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AFTER SCHOOL



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After school : dilemmas of further education

WE HAD INTENDED TO DEVOTE THIS ISSUE to Further Education, but found that willy-nilly, you cannot discuss the problems of further education without running up against the defects of the ordinary school system. This is hardly a new discovery: when the first efforts were made a hundred years ago to develop some kind of systematic technical education in this country—when Britain as the “workshop of the world” was first feeling the chill winds of foreign competition—one of the stumbling blocks was found to be the lack of an adequate system of elementary education: hence the Forster Act of 1870 with its aim of free, compulsory elementary education for all. By 1944 we had reached the stage of advocating secondary education for all, with the minimum leaving age raised to 15, and eventually 16: an aim to be reached by 1970, with the government’s acceptance of the Crowther Report a few years ago.

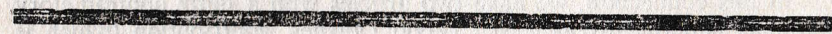
In this connection, we have two articles with a flatly contradictory approach, superficially at least. David Downes’ contribution (which is extracted from a paper he read to the British Association) argues the case for compulsory further education for all—another unimplemented requirement of both the 1918 and the 1944 Acts), while the article “A Modest Proposal for the Repeal of the Education Act” appears to argue for the ending of compulsion altogether. What are we, especially as anarchists, to make of this? Let us admit that it is very hard to evolve an anarchist approach to this question, for there is a hair’s breadth between what is extremely libertarian in theory and what is extremely reactionary in practice. It is important to remember that the compulsion advocated by David Downes is compulsion on the employer to send his young workers to college one day a week on day-release, and that the other article, reprinted appropriately from the journal of a teachers’ college, recommends a campaign against compulsion as a method of challenging our awful complacency or self-deception about the state of secondary education, rather than as practical politics. The case for such a campaign is certainly rammed home by the article on “sink schools”.

Our attitude to compulsory further education depends on the relative importance that we give to those two elusive values: equality and

liberty. Our sense of equality is outraged by the fact that vast numbers of young people go out into the world ill-prepared and ignorant at an age when no parent from the ruling classes would dream of considering his child's education complete, and that this results in their being permanently excluded from a variety of occupations and experiences. (At the time of the Crowther Report only one in eight of the 16-18 age group were in full-time education.) Our sense of liberty on the other hand is outraged by the idea that those who hate school should be compelled to stay there another year as unruly and sullen prisoners waiting for the day of their release, or that having left school they should be *compelled* to attend colleges of further education. We may feel, as does Dr. Frank Musgrove, whose devastating social criticism is quoted at length in this issue, that "To introduce compulsory attendance would be an intolerable affront, direction of labour and infringement of personal liberty without justification in our social and political philosophy—except on the assumption that we are dealing with people who are, in fact, *less than persons*".

The ramshackle edifice of further education in this country has grown up, neither for love of ideas of liberty nor for those of equality (not to mention fraternity). It has grown up grudgingly out of economic necessity and, as the columnist Peter Quince puts it, with commendable frankness, in the NUT journal *Teacher* (11/6/65), "In the final analysis the community must protect itself by compelling its unwilling members to get themselves educated whether they like it or not."

This is the background of the challenging contradiction ventilated in this issue of ANARCHY.



CORRECTION: The following words should be added at the bottom of p. 184 in ANARCHY 52:

the last century; but it won't. Just as atomic energy has proved to be the 'ultimate' weapon that has made any future war impossible, . . .

The memorandum of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, on which Bosco Nedelcovic's article "Automation and Work" in ANARCHY 52, and George and Louise Crowley's article "Beyond Automation" in ANARCHY 49, were comments, is available, together with additional material, for ten cents from Liberation Magazine, 5 Beekman Street, New York, 38, N.Y., USA.

What will happen to Jones and Robinson ?

DAVID DOWNES

THIS PAPER STEMS FROM TWO ASSUMPTIONS: the first is that the Newsom Committee were correct in stating that ". . . When the school leaving age is raised to 16 for all, there will be a fundamental change in the whole educational situation, and the schools must be equipped, staffed and re-orientated in their working to meet it. If they do their job well, the colleges of further education will have to meet rapidly increasing demands for courses by older school leavers". The second assumption is that the Crowther Committee were correct in recommending that the introduction of county colleges, or compulsory part-time education for all until the age of 18, should be planned in three stages. But Crowther then went on to say that "the first stage, which would take place while the Ministry and the local education authorities were heavily engaged with preparations for raising the school leaving age, would be concerned with the development of the voluntary system (of further education), with the assistance of strong encouragement from the Government. . . ." The second stage would be the introduction of compulsion in a few carefully selected areas. This should follow hard on the raising of the school-leaving age. "This experimental stage would feasibly take about five years. The third stage in the introduction of further education for all would be the progressive extension of compulsion to the whole country . . ." in a "phased programme spreading in successive years from region to region" for which "three or four years might be needed". On the basis of Crowther, therefore, we cannot expect a compulsory, part-time, paid system of further education for all until the 1980's, while the needs of Newsom demand that it should arrive by the mid-1970's.

DAVID DOWNES delivered a paper to the British Association last September, from which his article is extracted, on the implications for further education of the Crowther Report (15-18), the Newsom Report (Half our Future) and the Henniker-Heaton Report on Day-Release. He is a sociologist and wrote in ANARCHY 15, 21 and 27.

I would like to argue that the Newsom assumption means that further education is integral, not merely incidental, to the chances of Newsom's proposals succeeding. But the Newsom Committee were prevented, by their terms of reference, from making proposals for the further education system as radical as those made by their Report for the secondary modern system. Hence, the Crowther proposals for further education assume tremendous significance, all the more so because, while Crowther was right in his "three stages" proposal, he was wrong—from the Newsom point of view—in his timing. Insofar as the Newsom proposals work, boys and girls in secondary mods. who have previously been either apathetic towards or hostile to the idea of school, are going to be stimulated and interested by a different kind of education which relates much more closely to their work, and to their personal and social development, than the present, narrowly "subject-tied" approach. The extra year is the basis for this re-orientation. Yet, if this education stops at 16, it is probable that more harm has been done than if the system remained as it is. False hopes will have been generated, only for the quick return of cynicism on entry to the labour market, if educational links are not maintained. Yet, this is essentially what Crowther's timing will involve for the first, and most crucial, decade of the Newsom reorganisation. On the basis of Crowther's timing, the regional experimental stage would begin with the exit from the schools of the first age-group to leave at 16, in 1971. Lasting five years or so, this stage would take us to 1976, when phased extensions of Further Education by compulsion spread regionally to cover the whole country, this stage lasting 3 or 4 years at least, and taking us to 1980. Allowing for the usual time-lags, we cannot—on the basis of Crowther—expect a national part-time further educational system for all up to 18 until well into the 1980's. This does not simply mean that we are abandoning virtually half a generation to the present inadequacies of the post-secondary modern school system: it means the strong probability that "head of steam" generated by Newsom will fizzle out, since the demand for further education which it stimulates will not be met.

By the term "Newsom boy", we mean the "Jones" and the "Robinsons"—the two middle and the lower quarters of the secondary modern age-group as assessed by reading ability—and not the "Browns"—the top quarter in ability as assessed by reading tests, who are really grammar school boys manqués, who go on much more frequently than the rest to white-collar and skilled manual jobs, day-release and apprenticeships, and who are more likely to be middle-class in origin. To what extent do Newsom boys, by this definition, participate in further education? A study carried out by Peter Wilmott in Bethnal Green earlier this year gives a pretty representative picture. Of 148 boys aged 15-20 who had been to secondary modern schools, including a few who had been to comprehensive, 55% had had no education since leaving school at 15, 26% had experienced or were undergoing some form of day-release, and 19% some form of evening-only education. The 1964 Henniker-Heaton Report on day-release similarly showed

that 28% of boys aged 15-17 and not in full-time education were granted some form of day-release. These figures are, however, misleading, for they take no account of courses discontinued, failure rates and non-attendance. The wastage in evening-only education is especially severe, amounting to almost 50% by the end of a course. Obviously, these figures come nowhere near implementation of the section of the 1944 Education Act which calls for part-time compulsory education for all till the age of 18.

Developments since the Crowther Report strengthen the view that there is very little prospect of any radical improvement in the voluntary Further Education system in the foreseeable future. What has happened since Crowther is that education is becoming more stratified, not less, and these trends show up exceptionally clearly in the further education field. We are moving towards a meritocratic system catering for four broad, but clearly distinct strata, with tremendous inequality in the investment of resources at each level. At the top we have the expanded élite, catered for by the Robbins Report, and in turn meant to cater for our needs for administrators and technologists. The next stratum is the apprenticeship layer, at present covering the bulk of skilled workers, and now extended upwards to take in technician grades. These two strata practically accommodate all boys of middle-class origin and above, if we include black-coated workers with apprentices. The third layer is largely prospective, designed to make up for the inadequate numbers in the second layer, and overlapping considerably with it. The third layer takes in those skilled workers and top-level semi-skilled who are not accommodated by the creaking apprenticeship system, and who are to be catered for by the Industrial Training Act 1964 and the Henniker Report proposals for doubling numbers in day-release over the next five years. This layer has yet to emerge, but will do so in response to our need for more skilled labour. The fourth layer constituting over 40% of the 15-17 age-group, is simply the rest, perhaps a third of whom will, in a decade, constitute an unemployable rump, unless rapid and radical changes are made to their prospects and education at both secondary and further levels.

The danger is not only that we treat this fourth layer as expendable from the further education and training point of view, but also that we imagine that the provision for the second and third layers is inadequate. The deficiencies of our apprenticeship system are well enough known to be ignored here, but they set the tone for the whole further education system. It was in response to these deficiencies, which underlay our chronic shortage of skilled manpower, and helped to perpetuate under-employment, demarcation and restrictive practices in industry, that the Industrial Training Act and the Henniker-Heaton Committee were conceived. But the Industrial Training Act, even if successful beyond current expectations, will only give a narrow practical education for a limited number of skills, and the Henniker-Heaton Report simply recommended an increase in numbers to be granted day-release which was inevitable anyway. The tragedy is that the Industrial Training Act and the Henniker-Heaton Report have

effectively forestalled both Crowther and Newsom by opting for third best: neither compulsory Further Education for all, nor the *right* to Further Education for all, but simply an extension of the present inadequate system of narrowly conceived technical and vocational further education on a voluntary basis. By deflecting attention from the real issue, the need to train young workers at *all* levels for flexibility and adaptability of skills, the Industrial Training Act and the Henniker-Heaton Report have adopted traditionalist alternatives to the radical proposals of Crowther and Newsom. The need for more skilled manpower has been used as a pretext to by-pass Crowther and Newsom. In effect, we have now legislated in the compulsory fifth year for those who would not have stayed on voluntarily, only to leave the situation *after* that fifth year completely unchanged for the same population. The Further Education recommendations of Crowther have been shelved, if not deliberately abandoned, and without them the promise of the Newsom proposals is seriously threatened.

To some extent, the seeds of this abandonment were present in the Crowther line of argument. Firstly, Crowther's timing of the introduction of compulsory Further Education was illogical. Secondly, he gave the County College concept a "liberal studies", non-vocational gloss which was at odds both with the intention of the 1944 Act and with the subsequent Newsom proposals. What minor experiments currently exist for Further Education with semi-skilled and unskilled young workers are termed "*non-vocational day-release*", a concept quite contradictory to the intention of Newsom. This suggests a watered-down academic education for those who need it least, and have been rejecting it since the age of 5. But Crowther's timing was the real basis for the neglect now threatening his recommendations for Further Education. He gave four main reasons for making experiments with compulsory Further Education follow, rather than precede, the raising of the school-leaving age.

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

(ii) Crowther hoped that raising the leaving age to 16 would automatically mean just as many staying on to 17-18 as had previously stayed on to 16. Therefore, Further Education would only have to cater for 1½, as distinct from 2½, age-groups. Apart from the fact that this assumption seems over-optimistic, since staying-on tendencies cannot be extrapolated so readily from one age-group to the next,

the idea of restricting Further Education to 1½ age-groups runs counter to the intention of the County College ideal.

(iii) Staff engaged to deal with 15-year-olds may have difficulty switching to 17-year-olds when the leaving age is raised. This assumption is very dubious; teachers are not that inflexible, and 15-year-olds will have to be catered for anyway if Newsom's proposals for spells in further education during the fifth year are put into effect.

(iv) Full-time education for the 16th year is infinitely preferable to part-time education for that year. This assumption is valid, but should not be used as an argument against the need to experiment regionally with compulsory Further Education *before* the raising of the school-leaving age.

At least three of Crowther's arguments for postponing even a regional experiment with compulsory Further Education for all till after the raising of the leaving age are value-judgments loosely based on the magical qualities of a 5th year unrelated to a re-organised further education system. Yet, Crowther goes to great pains to stress that *both* are needed and Newsom makes it adamantly certain that Further Education for all must rapidly follow the raising of the leaving age to 16. If they cannot be implemented simultaneously, they at least need to be implemented as simultaneously *as possible*, and to wait a decade or more would be disastrous. Patently, the need is for a full-scale regional experiment in part-time compulsory education for all to begin before, not after, the raising of the leaving age to 16 in 1971. If this assumption is made, certain preferences follow: the region chosen must contain all the problems about which decisions have to be made (whether Further Education is based on work or home residence; what happens when a teenager changes his/her job, etc.); the region chosen must be a focal point not a backwater; it must be in the South, since the North is still too handicapped at the secondary level to undertake a full-blown experiment in Further Education for all. On all criteria, London is the appropriate choice: it contains numerous "problem" areas, Notting Hill, Highbury, parts of the East End, etc.; it has the commuting problem; it also has the finest base for pioneering technical and further education for all. It was one of the areas to attempt to do so in 1918. The timing must be at the end of the 1960's to benefit from the "valley" in age-group size, before the vast increase in numbers in the 1970's. Greater allocation of resources is the obvious priority, but if these were granted, the experiment is workable. Moreover, certain economic advantages might accrue; part-time day-release for all would mean that employers could not rely so readily on the steady intake of cheap adolescent labour to cover up for under-employment and poor planning; if vocational guidance was a built-in feature of the scheme, labour mobility and flexibility would be accelerated; employers and unions would be under pressure to improve labour relations, cut down on restrictive practices and demarcation, etc.; with part-time compulsory education for all, heavier rates of staying-on would be likely; there

would be the need, with a minimum of one-day-in-five release, for employers to increase productivity per head; finally, the extension of further education to all would open up a viable route to higher education for Newsom boys who have the ability but realise it far too late. The work of Venables has shown the pool of ability among the abler boys in these groups, as measured by non-verbal intelligence tests. There is no reason why similar potential is absent from those not currently being educated beyond the age of 15.

In addition, several points and recommendations need emphasis:

(1) The case for compulsion remains the lack of any clear-cut, short-term economic incentive for either employers to allow, or young non-skilled workers to demand, part-time further education on the voluntary basis. The case for compulsion in further education is essentially that for compulsion up to 16 in full-time education. At present small- and medium-sized firms are the most inefficient in their training and granting of day-release. Yet, a recent study in Leicester found that 70% of young male entrants to industry took their first jobs in firms of less than 250 employees. By contrast only 45% of the total male labour force is employed by firms of this size. This disparity between the firms that give the best training, and the firms that attract a disproportionate supply of young entrants, make the case for compulsion even stronger.

(2) Compulsory Further Education for all would mean a shake-up for the whole further education system. It would be a spur to "broadening out" the present narrow focus on technical education. Also, as Venables and Williams have shown, too many local technical colleges are at present as out-of-touch with changes in industrial processes as the small firms from which they draw too few students. Built-in vocational guidance would help to remedy this defect and, as it would apply to all young workers—not simply the cream from the training point-of-view—the hostility of employers to it would be overcome. Employers would stand to gain as well as lose promising manpower.

(3) This leads on to the fundamental requirement that Newsom boys should not be "siphoned off" for Further Education to institutionally separate county colleges. An institutional form must be evolved to accommodate Further Educational for all. The local technical colleges could well be the basis for this, but must not be maintained as separate, selective establishments.

(4) The general pattern of day-release on a one-day-per-week basis must not be rigidly adhered to. The current trend to extend block release and sandwich courses for technicians and top-level skilled workers must be extended as far as possible to non-skilled grades. But it may well be that day-release is the best pattern for workers who are at present rated as non-skilled, though preferably on a 2-day rather than a 1-day basis, since they may be hostile to prolonged, continuous periods in further education. Also, Further Education should not stop at 18, but be extendable to 19 or even 20.

(5) Is part-time Further Education for all economically viable? The examples of the USA, Germany and Sweden are not strictly comparable, but suggest the use that can be made of resources. As far as this country is concerned, the under-employment position in industry means that there is a great deal of slack to be taken up via Further Education, and long-term economic benefits could accrue if it was taken up in this direction. The uses to which 15-year-olds were put in industry formed one of the most powerful arguments for keeping them out of the labour market altogether for another year.

(6) Any scheme of compulsory part-time Further Education *must* include girls, only 8% of whom get day-release at the moment, and whose needs are almost totally ignored by the present voluntary Further Education system.

(7) Further Education for all would be a vehicle for the modification of the apprenticeship system, which is too rigid and inflexible a framework for both technical and further education. It reduces choice, by insisting on 16 as the maximum age of entry for school-leavers; it embodies no general standard of attainment; it perpetuates training for "one-skill" jobs.

(8) Earlier marriage, and consequent loss of mobility mean that boys in "dead-end" jobs realise the finality of their educational shortcomings at an increasingly early age. The only potential avenue they possess to skilled employment would be an extended Further Education system.

(9) The CSE examination, which begins next year, could—imaginatively used—be the vehicle by which the Newsom proposals begin to work.

(10) The biggest barrier to the scheme proposed in this paper is not shortage of resources, but the structural implications of the fact that the middle classes have nothing to gain from Further Education for all. Their needs are already catered for by the present extension of the voluntary Further Education and technical education systems. Hence there is little hope of active support from the most vocal and articulate section of society for improvements in the education of the Newsom boy.

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

Doctor Musgrove's depth-charge

JOHN ELLERBY

FRANK MUSGROVE took a degree at Oxford and a Ph.D. at Nottingham, and then served for three years in the colonial education service in Uganda, and became a Lecturer in Education first at Leicester and then at Leeds Universities. He has just been appointed Professor of Research in Education at the future University of Bradford (now the Bradford Institute of Technology). We must therefore assume that when he writes of our education system, he writes as one of its successful products, and when he writes about the migratory elite, he writes as a member of it.

He is, in fact, the author of a couple of books on these topics, *The Migratory Elite* (published in Heinemann's Books on Sociology in 1963 at 30s.) and *Youth and the Social Order* (published in Routledge's International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction in 1964 at 21s.). These books, despite their battery of data from history, sociology and anthropology, got a distinctly cold shoulder from the sociologists. (*The Migratory Elite* didn't even make *New Society*, while J. A. Banks managed to review it in the *British Journal of Sociology* without telling us what it was about, so intent was he on exposing its methodological defects.) Dr. Musgrove's sin is that he is an original and speculative thinker, whose speculations do not lead him in the accepted directions of any of the schools of thought on the sociology of education.

In *The Migratory Elite* he first examines migration as a historical phenomenon—the “movement out” in the 19th century of the “hard-pressed male” and the “superfluous female” as well as the flotsam of the industrial revolution, and then turns to internal migration. Modern migrants tend to be, as his title suggests, an *elite*: “A century ago, when migrants were still predominantly labourers from rural districts moving to the growing towns, their average quality, measured in educational and social terms, was low. The great population movement of the first half of the nineteenth century, which built up great industrial cities, was mainly of manual workers; the great migration which has since peopled the suburbs and residential towns has been predominantly a

movement of non-manual workers in search of a superior physical, and more exclusive social environment.”

The upper classes (in spite of the stately homes image) are traditionally metropolitan and non-parochial; social change has extended the freedom from locality to the middle classes: “The potential of the grammar school as a solvent of local ties has been fully realized, since the 1860's, in the interests not of justice only, but of a changing economy which has required elite mobility. Today selection for a grammar-school education is selection for a probably migratory future.” For, as Dr. Musgrove has put it elsewhere (*Times Educational Supplement* 18/11/60):

Justice in contemporary Britain resides in providing the meritorious with appropriately graded educational and vocational rewards which, from their essential nature, will detach them from their social groups of origin. The embarrassing connexion with family and neighbourhood will be attenuated and, even with the best will in the world, the possibilities of communication reduced. The grammar school is the agency for collecting local talent, equipping it not only with the requisite technical skills but also the attitudes and role dispositions needed for “success”, and redeploying it on a national scale, distributing it throughout the economy and the anonymous avenues, drives and crescents of outer suburbia. In rural areas “getting on” via the grammar school usually means getting out. . . .

Local leaders, in most walks of life, have no roots in the locality and, for this reason, unless leadership is adequately fee-paid, are in fact ceasing strenuously to lead. Their hearts are not in it. The very status of our educational institutions depends on their degree of detachment from their neighbourhoods, upon the extent to which they can claim to be non-local. The nineteenth-century grammar schools that could effectively dodge the (usually quite legal) claim of local boys and recruit their pupils nationally rose into the ranks of the public schools; today provincial universities vie with one another in disclaiming local recruitment of their students and the local employment of their graduates and thus aspire to Oxbridge status. The destruction of local social ties is built in to the prestige system of contemporary education.

In his book he provides striking evidence to support these assertions, and speculates about the relationship between personality, educational success, and immigration and various stress conditions from neurosis to suicide. “The self-controlled, inward-looking and inwardly anxious personality, striving with self-disciplined, if not obsessive application, will, given the requisite endowment of innate intelligence, succeed in scholastic work and enter and rise within the professions.” And he launches into a powerful attack on the grammar school ethos, which he develops in his second book. The grammar schools are institutions which produce what Jackson and Marsden describe as “stable, often rigidly orthodox citizens, who wish to preserve a hierarchical society and all its institutions as they now stand.” Dr. Musgrove remarks that “It is possible that the emphases which have been the hallmark of ‘progressive’ education for more than half a century—and which have been stubbornly resisted and persistently ridiculed in the staff rooms of the maintained grammar schools—might help to provide the personal preparation which is so urgently required. The education of the emotions

and the senses, the encouragement of spontaneity through such creative arts as pottery, sculpture, painting, poetic writing and musical composition might help. Such activities need to be rescued from the periphery of the curriculum—if indeed, they are there at all—and given the emphasis which they have long enjoyed as independent schools such as Dartington Hall. We are held back in some measure not only by the conservatism of the schools but by the lack of really reliable evidence on the effectiveness of such a programme. No adequate follow-up study has been made of normal boys and girls (and often the progressive schools have been a last resort for hard cases) who have enjoyed such an education. We have no certain knowledge of the consequences for adult personality. . . .”

For that matter, he adds, “we have no certain knowledge of the consequences for adult personality of any type of study.” On the other hand “such reliable evidence as we have about the outlook of grammar-school pupils indicates quite clearly that their attitude to school, to adults, to their friends, to themselves and to the world at large are negative, hostile, suspicious and anxious. These characteristics are found among them more often than among modern-school pupils who, on the face of it, have more reason for a sense of rejection, of insecurity, and resentment.”

Dr. Musgrove’s conclusions in this book are strangely muted. It is futile to attempt, he says, to give the members of the ‘New Class’, the migratory elite, “roots in the community which they will inevitably leave, to make them provincial when they must be confidently cosmopolitan, to base their education on the values, customs and traditions of the area in which they were born. . . . The sentimentalists may nostalgically regret it, but the interests of the social order we have fashioned, and of those who must carry its heaviest responsibilities, call for a higher education purged of all provincialism.” He put the issues rather more sharply in the *Educational Supplement* article quoted above in which he first rehearsed this theme, which had the title “Justice versus Sanity? Price of Success in a Competitive Society”. And he returns to the theme with renewed ferocity in *Youth and the Social Order*:

“The hatred with which the mature of Western society regard the young is a testimony to the latter’s importance, to their power, potential and actual,” begins Dr. Musgrove in his chapter on Youth and Society. He suggests that this power of the adolescent has not been so great since the early days of the industrial revolution when “rapidly declining rates of mortality among the young made them worth taking seriously, and technological change and the reorganisation of industry gave them a strategic position in the nation’s economic life.” Then as now, the young had power but not subjective status. Today, in Musgrove’s view “their seniors protect their own position with a variety of stratagems, planned ostensibly in the best interests of the young: prolonged tutelage and dependence, exclusion from adult pursuits, interests and

responsibilities, in order to ‘protect them from themselves’; extended training schemes of negligible educational content which effectively delay the open competition of the young worker with his seniors.”

He finds that “adolescents do not return in equal measure the hostility which adults direct towards them. They are on the whole kindly disposed to their seniors, value their approval and aim to be co-operative with them.” He develops this theme in a chapter on “Inter-Generation Attitudes”. His enquiries among adults on the other hand showed him that “adults regardless of age and social class consign the young to a self-contained world of juvenile pre-occupations; they strongly resist the notion that in their late teens they might qualify for entry into adult pursuits and rights: they resent their ‘precociousness’, their tendency to earlier marriage and higher earnings; they reject the idea that perhaps the young might end their legal minority before the age of twenty-one, enter into full citizenship and exercise the vote.”

Musgrove regards the adolescent as “a comparatively recent socio-psychological invention, scarcely two centuries old”. (Thus one of his chapters begins: “The adolescent was invented at the same time as the steam-engine. The principal architect of the latter was Watt in 1765, of the former Rousseau in 1762”.) Distinctive social institutions have been fashioned to accommodate the newly-invented adolescent, “psychologically he has been made more or less to fit them, moulded by appropriate rewards and penalties”. Psychologists report the continuity of childhood and adolescent personality, but Dr. Musgrove is more struck, from the few studies that have been made, by the continuity of adolescent and adult personality. One such study, of the same people over a period of years notes how, “Physical characteristics had persisted over thirteen years, and so had readily observable patterns of behaviour: hobbies, nervous signs, aggressiveness in response to interview and test. Anxious adult personalities were foreshadowed in the anxieties shown in adolescent fantasies; ineffective adults had shown a deep sense of inferiority thirteen years before. What they had been at 13, they were, in essence, at 30.” We may find this depressing, but that it not Musgrove’s point, which is that there is little ground for thinking that a specific ‘adolescent personality’ exists. Of another study he notes that “The ‘maturity’ of the adolescent subjects, like the maturity of adults, does not mean finality of development, with no room for increase in wisdom, judgement, knowledge, insight and understanding. But in their values and attitudes and capacity for altruism and rational discrimination in their personal relationships, a representative sample of 16-year-olds seems unlikely to be inferior to a representative sample of the adult population.”

He goes on to discuss the ‘realism’ of youth. “Many investigators have been both surprised and dismayed by the down-to-earth and practical appraisal which the young in post-war Britain make of their present condition and future prospects. They accurately perceive the implications for their future lives and careers of the educational provi-

sion which they receive after the age of eleven. They neither expect nor even desire jobs which are out of line with the level of their educational competence; in their early teens they expect to marry at the age which is in fact most common among the workers they expect to join; the majority of them know with a remarkable degree of accuracy what they will earn in the jobs they expect, both initially and in adult years." When he comes to the 'conservatism' of the young he remarks that "There is no immediate prospect of any massive rebellion by the young against their condition and the dominant customs, trends and institutions of our society. Never (at least since the later eighteenth century) have they given such support as they do today to the institution of marriage; perhaps, too, they were never so satisfied with the economic order and the jobs it offers them." And in case this runs too contrary to our stereotypes of rebellious youth, he adds on the next page the observation that "Those who actively challenge the established social order, its values, institutions and policies, are a small minority of the young: juvenile delinquents at (in the main) lower social levels, 'Beats' and CND supporters at (in the main) higher levels."

The social and economic rewards, he concludes "which the majority of the post-war young enjoy are sufficient to account for their docility, the exclusiveness of adults' pursuits sufficient to account for their inactivity. What *is* there for them to do as they wait in limbo? They can only wait around until they are allowed to be adult: to marry, make homes, and have a responsible interest in community affairs. On the other hand, the social disabilities of the least gifted minority are sufficient to account for their less acceptable but more vigorous forms of protest." And he goes on: "The more highly rewarded young are expected to pay a price: they realise this, and for the most part enter into a tacit bargain with their seniors who exact it. The price is deferred social gratification in return for augmented gratification in the end: the deferment takes the form of industrial apprenticeships which the apprentices themselves may regard, after the first few months, as futile; or extended education in formal institutions which may have little relevance to life present or future. The more perceptive young recognize that this is a game devised by their elders in which they will be wise to cooperate."

When Dr. Musgrove turns to consider "Role-Conflict in Adolescence" he finds himself taking another swipe at the grammar school, backed up by the observations of Richard Hoggart, H. J. Hallworth, the Young and Wilmott study, and Jackson and Marsden's *Education and the Working Class* (see ANARCHY 17). The grammar school, he says, "ensures for most of those who pass successfully through it a relatively high social status in contemporary Britain. It exacts a formidable price for this service. Although it carries high prestige and has the confidence of the majority of parents at all social levels, it systematically humiliates its pupils, reduces their self-esteem, promotes uncertainties, ambiguities and conflicts in social relationships, a nega-

tive—even a despairing—outlook on life and society. This is the classic prescription for the production of an experimental and deviant minority. Experiment and deviation have not in fact been remarkable among ex-grammar school pupils, particularly since the end of World War II, partly because the social and economic rewards which soon follow their chastening experiences have been, if not spectacular, at least adequate. Young professional men and women have never been so comfortable so early. But for many it would seem that the very capacity for vigorous deviation, or response of any sort, has been effectively paralyzed by their schools. Drilled in received opinions, carefully memorizing the steps which demonstrate established truths, the grammar-school boy only too often, as Hoggart suggests, loses 'spontaneity so as to acquire examination-passing reliability. He can snap his fingers at no-one and nothing; he seems to make an adequate, reliable, and unjoyous kind of clerk.'"

Another chapter considers the relationship between the status of youth and social change. High status of young people is often associated with a heightened tempo of social change, but, says Dr. Musgrove, it is frequently a consequence rather than a cause. He uses a wealth of anthropological material on tribal societies to support the contention that "in those societies in which the status of adolescents and young adults (particularly the males) is high, change will tend to be slow, the blandishments of an elaborate and alien civilisation resisted; where their status is low, and their seniors can effectively block their access to adult statuses and impede their assumption of adult roles, then there is likely to be a predisposition to change, to social innovation and experimentation, to a ready response to the opportunities which may be offered by an alien, intrusive culture to follow alternative and quicker routes to power and importance. When the young are segregated from the adult world, held in low esteem, and delayed in their entry into adult life, they are likely to constitute a potentially deviant population; but when they are segregated from the adult world in a position of high status and power (for instance, in warrior groups), a conservative society is the probable result". It may be, he suggests "one of the ironies of the human condition that any society must choose between social conservatism and rigidity, or the oppression of its young."

Whether this is so or not, Dr. Musgrove's final chapter is a call for changes in our treatment of the young, changes which he does not think are likely. "It is not possible," he says, "to end this book on a note of hope." For demographic circumstances, economic conditions, educational strategy and provision, and the institutionalized power of adults, are too strong.

In adolescence, he reminds us, "the young attain physical maturity, the height of their sexual powers, the peak of intellectual capacity," yet the educational elite are segregated in conditions in which "Theoretical continence, and even more so actual continence, is a savage price exacted from the young at the height of their physical powers for the

benefits of higher learning," while even the 'unselected' majority are "treated as a separate race to be confined in appropriately juvenile institutions. At work they are increasingly classified and underpaid as 'apprentices' when in fact they do a man's job . . . in leisure the attempt is made to herd them into spaces insulated from all contact with adult concerns." He regards the Albermarle Report (on the Youth Service) as "one of the most disastrous social documents to appear in this country this century", and he goes on to attack the whole of our conventional wisdom on further education:

Two threats which appeared in the Education Act of 1944 have not yet been implemented: that the minimum school leaving age be raised to 16, and that there be compulsory attendance at County Colleges for those who have left school but are not yet 18 years of age. These proposals have received further support from the Crowther Report (1959). As the employment of the swollen numbers of adolescents becomes more difficult, both these recommendations are quite certain, after a quarter of a century to be put into effect.

There is no justification on educational grounds for making 16 the statutory minimum leaving age. There can be no justification for prolonging by yet another year the kind of experience which Mays, for instance, very soberly describes in inner-urban secondary-modern schools—and Mays himself is very dubious about the wisdom of such a prolongation: 'If we could choose between a better and more successful education up to 15 for the down-town boys and girls or another year spent in existing conditions, there is no doubt that the former policy should prevail.'

If we are genuinely concerned with the psychological and social welfare of the young, for some at least the school leaving age should be lowered—perhaps even for a majority of secondary-modern school children. There is no justification in either psychology or biology for requiring the same minimum leaving age for all children (or, for that matter, the same age for entry into universities and professional courses of training). The change from school to work, further education or the university should be made in the light of the individual's physical development, emotional needs, social maturity, manual capacity, and intelligence.

Tanner has suggested that a boy might spend a considerable part of his time in an engineering workshop or other employment from the age of 13. Because child labour was once 'exploited' in this country, it does not follow that, with due safeguards erected in the light of history, the same would happen again. It is probably still true that adults are not to be trusted, that we cannot confidently expect them voluntarily to behave with decency and humanity towards the young; but we now have social and legal machinery, and can provide more, to make them do so.

As for County Colleges, he regards them as "an agency for manufacturing adolescents where none naturally exist. Like apprenticeship they are justified only when they genuinely enhance the status of youth, make them capable of realising their full potential, able to hold their own with, and perhaps often to surpass, adults both socially and economically. To the extent that they separate the young, *make* them a distinct population with separate interests and concerns, underline their status as learners, they are to be deplored. To introduce compulsory attendance would be an intolerable affront, direction of labour and infringement of personal liberty without justification in our social and political philosophy—except on the assumption that we are dealing with

people who are in fact less than persons." And he tartly comments on the way it is regretted that the young use further education for getting technical qualifications rather than for 'personal enrichment': "It is a delusion to imagine that personal enrichment can in any case result from a day a week at a county college if the surrounding days are filled with frustration and humiliation. Personal enrichment is a function of a way of life: it will be achieved when the circumstances of home, work and leisure make possible a sense of personal worth and dignity."

And Dr. Musgrove sums up his passionate plea on behalf of the young with the words: "There is a general need for lowering the age of admission into English social and cultural institutions, for taking in 16-year-olds and according them the rights, and imposing the responsibilities, which apply to their seniors. Political and legal maturity should be recognised at 17; the trend to more youthful marriage accepted and aided instead of deplored. (The surprising thing is not that some youthful marriages break down, but that so many survive in an atmosphere of disapproval and disparagement.) The sexual powers and needs of adolescents need frank recognition; heterosexual experience in adolescence must be accepted, instruction in birth-control given. (And if prostitution is driven underground and made an expensive luxury for, in the main, the middle-aged and married, we must expect that young men will make sexual demands on their girl friends.) The contemporary social order and adult social attitudes are based, if not upon hypocrisy, on gigantic myths concerning the needs and nature of the young."

Sink schools

G.

A GREAT DEAL OF CONTROVERSY has been aroused by the question of differential selection for secondary education, following the 1944 Education Act. It may be noted, in passing, that the differentiation between children at the age of 11, and moving them on to new schools, has never been properly investigated and certainly has never been justified on educational, psychological or social grounds. Why the age of 11—why not 13½ as for the Public Schools? The answer is that in the history of compulsory schooling it became administratively convenient to have it that way.

The original idea of the "tripartite" system—Grammar, Technical and Secondary Modern Schools—was not of course embodied in the Act, but some approximation to it was envisaged by most local education authorities in England. However, the different types of secondary school were to have "parity of esteem". It is difficult to say whether this phrase was coined more in a spirit of post-war optimism and

idealism, or in sheer hypocrisy. It was never stated whom it was envisaged esteeming—the Grammar School boy equally with the boy from the Secondary Mod: the LEA who allocated scarce resources of buildings, equipment and staff, the teachers, the future employers, the parents or the boys themselves? We all know the answer; there is a hierarchy of contempt running right through the schools of this country. The few really “good” Public Schools despise the many lesser “bad” Public Schools with a satisfying degree of contempt. It is said that a true gentleman is never rude unintentionally, and true Public School gentlemen never slip into the bad taste of unintentional rudeness. To the minor Public Schools, the boys at Grammar Schools are of course sheer yobboes (listen to their accents, look at their absurd pretensions to traditions and culture!) The Grammar School boys, or most of them, regard those at the Secondary Mod. with that shudder which goes with the feeling of, “There but for the Grace of God, go I”. Many of them have known what it was to be herded with the lumpen-proletariat in the Primary School and to wonder whether escape through “passing” the 11-plus would be possible.

I have not yet mentioned the question of the Technical Schools or the comprehensives, for already I fear I may have alienated sympathy from my thesis by putting too horrid, too uncharitable a construction on the social and educational system of this country. But one does not have to be entirely a cynic to note that the differences between classes of schools are not entirely differences of wealth or of educational standard, for *prestige* is a terribly important factor involved in the school you go to, or claim kinship with, in later life. To the proles, an Old Etonian tie looks much like that of an Old Mugdonian, but the difference shrieks to high heaven if the two ties meet at the golf club. In the same way, the Managing Director will be little impressed by the difference between an educational background of Slabditch Tech. and Slabditch Secondary Mod. in two workers of equivalent efficiency at the bench. But the difference between these two schools may be extreme in terms of real local prestige, the pride or despair of the parents, the satisfaction or despondency of the staff, the personal tragedy of the boys who failed to get into the former and were forced to go to the latter. One large Educational Authority has now decreed that the opprobrious term “Modern” (for so it has become) shall no longer be used in conjunction with the word “Secondary”. It has abolished Secondary Modern Schools by this decree; when the term “Secondary” has become opprobrious by being associated with those schools boys have to go to when they cannot get into the Grammar, Technical and Comprehensive Schools in the area, they will have to coin a new title.

Although I may be accused of parodying the prestige relations which exist between schools, I must insist that it is a very real phenomenon. The phenomenon of the “pecking order” among various species of animals has long been known to natural historians; later ethologists have suggested that pecking for the sake of pecking may be intensified

by herding the animals in a restricted space, or giving them meagre rations. Perhaps the pecking order among schools, which implies a hierarchy of contempt, may partly result from the strongly competitive nature of our society. But, one may ask, when a boy is finally settled into a Secondary Mod. can he then relax and take life easily, as one who lies at the bottom of the ladder and therefore need not struggle to climb higher or maintain his foothold? It is not as simple as that, for among Secondary Mods. there are the “good”, the “average”, the “bad”—and the “sink” schools. A quaint saying alleges that “one slug differs from another in glory”. Some Secondary Mods. strive hard to foster the abilities of the more academic pupils, and stream accordingly. Some have a modest success with O levels in the GCE, and a lesser examination is being fostered to provide an academic goal for those who could never hope to make O level. But what of the “sink” school?

The “sink” school has no official existence, yet in many urban areas it serves a useful function administratively. Selection for secondary education roughly proceeds as follows. Primary schools are responsible for sorting out who goes to what type of school, and this is done in a number of different ways. Some schools stream the children, and decide on the allocation at the age of seven. Criteria for streaming are the obvious ones—the standard of education reached, the general brightness of the child, the social class of the parents, the school record of older children from the same family. Having allocated the children to an A, B or C stream, the school then proceeds to validate its own selection criteria by fostering the academic potential of the A stream, and treating the C stream like a lot of dolts, thus following the scriptural text, “For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.” (St. Mark XXV. 29.)

Some head teachers refuse to stream the children, as a matter of principle, or hold out against streaming until the last year in the Primary School. The demand for streaming sometimes comes from hard-pressed assistant teachers who complain that they can hardly be expected to cram children for the Grammar School while some members of the class cannot even read, and relieve their boredom by bad behaviour. Some heads stream the classes academically, but take special pains to give the less academic types plenty of real social responsibility and opportunities for success in other directions: others let the stigma of belonging to the C stream become an accepted social fact and threaten naughty boys in the B stream with demotion.

The practice of using an examination at the age of 10 or 11 as a means of selection for the type of Secondary School to which a child goes, has come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years. Some critics have complained that the sort of questions in the examination are not fair to the child from a working class home. The eleven-plus has been gradually abandoned by successive local education authorities, but by giving up this examination more weight has become attached to

the recommendations of head teachers. If there was any class-bias in the examination, such bias is unlikely to be removed by dependence on the judgements of schoolteachers. In actual fact all that is being done is to replace a generally administered and standardized examination by a lot of little examinations administered more haphazardly, and the criteria used for streaming at the age of seven are going to be influential in selection at the age of eleven.

Another powerful factor determining the type of Secondary School to which a child will go is the nature of his parents—their initiative, interest and social class. To discuss the last-mentioned first, we must face the awkward fact that though class-bias may be regrettable, it is pragmatically sensible. Various studies have shown that in general the minimally qualified children from middle-class homes who just scrape into Grammar Schools by the skin of their teeth tend to do better after five years than the children of unskilled workers who were better qualified academically at the age of eleven. If the parents have the initiative and interest they will start to take the necessary steps early on in the child's last year at the Primary School, to get him into the school of their choice. If they appear to the head teacher they are approaching to be "nice people" he may even waive a point or two in doubtful cases and admit their none-too-bright child. At the opposite extreme are the parents of low social class and doubtful respectability who show no interest in their child's schooling. The head of the Primary School often has difficulty in contacting them, either by letter or personally, to get them to express any opinion about the Secondary School their child is to go to. As this question is delayed and delayed, the heads of the neighbouring Secondary Schools, forewarned by the frightful report they got about the child, all declare that they are full up—no vacancies—by the time these dilatory parents get round to proffering their scruffy offspring. Young Charlie, then, after four years in the C stream of his Primary School, finds that none of the local Secondary Mods. will take him. When his dad asks the head of his old school, or the clerk at the Education Office where he *can* go to school (or when the attendance officer finds out that he does not go anywhere), it is suggested that they will very probably have a vacancy for him at X School three miles away. X School is of course a "sink" school.

Typically, the "sink" school is in a neighbourhood which has lost a lot of its population through slum clearance. The remaining population hangs on in sub-standard housing, but the better types have managed to leave the rotting area. The school has therefore plenty of vacancies to be filled by the dregs from other areas. The buildings are terrible and it is hardly worth spending money on them, but at least, being built in the prison-fortress style of the old School Board, no one can damage them. The fact that the locals are a rough lot anyway is not improved by the even rougher throw-outs who come in from other areas. If they did not learn all the tricks of villainy and habits of hooliganism at home, they learn them by attending this

school. Moreover, by having to travel quite a way to a school like this, the children know that they are rejects, and a community of rejects develops an ugly attitude towards respectable society.

And the staff? Ideally you have to be pretty tough to teach in a place like that. Young hooligans with large chips on their shoulders are not won over to co-operativeness and nice manners by clever teachers so easily as some works of fiction imply. Some of the teachers are pretty tough; others are just pathetic, and have drifted to such schools as a result of their general incompetence.

It may be whispered in some quarters, with guilty satisfaction, that the "sink" schools serve a very useful purpose in ridding other Secondary Mods. of the worst problem cases so that standards can be improved all round. But schools do not exist in isolation from society, and if the worst cases are made still worse by this process of selection they will not fail to have their own back on us all, even through the progeny they will produce not so long after leaving school.

This article is not meant as a puff for the Comprehensive Schools. In general they suffer from the faults of bigness and of over-standardisation. The nearest thing I have seen to Huxley's fantasy of *Brave New World* was 30 little boys in identical blazers all sitting at identical desks tackling identical problems with nearly identical IQs. The Comprehensive School in question was so large that screening processes produced units of boys who were all too like one another in too many ways. To compensate the drawbacks of bigness, however, there are the advantages accruing from mass production. Such schools generally have new buildings which are far superior to those of other schools. What is wanted, of course, is for the slummiest of children to be given the finest of buildings. I know that some of the yobboes at Risinghill School did some wanton wrecking of the nice place, but when upper-class yobboes do the same sort of thing at Oxbridge it is not suggested that all the dreaming spires, and lawns and mellow quadrangles are just wasted.

I started to write of selection processes, and in particular of sweeping the worst problems into a sink where they fester, and I do not end, as a good Labour man would, with a hurrah for the Comprehensives, for I do not think that they are the answer. There is, in fact, no complete answer that can be given in a society geared to intense competitiveness, differentials of pay, and differentials of esteem which stem from power rather than merit.

A modest proposal for the repeal of the Education Act

COLIN WARD

MANY PEOPLE FROM GARNETT COLLEGE DECLARED, so we hear, after their teaching practice, that they were "appalled at the quality of the students" that they were expected to teach. We can imagine them reflecting, "What *can* they have been doing for the last ten years? Ten years of primary and secondary education have taught them nothing, not even how to behave." Whether *you* felt like that depends of course on the kind of classes you found yourself teaching, as well as on your own temperament, but you cannot be unaware that it was a widespread reaction, and one which has all the more point when you recall that the real "rock-bottom" of the age-group does not get caught up in the mesh of further education.

We can react in two ways: either by deciding that the lower reaches of further education are a farce, unworthy of our talents, and determining to get a job with students from a slightly higher layer of the educational pyramid, or else by hoping that you can do something one day a week in two or three years which the schools have been unable to achieve in ten. (A hope which, given the more permissive atmosphere and the smaller classes of further education, is not, I think, entirely unjustified.)

But whatever your reaction, you probably have the impression, to put it mildly, that ten years of schooling should have done a great deal more for the young people in your classroom. We can recite plenty of explanations: inadequate premises, over-large classes, the fact that we spend 70 per cent more each year on a grammar school child than on a secondary modern child, and nearly double over their school life, the fact that the brightest children get the brightest teachers, unfavourable environmental influences, and so on. Whatever our explanations, we ought not to pretend that the educational situation is other than it is.

In fact we should shout it from the housetops. Two years ago we had a Campaign for Educational Advance. But it didn't. In five years' time we shall celebrate a hundred years of universal, free and

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compulsory education by raising the minimum leaving age. Shouldn't we then initiate a Campaign for the Repeal of the Education Act? Our Campaign won't succeed either, but it will have the great merit of challenging people's assumptions in a way in which no propaganda for educational advance is likely to do.

At five years old, most children can't wait to get into school. At fifteen most of them can't wait to get out again. Is the fault theirs or that of the educational machine? William Godwin, the anarchist, wrote 170 years ago, "Study with desire is real activity: without desire it is but the semblance and mockery of activity. Let us not, in the eagerness of our haste to educate, forget all the ends of education." By campaigning for the repeal, rather than the extension of compulsion, we shall be challenging people to state those ends. Are the ends of education to keep the kids off the street, to provide a supply of literates for the employment market, to produce a meritocracy? Or what are they?

Already there are voices for the campaign. In America (where the situation is like ours only more so) Paul Goodman declares that the purpose of his new book *Compulsory Mis-education* "is to get people at least to begin to think in another direction, to look for an organisation of education less wasteful of human resources and social wealth than what we have . . . to make it easier for youngsters to gravitate to what suits them and to provide many points of quitting and return. To cut down the loss of student hours in parroting and forgetting, and the loss of teacher hours in talking to the deaf. To engage more directly in the work of society, and to have useful products to show instead of stacks of examination papers." And in this country, Frank Musgrove, author of that valuable book *Youth and the Social Order*, writes, "We do too many things at the wrong time in life. It is probable that much of our formal education is offered at the wrong age, when young people have other pressing, distracting and in many ways more important demands upon their 'life-space'. (And many of our most worthwhile young people are often those who at 16, 17 or 18 refuse any longer to submit to it.)"

Now it might be said that to campaign, even if merely to shock people into questioning their values, for the repeal of the Education Act, is to find yourself in strange company: those very sophisticated and highly-literate people who question the value of literacy for others, and those extreme reactionaries who resent the theoretical opportunity for all which successive Education Acts have built up. It might also be said that I ignore the fact that a hundred years is not a long time in which to set out to achieve universal literacy and numeracy—no other civilisation has done it, or that I forget what a slender foothold education actually has, and the painfully-achieved advances that have actually been made. There are only too many feckless parents and silly children who should support the campaign, if they could read its propaganda. Why rock the boat?

When L. A. Dexter wrote his book *The Tyranny of Schooling*, his colleagues, although they had praised his earlier work on backward children, urged him not to publish it because of the bad company he would find himself in. But he didn't think, and I don't think, that a conspiracy of silence is preferable to a complacent pretence that everything is lovely. Education is a Good Thing. Everybody says so. Therefore you can't have too much of it. But it is manifest that many children fail at this Good Thing, and that their failure is more manifest the longer they stay at it. No wonder they react to education and all it stands for with hostility. As Dexter says, "Our society teaches contempt for stupidity and fear of being regarded as stupid through one central institution and its auxiliaries. This institution is compulsory schooling."

The kids aren't kidded when we talk about other kinds of success for the non-academics, because they know how much we and their future employers value these substitutes for scholarship. They know they are, as David Holbrook put it, "the new intouchables, without a ticket." Because the GCE was not suitable for them (and who is it suitable for?), the Beloe Report recommended the CSE. Before long there will be a cry for another exam, below Beloe. For, in Margaret Maison's words, "In this fiendishly competitive, exam-mad, class-ridden, status-hypnotised England, children need to be protected from the demands of society in general, and of their parents in particular. If the teachers will not help them, who will?"

In campaigning for the repeal of the Education Act, we would be challenging all the purposes that education is made to serve. What will we be campaigning for? For the idea that education is a process as long as life itself. For the idea that everyone should expect the privilege that, for instance, students at Garnett College enjoy: of going back to school when they need to. And for the young? Schools which foster excitement rather than failure. Schools which are too interesting to leave, so that "timetables and programmes play an insignificant part, for the older children come back when school hours are over, and with them their parents and elder brothers and sisters." (I didn't make this up; it is a description of Prestolee School in Lancashire, revolutionised by its late headmaster, Edward O'Neill). Schools which are so good that they won't need to be compulsory.

It is the adult world, not the children, who have made education into an obstacle race, beginning at five, and ending with a small elite who have surmounted all the hurdles, and a vast population of casualties and also-rans scattered along the course behind. If you are joining the ranks of the educators you have to decide between the obstacle race and the human race.

Social conflict and authority

WALTER COY

CLASS AND CLASS CONFLICT IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY by Ralf Dahrendorf (Stanford University Press \$6.50, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 42s.)

THIS BOOK (a revised and expanded translation of *Soziale Klassen und Klassenkonflikt* which first appeared in 1957) by Ralf Dahrendorf, sociology professor at the Hamburg School of Economics, attempts to explain the existence of social conflict and of continuing social change by a radical reorientation of the science of sociology. Mr. Dahrendorf sets the stage for his analysis by contrasting the theories of Marx and those of present-day sociologists, and by rejecting them both. His criticism of Marx seems fairly standard, and rests mainly on the assertion that human motivations are not purely economic and on the pointing out of the evolution of a comparatively non-violent regulation of the conflict between worker and capitalist. While one can almost hear the gloating of the apologists for capitalism in the background of this last point, it is reassuring to see that Dahrendorf can admit the truth of this inescapable fact and then continue to undermine their position as well.

Present-day sociologists, according to Dahrendorf, view society not in terms of class conflict, but of what he calls the "integration theory", whose father was in the main, Talcott Parsons. He summarizes it as follows:

1. Every society is a relatively persistent, stable structure of elements.
2. Every society is a well-integrated structure of elements.
3. Every element in a society has a function, i.e. renders a contribution to its maintenance as a system.
4. Every functioning social structure is based on a consensus of values among its members.

WALTER COY's discussion of Dahrendorf's important book is reprinted from the Spring issue of our New York contemporary Views and Comments (P. O. Box 261, Cooper Station, New York 3) which, incidentally, will be changing its name to *The Anarchist* in its next issue.

Dahrendorf discusses this theory and finally rejects it on two grounds: firstly on its failure to account for outbreaks of violence and secondly, on its failure to account for social change.

In its place he proposes a theory of his own, which he calls the "coercion theory". In this theory he conceives of social change as a product of an eternal conflict between rulers and ruled, and explains how any society, capitalist or other, must develop into a state of class war:

"The formation of conflict groups of the class type follows a pattern that can be described in terms of a model involving the following partly analytical, partly hypothetical steps: (1) In any imperatively co-ordinated association, two, and only two, aggregates of positions may be distinguished, i.e., positions of domination and positions of subjection. (2) Each of these aggregates is characterised by common latent interests; the collectivities of individuals corresponding to them constitute quasi-groups. (3) Latent interests are articulated into manifest interests; the quasi-groups become the recruiting fields of organised interest groups of the class type."

Dahrendorf then proceeds to apply this theory to an analysis of present-day society, which he calls "post-capitalism". The most significant development of this society is the introduction of conflict regulation through intervention on the part of the political state. Largely a product of this is what he calls the "encapsulation of industry", whereby rights and behaviour patterns become less dependent on one's position in the productive process. This does not, however, eliminate the experience of class conflict. "Like its precursor advanced industrial society is a class society. Concept and theory of class are still applicable." The rise of living standards does not affect the existence of this conflict:

"For the emergence of social conflicts the standard of living of their participants is in principle irrelevant, for conflicts are ultimately generated by relations of authority, i.e. by the differentiation of dominating and subjected groups. Even if every worker owns a car, a house, and whatever other comforts of civilisation there are, the root of industrial class conflict is not eliminated, but hardly touched. Social conflict is as universal as the relations of authority and imperatively co-ordinated associations, for it is the distribution of authority that provides the basis and cause of its occurrence."

Joint-stock schemes and the involvement of government representatives fail to eliminate the conflict: "If a person occupies a position of domination in an enterprise, it is irrelevant in principle whether his authority is based on property, election by a board of directors, or appointment by a government agency. For the latent interests of the incumbents of positions of authority, their incumbency of these positions is the sole significant factor."

Democratic representation does not necessarily decrease the conflict between rulers and ruled: "There is already, in many Western countries,

a widespread feeling that 'it does not matter for whom one casts one's vote', because 'whatever one votes, the same people will always rule'. This state of affairs corresponds suspiciously closely to the dichotomous image of society according to which it makes no difference whether 'they' call themselves representatives of the workers or of the employers. It also corresponds to the actual collusion which is so general a feature among the representatives of political parties."

Thus, according to Dahrendorf, social conflict is never resolved; at best it is only channelled into non-violent means of expression. The end product of this process is a socialist bureaucracy, which prevents the still unresolved conflict from breaking out into the open by institutional means, the chief of these being enforced compromise and delay. The conflict of worker vs. capitalist is not extinguished in this new society—it is only transformed into conflict between those who exercise political authority and those who do not.

Because Mr. Dahrendorf envisions this final conflict as a struggle for nothing more than the occupation of positions of political power, he resigns himself to the conclusion that it is a conflict that will continue forever. It would be interesting to see what he would have to say about a conflict between those who have political power and those who do not, in the case where the aim of the subjected party is the complete abolition of political power itself. Because he never in his analysis takes this final step, it cannot be considered strictly anarchist. His book, however, is a well-documented argument in support of the anarchist picture of present society.

ANARCHISM AND ACADEMIC FAILURE

I AM A FAILED UNIVERSITY STUDENT at present having another shot at taking my degree. When talking to fellow anarchists or sympathisers of the movement (usually the peace movement) I find that very few of them who have been in any form of higher education have successfully completed their course of studies, for one reason or another, at least in my generation. I am wondering whether there is any significant correlation between being an anarchist and failing any specific course of academic studies. Various reasons are offered for non completion, and my curiosity about this could well be an illusion created by my own ego-centric need to justify my failure, or find in it a significance that is purely a matter of philosophical speculation. However, I have just looked through the address list we used for "The Anarchist 5" and I have found over a score of comrades who I know have been "unsuccessful" in their chosen field.

I would therefore be interested to learn from fellow comrades, of either sex, who either are, or were in this position, their reasons, if they feel they know them, for their failure to complete their courses of study. For the purposes of this study, the term higher education, includes University type courses (Degree, Diploma, Certificate, etc.), Teachers Training Courses, Professional, Technical, Commercial, Nursing and

other post matriculation type courses.

I realise, of course, it will be difficult to draw general conclusions from such an unscientific study, however I should like to follow up this pilot study with a more scientifically based one, perhaps using questionnaires and, if finances permit, personal interviews. All depending upon the individuals willingness to assist.

I would be pleased if anyone has any suggestions for this projected study, either in public (in the columns of ANARCHY or FREEDOM) or privately to me. I believe this is a very important problem for the movement at the present time, and one which the movement has not quite faced up to—i.e. does one become an anarchist because of a tendency to fail to fit in with the requirements of bourgeois society (using the term bourgeois in a very loose sense though understandable without further definition to most anarchists) that is because of social failing in oneself to adjust to reasonable requirements to double-think one's way through life (I know this definition is loaded yet I think the loading is empirically correct)? Or does one become an anarchist because one is one of the sane ones, and there is something quite fundamentally wrong with our whole academic educationable framework?* That is, that one's failure is an ideological victory, and part and parcel of being an anarchist? Do people fail because they are anarchists, or do they become anarchists because of a tendency to fail? Until recently I would have adhered to the former view, however is the latter the more correct one? If so, it may well tend to change one's whole conception, not of what an anarchist is, but what an anarchist may be today, i.e. what the term anarchist may cloak. Though here I must say that I am seeking facts not moral judgments, and I am perfectly aware that no person is all of one thing and none of the other, we are all many sided creatures.

If being an anarchist does mean that one has an ideological, or even psychological, tendency to failure in any academic courses then we should make ourselves aware of this, and find means of collectively combating it, lest we become the movement of academic failures and social malcontents. Further, if it is correct, and only if it is correct, we must adjust ourselves to provide just those educational institutions, like Neill's Summerhill, that will cater for our educational and social needs. Because the present system where one spends a number of the most important years of early manhood and womanhood in institutions which throw us onto a labour market less prepared than a youth of fifteen with none of the paper qualifications so prized by bourgeois society, does not provide us with any adequate training for anything of value in an anarchist society.

Any replies will be treated in the strictest confidence and will only be published as statistical data. I would be obliged comrades, for your co-operation in this, I believe, a most important study for the movement, and us all, to really understand ourselves.

12 South Grove, Birmingham 23

PETER NEVILLE

*EDITOR'S NOTE: *The summary in this issue of the views of Dr. Frank Musgrove seems to offer some consoling light on this point.*

SO THAT'S WHAT IT'S LIKE!

"WOULD YOU MIND?—Room 43—a mixed class. They have been discussing . . ." What does it matter *what* they've been discussing? I know nothing—my mouth is dry—my knees are weak—Unfair! Unfair! But there they sit, attentively, and the clock has two hours to run round to my moment of release. Amazingly I find myself talking, chalking, behaving like a teacher. . . . They ask questions—I know the answers! I ask questions—they know the answers! Is that real, bright-eyed interest, second row from the back? Five o'clock already and I have not only survived, I have *enjoyed* it.

* * *

Meanwhile my ambitions and my conscience are sharpened by watching other teachers. There are good lessons and not-so-good, but every teacher here seems to have caught the germ I've noticed floating around in the staff-room—enthusiasm, concern—call it what you will . . . I think it is *commitment*. Their motivation is genuine, their preparation is evident, their effort is unstinting—in short, they really *care* about the students and try their best to teach them well.

* * *

How exactly right this teacher's approach is. . . . Mateyness without condescension, understanding with the students' negativism without approving it. . . .

* * *

Here is a group of girls, seeming scarcely more than day-old chicks despite their stiff hair and eye-lashes . . . avid to know how eggs are made and laid and hatched. I mean no disrespect if I carry on the metaphor to describe their teacher . . . warm, kindly, solicitous as any mother-hen. Her matter-of-fact discussion of conception, gestation, child-birth leaves no *room* for blushes and giggles. If any of these girls found herself unwittingly pregnant, I bet Mrs. W. would hear about it before her mother. . . .

* * *

Having time and a little detachment during lessons, I begin to notice the ill-concealed yawns and *Daily Mirrors*, to feel slighted by the whispering in the back row. It must be ME! Help! This is where I should produce rabbits from my sleeve! To my shame, I cannot improvise . . . I plod on to the end disconsolately. I don't know how to change horses mid-stream when I feel the old nag begin to falter.

* * *

Now I even taste for myself the "nectar" of teaching!—that pin-drop atmosphere of rapt attention which must surely be one thing they mean when they say this is a rewarding job. Now at least I know what to aim for.

HARRIET UNWIN

OBSERVATIONS ON ANARCHY 50 & 52:

DIANA SHELLEY REPLIES

I AM GENUINELY GRATEFUL to Nicolas and Ruth Walter for putting right a number of inaccuracies in my article on "The Anarchists and the Committee of 100" (in ANARCHY 50). I wrote it at least partly in the hope that it would produce some discussion and with the realisation that many other people, including the Walters, were better qualified to write it than I. Nevertheless, there are a few points they have made which I feel require comment and a few cases where they appear to have misunderstood my article.

I am able to accept that Committee owed more to DAC than CND. This is surely obvious from the types of activity it sponsored, but I still feel that the Committee itself was a radical breakaway and drew most of its supporters, if not original members, from CND. I am also prepared to accept that the Committee was a "front"—unfortunately, like many supporters as well as the general public, I could only suppose that its stated position (as set out by Russell and Scott in *Act or Perish*) was its real position and indicative of membership feeling. I hoped I had made it clear in my article that my view of the first part of the Committee's history was that of a supporter and, whereas the Walters, as members, were in a position to know more about actual opinion on the Committee, I, as a supporter, may have been better able to examine its early *image*, which was hardly revolutionary. Thus, while Schoenman may have been expressing opinions held by a large proportion of Committee members, to the average supporter he appeared to be expressing an extreme minority view.

I still maintain that FREEDOM was aloof and "divorced" from the attitudes of the Committee but I did not deny that it supported the Committee or imply that it did not publish enthusiastic articles about it. It has consistently published almost anything of anarchist interest. I also know and said that FREEDOM was an outside voice whose views were not those of the Committee and were not intended to be. Neither did I imply that Comfort and Read tried to exert anarchist influence: Comfort, I know, was engaged in other activities, and I personally doubt whether any influence exerted by Read *could* be anarchist—I was more concerned, once again, with the impression created by the departure of the two "names" known to the public as anarchists at a time when action became publicly less respectable.

I also know that members and supporters had doubts about the sit-down *per se* and the value of being jailed: nevertheless, the public image of the Committee was the sit-down and, for earlier demonstrations, supporters were exhorted to go to jail if they possibly could.

Again, I am willing to believe that Morris' account of Committee business was utopian, but the point I was making was not that what he said was a true account, but that he *thought* the concepts of direct democracy were new (I credit ANARCHY readers with enough intelligence not to find it necessary to point out myself that the concepts were by no means new). (Nicolas Walter, incidentally, made the same point as that which I *thought* I had made, in *New Left Review* 13-14, January-April, 1962). This indicates to me an absence of *direct* anarchist influence. I did not imply that decentralisation occurred as a result of the "anarchist principle of antonomous decentralisation" but that the principle itself was new to most people, including most of the supporters I knew, and, whether those who supported it realised it or not, was something which has consistently been central to the mainstream of anarchist thought and practice.

I stand by my point about "moderate" and "radical" action. What the Committee discussed at its meetings I did not pretend to know; I was examining radical action not radical discussion, of which there is usually more than enough. The fact that a decision was taken because it was "the right moment" does not make the decisions itself any less anarchistic. I can only repeat what I had hoped was clear from the article, that I was discussing the Committee at this point as a supporter, forming an impression of its attitudes from the action it undertook, not as a member with an inside knowledge of the debate which preceded decisions. I did not say that the move was *consciously* anarchistic—as the Walters know, one does not have to be a conscious anarchist to behave like one.

I would also disagree with the Walters over their categorical statement of the reasons for the Wethersfield failure. (It is worth bearing in mind that the September Holy Loch demonstration was at a better time of year and a higher point in the Committee's influence.) Again, as a supporter my opinion may be worth as much as theirs as members; what I said was certainly true of those supporters I knew, most of whom were not ready for a radical alternative to Trafalgar Square. There seemed to me at the time to be a "disregard for property" (I do not recollect now why I felt then that there was something intrinsically unethical in walking on to Air Ministry property, but I did, as did several people I knew, and we did not go to the demonstration). Although I am sure the Committee discouraged "damaging property", surely they realised that in order to reach the runways to lie down on them they would have to climb fences—or did all those radical rank-and-file members think the air force would open the gates and invite them in? Nor am I altogether sure, from my recollection of the numbers present at both demonstrations, whether, had Ruislip been cancelled, there could have been sufficient numbers at Wethersfield to make it a success, particularly in view of the transport difficulties. (It might perhaps be worth mentioning that in March 1962, in ANARCHY 13, Nicolas Walter wrote: "Now it is regrettable, of course, that many people who are prepared to break the law in the middle of the metro-

polis are not yet prepared to do so at military sites in suburbs or out in the countryside, but there it is".)

The Walters find it difficult to believe that "genuine supporters" (how does one distinguish the genuine from the fake?) would have turned over Pat Pottle to the police, but the fact regrettably remains that *some* were, and not just the highly publicised *Peace News* letter writer. I still believe that the failure to return to Wethersfield was a failure of nerve (yes, they are usually known as recognitions of reality) and that requesting arrest was a very poor substitute. In ANARCHY 14 Nicolas Walter made much the same point when he wrote of "the tactical error . . . the decision not to go straight back to Wethersfield but instead back into central London—when we rock the State on its pedestal we should give it another push not stand back and congratulate ourselves."

I find the distinction between political and military as raised by the Walters a slightly artificial one and I still believe that direct obstruction of war preparation (even if it is all too often reduced to a symbol of intent) is basically more valid than obstructing the entrance to empty buildings. (A march on Parliament when it is sitting, however, *is* more radical, but I am not sure that it is more anarchistic—after all, we know perfectly well that missiles could be sent up from every base in the country even though every last MP had been—nonviolently—bound and gagged).

I do of course realise that the Committee was bound to attract emotional or unconscious anarchists. I did not imply otherwise. In fact, the Walters' reference to Alan Lovell amplifies a point I was trying to make, that "Committee" anarchists, myself included, thought that "the formal anarchist movement in this country is totally useless and an absolute disaster for any kind of serious anarchist thinking", though the problem of labelling people as "anarchists"—emotional or otherwise—or "libertarians" tends to become a rather semantic one. The Walters are right in saying that Committee anarchism "was a brand-new, do-it-yourself, instant anarchism"—I think that is what anarchism is anyway—and this was intended as the main point of my article. Moreover, they are right to criticise my final paragraph—it was very carelessly written.

I was somewhat disconcerted by the Walters' frequent use of the words "true" and "not true"—these are surely rather strong terms in which to evaluate opinions, trends and ambiances. History, particularly history as recent as this, tends to look startlingly different viewed from different angles. My opinion was never intended to be taken as the final word on the subject; I trust the Walters' will not be either.

DIANA SHELLEY

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