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Bill Bailey University of Greenwich <u>b.bailey@gre.ac.uk</u>

Two Steps forward, One Step Back: Developing the Curriculum for Training Teachers for Technical and Further Education England 1945-1956.

The ETS 'experiment' established

The establishment of the first three national Centres for training technical teachers in England was described in an earlier article (Bailey, 2007). These were set up in Bolton, London and Huddersfield, as part of the government's Emergency Training Scheme (ETS), a scheme designed in the first place to make good the shortage of school teachers caused by the loss of teachers and the low recruitment during the war (Crook, 1997). The Scheme, to be implemented when demobilisation began, was announced in May 1944 in a Board of Education Circular 1652 which summarised the interim recommendations of an advisory committee set up by the President of the Board (Board of Education, 1944a). The courses were to last 48 weeks, and, on obtaining teaching posts, the 'graduates' would serve two years' probation during which they would engage in part-time study and return for periods of attendance at their training colleges.

The ETS was unprecedented in English education particularly with regard to the involvement in it of the Ministry of Education. While the advisory committee which recommended the framework for ETS was representative of the central and local education authorities (LEAs), the teachers' unions and HMI, the management and finance of the scheme in operation was with the central government. The whole cost was met by the Exchequer through 100% grants to the LEAs; no fees were charged to students and their maintenance allowances covered their dependants as well as their own living costs. The Ministry of Education approved the appointment of college staff, and organised the selection of students and their allocation to colleges. As will be shown below, HMI played a central part in the assessment of students.

The Ministry's role in directing the organisation and resources of ETS contrasts strongly with the flexible approach in official documents to the content and teaching of courses. Circular1652, for example, also outlined the advisory committee's suggested principles to be used by colleges in planning their courses. These reflect the nature of the students who would be participating in the new scheme. Importantly they were not adolescents who had recently left school. Their maturity and life experience were seen clearly as the characteristics and strengths which made them strong entrants to teaching and more than 'stop-gaps' in a situation which required emergency measures. As mature adults they were very different from the usual students entering teacher training courses and the advisory committee also recognised the significance of these differences in the principles they suggested should guide the planning of the courses and the ways in which these might be mediated to the students. These were that the courses:

- should be related to the students' previous knowledge and the students should appreciate their relation to their work as teachers
- should contribute to their general education as well as teaching in school and be framed so that the students were required to study and find out things for themselves
- should develop mastery over content and technique in a limited field as well as demonstrating interrelations between fields of knowledge (ibid. para.6).

The committee thus saw that the participants on the ETS would be bringing along to the courses their knowledge and experiences, in peace and war. Also, coming from different routes and backgrounds, individual students would have different needs which the ETS tutors would need to recognise as they worked with them. Given that this was the first time that groups of adults were to be trained as teachers, the principals of the colleges were to have freedom to experiment in the design and implementation of their courses. In the words of the Memorandum summarising arrangements between the LEAs and the Ministry for the ETS: 'No detailed rules can be laid down, since the widely varying needs of the student will require great variety and flexibility in the organisation of the work' (quoted in Ministry of Education, 1950c, 138). The same principles influenced the committee's advice on the assessment of students and this, too, was set out in Circular 1652. There was to be no external examination of the students as this would restrict the freedom of colleges to develop appropriate courses and would create pressure on the trainees. Internal tests and continuous assessment would be the responsibility of college staff, and this would be subject to 'fully effective external check'. The latter check would be carried out by the Board of Education which 'must be in a position to take responsibility for the maintenance of a national standard' (ibid. para.18).

Once the emergency was passed, it was expected that the temporary arrangements of the ETS would be dismantled and 'normal' patterns of teacher-training resumed. For the majority of school teachers at this time this would have meant courses for 17/18 year olds, lasting two years, combining study and practice of their teaching subject and pedagogy and leading to a Certificate in Education. Some graduates entered secondary teaching after completing a one-year course of training in a university department of education. This typically included education studies, pedagogy and teaching practice and led to a (post-graduate) Certificate in Education.

For the purposes of this article it is important to identify the significant differences and similarities between the needs of those preparing to teach in schools, and those training to teach in technical colleges. Entrants to courses of technical teacher training were adults who brought to their course appropriate qualifications (in many cases these were degrees) and experience in their specialist and technical fields; for example, commerce, engineering, catering, painting and decorating. In this respect they were like those graduates undertaking the one-year course before going into secondary schools. However, because of the necessity for them to have had relevant experience, the Ministry of Education set 25 as the minimum age of entry to the course, and this regulation continued to operate for some decades after the end of the ETS. Entrants to the courses at the three Centres were not adolescents 'fresh' from school, nor were they new graduates.

They were experienced adults which made the curricular framework and principles in Circular 1652 appropriate for their courses. This would remain the case with the end of the ETS, as the requirement with regard to the minimum age remained in force. In the mainstream two-year training colleges for school teaching, however, the general age of entry was in the late teens.

Technical Teacher Training Centres

The inclusion in the ETS of provision for technical teacher training was announced in the Ministry of Education's Circular 55 in July 1945. This stated that 'a training centre would be opened at an early date...and others will be set up as the demand materialises' (Ministry of Education, 1945, para.3). The circular explained that the word 'technical' was being used 'to cover crafts, commercial and women's subjects as well as technology' (ibid, 1). While the chief focus was on the training for teaching in technical institutions, the circular proposed that the courses be adapted to meet the needs of those intending to teach in the anticipated secondary technical schools and county colleges. It was proposed that two forms of the course be offered. For those judged to have sufficient and up-todate knowledge and skills in their technical subjects courses of not less than six months were to be arranged; courses of one year were to be provided for those whose needing 'to refresh their knowledge of their technical subjects' as well as to develop teaching skills (ibid.). In practice, once the courses were running, the shorter version was discontinued and the traditional three-term year, from September to early July was adopted. This enabled the Centres to admit student cohorts at different times of the year; in January, for example, as well as in September. It also gave time in which staff could assist students who needed to add to or refresh their subject knowledge after the completion of the teaching practice phase of the course.

In line with the conditions of the ETS, applications for the full-time courses were invited only from men and women who had served in the armed forces and other forms of national service. Applications were submitted to the Ministry of Education in London where a first scrutiny of forms by members of the Ministry's FE Inspectorate took place. Forms were then sent on to the Centres where candidates were interviewed by panels normally comprising a college principal, an HMI and Centre staff. In the first years of the centres the large number of applications created a considerable task for those screening the forms. In 1948-49, for example, 20,952 applications were received, 18,896 of which were withdrawn or rejected because of inadequate qualifications. In that year the interviews resulted in 1,567 'acceptances' which led to the admission of approximately 240 students to the Centres (Ministry of Education, 1950?). This 'leakage' between acceptance and embarking on the course was almost certainly the result of men and women finding employment in their technical or commercial fields or obtaining teaching jobs without the teaching qualification.

Developing the Curriculum

The Centres were pioneers as there was no tradition of technical teacher training; the only experience to build on was short part-time courses run by Regional Advisory Councils

and LEAs, in the evenings and on Saturdays, for example in metropolitan Yorkshire and Manchester. They were involved in establishing *de novo* a curriculum for their courses. Documentary material on these first years has survived only for the Centre at the North West London Polytechnic (Note 1 on sources). Here the Director reported to the first meeting of the governing body that the course had been divided into four units: - Education; Special Methods of Teaching; Teaching Practice; Social and Industrial Studies (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 24 10 1946). Just over two years later he reported that there had been little change to this framework and provided some detail of the content of the units:

- A. Education including Principles and Aims of Education, Psychology, and History of Education.
- B. Teaching Methods:
 - (i) general teaching method
 - (ii) special teaching methods in subjects which come within the main groups (e.g. Commerce, Engineering etc.)
 - (iii) teaching practice in technical schools and colleges.

C. Social and Industrial Studies – designed to give teachers a knowledge of the social, work and leisure-time activities of their pupils.

D. General – including English, Speech training, Group discussions, Tutorials etc.

(NWP/ETS governors minutes, 10 2 1949)

These units follow closely the suggestions for the course of training made by the McNair Committee in its report of 1944 (Board of Education, 1944, 121) and the Ministry's Pamphlet No. 8, *Further Education*, of 1947 (Ministry of Education, 1947, 70-71). This outline course structure was closely in line with the courses for technical teachers introduced by the Yorkshire Council for Further Education and The Manchester and district Regional Advisory Council referred to above (see ED86/198 for the YCFE scheme). That the three Centres worked along similar lines in their full-time programmes is shown in the outlines of their courses given in the Willis Jackson Report published in 1957 shortly after the period examined in this article.

Bolton

General Method (principles of education and teaching method, with the history and organisation of education Special Method (method of teaching special subjects) English including speech training Teaching Practice (11 weeks total) Also; visits to firms and lectures on educational and industrial subjects. End of course examinations in English and the Principles and Practice of Education; other work internally assessed.

London

General Theory of Education (principles and history of education, educational psychology, health education) Teaching Method (general and special) Teaching Practice (12 weeks) Social and Industrial Studies (work, welfare and leisure time activities of young people) General (including English and speech training)

End of course examinations in the Theory and Practice of Education; other work internally assessed.

Huddersfield

Education (history, development and organisation with special reference to further education *Principles of Teaching* (general and special) *Liberal Studies English General subjects* (short courses on e.g. automation, work study, industrial design, religion, art, music) *Teaching Practice* (12 weeks)

Continuous assessment of all student work by the college.

(Ministry of Education 1957a, 62-63)

It is possible to obtain more of a sense of the experience of the students in the early cohorts on the full-time course from the records of the London Centre. Here the Director summarised the allocation of time in a report to the first meeting of governors:

Principles and Aims of Education	2 hrs
Education Psychology	1 hr
General Method	3 hrs
History of Education	2 hrs
Special Method Group Meetings	10 hrs
Social and Industrial studies	2hrs
English and English Diction	2 hrs

Tutorials	3 hrs	
Private Study	5 hrs	

TOTAL 30 hrs

This rather full timetable was for the first group which joined in September 1946, and the Director emphasised that it was only for the first period of the course, the four weeks in college before the students went out for three weeks' teaching practice and observation. And he did anticipate that there would be 'some adjustment' for the later parts of the course (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 24 10 1946, 3).

The social and industrial studies unit intended to help an understanding of technical college students' lives, involved visits, lectures and discussions on such topics as the youth service, youth employment, vocational guidance, juvenile delinquency. Weekly talks on topics were given by visiting speakers, including Sir Fred Clarke (Chair of the Central Advisory Council (England)), the poet L A G Strong, F Bray Under Secretary, Further Education, at the Ministry of Education and Dr A E Morgan of the British Council (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 22 4 1948, 3). A programme of visits to primary and secondary schools, and to 'industrial undertakings and commercial houses' was arranged to 'emphasise the relation between technical education and industry and commerce'; smaller groups (e.g. engineering) visited companies relevant to their specialist interests, and all students visited the Ford Works at Dagenham and the 'Britain Can Make It' Exhibition (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 20 2 1947, 2).

In these ways the London Centre, in common with the others, developed a corporate life alongside the formal timetable of training. The majority of students at each of the three Centres were in hostel accommodation, usually in the form of large houses, which facilitated the organising of extracurricular activities and the students' society at the NWP organised groups interested in sporting and social activities like tennis and rambling, while the drama group produced a play towards the end of the summer term (for example, NWP/ETS governors minutes, 22 4 1948, 3). The students' society also published a magazine and formed the association of former students which in turn organised student reunions. The other Colleges developed similar activities and associations (see Cook and others, 39-40, for Huddersfield).

Assessment and Awards

Practice with regard to the assessment of students was also in line with guidance for the ETS scheme in the Board of Education's Circular of May 1944 referred to above. In practice it was the attached HM Inspector who performed the 'external check' on standards as well as carrying out the role of supporting the development of the ETS College. The London Centre records show that in the years of working under the ETS scheme the students were assessed by course work and their performance during the periods of teaching practice. Two external examiners moderated standards in Practical Teaching and agreed their decisions after the end of the Easter Term. Then, the Director

reported: 'All students were assessed at the end of the course on the basis of reports from the training college, college tutors, the staffs of schools and colleges used for teaching practice, and H.M. Inspectors' (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 21 10 1948, 1).

Only students in established teacher training colleges formally linked with universities were in a position to be awarded university Certificates of Education on satisfactory completion of their courses. The Ministry therefore required ETS colleges to give to their successful students a Ministry of Education Certificate which specified the subjects they had studied and whether it related to students of a particular age (Ministry of Education 1946, 4). This Certificate would correspond to the Final Examination Certificate issued to 'students leaving the ordinary Training Colleges' and could therefore 'be taken as evidence that the teacher holding it will be regarded as a qualified teacher' (ibid.). Also because of their temporary status, the ETS colleges were not eligible to be full members of the Area Training Organisations (ATO) set up in the years after the war on the recommendation of the McNair Report. The position was shown in the case of the London Centre in 1948 when the governors resolved to approach the newly formed ATO centred on the University of London's Institute of Education (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 21 10 1948, 5). When their request that the Centre might have 'associate' status was turned down by the ATO as its constitution did not allow for this, it was decided to renew the application 'when the emergency period had passed' (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 10 2 1949, 3). A similar early approach with regard to ATO membership of the Leeds ATO was made by the Huddersfield Centre (Cook and others, 35).

As required by the ETS scheme, the students undertook further study during the first two years of their employment as teachers. A programme of study was agreed with the students at the end of their one-year full-time, including written work to be marked by College staff. This also involved them in returning to the Centres for two weeks for 'a refresher course' during the July for two years after the end of their course. The College then passed on the results of this study to the students' employing LEAs who in turn made recommendation as appropriate to the Ministry with regard to their completion of probation and the award of the Certificate (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 15 12 1949, 3).

The three Colleges were not restricted to the one-year full-time 'emergency' course. Although the Ministry's Circular 55 in 1945 was concerned chiefly with the introduction of full-time pre-employment courses in the three new Colleges, it referred also to the need to provide part-time courses for teachers already in service and for men and women who were unable to undertake full-time training but who wished to prepare to teach in technical institutions. These courses would be of not less than 120 hours in all, including teaching practice, and designed for those with adequate subject knowledge but 'lacking teaching technique' (Ministry of Education 1945, para.6). The small number of Centres meant that opportunities to participate in these part-time courses would inevitably be restricted; it was therefore stated that the Ministry would be glad to consider proposals from LEAs to run such courses which would be eligible for government grant in the usual way. These courses were in many cases organised by the Regional Advisory Councils (RACs) and Centre staffs were involved in teaching on these short courses for serving – as well as prospective - teachers of technical subjects who had not received any teacher training. The London County Council (LCC) actively supported short evening courses aimed at developing such teachers in London colleges so that the London Centre was engaged in a number of these. They included a part-time course leading to the City and Guilds Handicraft Teachers' Certificate, and a four-week course meeting on two evenings a week in June/July for full- and part-time teachers of various subjects and was held in the LCC's College for the Distributive Trades, Charing Cross Road (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 30 6 1949, 3, and 14 12 1950, 3).

Thoughts of permanence

The Ministry of Education monitored the progress of the ETS in general and of the 'experiment' in technical teacher training. Each Centre had an 'attached' HMI, with HMI G Painter being charged with overall responsibility for the progress of the three Centres as well as liaising with that in the NWP (Note 2). Regular meetings of the three Directors (Note 3) with officers of the Ministry's FE Branch and the HMI were held at the Ministry and in the three Centres. 'Business' issues discussed at these included advertising, recruitment, the agreement of target numbers of students in the vocational areas (engineering, building, commerce, women's subjects etc.) At the April, 1947, meeting the Ministry officer gave the go-ahead for the Huddersfield and London Centres to recruit, in addition to students in commerce and the technical subjects, 20 students in each cohort who would be trained to teach 'general subjects' in county colleges when these were implemented (ED86/199). For the Directors the meetings were also opportunities to compare notes on course developments, the quality of the work of the students and their success in securing appointments at the end of the course. They put on record the difficulties they had in running the courses within other institutions which were at the time themselves finding their accommodation inadequate in meeting the post-war demand for courses.

From 1948 onwards meetings of officials and the involved Inspectors included discussion of the future of technical teacher training when the ETS came to an end. An early conclusion in these meetings with regard to 'permanence' was that '...the idea has now taken root ...and (there was) no need to think about it as an experimental or emergency venture' (ED143/19 for the references in this paragraph). The three Centres would therefore be reconstituted as permanent Training Colleges, a change which was to be delayed by the determination by G N Flemming, Assistant Secretary and head of teachers' branch, that the new 'Council for Teachers' should consider the case for their permanent status. The new 'Council' was the National Council for the Supply and Training of Teachers (NACSTT), the formation of which was announced in June 1949, with its first meeting taking place the following month (Godwin, 84-85).

For the main Council, officials prepared a paper (NACTST Paper No. 9) on technical teacher training and the work of the three Centres, and it was out of the discussion of this in October 1949 that the main Committee decided to set up a sub-committee on the training of teachers in technical schools and colleges. This sub-committee's membership included the Directors of the three Centres and was chaired by Professor R A C Oliver of Manchester University. This Committee took the opportunity to discuss a range of issues involved in the work of the Centres and the question of their being made permanent (see

ED46/639 for this paragraph). The notes of these meetings suggest an assumption that a decision on permanence had been already taken, as most of the discussion had the form of decisions as to how the institutions would work once recognised as permanent teacher training colleges. The aspects discussed included the output of teachers in the future, whether qualified teacher status regulations (QTS) would apply, and issues arising in the overlap between secondary and technical education. The heads of the institutions prepared a paper on the accommodation and the government of their soon-to-be Technical Teacher Training Colleges. In this they stated their view that, while they understood that the Colleges would be maintained by the LEAs *via* the Training Colleges Pool, they had concerns that their development could be cramped and liaison among them limited if the 'local' management proved to be intrusive. They saw the Colleges having an essentially national role and anticipated that each of the Colleges would soon have its own premises and governing body.

It would take some years before the Colleges would each have their own buildings but the Directors could look back on the first few years of technical teacher training with some satisfaction. In 1945 there was no organised training for teachers in technical education. Up to 1951 approximately 1,000 students had passed through the three Centres. This was not a large number in the context of the ETS scheme which during the same period saw 35,000 teachers trained in the emergency colleges which trained school teachers (Crook, 379). It was, perhaps as large an 'experiment' in teacher training as the Ministry was prepared to allow in the immediate post-war period, and there were obvious constraints of space caused by the location of the Centres in technical institutions which were themselves having to cope with unprecedented student enrolments. However, in August 1951 the London centre left the North West London Polytechnic and moved to separate accommodation in the Borthwick Institute, Old Kent Road, South London. These premises, a former lodging house, had been occupied by an ETS training college which had recently closed. The following year the LCC agreed to the college being named Garnett College after William Garnett, Secretary to the LCC's Technical Education Board in the 1890s. The Bolton and Huddersfield colleges continued to work in their local technical colleges and the 'new' premises in London were not ideal. While the first visitation report reported that the Borthwick buildings 'are not impressive' (ED86/204 for the report of the 1952 Institute of Education Visitation), they were described as 'reminiscent of a nineteenth century workhouse....with their coke heaps, dustbins and external iron staircases', in the report after the 1956 visitation by the Institute (NWP/ETS Governors papers, 23 6 1958 for 3 page visitation report).

While they looked forward to a time when they might have their own purpose-built accommodation, the Directors appear to have appreciated the assistance they received from their 'hosts' and the support of the attached HMI. These were the themes of the report of the Director of the London Centre to the last meeting of the governing body for the ETS College to be held at the North West Polytechnic in June 1951. He saw the passage from 'emergency' to permanence, and becoming a constituent college of the London ATO as 'inevitable stages in our growing up' (NWP/ETS Governors minutes, 30 6 1951, 3). Whether they would be treated as grown-ups by the Institute of Education remained to be seen.

Life after ETS

At the end of 1950 the Ministry's Circular 230 formally announced the continuation of arrangements for technical teacher training after the end of the Emergency Training Scheme (Ministry of Education, 1950, for the detail in this paragraph). The Centres were to continue and from September 1951 to become part of the 'national system of teacher training colleges' and so would be maintained by their local education authorities (LEAs) under the Training of Teachers Grant Regulations of the Ministry. The Circular went on to say that the colleges would take on the responsibilities for advertising and planning of the course and the selection of students for the 1951-52 session and in the future. The minimum age for students was fixed at 25 and 'no substantial exceptions to this age limit will be approved by the Minister'. The requirement under the ETS that students undertake two years' part-time study would no longer apply and their position with regard to the questions of probation and of qualified teacher status (QTS) was clarified. If they took up a teaching appointment in a school, secondary school regulations as to probation and QTS would apply; that is, the LEA, after the teacher's completing the period of probation satisfactorily, would apply to the Ministry for the teacher to be recognised as a Qualified Teacher. However, if they went to teach in technical or further education where QTS did not apply, there would be 'no question' of a period of probation. The circular concluded with a reference to part-time courses for FE teachers run by LEAs in the evenings and at weekends, often in association with regional advisory councils, and the suggestion that there may be a need for part-time courses to be offered during the day on a regional basis (Ministry of Education, 1950, for the detail in this paragraph).

An early consequence of their new status was that the Colleges were accepted as constituent colleges of the Area Training Organisations headed by the Institutes of Education of Manchester, London and Leeds Universities in 1950-51. This change led to divergence in assessment practices in the Colleges. After five or more years of assessment based on coursework as outlined in the ETS circular, Bolton and Garnett were required to introduce written examinations as part of the end-of-course assessment of their students. In London the Institute of Education arranged the 27 training colleges in its orbit into 6 groups of 4 or 5 colleges with some aspects s for assessment, like the setting of examination papers, being devolved to these groupings (IE/ABD/A/2, 13 6 50) . These were essentially geographical groupings and all colleges except for Garnett prepared teachers for work in schools. The papers were taken by all students in the group's colleges, meaning that Garnett students for the first time were required to prepare for and sit 3 three-hour written examinations as their end-of-course assessment. The detail, as the Principal reported to governors, was that all students would be assessed from summer 1952 on their performance in:

General Theory of Education I 3 hrs General Theory of Education II Health Education 3hrs Special Theory of Education 3 hrs And their

Satisfactory completion of Teaching Practice and Test Satisfactory standards in written and spoken English

(IE/ABD/A/2, 9 5 50; NWP/ETS governors papers, 19 11 51)

It was made clear that the Institute was the examining body and that the two papers in General Theory were to be the same for each college in the groups, while the Institute accepted the recommendations of Garnett with regard to the questions in the paper in Special Theory. This paper involved a more detailed study of children and the curriculum at the different school stages – Nursery and Infant, Junior, Secondary. To these stages would be added Further Education and this examination paper would cover the aims, history and organisation of FE, psychological studies, the teaching of specialist subjects etc. Another requirement from the Institute was that each student would spend two of the twelve weeks of their Teaching Practice in a secondary school; this despite the obvious difficulty of arranging this for teachers of many technical subjects like Printing and Catering (IE/ABD/A/3, 8 5 51).

In imposing this form and content of assessment, the London Institute did not take account of the particular circumstances of the students and the course at Garnett College. The Institute had introduced a Revised Scheme of Training in 1951 (IE/ABD/A/1) and the technical teachers' college was made to fit this scheme. The consequence was that in the first years of the association two of the three written examination papers taken were the same as those taken by students in colleges training for school teaching. This meant that the examination questions were about children's learning and development and the result for the Garnett students, especially during the summer term can be imagined. The effect on the students and staff in the summer term can be imagined as time hitherto spent in consolidating teaching skills and approaches, in some cases including work in the specialist subject was taken up with preparing for the written examinations. Many of the students had not taken examinations for a number of years, and very few if any were experienced in writing academic essays on the principles and practice of education. In this way what had been a course with positive features, properly reflecting a diverse group of students, during the period of 'experiment' under the direction of the Ministry was forced into the system of assessment of trainees preparing to teach in primary and secondary schools. The result as was pointed out by the principal was pressure on students and staff as they prepared for inappropriate and mainly irrelevant examination papers.

The perception that this was a wasteful misuse of curriculum 'time' could only be strengthened by the knowledge that things could be different – as they had been in the ETS period and still were at Huddersfield, where the principal was able to persuade the Leeds Institute of Education to allow the college to continue to assess on the basis of the students' work during the course and not to introduce written examinations (Cook and others, 37-38). After eight students were referred in Principles of Education in summer 1954, having shown what he called 'a weakness in ideas and presentation', the Garnett

principal reported to the governors that he was suggesting to the Institute that such 'students who fail to reach the required standard in educational theory, though otherwise well fitted to give instruction in practical subjects' might 'be given some sort of Certificate by the college or by the Institute of Education' (NWP/ETS governors minutes, 1 11 54). The Huddersfield College, in its time as a separate college and later as a School of the Polytechnic and University in Huddersfield, has never used written examinations in the assessment of teacher-trainees. The Bolton College, a member of the University of Manchester ATO, also introduced written examination papers after 1951 (Gomoluch and Bailey, forthcoming).

Conclusion

By 1956, ten years after the first cohort of ex-service students, the three technical teacher training colleges were established as part of the provision of teacher training in England. During the period of the ETS they had developed programmes of training and in their regions built up relationships with colleagues in the departments of colleges in which the students were placed for teaching practice. They consolidated their work without increasing their output from the full-time courses on which in this period there were fewer than 100 in each college as is shown in Table 1. TABLE 1 here

The training colleges preparing teachers for schools were relatively small institutions of their kind at a time when teacher training colleges were not large institutions. In 1958-59 126 of the 146 teacher training colleges had fewer than 500 students; only a few years before nearly 100 colleges had fewer than 250 students (Robbins Report, 109-110). The three colleges' scope for expansion was, of course, greatly limited by their location in technical institutions in two cases, and in the case of Garnett the accommodation was also limited. In 1953 the size of the colleges was a factor referred to by the Ministry when it proposed to close the Bolton College, stating that the numbers of teachers in training could be handled by the other two colleges (Pawley, 1955). This proposal was an 'economy' measure in tune with the government's desire at the time to control public expenditure and, of course, quite at odds with earlier statements about developing the colleges as a necessary part of the education system. The proposal was withdrawn after opposition was organised and the NACSTT had given its support to the continuation of the College.

The proposed closure of the Bolton College in 1953 appears extraordinary and explicable only in terms of reducing spending and, perhaps, a sense that the increase in student numbers in colleges would be a temporary phenomenon. Evidence that this impression was unlikely to be correct overall is shown in Table 2: TABLE 2 here

Of particular significance in this table is the great increase in the numbers of students attending either full- or part-time in the daytime, as it was more difficult to use part-time

staff to teach these groups. Consequently the colleges appointed more full-time teachers and their increasing numbers during the 1950s are shown in Table 3: TABLE 3 here

It can be seen that the recruitment of full-time teachers to the colleges at this time was of the order of 800 each year – and rising - at this time, and that the three colleges' output of fewer than 300 was clearly not keeping pace with this. This, along with the government's 'Five Year Plan', outlined in the 1956 White Paper, 'Technical Education', which included the aim of doubling, by 1961, of the numbers of students released by employers during the day (Ministry of Education 1956, 20), would direct the attention of the political and official heads of the Ministry to the necessity of addressing the issue of the supply, recruitment and training of technical college teachers.

Meanwhile moves to correct the inappropriate assessment framework at Garnett began when the issue was raised by the college during the second Visitation by the Institute in the autumn of 1957. This reported to the Institute's Academic Board that: 'Members of staff are of the opinion that the present examination arrangements, whereby the papers in the General Theory of Education are taken in common with four other colleges, are inadequate to the needs of a College specialising in Further Education' (NWP/ETS governors papers, 17 3 1958 for the 1958 visitation report). The staff impressed on the visitors that, after experience in industry, technical teachers had 'a different approach to psychology' compared with primary and secondary teachers. And, to them, problems related to 'men and women subject to the stresses and strains of a wage-earning community' would be more relevant than those of 'young people in the protective environment of a school'. While the staff appreciated the mobility of holders of the normal Teachers' Certificate - that is, the possibility of finding employment in schools as teachers on pre-vocational courses - in their opinion what they referred to as 'the dichotomy of training teachers for secondary schools and further education', and the failure of the Institute's scheme of examination to take account of it, was a matter of great concern.

Three years after the visitation had taken place, in December 1960, the Academic Board and Council of the Institute received a report from its advisory sub-committee on technical and further education to the effect that a review of the examination papers currently being used for Garnett students was desirable. Since the general theory papers were in common with four other colleges, it was necessary to 'evolve a set of general questions suitable for students in all age ranges'; this meant that they 'cannot adequately test the full scope of the Garnett College course' (IEA/BD/A/13, 13 12 1960 for this paragraph). Because of the students' adult status and experience, and the differences between teaching in schools and further education, it was recommended that 'a separate examination would more adequately meet the needs of the students'. The proposal for the change to take effect 'in and after 1962' was accepted and from that year examination procedures were as follows:

Paper 1 Principles of Education: general theory

Paper 2 Principles of Education: further education

Paper 3 Practice of Education: methods of teaching the specialist subjects

While papers 2 and 3 would comprise questions on further education, the existing course in general theory was to be retained and paper 1 was to continue to be taken by all students in the colleges of the group; that is, the questions were still about learners in 'all age ranges'. Practical Teaching would continue to be assessed as before and the Special Study, from the first cohort a feature of the London ETS Centre programme, would be internally assessed and would be available to the Examiners in the consideration of borderline candidates.

It seems remarkable in retrospect that the mature Garnett students, already qualified and experienced in their vocational specialisms, on a one-year pre-employment course, should be assessed by their performance in 3 three-hour written examinations. That the majority of those taking the examinations, aged 19-20, were on two-year course preparing them for school-teaching adds to the anomaly, to what the Garnett staff referred to as the 'dichotomy' between technical teacher training for technical and that for school teaching. The clear differences between the two groups of 'student-teachers' were not seen, or, if seen, were not thought to be sufficiently important to be taken into account. All were in teacher training colleges and one examination fitted all. After 1951 a form of assessment which was initially fit for its purpose was made to fit the academic approach of the University and the Institute. It is not evident from the documents whether in this the Institute was implementing its own or the larger University's rules on assessment for its awards, but in 1960 the decision to change the examination appears to have been taken by the Institute's academic board. That change did leave in place three written papers which continued to shape the students' work, especially during the third term of the course at Garnett, and at Bolton. The staff and students at Huddersfield knew that things could be different. Wherever the decision lay, the influence of the university on the working of the students' experience of the course was extensive and wasteful of the energies of people who brought much to the course.

Notes

1. The records of the three colleges have fared very differently. For Bolton there are apparently no surviving papers, only the account of the first 25 years by K Dixon. At Huddersfield there are some papers and these are sourced in the book by Cook and others referred to in this article. The University of Greenwich holds a very full archive of papers for Garnett College from 1946 - 1988. This article's imbalance with regard to details of provision in the three colleges is the result of this disparity in the availability of source materials.

2. HMI G M Painter was a member of the governing body of the ETS College in North Western Polytechnic; on the other hand, the Principal of NWP and the Director of the Centre were only 'in attendance'. The LCC had successfully requested that, rather than set up a separate board of governors for the Centre, the governors of the Polytechnic take this role. A separate governing body with its own Instrument and Articles was set up after

1951. In contrast, the Huddersfield LEA established its education committee as the governing body of the ETS Centre. With the change to permanence in 1950 this arrangement continued with the governing body comprising chairs and deputy chairs of Council committees now with representation from the Leeds Institute of Education, the Yorkshire Council for Further Education (Cook and others, 35). The position as to the governors at Bolton is not known at present.

3. The first Director to be appointed, to the Bolton Centre, was A J Jenkinson of the Department of Education, University of Manchester. Also interviewed on that occasion was C Jameson, then teaching at Sunderland Technical College, who went on to be appointed at the London Centre (Interview). The Director and first Principal at Huddersfield was Alexander Maclennan who had served as an instructor in the RAF and had spent the year before his appointment at the Bolton Centre (Cook and others, 26). MacLennan and Jameson were to serve as the principals of their colleges until 1971 and 1974 respectively. Bolton, on the other hand had a number of principals in these first decades. Jenkinson became principal of Bolton Technical College in 1949?; his successor Crawley died in office. J P Parry (1955-) moved to the principalship of Bognor Regis Training College in 1967, to be succeeded by V Sparrow until 1971. It was the first three ETS Centre Directors, Jenkinson, Jameson and MacLennan, who established the journal, *The Vocational Aspect of Further and Secondary Education* now the *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*.

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ED 46/639 Training of Technical Teachers 1949-50 ED 86/199 Recruitment and Training of Technical Teachers 1947 ED 86/204 Training of Technical Teachers 1952-53 ED 143/19 Future of Technical teacher Training 1946-50

Garnett College Archive at the University of Greenwich

FILE 3: Minutes of the Governing Body North-Western Polytechnic/ ETS College for Technical Teachers 1946-1971.FILE 4: Governing Body Papers North-Western Polytechnic/ETS College for Technical Teachers 1947-1960

University of London Institute of Education Archive

IE/ACBD A/1 Academic Board Minutes March-June 1949

IE/ACBD A/2 Academic Board Minutes October 1949-June 1950 IE/ACBD A/3 Academic Board Minutes October 1950-June1951. IE/ACBD A/13 Academic Board Minutes October 1960-June1961.