ Actually, pupils could improve their reading skills to attain Level Four from 57 percent in 1996 to 75 percent in 2000, and in mathematics, it was 54 percent in 1996 to increase to 72 percent in 2000.⁵ This corresponds to 60.000 more pupils in English and 155.000 in mathematics, and this was mostly conspicuous in the most disadvantaged areas of the country.⁶

The Green Paper also called for the continuation of the improvement of standards in primary schools. It was planned to reach 85 percent of primary school pupils attaining Level Four or more in English and mathematics, and 35 percent would attain Level Five in all the

¹ Chitty, 68.

² He notably said it during a programme of BBC Four named, “the World Tonight” on 16th May, 2002. Chitty, 163.

³ Chitty, 163.

⁴ Chitty, 72.

⁵ Chitty.

⁶ Chitty.

subjects.¹ The teachers considered such a recommendation as inflexible from the part of the Labour government.²

However, the figures published in September, 2002 demonstrated that the Government had failed before in terms of literacy and numeracy targets for 11-year-old pupils. Only 75 percent of the pupils reached the expected standards in English and 73 percent in mathematics.³ When the figures were published, the Government spokesman declared: “These are our best set of results yet. Teachers and schools be rightly proud of historic achievement. However, we are not complacent, and we will be targeting those activities and schools that continue to underperform with extra support.”⁴

Another report was published by the O.F.S.T.E.D. on 26th, November 2002, backing up the same findings. More than 200.000 pupils aged seven could not read well mainly owing to the teachers’ confusion about how reading should be taught, which had been the result of the Government’s Literacy Strategy. After noticing that the tests’ results remained at the same percentage of 75 percent for three years, Chief Inspector David Bell called for a “critical review” of the Government strategy in terms of teaching reading and writing. For him, there were problems such as the fact that teachers were not well guided when teaching the Phonics Method which consisted in teaching pupils reading and writing with the way the sounds of words were written, rather than remembering their shape. In addition, they did not understand the importance of its application on pupils aged eight or nine in the primary schools.⁵

The “Times Educational Supplement” (T.E.S.) also undertook a poll that showed that they were uncertain about the achievement of the Government’s new targets for 11-year-old pupils, which consisted of 85 percent of the pupils having Level Four in mathematics and English in 2004. According to the Assistant Secretary of the National Secretary for the National Union of Teachers, John Bangs, “It is crystal clear from the findings of the TES poll that the Key Stage One Test in England is simply duplicating teacher assessment and is a thundering waste of time. They can get rid of it in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland; so who is beginning to look like the isolated country?”⁶ The poll also showed the teachers’ opposition to the tests in primary

¹ Chitty,73.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty,164.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ Chitty.

⁶ Chitty.

schools. In fact, eighty percent of them were against the tests for the 7 years old pupils, and more than half did not want them in Key Stage Two Tests.¹

As a result, discontent aroused, especially among the parents, making the Labour government through the D.F.E.S, decide to draft a document entitled: “Excellence and Enjoyment: A Strategy for Primary Schools” in May 2003. In the document, the Education Secretary, Charles Clarke (2002-2004), agreed on the need for more flexibility and teacher autonomy, but added that that policy was just the beginning of the dismantlement of the primary schools targets system. In fact, the target of 85 percent was no longer a must for pupils to achieve Level Four in English and mathematics by 2004, and that would be left to 2006. Moreover, the 7-year-old tests’ results would become a minor aspect to be taken into account by the teachers to evaluate the pupils’ progress.² In addition, the League of Tables of the results of the 11-year old pupils would also be changed to add the O.F.S.T.E.D. inspectors’ judgements about the quality of the schools.³

The new Labour Strategy was generally welcomed by the primary school head teachers, but, some commentators referred to the fact that the Government was sending “mixed” messages about its policy.⁴ For Prof. Maurice Galton, the title was “ambivalent” since the first word “excellence” meant to raise standards in primary schools and the second part revealed the existence of an “attitude problem” for both teachers and pupils. He argued that pupils’ motivation and enjoyment could not work without accountability and testing.⁵ In his turn, Prof. Alexander Robin remarked that there was dishonesty from the part of the Government in terms of its intentions, and that the strategy carried on encouraging the earlier Labour government policy which was “a crude instrumentalism of purpose”.⁶ Even if the Education Secretary, Charles Clarke (2002-2004), spoke about their “flexibility” and “autonomy”, but their application remained unknown. The O.F.S.T.E.D fell under the accusations of both Profs Galton and Robin, for sending confusing messages on whether to follow the Government directives with

¹ Chitty,163.

² At the same time, there was a decline in the number of pupils’ enrolment in primary schools. In fact, after reaching 4.33 million pupils in 1997-1998, it fell by about 2 percent of the previous number in 2002-2003. Curiously, the Government decided to reduce the funds of certain schools during the same period, which led it to enter a conflict with the N.U.T. The latter wanted to know whether there was a link between the funds’ reductions and the fall in the schools’ enrolment. Kevin. J. Brehony, “Primary Schooling under New Labour: The Irresolvable contradiction of excellence and Enjoyment”, Oxford Review of Education, Vol.31, No. 1, March 2005, 31.

³ Chitty,164-165.

⁴ Chitty, 165.

⁵ Chitty.

⁶ Chitty.

regard to standards and accountability. ¹ The Chief Inspector, David Bell, drafted his annual report in 2003, in which he pointed to the pressure put on teachers in primary schools for literacy and numeracy targets, to be the cause for the existence of a two-tier curriculum, which means a separate curriculum made of English and mathematics, and that test results at Key Stage Two were stopped. ²

The Labour government continued to deal with the issues of specialisation and selection, by introducing changes to what the Conservative governments had done and maintaining what it considered appropriate. Although it shared the Conservative point of view of opening more specialist schools, it disagreed on the application of the Assisted Place Scheme and its basis on “general ability” as a means of selection and preferred selection based on the “perceived aptitudes” of the specialist schools³.

Therefore, the D.F.E.E. passed the 1997 Education Act, which abolished the Conservative Assisted Places Scheme, and redirected its funds to the reduction of the class size in primary schools as promised by the 1997 Labour campaign manifesto. It also passed the 1998 School Standards and Framework Act, which made secondary schools select pupils on the basis of their capacity for studying one or more subjects taught in specialist schools, provided that the proportion of one selected age group would not exceed 10 percent.⁴

The reaction of the teachers and educationists was disquiet, since they were afraid that this would lead to schools having a blend of pupils with different abilities and social background, and that no equality could be reached in such conditions. ⁵ In addition, the assumption it was based on was unreliable because it was based on particular talents, not on general ability. This was the view of Professor Peter Mortimore in his article for the “Education Guardian” who wrote that:

“Except in music and perhaps art, it does not seem possible to diagnose specific aptitudes for most school curriculum subjects. Instead, what seems to emerge from such testing is a general ability to learn, which is often, but not always, associated with the various advantages of coming from a middle class home. How can headteachers know if the ‘aptitude’ of a ten-year-old in German shows anything more than the parents’ ability to pay for language lessons? “⁶

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 69.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ Chitty, 69-70

⁶ Chitty, 70.

The Blair Labour government introduced a new aspect in its educational policy known as “inclusion” for the benefits of all the pupils. Indeed, in 1998, the D.F.E.E published the Green Paper: “Excellence for All”, which discussed the provisions for children with special needs, and the establishment of a Social Exclusion Unit within the Cabinet to encourage activities in connection with different departments, including the educational one to help youngsters in risk of being excluded from normal opportunities.

At the same time, the Labour government maintained some Conservative practices such as applying streaming and assessment on pupils. This was seen in the continuing application of separating the pupils into classes according to their intellectual abilities and of assessing them. The maintenance of these practices was explained by the fact that it helped teachers to concentrate on both high-fliers and slow learners separately, without affecting their learning, and to assess them all along to check their progress.

Another decision to support the Conservative selection and specialisation was to stop the old war against grammar schools in 2000. This was officially announced by the then Education Secretary, David Blunkett (1997-2001), to the “Sunday Telegraphy” in March 2000. He justified his position by announcing that he is:

“...not interested in hunting the remaining grammar schools...I’m desperately trying to avoid the whole debate in education once again, as it was in the 1960s and 1970s, concentrating on the issue of selection, when it should be concentrating on the raising of standards...Arguments about selection are part of a part agenda. We have set up a system which says ‘if you don’t like grammar schools, you can get rid of them’; but it isn’t really the key issue for the year 2000. The *real* issue is what we are going to do about the whole of secondary education...There are only 164 grammar schools-let’s get on with the job of giving a decent education to all the kids.”¹

This had been preceded by a historical vote by parents in south Yorkshire about the inclusion of children of different abilities in the Ripon Grammar School. The majority, which represented 75 percent of the parents, voted against, showing the parents’ determination to support selection, and even the pro-comprehensive parents did not attempt to discuss the resulting vote.² The new Education Secretary, Estelle Morris (2001-2002), accepted the results declaring that:”The Government respects if decision of parents to retain the current admission arrangements at Ripon

¹ Chitty, 71.

² However, the Ripon Branch of the Campaign for State Education criticized the results by claiming that 25 per cent of the parents were not from the area, and the same percentage of parents living in the area enrolled their children in preparatory schools. Chitty.

Grammar School...At all stages of the debate, the decision has been a matter for the parents, and they have all had the chance to express their views.”¹ As a result, other parents, who were against specialisation and selection, were discouraged to do the same in the rest of the country.²

However, the Education Secretary, Estelle Morris, aroused controversy when she criticised the Government policy on specialisation and selection in summer 2002.³ She shed light on the contradictions of the Government policy by pointing to the fact that the Government defended the concept of “opportunity for all” through the comprehensive schools by providing the same education to all, and at the same time called for the introduction of specialism in schools.⁴ For her, the Government failed in its mission because it provided the same education to all the pupils, and did not provide the pupils with the kind of education that corresponded to them individually.⁵

Meanwhile, in June, 2002, she expressed her belief that the comprehensive system failed to raise the educational standards, and promised to end up with it to give more importance to specialisation and selection. This aroused criticism from the part of the press and media which qualified her statement as “ill-judged”.⁶

As a result, a debate aroused on whether she was going to resign or not for such reasons, which made her take the decision to leave on 23rd October, 2002, and justify her departure by the fact that she was unable to deal with a department like that of education.⁷ In her departure letter, she referred to the issues she was good at and those she was weak at as follows:

“In many ways I feel I achieved more in my first job as a minister than in the Second. I’ve learned what I’m good at, and also what I am less good at. I’m good at dealing with the major issues and in communicating to the teaching profession. I am less good at strategic management of a huge department, and I am not good at dealing with the modern media. All this has meant that with some of the recent situations I have been involved in, I have not felt I have been as effective as I should have been, or as effective as you need me to be.”⁸

She was then succeeded by Charles Clarke (2002-2004) who was more severe and combative.⁹

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 77.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ Chitty.

⁶ Chitty.

⁷ Chitty, 80-81.

⁸ Chitty.

⁹ Chitty.

In 2002, another problem related to curriculum content in the specialist schools emerged. As it has been mentioned earlier, the Labour government had established faith-based schools before, but, such a policy started to encounter difficulties. In fact, the “Guardian” revealed that the Emmanuel Technology College in Gateshead, Tyne and Wear presented creationism scientifically. Consequently, a set of Liberal Democrats, senior churchmen and scientists gathered and asked the O.F.S.T.E.D to inspect what was taught in it. The reaction of the Prime Minister, Tony Blair was to support the school by praising its good academic results. This problem led to put into question the Labour government policy of specialisation and private sponsoring.¹

In 2004, the issue of specialization and selection was dealt with in two documents; the first one entitled, “Right to Choose” published by the Conservative Party, and the second one “A Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners” elaborated by the Labour government. The Conservative Party’s document announced that the educational standards were low despite the fact that there were efforts and financial means to raise them, and that third of the teachers had the desire of leaving the profession after five years because of the existing bureaucracy, its overload work, and the deteriorating pupils’ behaviour.² This resulted in the parents’ dissatisfaction and their adoption of other solutions such as changing their pupils’ schools, or opting for the private sector. This reality made the Conservatives opt for educational policies such as opening various types of schools, giving the parents the right to choose among the best schools, and providing the professional with more independence in their work.³ The second document stressed the concept of “personalisation” which consisted in putting the individuals at the centre, and meeting their needs through the provision of various schools. The result was the elaboration of five principles namely:

- “-Greater personalization and choice, with the wishes and needs of children’s services, parents and learners centre-stage.
- The opening up of services to new and different providers and ways of delivering services.
- freedom and independence for frontline head teachers, governors and managers with clear accountabilities and more secure streamlined funding arrangements.
- a major commitment to staff development, with high quality support and training to improve assessment, care and teaching.
- partnerships with parents, employers, volunteers and voluntary organisations to maximize the life chances of children, young people and adults.”⁴

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty, 82.

³ Chitty, 82-83

⁴ Chitty.

On the whole, one can say that both documents aimed at converting the educational system from a uniform one to a diverse and flexible one. This would be done via the creation of new types of schools to be financed and managed by the private enterprise through sponsorship, philanthropy and religious groups, educational trusts, private companies and even parents.

The White Paper: “Higher Standards, Better Schools for All: More Choice for Parents and Pupils” in 2005, called for the extension of specialisation to the primary schools, and could be undertaken by trusts made of businesses, charities, faith groups, universities, parents or community organizations. They could also have similar freedom” to appoint the governing body, control their own assets, employ their own staff and set their own admissions criteria while having regard to the Admissions Code of Practice.”¹ Moreover, these new schools would be under the heading of foundation schools, Trust Schools, voluntary-aided schools or where appropriate Academies. In case these schools did not succeed in their tasks, they would be given a period of twelve months to remedy to their weaknesses, and if they could not, they would be handed to another Trust.²

The White Paper aroused the criticism of the Labour members, the N.U.T and some of the comprehensive school campaigners, because the content of the document was seen as a way to put the educational sector under privatization. This posed a number of problems because its implementation would lead to freedom of admission, which would lead to admission for all the pupils, the introduction of certain implications in the selection of pupils and the segregation of schools, the fear to lose local accountability by supporting more private Trusts to sponsor their own brands, and putting the schools under unknown Trusts. Instead, the N.U.T proposed the maintenance of schools admission under the control of the L.E.A.s, whereas the “Forum” editor referred to the absence of human educability in the proposals with children being divided into four groups, namely the gifted and talented, the struggling and the just average. Prof. Sally Tomlinson, from Oxford University, criticised the document as being made of repetitions and contradictions, noticeable in the fact that L.E.A.s were asked to contribute to the establishment of this new system of schools and at the same time were compelled to apply choice and diversity when school places were given to pupils.³

In spite of the fact that the Education Secretary Ruth Kelly (2004-2006) met difficulties in supporting the new proposals, she could contribute to the elaboration of the 2006 Education

¹ Chitty, 86.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 87.

Bill, which was based on the White Paper proposals. The content of the Bill included the obligation of the schools to apply the Admission Code, the prohibition of the interview process in the selection and the opening of new community schools when a gap or replacement was subject to the Secretary of State's approval. However, other parts of the bill, which Prof. Clyde Chitty considered as worrying, comprised the continuing application of informal selection owing to the existing rivalry between the schools with priority to the "motivated" pupils, to the detriment of the "weak and vulnerable" pupils.¹ Although opposition was intense from the part of the Labour Party members, the Bill was approved of at the first and second readings and rejected at the third one. The White Paper and the 2006 Education Bill were illustrations of the Labour government's (2001-2005) determination to privatize the educational sector. In the meantime, the National Curriculum carried on evolving under the leadership of the Labour Government.

In 2007, Prof. Galton summed up ten years of Labour education policy from 1997 to 2007, and came to the conclusion that the Labour government was not that successful in raising the overall educational standards. For him, the few Labour successes were in the first years, and were conspicuous in the National Curriculum tests in Key Stage Two in English and mathematics which started to reach their peak by the end of 2001, and it had remained the same on up to 2005.² Moreover, pupils' attitude to learning started to change, in particular with subjects such as English, mathematics and science, which was seen in the pupils' declining motivation and their reluctance to start new challenges and creativity.³ In addition, teachers complained about the fact that they worked a lot to provide the pupils with a broad curriculum, and that they felt stressed because the Government no longer took their curricular expertise into account.⁴ He added that primary school teaching began to become similar to secondary school teaching, in terms of rapidity in teaching, teachers holding speech and limiting questioning with emphasis on transmission, not exploration.⁵ Meanwhile, Labour continued the Conservative's education privatization policy and centred on issues such as citizenship education, race, religion and immigration, homosexuality and gender to be incorporated in the curriculum and privatisation.

¹ Chitty, 88.

² Chitty, 166.

³ Chitty.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ Chitty.

III.5.The Labour Government and its Policy on Citizenship and Race, Religion and Immigration, Homosexuality and Gender and Privatization (1997-2007):

These issues were given importance because of the different events that took place during the period under discussion such as the terrorist attacks in 2001 and 2005, the improvement of the schooling results of some black pupils and the evolution of society in sexual and gender matters, and the extension of the private sector on primary education.

The issue of citizenship education had not been given importance until the coming of Labour to power in 1997. In fact, the previous Governments had been busy tackling other educational problems such as educational standards. Such an interest took place thanks to the Education Secretary, David Blunkett (1997-2001), who appointed an Advisory Group on citizenship, which was chaired by Prof. Bernard Crick. The Advisory's main aim was to advise the Labour government on what should be effective citizenship education and its application in schools. The result was a report entitled, "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools", in September, 1998. The content of this report included the aims of citizenship education in schools and colleges and sought to enrich its content to contribute to more participation in democracy, to make pupils aware of their rights and duties, to render them more responsible to have future involved citizens, and for this the school would have an important role. ¹

Three aspects of citizenship education showed up during the debate and became a school planning framework namely, "social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy". ² The importance of learning outcomes was also dealt with by the Advisory Group as follows:

"We unanimously recommend that...the entitlement to citizenship education is established by setting out specific learning outcomes for each key stage, rather than detailed programmes of study. We advise substituting for the present input and output model of the existing National Curriculum subjects, an output model alone based on tightly defined learning outcomes. This will offer flexibility to schools in relation to local conditions and opportunities, and allow the possibility of different approaches to citizenship education, involving differing subject combinations and aspects of the curriculum based on existing good practice in each school...Moreover, the learning outcomes should be tightly enough defined so that standards and objectivity can be inspected by OFSTED." ³

¹ Chitty, 235

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 236.

Unlike the three aspects mentioned above, the learning outcomes of each key stage aroused much controversy and debate because they represented a set of instructions to the teachers. This was mainly the case of the educationists who called for teaching-learning process to be less prescriptive. Moreover, these learning outcomes were found on essential elements namely “concepts, values and dispositions, skills and aptitudes, knowledge and understanding”.

Following the Report, the application of these elements all along the key stages of education, in the form of concepts, would make sure that pupils achieve the required learning outcomes and therefore apply citizenship education successfully. These key concepts were listed as such, “democracy and autocracy, co-operation and conflict, equality and diversity, fairness, justice and the role of law, rules, law and human rights, freedom and order, individual and community, power and authority and right and responsibilities”.¹

With the issue of race, the Labour Home Secretary, Jack Straw, demanded Sir William Macpherson to investigate into the circumstances of the death of Stephen Lawrence, referred to in the previous section, and ended up in the publication of a report in 1999. This report comprised a set of implications and recommendations that was to be applied to the investigation and prosecution in racial crimes and institutions and agencies responsible for ending up with racism as stipulated in the report:

“Racism, institutional or otherwise, is not the prerogative of the Police Service. It is clear that other agencies, including, for example, those dealing with housing and education, also suffer from the disease. If racism is to be eradicated, there must be specific and co-ordinated action both within the Agencies themselves and by society at large, particularly through the educational system, from pre-primary school upwards and onwards.”²

The concluding part of the reports, entitled “Prevention and the Role of Education” listed the following recommendations:

“-That consideration be given to amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society.
-That Local Education Authorities and School Governors have the duty to create and implement strategies in their schools to prevent and address racism. Such strategies should include:
-that schools record all racist incidents;
-that all recorded incidents are reported to the pupils’ parents: guardians, School Governors and LEAs;

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty, 239.

-That the number of racist incidents are published annually on a school-by-school basis, and
-That the numbers and self-defined ethnic identity of 'excluded pupils were published annually on a school-by-school basis.
-that OFSTED inspection includes examination of the implementation of such strategies.
-That in creating strategies under the provisions of the Crime and Disorder Act or otherwise. Police Services, Local Government and relevant agencies should consider implementing community and local initiatives aimed at promoting cultural diversity and addressing racism and the need for focused, consistent support for such initiatives.”¹

Home Secretary Jack Straw recognized the existence of institutional racism in the country, which was an impediment to the application and spread of multicultural and anti-racist education, and called for its eradication.² However, his view was opposed, especially that the argument of “institutional racism” began to be questioned, and therefore, the Labour government had to change its policy. In David Blunkett’s words, “institutional racism...missed the point.”³

The issue of Islam and Muslims was also affected owing to the outbreak of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, U.S.A in 2001. In fact, the Western world was infuriated against the Muslims, in particular those living in their countries, which aroused debate about the cultural and religious differences between the Western world and the Islamic one.

As a result, the issues of cultural relativism, which allowed ethnic and religious groups to live their religions and culture freely, and the coming of asylum seekers were criticised. This was the case of the nationalist fractions such as the British National Party (B.N.P.), which called for taking back the control of their country by the whites.⁴ They debated matters such as whether women should wear the niqab at work or young girls to undress because of physical education at school.⁵

As a reaction to all these events, the Labour government had to go back to the policy of ‘social cohesion’ and to restrict its immigration policy by passing the Race Relations Amendment Act in 2001. It appointed Hazel Blears as the Communities and Local Government Secretary to apply this policy. The reason behind was the fear to see faith and ethnic groups control neighbourhoods, frightening others and therefore threatening social cohesion.⁶

¹ Chitty, 240.

² Ward and Eden, 143.

³ Ward and Eden, 144.

⁴ Ward and Eden.

⁵ Ward and Eden.

⁶ Ward and Eden, 145.

The Commission for Racial Equality (C.R.E.), which dealt with anti-racism, was merged to other equality organizations, to become known as the Human Rights Commission in 2004. The objective behind was to limit its influence and make race as part of a whole human rights' demand.¹

Following the 7/7 bombings in London in 2005, the Labour government had to show its ability to handle the problem by applying a more severe immigration and security policy. This was seen in the Metropolitan Police mistake of shooting the Brazilian electrician, Jean Charles de Menezes, who they thought was a terrorist.²

Meanwhile, pupils coming from minority groups started doing well in their examinations, girls, in particular, which made the reason of white racism look simple.³ The chairperson of the Commission for Racial Equality, Trevor Phillips, denounced the fact that the application of multiculturalism supported the establishment of ghettos and encouraged segregation. Instead, he called for the end of societal division and the spread of shared values, and therefore unity.⁴ He also put the blame on black families for pointing to white racism as the main source of their failures.⁵

The issue of prejudice against homosexuality and the attitude of the teachers were also brought under the spotlight in 2000 thanks to an editorial in the newspaper, the "Observer". The latter defended this issue by writing that:

"Teachers have no wish to be in the business of 'promoting' any kind of sexuality, or family structure, over another. Section 28 was never about 'promotion' in this sense- it was all about stopping teachers from even talking about same-sex relationships as real, and serious, parts of the adult world for which children were being prepared. The main reason for ditching Section 28 as soon as possible is to allow children to be taught about real world, a world in which moral values such as commitment, fidelity, care and responsibility are more important than ever but are not attached exclusively to the marriage contract."⁶

During the same year, the D.F.E.E. also issued a document called, "Sex and Relationship Education Guidance", which tackled the topic of sex and relationship education in schools, to

¹ Ward and Eden.

² Ward and Eden.

³ Ward and Eden, 145-146.

⁴ Ward and Eden, 146.

⁵ Ward and Eden.

⁶ Chitty, 241-2.

take the place of the prevailing used circulars and to adapt sex education to the 1999 revised National Curriculum. This document sought to encourage the teaching of the importance of marriage and having children and family. At the same time, it referred to the fact that there were other kinds of relationships outside the marriage. In this case, the pupils had to be provided with correct and detailed information with the objective of having the required skills to understand difference and to accept it, to have mutual respect and to stop prejudice. This was reflected in the section entitled “Sexual Identity and Sexual Orientation”, and the following quotation is an extract from it:

“It is up to all schools to make sure that the needs of all students are met in their sex education programmes. Young people, whatever their developing sexuality, need to feel that sex and relationship education is relevant to them and sensitive to their needs. The Secretary of State Education and Employment is clear that teachers should be able to deal honestly and sensitively with sexual orientation, answer appropriate questions and offer support. At the same time, there should be no direct promotion of sexual orientation.”¹

Nevertheless, the Bill that would have abolished the application of “Section 28” in the House of Lords was abolished.²

Previously, gender issues had been concerned with the provision of education and job facilities for girls. With the coming of the Blair Labour government, attention was directed to the boys at schools, in particular the “failing boys’ phenomenon” of the working class people.³ As a result, politicians and journalists put emphasis on the issue when they discussed and debated educational matters, and became known as the “moral panic”.⁴ In 1996, the former Chief Schools Inspector, Chris Woodhead, expressed his annoyance to the phenomenon by stating: “the failure of boys, and in particular, of white working class boys, is one of the most disturbing problems we face within the whole education system.”⁵

The reasons behind the failure of working class males differed from one thinker to another. They included the feeling that boys had when thinking about the future, in particular the job market, the existence of collapsed industries and the loss of men’s jobs. There was also the

¹ Chitty, 242.

² Section 28 was finally abolished in 2003. Chitty.

³ Chitty, 242-243.

⁴ Chitty, 243.

⁵ Chitty.

fact that more women started to be employed in other sectors, which led to the emasculation of men and the change in the working lifestyle. ¹

The fear of some boys to have their masculinity put into question because they worked hard and obtained good results was also a cause for their failure. Some of the successful boys were considered as “sissies” or “poofs” and were disturbed by the stronger boys. This was shown by Mairtin Mac an Ghail (1994) and Tony Sewell (1997) in their research that some boys at school attempted to become men by adopting certain behaviours to impose themselves on the rest of the class by showing their strength and sexual identity on the others, and abandoning the perspective of succeeding at school. This issue was discussed on B.B.C TV Programme “Panorama” called, “the Future is Female”. It referred to the girls’ overtaking of the boys at schools in terms of education, and that the future was made for girls occupying important jobs. This quotation shows some of the questions asked to children: “...when asked ‘what would you think of a boy who worked hard at school? One 6-year-old boy replied without hesitation: ‘He’s not a boy’”. ²

The concern for boys’ under-achievement happened to the detriment of girls’ place at school. This was known as the problem of class distinction and was discussed in the O.F.S.T.E.D, and the Inspector and the educational Consultant Gillian Plummer’s book “Falling Working Class Girls” in 2000.³ Another issue of the Labour government concern was the problem of segregation and the attempt to fight it by integration. This was done through the establishment of “faith-based” schools.

The privatization of the educational sector was developed during Tony Blair’s premiership. Even though it had never been referred to as P.F.I, it was maintained and discussed through the Public Private Partnership (P.P.P). The latter, which implied more contracts between the public and private sector, permitted the finance of the first two schools by the P.F.I in 1999. Moreover, the Labour government expected the use of the private funds to finance its new building programme known as “Building Schools for the Future”. This policy was advantageous for the Government for it permitted them not to spend money, or to postpone it in the future, and at the same time it helped L.E.As to obtain the necessary funds to finance their education policy. It also provided ‘value for money ‘and more efficiency in the educational sector. ⁴

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 244.

⁴ Chitty, 96-97.

However, the Birmingham and Glasgow Finance Directors started to put into question the argument put forward in favour of the “value for money”, and that there was no other possibility for a source of income. For instance, the Glasgow Finance Director, George Black doubted whether it was value for money. But it was the only game in town. It’s the way you get money back into your services”.¹ There were other drawbacks such as the issue of the costs which were more expensive than those of the State, and included the fees to be paid to private consultants and the profits earned by the private firms. In fact, in 2001, the estimate of the costs reached 10 percent more than the previous Government expenses. In addition, the Labour government accepted to apply P.P.P on the basis of value for money which made the private firms reduce their expenses by limiting the staff number, notably by recruiting them on flexible contracts terms.

The private sector reached other educational spheres such as the “failing comprehensive schools”. This was the case of the Surrey County Council which called for the services of private companies to manage the failing comprehensive school of King’s Manor in Guildford in 1998, and one year later, 3Es Enterprises Ltd was contracted out.² However, the issue of having the schools managed by private enterprise carried on arousing debate and controversy in the educational world.

The same year was characterized by the beginning of the privatization of the L.E.As. This was the case of the Islington Local Education Authority which was put under the running of the private consultancy, the Cambridge Education Associates, which was also the most important contractor for school inspections.³ This decision was officialised to the press by the Schools Minister, Estelle Morris (1998-2001), who declared that it was “a new beginning” and added that her intention was to extend this “in up to 15 more local education authorities”.⁴ This was followed by another L.E.A, namely the Hackney Authority.

In March, 2000, the Labour government, through its Education Secretary, David Blunkett (1997-2001), took up the issue of private schools to deal with the problem of “underperformance and low expectation” in certain areas where the inner-schools were located. It was based on the legislation of the 1988 Education Act, and had the objective of easing the opening of City

¹ Chitty, 97.

² 3Es Enterprises Ltd was a private company which had set up the Kingshurst City Technology College (CTC) in the West Midlands Borough of Solihull in 1998. Curiously, the company’s Managing Director was married to the Principal of the Kingshurst CTC. As a result, controversy aroused as to the fact that schools were managed by private enterprises. Chitty,100-101.

³ Chitty, 101.

⁴ Chitty.

Technology Colleges all over the country, which was seen as a new form of the Conservatives' C.T.C. project.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the Education Secretary, David Blunkett's plan to establish City Academies reached 17 during Tony Blair's second premiership.¹ Later on, with the publication of the "Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners" in 2004, the Labour government sought to add 60 more City Academies by 2010, and then in 2006, David Blunkett set the bar to 400 but with no mention of a deadline.² As a result, 10 more schools were opened in 2005 and 19 in 2006, totalling 46.³ Their role was to place schools where there was need for them or to replace those which did not perform well. During the 2005 Labour Conference, Tony Blair declared that those schools were providing poor pupils who lived in deprived areas with education.⁴ However, they posed the problem of sponsorship and accountability, and their pupils were under the influence of their ideas and beliefs. This was the case of the faith school which sought to teach creationism as a scientific fact.

On the whole, the privatization of the educational sector with its P.F.I. and P.P.P, mentioned earlier developed and their costs were important. Indeed, the late 2004 saw the number of the P.F.I. school projects reaching 86, with its 500 schools and cost at £2.4b.⁵ Moreover, the whole value of the same year amounted £7.7b, including £900 million for educational and skills projects.⁶ As far as Academies were concerned, they remained out of the P.F.I and P.P.P control with regard to schools building and management. In the words of Prof. Stephen Ball: "the multi-faceted nature of P.F.Is has re-worked the landscape of public sector provision and has become part of the re-positioning of local government as service commissioners".⁷ In addition, the Labour government referred to the redefinition of the local role played by the P.F.I and P.P.P, and the limitation of the L.E.A.s' role as follows:

"PPP is one of the Government's main instruments for delivering higher quality and more cost-effective public services, with the public sector as an *enabler* and, where appropriate, guardian of the interests of the users and consumers of public services. It is not simply about the financing of capital investment in services, but about exploiting the full range of private sector management, commercial and creative skills."⁸

¹ Chitty,103.

² It was even thought to extend the pupils age range for these schools from three to nineteen years old. Chitty,106.

³ Chitty,103.

⁴ Chitty,106.

⁵ Chitty, 97.

⁶ Chitty.

⁷ Chitty, 98.

⁸ Chitty.

There was in fact a global concern for the private sector to deal with State affairs, which was the case of England. The World Bank agreed by stating that: “although the state still has a central role in ensuring the provision of basic services-education, health, infrastructure- it is not obvious that the state must be the only provider, or indeed, a provider at all.”¹

However, some private companies did not do well in 2004, and criticism aroused. This was the case of the company Capita which signed a contract of £177m with the State in the educational field. Its task was to apply Government policy of raising standards in English and mathematics in primary and secondary schools. This implies to recruit consultants in English and mathematics to help the L.E.A.s and schools to reach the Government objectives so as to reduce under-achievement and raise the pupils’ results. However, Capita, which had always been the favourite company of the Labour government, did not perform well in previous contracts, making the Conservatives put into question its competency. This was seen in the mismanaged introduction of the Criminals Records Bureau in the teaching profession, referred to previously, which made the teachers’ criminal background system collapse in 2002.

On the whole, for the historian Jeremy Black, Tony Blair’s policy on education started well, but did not develop through time. In his book, “Britain A Nation Transformed”, he wrote:

“Tony Blair came to power in 1997 emphasizing his commitment to ‘education, education, education’, but was also unable to do much to improve the situation. In practice, the national straitjacket of control was measured in terms of more exams and a greater role for national standards, the results of which were presented in school league tables, but education failed to deliver the ‘outcomes’ anticipated by the government.”²

He saw that Tony Blair’s policy contributed to the establishment of a “malaise” and a gap between what was declared and reality.³ His period ended up with his replacement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown (1997-2007) in 2007, and the continuing Third Way Labour primary education policy.

IV. Gordon Brown Third Way Labour Government and Primary Education (2007-2010):

When Gordon Brown was appointed Prime Minister to replace Tony Blair in 2007, he had to tackle different educational problems. He appointed his Education Secretary Ed Balls to

¹ Chitty.

² Jeremy Black, Britain A Nation Transformed (Great Britain: Constable and Robinson Ltd, 2010) 204.

³ Black, 204-205.

adapt the education administration and finance, curriculum, schools, and staff policies and other issues such as the education privatisation and welfare services. The aims were to continue with the Labour educational policy and to calm down the prevailing criticism. This became even harder when the General Elections campaign started in 2010, and put primary education at the top of the different topics to be debated on.

IV.1. The Primary Education Administration and Finance (2007-2010):

The educational administration witnessed different changes. They included the division of the D.F.E.S, the return of the central-local administration partnership, the replacement of the Q.C.A by the Office for Qualifications and Examinations Regulator (O.Q.E.R.), criticism of the O.F.S.T.E.D and the issue of finance in the educational field.

In 2007, the Brown Labour government decided to divide the Department for Education and Skills into two parts namely, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (D.C.S.F.) and the Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills (D.I.U.S). The former, which is the concern of this work, was responsible for primary education, and worked with the Treasury and the Departments of Work and Pensions, Health and Culture. The reason behind this cooperation was that primary education could not be developed without finance, health and sport issues.¹

The period under discussion witnessed the return of the central-local partnership to lessen the heavy burden of the central authority in providing education, primary education in particular. This implies the cooperation between the central D.C.S.F. and the L.E.A.s, the teachers, the governing bodies, the head teachers, the parents and even the social services. This cooperation was asked by the Labour Chair of the House of Commons Children, Schools and Families Committee, Barry Sheerman, and the Local Government Information Unit, John Fowler.²

In 2008, the D.C.S.F. decided to create the Office for the Qualifications and Examinations Regulator, (O.Q.E.R), under Kathleen Tattersall, with a view to replacing the Q.C.A. led by Ken Boston, referred to in the previous chapter. This implies that the Q.C.D continued its work until the O.Q.E.R, an independent institution from the State. It was fully recognized after the passing of the Apprenticeships, Skills, Children and Learning Act in 2009. It took the responsibilities of the Q.C.D. since it became in charge of the task of dealing with the regulation of examinations, qualifications and tests.

¹ See Appendix III on page 219 for the list of the Labour Education Secretaries, from 2007 to 2010.

² Derek Gillard, "Brown and Balls: Mixed Messages (2007-2010)", *Education in England: a Brief History*, 2011, www.educationengland.org.uk/history, p.7.

This Act was followed by the passing 2008 Children and Young Persons and the 2009 Apprenticeship, Skills Children and Learning Acts. These Acts stipulated that central control would not deal with all the problems related to primary education, and that local bodies could tackle them, which included the L.E.A.s the teachers' services, the social work services, the governing bodies, the parents and the O.F.S.T.E.D. For instance, the 2009 Apprenticeship, Skills Children and Learning Act created a new service for parents to complain, and a body to support staff pay and conditions. It also changed the arrangements of the schools' inspection, by rendering the O.F.S.T.E.D responsible for inspecting children's services, schools and childcare, and made provision for pupils' misbehaviour.

Given the fact that there was pressure to raise educational standards and the Government enhancing role for more local intervention, the O.F.S.T.E.D Chief Inspector Christine Gilbert decided to organise surprised visits to schools according to their performances. The best schools would be visited once every six years and the lowest ones would have yearly visits until they could raise their educational standards. The O.F.S.T.E.D also sent letter to pupils that included complaints about their schools such as the fact that teachers did not do their job properly which would impact on their future. Such a practice was criticised by the N.A.S.U.W.T General Secretary, Chris Keates, the children's services chiefs, the head teachers' leaders and M.P.s who were opposed to the growing role of the O.F.S.T.E.D, arguing that its role was a waste of time and even a failure, considering their inspectors being incompetent and giving importance to inspections rather than pupils and their care, and providing some primary schools with failing status for simple reasons. ¹ The O.F.S.T.E.D spokesman's reaction was to defend it because it helped the pupils take part in the inspection process, and therefore the development of the schools. In addition, it provided more lesson observation, criticised the influence of tests to the detriment of the pupils learning in the classroom, and attacked those weak teachers and the difficulty to remove them. ²

In 2009, the O.F.S.T.E.D became much more important owing to the deteriorating behaviour of the pupils. To solve the problem, the inspecting body associated the pupils' misbehaviour with the teachers and their boring teaching. Indeed, for the O.F.S.T.E.D, misbehaviour was due to the lack of motivation from the part of the teachers and the teaching methods. Henceforth, the O.F.S.T.E.D appointed inspectors who would identify the teachers'

¹ Gillian, 38-39.

² Gillian.

difficulties and advise them about what was wrong in the classroom and why there was pupils' lack of attention.

As for the finance of primary education, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Alistair Darling, provided £74bn to the education sector to be spent until 2010, which represented more than the other sectors received.¹ However, it remained less than what had been spent before owing to the 2008 Economic Crisis and the necessity to realise cuts in financial expenses. These administrative and financial issues were also to affect the Labour policy in terms of primary education curriculum.

IV.2. The Labour Government Primary Education Curriculum Policy (2007-2010):

Under Gordon Brown premiership (2007-2010), the Education Secretary Ed Ball, was interested in curricular issues, especially the literacy and numeracy policy, the impact of poverty on the poor pupils' education and the worrying problem of pupils' misbehaviour in the primary schools, which led to the passing of the 2010 Child Poverty Act. He also had to deal with the criticism of the N.U.T. concerning constraining curriculum issues on the pupils, the discrimination some faith schools applied on some pupils and the Government military propaganda to attract pupils for military career. There was also the publication of 23 Conservative interim reports and the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons Children, Schools and Families, known as the "National Curriculum" in 2009. The O.F.S.T.E.D assessed the literacy and numeracy Government policy which criticised the work of the Labour government in education. In reaction to that, the Education Secretary, Ed Ball, published the Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum (I.R.P.C) in 2009, and the White Paper: "Your Child, Your Schools, Our Future" in 2010 to defend the Government education policy. The Education Secretary was also confronted to a set of criticisms and scandals related to the S.A.T.s and their maintenance, and homophobia in primary schools.

For this, the document Children's Plan: "Building Brighter Futures", was drafted in 2007, and sought to fight illiteracy, poverty, and antisocial behaviour, and set 2020 as the year for reaching their objectives, notably in primary education. For this they had to involve all those concerned with the issue, namely, the pupils, the parents, the teachers and politicians. Ed Ball set five principles namely, support parents and families, support pupils by not wasting their talents, and adapt ancillary services to education to such objectives, help pupils enjoy their childhood and be ready for adult life, and to reduce pupils' failure because of the emergence of a crisis.

¹ Gillian, 2.

This plan was agreed on by the children's campaigners, who pointed to the fact that different sectors and people were asked to take part in it, or the fact that poverty was seen as an impediment, and the plan's attempt to fight it was positive. The teachers also approved of the plan, but required the help of other services to apply it.

As a result, in 2010, the Labour government (2007-2010) passed the Child Poverty Act. The Labour government took into account the document Children's Plan: "Building Brighter Futures, and understood that to put into effect its education policies, in literacy and numeracy, it had to reduce poverty that it considered as the main reason behind under achievement. For this, the Act established targets and made provision to realise it.

From 2008 to 2009, Prof. Alexander Robin published independent interim reports to deal with the conditions of the primary educational level and its future in England.¹ They helped understand the policy of the Labour government during the last ten years.² They stated that the Government's management of the primary schools made teachers lose their working autonomy by following pre-prescribed lesson plans, coming from Whitehall. At the same time, they noticed that high achieving pupils became bored and frustrated, and those low-achieving ones turned into more anxious and frightened pupils as a result of the fear of failure.³ The quality of primary education also declined because the curriculum had narrowed, and the test preparation had increased. As a result, the pupils considered the learning experience as 'unsatisfactory, un-motivating and uncomfortable.'⁴ In this sense, Prof. Clyde Chitty raised three questions namely:

“...whether the billion-pound Literacy and Numeracy and Primary Strategies and the elaborate apparatus of key stage tests have actually given value for money; about the reliability of the test evidence on which claims about ‘national standards’ and ‘world class performance’ are based; about the imbalance of summative and formative assessment- which may militate against further improvement- and about the extreme narrowness of the received definition of ‘standards.’”⁵

As a result, the content of these reports did not please the ministers, and their content was not taken into account. However, some of their findings related to the distorting effects of the national S.A.T.s were used by the House of Commons, Children, Schools and Families Select

¹ Chitty, p.91.

² Chitty.

³ Chitty, 167.

⁴ Chitty.

⁵ Chitty.

Committee which criticised the emphasis that was on tests to the detriment of the improvement of the pupils' knowledge and understanding at the primary schools. ¹

The C.S.F.C also published its "National Curriculum" in 2009. It considered the application of a one way method in the National Curriculum as negative, and called for revising it for a period of five years to encourage different curricular approaches and at the same time be less prescriptive. It also proposed to provide the teachers with more freedom in their work by abandoning the National Strategies as the teachers' guidance, relying more on educational researches, and encouraging cooperation between them and the practitioners. It also criticized the tests, supported more continuity between the educational stages, and gave more consideration to the pupils' point of views. ²

In February, 2010, the O.F.S.T.E.D undertook an assessment of the effectiveness of the national literacy and numeracy strategies. As far as the primary schools were concerned, it revealed that a third of the primary schools did not solve the problem of weaknesses in "basic teaching skills".³ It advanced the fact that the schools gave more importance to mathematics, English and science to the detriment of the other subjects. In addition, the teachers and local authorities could not do their job effectively because they were busy with the load of documentation from the central authority. The answer of Ed Ball was that the national strategies would be abolished to lessen central control and encourage collaboration among the schools. ⁴

To counter attack, the Labour government issued another report to praise its policy. In fact, in 2008, Ed Balls appointed Sir Jim Rose to undertake an independent investigation on primary school curriculum, which became known as the I.R.P.C. Its interim report gave importance to curriculum to be given on both subject and cross-curricular basis, and according to the situation, and at the same time to be more flexible and richer with more importance to numeracy and literacy, play and drama, technology and the teaching of only one or two foreign languages to be chosen by the the primary school. There was also emphasis on the fact that pupils should have better personal, social and health education and in parallel, physical education to become healthy and responsible citizens in the future. Transition from one stage to another should be done smoothly and the pupils being born in summer should have full-time or in some

¹ Chitty.

² C.S.F.C, National Curriculum: Fourth Report of Session 2008-2009 (Great Britain: House of Commons, 11 March,2009) 39-43.

³ Gillian, 37.

⁴ Gillian.

cases part-time attendance at school earlier than the legal age.¹As far as the areas of the primary curriculum were concerned, they were set into six areas of learning, namely “English, communication and languages understanding, mathematical understanding, scientific and technological understanding, human, social and environmental understanding, physical health and well-being understanding and the arts and design understanding.”² It also advocated the application of the National Curriculum and its revision from time to time, and asked for more stability for the teachers to apply it effectively. However, the report was criticized as raising problems, but not offering practical solutions.

The I.R.P.C’s final report was published in 2009, and dealt with the importance of the subjects, and cross-curricular studies, but considered the knowledge, skills and understanding as not being enough. It also gave importance to curriculum progress with more connection between the key stages, the mastery of literacy and numeracy, languages and information and communication for eleven years pupils and more reliance on personal development.³

In 2009, the Labour government published the White Paper: “Your Child, Your Schools, Our Future”. It criticized the fact that the Government was yielding the important Blair’s policy of the National Strategies for Literacy and Numeracy, and asked for the establishment of a personalised teaching for pupils on the basis of their needs. The requirement for more flexibility and innovation from the part of the teachers by putting an end to State intervention in the teaching methods, more accountability from the part of schools and teachers and the provision of support to help them were also defined. It also called for more cooperation between the central, the local authorities, the private consultants, the governing bodies and the parents in the management of schools and education, the cooperation between primary schools for the pupils’ sake, the opening of more private schools, the support for order, discipline and safety at school, the encouragement of pupils to take part in, physical and cultural activities to enhance their health and well being.

As far as the tests were concerned, the House of Commons, Children, Schools and Families Committee, chaired by Barry Sheerman, published its report on the S.A.T.s, entitled: “Testing and Assessment” in 2008. The report criticized that the S.A.T.s for their negative

¹ Jim Rose, The Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum: Interim Report (Great Britain: D.C.S.F, 2008) 8-11.

² Rose, 36.

³ Jim Rose, The Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum: Final Report (Great Britain: D.C.S.F, 2009) 19-25.

impact on the pupils' education since the pupils started to concentrate on the tests, rather than the knowledge and understanding in the classroom, and at the same time, it impacted on their moral and physical health and because of this, the need for reforms was pressing.¹ As a corollary, the report asked for reforms in the testing through the application of sample testing rather than whole-cohort tests and reliance on internal teacher assessment.²

But, the Labour government maintained its policy and kept the S.A.T.s. It also proposed a project entitled: "Making Good Progress", which had been applied in 400 schools.³ It culminated in the elaboration of the Single Level Tests (S.L.T.s), which consisted of testing the pupils when the teachers felt the pupils could do them. The Labour government hoped that the proposed tests would solve the discontent.

However, the Labour government had also to face the Educational Testing Services (E.T.S) fiasco in 2008. This fiasco began with the Labour government attempt to private primary education with contracting an American private company with £165m to manage the S.A.T.s. The company was supposed to post up the results of the 11 years' pupils on 7th July, 2008, but did it a month later, on 5th August, 2008. Even worse, some of the results were inaccurate, and some 7,000 pupils still had not received their results even after August, 2008.⁴

Such a scandal was revealed by the Head of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (Q.C.A), Ken Boston during an emergency meeting in the House of Commons, Children, Schools and Families Select Committee on 14th July, 2008. He referred to the problems related to the management of the tests. The Head of the Q.C.A, Ken Boston identified these problems as follows:

"Among the enormous number of problems' identified by the QCA had been problems with marker recruitment and retention; huge numbers of markers being given the wrong information about the location and time of training; a delay in getting papers to markers; unmarked scripts being returned to schools; and inadequate call centre capacity. At one point, the National Agency (NAA), the division of the QCA responsible for overseeing the tests, had found that ETS was setting on over 10,000 unopened emails from schools and markers complaining of problems with the administration of the marking."⁵

¹ Barry Sheerman, Testing and Assessment: Third Report of Session 2007-2008, Volume I (Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 2008) 52-57.

² Barry Sheerman, 62-74.

³ Anthea Lipsett, Poor Results Force Government Rethink on Progress Tests, the Guardian, 9 May, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2008/may/09/schools.uk2>.

⁴ Chitty, 110.

⁵ Chitty, 109.

Ken Boston went further by putting the blame on the American firm as well as the Labour government for its obsession to put 9.5 million pupils under test. When asked about the state of the tests, he said: “the test system is certainly under very great stress, and what has happened this year is a symptom of that.” The head of the newly created O.Q.E.R, Kathleen Tattersall announced she would check the reliability of the examinations, and called for the results’ annulment if case the reports were right. ¹

Other anomalies of marking the tests were referred to, notably in the media. In 2008, the “Daily Telegraph” posted two essays written by two 11 years old pupils in Moss Side Primary School in Chorley, in Lancashire. The article referred to pupil A, who wrote an essay that contained grammar, spelling and punctuation mistakes and obtaining a high mark, and pupil B who wrote a literate and imaginative essay, obtained less. ²

In July, 2008, the Education Secretary, Ed Balls answered the House of Commons questions related to the S.A.T.s problem. He pointed to the Q.C.A. role for hiring E.T.S. and signing a contract with it, and added that he was not in charge of deciding whether the contract should be abrogated or not. ³ Later on, the E.T.S. was discharged of its task of marking S.A.T.s tests and was handed to the National Assessment Agency.

As far as homosexuality in primary schools was concerned, the gay pupils continued to suffer from the phenomenon of homophobia through the insults and attacks of their classmates. Still, attempts were made to fight homophobia in Waltham Forest, where the pupils of George Tomlinson primary school, north-east London, whose parents forbade their children to attend the “Gay Month Lessons”, were considered as truants. The Waltham Forest Council spokesman gave it importance, and provided teachers and schools with all the freedom and means to make pupils accept the others’ differences. Nevertheless, such an attempt was met with opposition, notably from a Baptist Church, and its leader Fred Phelps in Kansas. As a result, he was forbidden from coming to Britain to spread his extremist and hatred ideas. ⁴

In 2009, the Teachers’ Report:”Homophobic Bullying in Britain’s Schools”, was published. It was part of the “Education for All” campaign, and according to Derek Gillian, the document revealed that:

¹ Chitty.

² Chitty.

³ Noticing the effects of the E.T.S. fiasco, the Education Secretary, Ed Balls decided to abolish S.A.T.s examinations for 14 years old pupils. Chitty,110.

⁴ Polly Curtis, Anti-Gay US Christians Threaten to Picket London Primary School, The Guardian, 20th March, 2009, 16.33G.M.T, <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2009/mar/20/picket-anti-homophobia>.

“Nine in ten secondary school teachers and more than two in five primary school primary school teachers said children and young people, regardless of their sexual orientation, experienced homophobic bullying, name calling harassment in their schools;
95 percent of secondary school teachers and three quarters of primary school teachers reported hearing the phrases ‘you’re so gay’ or ‘that’s so gay’ in their schools;
Eight in ten secondary school teachers and two in five primary school teachers reported hearing other insulting homophobic remarks such as ‘poof’, ‘dyke’, ‘queer’ and ‘faggot’.
Nine in ten teachers and non-teaching staff at secondary and primary schools had never received any specific training on how to prevent or respond to homophobic bullying.”¹

As a result of all this, the Children, Schools and Families Bill was drafted in 2009. It comprised the compulsory inclusion of sex education in the primary education curriculum from the age of five in all the schools. This implies providing pupils with content about the methods of contraception, abortion and homosexuality. Nevertheless, the opposition of the religious schools made sex education optional, by allowing parents to withdraw their pupils under fifteen from it. After more pressure, in particular from the Catholic Education Service (C.E.S.) and the Accord Coalition, sex education was adapted according to the belief of the schools. However, with the beginnings of the campaign for General Elections in 2010, the Children, Schools and Families Act was passed in April, 2010, but the issue of sex education was removed from its content.

IV.3.The Evolution of the Primary Schools under the Labour Government:

With the appointment of Gordon Brown as Prime Minister in 2007, the Labour government decided to rescue some primary schools by putting them under the L.E.A.s control, tackled the issue of the schools admission, and started the harmonisations of the pupils’ uniforms. It also asked the primary schools to adapt themselves in conformity with the economic realities of the period, with the beginning of the 2008 Economic Crisis.

In fact, in 2007, the Labour government decided to provide each L.E.A with a new or a refurbished primary school. To do so, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Alistair Darling, put at their disposal the sum of £200m to have 75 schools to be ready in 2011. He also promised to double the plan in the following years.

The Labour government dealt with the issue of the schools admission. Indeed, in 2007, the new School Admission Code was launched and was meant to be applied to all the private and

¹ Gillian, 43.

state schools in 2008, and it was hoped to put them at the same foot. ¹ However, it was difficult to apply such a Code in private schools because they had their proper Admission Code based on the interests of their investors.

As a result, in 2008, the Department of Children, Schools and Families announced that 81.6 percent of pupils had their first choice of secondary schools given to them. However, out of the 560.000 pupils who applied in 2008, only 25.000 pupils were not given their choice. Nevertheless, the press dealt with the admission criteria of 570 primary and secondary schools in three local areas, namely North Hampshire, Manchester and the London Borough of Barnet, and discovered that only a minority did not respect the new School Admission Code, among which the faith and foundation schools. ² As a result, the Schools Secretary made sure the Code would be respected through the appointment of Schools Adjudicators who worked as police officers to inspect the application of the Admission Code procedure.

As to the school uniforms, the Schools Minister, Jim Knight, decided to harmonise them. He aimed at establishing pride and unity, encourage school ethos and reduce jealousy, rivalry and conflicts that could result from different pupils' clothing at school. ³ Besides, the uniforms' prices should not be an impediment to the poor by making them affordable.

Undoubtedly, the 2008 Economic Crisis had an impact on the primary schools. This crisis made the Labour government launch a series of financial cuts in different fields, including primary education. As a result, the Education Secretary, Ed Balls decided to save up £750m, and then increased it to £1bn. To realise such a saving, he asked the primary schools to turn off the light, reduce consumption on heating and have recourse to sharing cleaners. However, for the National Association of Head Teachers (N.A.H.T) general secretary, Mike Brookes, it was difficult to be applied by the heads.⁴ He also reassured them that to reach this sum, the Government was not going to ask them for contribution. All these Labour Government education decisions had repercussions on the teachers, in particular the primary school teachers.

IV.4.The Labour Government and its Policy towards Primary Education Teachers:

The primary school teachers met difficulties in encouraging pupils to work hard at school in overcrowded classrooms. They criticised the Labour government (2007-2010) for their low

¹ Chitty, 91.

² Chitty

³ Gillard, 146.

⁴ Gillian, 45.

salaries and asked for pay increase and for the application of the S.A.T.s. Actually, the primary school teachers were dissatisfied because they had difficulties in their classrooms. According to the General Teaching Council (G.T.C) Keith Bartley, in 2008, 17.000 ‘substandard’ teachers found difficulties with their pupils, in particular, to motivate them. Therefore, they needed to be retrained according to the new context to avoid teachers’ dissatisfaction. The teachers had to face the problem of overcrowded classes. The result was that they were under a pressure they could no longer bear. Therefore, in 2008, the N.U.T. organized an annual conference in Manchester, and the attending members called for a strike if the Government did not reduce the classes to twenty pupils by 2020. ¹

Despite the Government offer for an increase, the N.U.T organised a one-day strike on 24th April, 2008, and asked for a better pay increase. Indeed, it was an important event since this had not happened since the 1985-1987 N.U.T. walk out during Margaret Thatcher’s period referred to in the third chapter. ²

The teachers were also dissatisfied with the S.A.T.s Fiasco and the N.U.T. voted for a boycott of the Key Stage 2 S.A.T.s tests in April 2009. But, they did not discuss the issue deeper, but rather asked for a pay-increase, and a day during which they could mark tests and prepare work. In October, 2009, The N.U.T. and the N.A.H.T discussed the possibility of organizing a boycott on the S.A.T.s. One year later, the head teachers threatened to organize it, and announced that half of the 17.000 primary schools were ready to do it. Henceforth, the Education Secretary, Ed Balls, asked council chiefs to punish them by taking part of the teachers’ salaries, or undertake disciplinary action.³ The threat of punishment was in vain since the boycott took place when the S.A.T.s started on 10th May, 2010, under David Cameron’s Coalition government (2010-2015).

The period under consideration also saw a shortage in head teachers. Indeed, in September 2008, one thousand schools began the new school year without having head teachers operating in them. This put the teachers’ leaders in an alarming position about the increasing vacancies in primary and secondary schools. Moreover, they became furious when they heard that the D.C.S.F had removed a secret list of heads and senior teachers who were liable to

¹ Gillian, 39.

² Gillian, 40.

³ Jessica Shepherd, “Half of Primary Schools May Boycott SATs, Leaders of Heads’ Union Warns”, the Guardian, Sunday 2nd May, 00.23 B.S.T, <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2010/may/02/schools-headteachers-sats-ed-balls>.

manage academies when posts were available. ¹ The publication of the annual survey of headship vacancies by the Education Data Surveys (E.D.S) demonstrated that England faced a shortage of heads even if there were £100,000 salaries given for these posts. ²As a result, Ed Balls informed the School Teachers' Pay and Review Body (S.T.P.R.B) to give schools the freedom to pay the appointed head teachers according to what the schools decided, without restriction so as to help them face this problem. ³

In 2010, the E.D.S made a report in which it showed that even if efforts were made, the shortage would still exist. Some schools, in particular 35 percent of primary schools had to advertise several times in 2009 to have candidates for the interview for the posts of head teachers. For its chairperson, John Howson, this shortage was problematic, and that it reflected the bad health of the profession. ⁴

IV.5.The Labour Government and the Primary Education Privatisation and Welfare Services (2007-2010):

When Gordon Brown came to power, he decided to continue Tony Blair's policy of privatizing the educational sector, in particular the development of privatising primary schools. He also gave concern to the welfare services, notably the meals provided to primary school pupils at school. Therefore, in 2007, the new Education Secretary, Andrew Adonis, called for universities and private bodies to contribute to the sponsoring of schools and to encourage them, he removed the obligation for the investors to start their investment with £2m.⁵ He also sought to develop privatisation by easing the schools' transfer from the local authorities' control, which was welcomed at that time. In addition, the Schools Secretary Ed Balls undertook the review of privatisation, in order to understand why it failed to reach the disadvantaged pupils.

As for the issue of childcare, parliamentary figures revealed that a million pupils lived under poverty and could not afford school meals. There was also concern to provide pupils with healthier food to make them abandon junk food, a problem that mainly led to overweight. This was translated into the attempt of the Government to provide free school meals to the pupils. Hence, the Health Secretary, Alan Johnson undertook a £20m pilot scheme to provide free meals in two local authorities. The project would last two years, and if it reached its objective of

¹ Gillian, 40.

² Gillian.

³ Gillian.

⁴ Gillian.

⁵ Chitty, 90.

improving health, school standards, pupils' behaviour, and take-up of school meals, it would be applied everywhere. However, the association, Food for Life Partnership (F.L.P) pointed to the fact that the plan for healthier food at schools would depend on the continuing Government finance.¹

However, scandals related to the issue of school meals erupted. One case was the criticism of the only use of halal meat in canteens. In Oxford Rose Hill Primary School parents complained about it, which led the schools to use normal meat for pupils, and halal meat for Muslim ones. All these educational issues became importance during the General Elections period in 2010.

IV.6.Primary Education in the General Elections in 2010:

With the beginning of the General Elections campaign in 2010, the political parties, at their top the Labour and Conservative fought each other, in different fields. Primary education was one of the fields that came under debate.

The Labour government (2007-2010) promised to give importance to primary education by emphasising the mastery of English and mathematics. If the pupils went to the secondary schools without reaching the required level in these subjects, the pupils would be supported by one-to-one or small group help. There were also issues such as the continuing promotion of better teacher training, the provision of more powers for the parents, and giving them good schools' choice for every area, and the zero-tolerance for the pupils' bad behaviour in the classroom.²

The Conservatives led by David Cameron promised to raise educational standards and reduce the gap between the rich and poor in educational results. They also put emphasis on improving the quality of the teachers' teaching, giving head teachers and teachers more powers to restore discipline, bringing back rigour in the curriculum application and the examinations, and giving the parents more choice for good secondary schools for their children.³

This opportunity was seized by educationists among them Prof. Robin Alexander to discuss the issue of primary education. For him, there were a lot primary education issues that

¹ Gillian, 45.

² The Labour Party Manifesto, *A Future Fair for All*, labour.org.uk, 2010, pp.26-31.

³ The Conservative Party Manifesto, *Invitation to Join the Government of Britain*, Great Britain, Pure Print Group, 2010, pp.51-53

remained without improvement. He criticised the Labour government policy by referring to the deficiencies of its educational system as follows:

“The Rose proposals for the primary curriculum have disappeared in the pre-election legislative wash-up, leaving schools confused and frustrated. The long-running SATs conflict is heading for its high noon. Rumbblings continue about inspection. The national strategies have come and are about to go, leaving an uncertain legacy. A growing appetite for genuine and lasting reform competes with teachers’ understandable longing for a period of stability after 13 years of constant change.”¹

Both of the Labourites and the Conservatives did not take into account Prof. Alexander Robin’s Review. As a result, he encouraged the teachers to apply it, and those who had already started, to continue.²

To sum it up, Margaret Thatcher and Later on, John Major’s Conservative Government finally introduced the Neo-Liberal policy in primary education through the passing of the 1988 Education Act. This legislation permitted to bring changes to primary education, State interference in its curriculum and tests. Nevertheless, it represented overloaded work for the teachers who became dissatisfied with them. Their neglect of the fight against prejudice in race and gender and the development of privatization of the educational sector also formed part of their policy.

With the return of the Labour to power in 1997, it was hoped to bring back the application of the Labour traditional ideas in primary education. Nonetheless, the Labour government decided to continue with the same policy, putting an end to decades of labour social welfare policy. This was seen in their attempt to support the National Curriculum and to call for raising educational standards that would contribute to the development of economy, and therefore to that of the country. This implies giving more importance to the teaching and learning of the basics to the detriment of the other subjects. There was also concern for their fight against prejudice, racism and homophobia, and the continuing privatization of education. However, the economic crisis reached England in 2008 and impacted on its expenditure, and primary education was affected. The educational policy was to shift with the victory of the Conservatives in 2010, with David Cameron as Prime Minister.

¹ Gillard, 50.

² Gillian.

Conclusion

Elementary education had always been provided in England. The charity school movement contributed considerably to its provision and expansion all over the country. Even if the objectives of the schools forming this movement differed one from another, namely religious, industrial or political, they all sought to inculcate reading, writing and arithmetic in order to meet them. However, the existing rivalries between those forming this movement, at their top, the religious groups, prevented it to develop further and to be more effective, which led to stagnation. This was seen in the deteriorating teaching quality and infrastructure, and the declining schooling results the pupils had. Even the idea of having the State interfere in the field in order to remedy the situation was opposed mainly because education was seen a divine mission that religious groups had to fulfil.

Nonetheless, State intervention in elementary education was inevitable. England had to cope with the developing industrial sector of countries such as France, Germany and the U.S.A, a development whose origins went back, to their intervention in elementary education and its improvement. The political reforms of the period, and notably the granting of the right of franchise to the working class males in 1867, made state intervention a necessity.

Hence, State intervention in elementary education started, but was slow and gradual. It began with the introduction of reforms helping pupils attend school rather than working in factories or mines. There was also the erection of funds to support the existing private system, and the foundation of the first State educational administration, known as the Committee of Council on Education in 1839 to tackle educational issues such as the grants' management. It was not until 1870 that the first official State interference in elementary education took place through the passing of the 1870 Education Act.

The 1870 Education Act had tremendous effects on the evolution of elementary education in England. It permitted the erection of the first State schools, known as board schools whose task was to support the existing private system, and therefore could meet the demand for elementary education all over England. Furthermore, the kind of education given in these schools was considered as better than that of the religious schools, in terms of teachers' competence, knowledge and even the means of teaching. This was further backed up by the passing of other

educational acts such as the 1902, 1906, 1907 1918 and 1936 Education Acts which sought to consolidate and improve what had already been done before. For instance the 1906 and 1907 Education Acts permitted the introduction of welfare services such meal and medical care treatments in elementary schools, and the 1918 Education Act rendered elementary education free.

Hence, the dominant role played by the private enterprise in elementary education started to decline to the detriment to that of the State. More parents started to enrol their pupils in State elementary schools. Moreover, the number of religious schools which were put under the State system, mainly because of financial reasons also increased.

Nonetheless, a lot remained to do in elementary education, and this is what happened at the end of the Second World War. In fact, the 1944 Education Act was passed and the welfare state policy was adopted by the Labour Government in 1945. As a result, the Act converted elementary education into primary education, and introduced a number of reforms such as reorganising the primary schools, supporting and improving the role played by the central and local administrations and the welfare services.

The effects of the Welfare State policy on primary education were also reflected in the launching of Government plans, the enactment of other acts and the drafting of reports, which contributed to the future reforms of primary education. They included the schools' building and the teachers' training programmes, the 1946 and 1964 Education Acts, the Newsome (1963), Robbins (1963) and Plowden (1967) Reports and the White Paper: "Framework for Expansion" (1972). They had the positive effect of providing more schools and teachers to meet the increasing demand, and improving their efficiency through the variety of services they could provide such as the educational and welfare ones. This was seen in the concern that prevailed for teachers' training at that time. There was also the introduction of new ideas in the primary schools such as the progressive ones, an attempt which aroused the criticism of the Conservatives, and which dominated the educational scene until the early 1970s when the economic crisis broke out.

Indeed, the 1970s were characterised by a period of economic unrest, which impacted negatively on the policy of the Labour Government. For the first time, since the end of the Second World War, the Welfare State policy and its application on education were put into question. As a result, the educational debate was centred on how education could help the economic sector to recover, a debate that turned around raising educational standards.

The issue of raising educational standards was dealt with in different educational events that took place during the 1970s. This was the case of the continuing criticism of the progressive ideas, the publication of the Yellow Book, the Ruskin Speech and the launching of the Great Debate. Although the Labour Government (1973-1979) attempted to turn the situation to its advantage, it was not enough and ended up with the victory of the Conservatives led by Margaret Thatcher in 1979.

When Conservative Margaret Thatcher came to power, she had in mind to introduce Neo-Liberal forces in education, notably in primary education. First, she limited the L.E.A.s powers to the detriment of those of the Governing Bodies and the parents; she adapted the teachers' training according the Government needs and started the privatization of some aspects of the educational sector. Thus, parents started to take part in the educational enterprise by their inclusion and participation the governing bodies and in their right to choose the schools that would suit their children. Teachers' training evolved with some changes in methods, and some educational services began to be managed by private institutions. However, they were difficult to realise, and had to wait until the passing of the 1988 Education Act to reach a full submission of the education under Neo-Liberalism.

The 1988 Education Act was an important process in the neo-liberalization of the English society. Its main concern was to interfere in the school curriculum, and teachers' training in particular in primary education. This implied controlling the subjects to be taught and their content. This would help the spread of neo-liberal ideas among the English population, starting with the children. In the meantime, the Conservative Government continued to reduce the L.E.A.s' power, and the privatization of education.

As a result, the content of the primary school curriculum and the teachers' training were adapted to meet these needs. In addition, the L.E.A.s continued to lose ground and influence in the educational field, mainly because of the application of the idea of choice, and the increasing implication of the parents in the Governing Bodies.

With the Labour Government, under Tony Blair (1997-2001), a slight shift in policy took place. In fact, the Labour Party's rank and file expected to see the Government return to a traditional Welfare State policy. Nevertheless, this did not happen because Tony Blair had understood the importance of the market forces' role and influence on the English society at that time, and instead decided to opt for a Third Way policy merging both the traditional and new ideologies.

This was translated into the continuing application of the same Conservative policies. This implied the concern for raising educational standards to reach the Government's Neo-Liberal objectives, with emphasis on the primary curriculum, in particular reading and writing. The Labour Government also carried on with the policy of privatizing the educational sector, through encouraging the erection of specialist private schools and contracting out companies to give educational services such as correcting official examinations.

As far as the raising of educational standards was concerned, the Labour government (1997-2010) was quite successful since it could increase the number of pupils being able to read and write and have certain standards. However, it was not enough and aroused the criticism of the opposition. Moreover, with the privatization of the educational sector, the parents started to have more choice and the L.E.A.s began to decline since some of their managing powers passed to the governing bodies and parents. However, the privatization of the educational sector went through some scandals mainly because of the private companies' mismanagement of educational issues, particularly the examination correction scandals. The situation deteriorated with the outbreak of another economic crisis in 2008 and which affected the Labour government's objectives and provisions. It was not until 2010 when the Conservatives led by David Cameron, came back to power that a hope for change in policy was possible in primary education.

Appendix I

The Vice-Presidents of the Committee of the Council on Education (1857-1902):

- William Cowper (February 5, 1857-February 21, 1858).
- Charles Adderley (March 12, 1859-June 11, 1859).
- Robert Lowe (June 24, 1864-June 26, 1866) (Resigned).
- Henry Bruce (April 26, 1864-June 26, 1867).
- Henry Lowry-Corry (June 26, 1866-March 19, 1867).
- Lord Robert Montagu (March 19, 1867-December 1, 1868).
- William Forster (December 9, 1868-February 17, 1874).
- Viscount Sandon (March 2, 1874-April 21, 1878).
- Lord George Hamilton (April 4, 1878-April 21, 1880).
- Anthony Mundella (May 3, 1880-June 9, 1885).
- Edward Stanhope (June 24, 1885-September 17, 1885).
- Sir Henry Holland (September 17, 1885-January 28, 1886).
- Sir Lyon Playfair (February 13, 1886-January 25, 1887).
- Sir Henry Holland (August 3, 1886-January 25, 1887).
- Sir William Hart Dyke (January 25, 1887-August 11, 1892).
- Arthur Acland (August 25, 1892-June 21, 1895).
- Sir John Eldon Gorst (July 4, 1895-August 8, 1902).

Source:

www.absolutestronomy.com/encyclopedia/S/Se/Secretary_of_State_for_Educationand_Skills.htm.

Appendix II

The Presidents of the Board of Education (1900-1944):

- Duke of Devonshire (April 1, 1900-A 8, 1902).
- Marquess OF Londonderry (August 8, 1902-December 4, 1905).
 - Augustine Birrell (December 10, 1905-January 23, 1907).
 - Reginald Mckenna (January 23, 1907-April 12, 1908).
 - Walter Runciman (April 12, 1908-October 23, 1911).
 - Joseph Albert Pease (October 23, 1911-May 25, 1915).
 - Arthur Henderson (May 25, 1915-August 18, 1916)
 - Marquess of Crewe (August 18, 1916-October 19, 1922).
 - H.A.L Fisher (December 10, 1916-October 19, 1922).
 - Edward Wood (October 24, 1922-Jauary 22, 1924).
 - Charles Philips Trevelyan (January 22, 1924-November 3, 1924).
 - Lord Edward Percy (November 6, 1924-June 4, 1929).
 - Sir Charles Philips Trevelyan (June 7, 1929-March 2, 1931) (Resigned).
 - Hastings Bertram Lees-Smith (March 2, 1931-August 24, 1931).
 - Sir Donald Maclean (August 25, 1931-June 15, 1932) (Died in office).
 - Baron Lrwin (Edward Wood) (Viscount Halifax from 1934) (June 15, 1932-June 7, 1935).
 - Oliver Stanley (June 7, 1935-May 28, 1937)
 - Earl Stanhope (May 28, 1937-October 27, 1938).
 - Earl De La Warr (October 27, 1938-April 3, 1941).
 - Herwald Ramsbotham (April 3, 1940-July 20, 1941).
 - Rab Butler (July 20, 1941-August 3, 1944).

Source:

www.absolutestronomy.com/encyclopedia/S/Se/Secretary_of_State_for_Educationand_Skills.htm.

Appendix III

The List of Ministers of Education, the Secretaries of State for Education and Science and the Secretaries of State for Children, Schools and Families (1944-2007):

The Ministers of Education (1944-1964):

- Rab Butler (August 3, 1944-May 25, 1945).
- Richard Law (May 25, 1945-July 26, 1945).
- Ellen Wilkinson (August 3, 1945-February 6, 1947) (Died in office).
- George Tomlinson (August 10, 1947-October 26, 1951).
- Florence Horsbrugh (November 2, 1951-October 18, 1954).
- David Eccles (October 14, 1959-July 13, 1962).
- Sir Edward Boyle (July 13, 1962-April 1, 1964)
-

The Secretaries of State for Education and Science (1964-2007), and the Secretaries of State for Children, Schools and Families (2007-2010):

- Quintin Hogg (formerly Viscount Hailsham) (April 1, 1964-October 16, 1964).
- Michael Stewart (October 18, 1964-January 22, 1965).
- Anthony Crosland (January 22, 1965-August 29, 1967).
- Patrick Grosland Walker (August 29, 1967-April 6, 1968).
- Edward Short (April 6, 1968-June 19, 1970).
- Margaret Thatcher (June 1970-March 1974)
- -Margaret Thatcher (June 1970- March 1974)
- -Reginald Prentice (March 1974-June 1975)
- -Fred Mulley (June 1975- September 1976)
- -Shirley Williams (September 1976-May 1979)
- -Sir Keith Joseph (September 1981-May 1986)
- -Kenneth Baker (May 1986-July 1989)
- -Kenneth Baker (May 1986-July 1989)
- -John MacGregor (July 1989-November 1990)
- -Kenneth Clarke (November 1990-April 1992)
- -John Patten (April 1992- July 1994)
- -Gillian Shephard (July 1994-May 1997)
- -David Blunkett (May 1997-June 2001)
- -Estelle Morris (June 2001-October 2002)
- -Charles Clarke (October 2002-December 2004)
- -Ruth Kelly (December 2004-May 2006)
- -Alan Johnson (May 2006-June 2007)
- Ed Ball (June 2007-May 2010)

Source:

-Clyde Chitty, Education Policy in Britain (Great Britain: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) 22, 41, 64.

-www.absolutestronomy.com/encyclopedia/S/Se/Secretary_of_State_for_Educationand_Skills.htm.

Appendix IV

The Criteria of Positive Discrimination on Primary Schools in Deprived Areas:

(a) *Occupation*. The National Census can report on occupations within quite small areas, and, for particular schools, the data can be supplemented without too much difficulty. The analyses would show the proportions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

(b) *Size of Families*. The larger the family, the more likely are the children to be in poverty. Wages are no larger for a married man with young children than they are for a single man with none. Family size is still associated with social class, and men with four or more children tend to be amongst the lowest wage earners. Family size also correlates with the results of intelligence tests - the larger the family, the lower the scores of the children. The children are liable to suffer from a double handicap, both genetic and environmental - the latter because, it is suggested, they have less encouragement and stimulus from parents who have more children amongst whom to divide their attention. Those earning the lowest wages often make up their incomes by working longer hours. Often, too, their wives have less time and energy to devote to their children. Family size likewise correlates with nutrition, with physical growth and with overcrowding, and is therefore an apt indicator (when allowance is made for the age structure of the local population, and particularly the number of mothers of child bearing age) of the poor home conditions for which schools should compensate. The National Census, supplemented by the schools censuses made by the educational authorities, would provide the information required.

(c) *Supplements in Cash or Kind from the State* are of various kinds. Where the parents are needy, children are allowed school meals free. The proportions so benefiting vary greatly from school to school, and afford a reasonably good guide to relative need. The procedures laid down are designed to give free meals according to scales similar to those used by the Ministry of Social Security. Another criterion of the same type is the number of families depending on National Assistance, or its future equivalent, in a particular locality. The weakness of these criteria taken by themselves is that some people do not know their rights or are unwilling to seek them.

(d) *Overcrowding and Sharing of Houses* should certainly be included amongst the criteria. It will identify families in cramped accommodation in central and run-down areas of our cities. It is a less sure guide than some others because it may miss the educational needs of some housing estates and other areas which can also be severe.

(e) *Poor Attendance and Truancy* are a pointer to home conditions, and to what Burt long ago singled out as a determinant of school progress, the 'efficiency of the mother'. Truancy is also related to delinquency. The National Survey showed that four per cent of the children in the sample were absent, on their teachers' assessment, for unsatisfactory reasons. (Appendix 5, paragraph 27).

(f) *Proportions of Retarded, Disturbed or Handicapped Pupils* in ordinary schools. These vary from authority to authority according to the special schools available and the policies governing their use. But, everywhere, the proportions tend to be highest in deprived districts. It is accepted that special schools need additional staff, and the same advantages should be extended to normal schools with many pupils of a similar kind.

(g) *Incomplete Families* where one or other of the parents is dead, or not living at home for whatever reason, are often unable to provide a satisfactory upbringing for their children without special help.

(h) *Children Unable to Speak English* need much extra attention if they are to find their feet in England. This is already recognised in arranging teachers' quotas, but should also be used as a general criterion.

Source:

Bridget Plowden, The Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools (London: Great Britain, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967) 57-59.

Appendix V

A rational debate based on the facts' by James Callaghan at Ruskin College Oxford on 18th October 1976:

I was very glad to accept your invitation to lay the foundation stone for a further extension of Ruskin College. Ruskin fills a gap as a 'second chance' adult residential college. It has a special place in the affections of the Labour movement as an institution of learning because its students are mature men and woman who, for a variety of reasons, missed the opportunity to develop their full potential at an earlier age. That aspect of the matter is a particular interest of my own. Ruskin has justified its existence over and over again. Your students form a proud gallery and I am glad to see here this afternoon some of your former students who now occupy important positions. They include leading academics, heads of state of commonwealth countries, leaders of the trade union movement and industrial life and members of Parliament. Indeed, eleven of the present Labour members of Parliament graduated from Ruskin and five of them are either in the government, or have served there, including one present member of the Cabinet, Eric Varley, the secretary for the industry.

Among the adult colleges, Ruskin has a long and honourable history of close association with the trade union movement. I am very glad to see that trade unions are so strongly represented here today because you are involved in providing special courses for trade union officials and I hope that this partnership will continue to flourish and prosper.

The work of a trade union official becomes ever more onerous, because he has to master continuing new legislation on health and safety at work, employment protection and industrial change. This lays obligations on trade unionists which can only be met by a greatly expanded programme of education and understanding. Higher standards than ever before are required in the trade union field and, as I shall indicate a little later, higher standards in the past are also required in the general educational field. It is not enough to say that standards in this field have or have not declined. With the increasing complexity of modern life we cannot be satisfied with maintaining existing standards, let alone observe any decline. We must aim for something better.

I should like to pay tribute to Billy Hughes for his work at Ruskin and also for his wider contributions to education as chairman of the Adult Literacy Resource Agency. This has been a strikingly successful campaign for which credit must go to a number of organisations, including the BBC. It is a commentary on the need that 55,000 students were receiving tuition this year with a steady flow of students still coming forward. Perhaps most remarkable has been that 40,000 voluntary teachers have come forward to work, often on an individual personal basis, with a single student. When I hear, as I do in so many different fields, of these generous responses to human need, I remain a confirmed optimist about our country. This is a most striking example of how the goodwill, energy and dedication of large numbers of private persons can be harnessed to the service of their fellows when the need and the opportunity are made plain.

There have been one or two ripples of interest in the educational world in anticipation of this visit. I hope the publicity will do Ruskin some good and I don't think it will do the world of education any harm. I must thank all those who have inundated me with advice: some helpful and others telling me less politely to keep off the grass, to watch my language and that they will be examining my speech with the care usually given by Hong Kong watchers to the China scene. It is almost as though some people would wish that the subject matter and purpose of education should not have public attention focused on it: nor that profane hands should be allowed to touch it.

I cannot believe that this is a considered reaction. The Labour movement has always cherished education: free education, comprehensive education, adult education. Education for life. There is nothing wrong with non-educationalists, even a prime minister, talking about it again. Everyone is allowed to put his oar in on how to overcome our economic problems, how to put the balance of payments right, how to secure more exports and so on and so on. Very important too. But I venture to say not as important in the long run as preparing future generations for life. RH Tawney, from whom I derived a great deal of my thinking years ago, wrote that the endowment of our

children is the most precious of the natural resources of this community. So I do not hesitate to discuss how these endowments should be nurtured.

Labour's Programme 76 has recently made its own important contribution and contains a number of important statements that I certainly agree with. Let me answer that question 'what do we want from the education of our children and young people?' with Tawney's words once more. He said: 'What a wise parent would wish for their children, so the state must wish for all its children.'

I take it that no one claims exclusive rights in this field. Public interest is strong and legitimate and will be satisfied. We spend £6bn a year on education, so there will be discussion. But let it be rational. If everything is reduced to such phrases as 'educational freedom' versus state control, we shall get nowhere. I repeat that parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry, together with the government, all have an important part to play in formulating and expressing the purpose of education and the standards that we need.

During my travels around the country in recent months, I have had many discussions that show concern about these matters.

First let me say, so that there should be no misunderstanding, that I have been very impressed in the schools I have visited by the enthusiasm and dedication of the teaching profession, by the variety of courses that are offered in our comprehensive schools, especially in arts and crafts as well as other subjects and by the alertness and keenness of many of its pupils. Clearly, life at school is far more full and creative than it was many years ago. I would also like to thank the children who have been kind enough to write to me after I visited their schools: and well written letters they were. I recognise that teachers occupy a special place in these discussions because of their real sense of professionalism and vocation about their work. But I am concerned on my journeys to find complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required.

I have been concerned to find out that many of our best trained students who have completed the higher levels of education at university or polytechnic have no desire to join industry. Their preferences are to stay in academic life or to find their way into the civil service. There seems to be a need for more technological bias in science teaching that will lead towards practical applications in industry rather than towards academic studies.

Or, to take other examples, why is it that such a high proportion of girls abandon science before leaving school? Then there is the concern about the standards of numeracy of school-leavers. Is there not a case for a professional review of the mathematics needed by industry at different levels? To what extent are these deficiencies the result of insufficient co-operation between schools and industry? Indeed, how much of the criticism about basic skills and attitudes is due to industry's own shortcomings rather than to the educational system? Why is it that 30,000 vacancies for students in science and engineering in our universities and polytechnics were not taken up last year while the humanities courses were full?

On another aspect, there is the unease felt by parent and others about the new informal methods of teaching which seem to produce excellent results when they are in well-qualified hands but are much more dubious when they are not. They seem to be best accepted where strong parent-teacher links exist. There is little wrong with the range and diversity of our courses. But is there sufficient thoroughness and depth in those required in after life to make a living?

These are proper subjects for discussion and debate. And it should be a rational debate based on the facts. My remarks are not a clarion call to Black Paper prejudices. We all know those who claim to defend standards but who in reality are simply seeking to defend old privileges and inequalities.

It is not my intention to become enmeshed in such problems as whether there should be a basic curriculum with universal standards - although I am inclined to think there should be - nor about any other issues on which there is a divided professional opinion such as the position and role of the inspectorate. Shirley Williams, the new secretary of state is well qualified to take care of these issues and speak for the government. What I am saying is that where there is legitimate public concern it will be to the advantage of all involved in the education field if these concerns are aired and shortcomings righted or fears put at rest.

To the critics I would say that we must carry the teaching profession with us. They have the expertise and the professional approach. To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of our children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future.

The goals of our education, from nursery school through to adult education, are clear enough. They are to equip children to the best of their ability for a lively, constructive, place in society, and also to fit them to do a job of work. Not one or the other but both. For many years the accent was simply on fitting a so-called inferior group of children with just enough learning to earn their living in the factory. Labour has attacked that attitude consistently, during 60 or 70 years and throughout my childhood. There is now widespread recognition of the need to cater for a child's personality to let it flower in its fullest possible way.

The balance was wrong in the past. We have a responsibility now to see that we do not get it wrong again in the other direction. There is no virtue in producing socially well-adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the skills. Nor at the other extreme must they be technically efficient robots. Both of the basic purposes of education require the same essential tools. These are basic literacy, basic numeracy, the understanding of how to live and work together, respect for others, respect for the individual. This means requiring certain basic knowledge, and skills and reasoning ability. It means developing lively inquiring minds and an appetite for further knowledge that will last a lifetime. It means mitigating as far as possible the disadvantages that may be suffered through poor home conditions or physical or mental handicap. Are we aiming in the right direction in these matters?

I do not join those who paint a lurid picture of educational decline because I do not believe it is generally true, although there are examples which give cause for concern. I am raising a further question. It is this. In today's world, higher standards are demanded than were required yesterday and there are simply fewer jobs for those without skill. Therefore we demand more from our schools than did our grandparents.

There has been a massive injection of resources into education, mainly to meet increased numbers and partly to raise standards. But in present circumstances there can be little expectation of further increased resources being made available, at any rate for the time being. I fear that those whose only answer to these problems is to call for more money will be disappointed. But that surely cannot be the end of the matter. There is a challenge to us all in these days and a challenge in education is to examine its priorities and to secure as high efficiency as possible by the skilful use of existing resources.

Let me repeat some of the fields that need study because they cause concern. There are the methods and aims of informal instruction, the strong case for the so-called 'core curriculum' of basic knowledge; next, what is the proper way of monitoring the use of resources in order to maintain a proper national standard of performance; then there is the role of the inspectorate in relation to national standards; and there is the need to improve relations between industry and education.

Another problem is the examination system - a contentious issue. The Schools Council have reached conclusions about its future after a great deal of thought, but it would not be right to introduce such an important change until there has been further public discussion. Maybe they haven't got it right yet. The new secretary of state, Shirley Williams, intends to look at the examinations system again, especially in relation to less-academic students staying at school beyond the age of 16. A number of these issues were taken up by Fred Mulley and will now be followed up by Shirley Williams.

We are expecting the Taylor Committee Report shortly on the government and management of schools in England and Wales that could bring together local authority, parents and pupils, teachers and industry more closely. The secretary of state is now following up how to attract talented young people into engineering and science subjects; whether there are more efficient ways of using the resources we have for the benefit of young people between the ages of 16 and 19 and whether retraining can help make a bridge between teacher training and unemployment, especially to help in the subjects where there is a shortage.

I have outlined concerns and asked questions about them today. The debate that I was seeking has got off to a flying start even before I was able to say anything. Now I ask all those who are concerned to respond positively and not defensively. It will be an advantage to the teaching profession to have a wide public understanding and support for what they are doing. And there is room for greater understanding among those not directly concerned of the nature of the job that is being done already.

The traditional concern of the whole Labour movement is for the education of our children and young people on whom the future of the country must depend. At Ruskin it is appropriate that I should be proud to reaffirm that concern. It would be a betrayal of that concern if I did not draw problems to your attention and put to you specifically some of the challenges which we have to face and some of the responses that will be needed from our educational system. I am as confident that we shall do so as I am sure that the new building which will rise here will house and protect the ideals and vision of the founders of Ruskin College so that your future will be as distinguished as your past and your present.

Source:

<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/speeches/1976ruskin.html>

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