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EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES, CONTROL AND EXPENDITURE:

A LOCAL AUTHORITY STUDY

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NORTH EAST AREA STUDY

Submission for M.Phil.,

University of Durham.

1979

Educational Resources, Control and Expenditure:
A Local Authority Study.

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the continuing disparity in levels of resources in the British education system. This disparity is examined on a regional and local level by focussing on the North East of England and on one local authority in the region. The imbalance between regions, local authorities and localities within local authorities is related to an interconnecting network of processes that can be seen to influence and reinforce the distribution of educational resources.

The study examines the mechanisms of resource and expenditure allocation in the education system and the control mechanisms inherent in these allocation procedures. Analysis of educational provision in one Tyneside local authority shows a clear relationship between levels of resources and the mechanisms, at both national and local level, that control and allocate the finance for educational provision in the local authority.

Research for the study was carried out during 1975 - 1977, at a time of economic recession, high inflation and public expenditure cutbacks. The thesis highlights the financial problems that local authorities were experiencing at the time, as they tried to provide an increasingly costly education service with an education budget that was increasing at a much slower rate. As a consequence of these problems, unequal levels of education resources have become reinforced and accentuated by the financial constraints of the 1970s.

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The material contained in this thesis has not been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

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PREFACE

This thesis was the result of two years work in North East Area Study, a multi-disciplinary research group in Durham University. North East Area Study was set up to further knowledge of the surrounding area. This study was part of a larger survey taking place in the group looking at the relationship between the region and its educational system.

As an anthropology and geography graduate, with a post-graduate certificate in education, I became interested in the spatial aspects of educational resource distribution. The thesis, as it is presented here, (grow) X
from this initial interest. It cannot be categorised as a sociological or geographical study, but attempts to draw together elements of both, in a multi-disciplinary approach to an understanding of educational resources, control and expenditure at the local level.

Introduction

This study focuses on the North East of England and especially on one local authority within the region, Gateshead. It is concerned with the continuing disparity in levels of resources in the education service. The imbalance found, between regions, local authorities and localities within authorities is related to an interconnected network of processes that influence and reinforce the distribution of resources. It is not the contention that the North East as a region, or Gateshead as a local authority are badly administered, or miserly in providing finance for education. Under review is the extent to which the development and operation of the service is hampered by the historical anachronistic mechanisms of control and allocation of educational expenditure.

Chapter one looks at previous research concerned with the spatial distribution of ^{educational} resources. It questions the importance of local authorities in the reinforcement of resource inequality and provides a framework for analysing the processes involved in the distribution of educational provision.

Chapter two begins a more detailed study of the spatial component of inequality of resource levels, by focusing on the North East of England. The Chapter deals with the relationship between the development of

the education service in the North East and the financial constraints imposed on the service's development during the last century. It shows how the continuing underdevelopment of the North East, both economically and educationally has helped to create and reinforce the present pattern of inequality in the education service of the North East. Chapter two also looks at levels of public expenditure and educational expenditure in the North East of England, in an attempt to provide an underlying regional context for more detailed analysis of one local authority.

Chapter three examines the actual mechanisms of finance allocation, showing how finance is distributed throughout the educational service. Educational expenditure forms a major part of most local authorities' budgets and as such, is more susceptible to change if the local authority as a whole is forced into reallocation of resources following cut-backs in available expenditure.

Chapter four looks more closely at local education authorities. It shows that within the constraints placed on the local authority by the Government, there is still room for local decision makers to make some impact on resource allocation through their positions of relative power, both in the local authority and as members of education committees and pressure groups.

The study then focuses on one particular local authority in the North East. Gateshead is typical of many of the local authorities in the region. Mainly developed during the nineteenth century, the population of Gateshead soon outgrew the available accommodation, leaving a legacy of overcrowded, high density housing and a predominantly working class population. It has taken over half a century to put right the wrongs of the late nineteenth century, and even in the 1970's, there are many areas of Gateshead with substandard housing and very poor local amenities. Gateshead's education service reflects

the varying fortunes of Gateshead as an industrial town. As the economic base of the area rose and fell, so too did the development of the local education service. Chapter five concentrates on the development of the local education system and on the present problems and policies faced by the local authority during the economic recession of the mid 1970's.

Chapter six provides a more sensitive approach to the analysis of educational provision at a local level, by looking at levels of educational resources in the primary schools of Gateshead. These are related to the social and spatial composition of areas in the town and to the local mechanisms of educational resource allocation. The results of this chapter followed many months of fieldwork in Gateshead. Research at a local level into a sensitive educational issue, such as resource levels leads to many periods of frustration because all levels of fieldwork have to be cleared by the education department first. It was an achievement, therefore, to gain access to the primary schools of Gateshead, although the actual process of negotiation for access took a number of months. Hostility on the part of the local authority slowly gave way to acknowledgement of the relevance of carrying out this sort of research. Some months later, I was approached by the local education authority, who expressed a wish to use my research findings in order to better understand the levels of resources in their own schools.

Chapter seven considers the effects of inflation and the public expenditure cuts on local authority spending during the 1970's. Gateshead, together with many local authorities, has faced tremendous financial problems because of decisions taken at central government level concerning public expenditure. The chapter follows the fortunes of Gateshead during the period 1972 - 1977 showing how inflation and expenditure cuts served to reinforce the existing resource inequalities of the

area. It also shows how the cuts forced many local authorities to provide an increasingly costly education service with a decreasing budget.

Chapter eight draws together the conclusions of the previous chapters and tentatively suggests possible lines of change for the future. Inevitably, the study produces more questions than answers, but points the way forward for further research at the local level especially in areas of policy, decision making and further consideration of the local mechanisms of resource distribution.

CHAPTER ONE

The Distribution of Educational Resources

It has been recognised for many years that in Britain, there exists a persisting spatial pattern of educational inequality. B. Coates and E. Rawstron,¹ working on the spatial distribution of income, employment, health, mortality and education, noted that educational achievement seemed to vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and amongst local authorities. G. Taylor and N. Ayres² also outlined the inequalities that existed between different areas of Britain, showing a significant division between the north and the south of the country. Concerned with this division, they explain

What is significant and alarming for the future of our society is the concentration in large areas, principally located in the three northern regions, of children so handicapped in comparison with more fortunate children elsewhere that the majority will fail to achieve their potential intellectual and aesthetic development.³

These regional differences may have important implications for future development of the education service. E. Byrne explains

Regional differences are strong and cumulative. Deprived areas like the north east and rural districts are demographically least able (or likely) to produce effective and articulate pressure to improve standards in their childrens' schools, fight for resources for advanced further education, query discriminial practices which subtly condition their pupils to early leaving,

lower measurable attainment, unskilled employment, and restricted choice.⁴

The Question of Resource Inequality

Both G. Taylor and N. Ayres⁵ and E. Byrne⁶ point to the importance of the local education authority in the variation of educational opportunity between different areas. However, this relationship leaves two intermediate questions unanswered. Firstly, to what extent can local education authorities influence resource allocation and distribution in the local area? Secondly, how far can resources and provisions in educational institutions be held responsible for differences in educational opportunity for the students attending those institutions?

The first question has been the basis of a number of recent studies concerned with the relationship between local authorities and resource distribution. Different aspects of local authority practise and policy have been held responsible for resulting patterns of resources and educational provision between local authorities. J. Pratt, T. Burgess, R. Allemano and M. Locke⁷ provide a parents guide to differences in educational provision between local education authorities in Britain. They point to the 'administrative climate' of individual authorities as being of prime importance in the system of educational resource allocation. D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher⁸ add a further perspective by suggesting that the administrative climate may override the more direct and measurable economic variables that distinguish local authorities and they call for intensive local studies in order to uncover the constraints operating on the development of policy and decision-making in local authorities.

R. Jennings⁹ has gone some way towards this, in his study of three outer London boroughs during 1973-74.

He shows the complexities of operation and policy in local authorities. He explains:

policy making process for education at the local level is like a river which disappears in desert sands only to reappear in another place. What happens between the two points is difficult to determine without digging.¹⁰

He identifies the biggest constraint on policy making as lack of available finance. This lack is seen as the result of insufficient finance being provided by the central government and because local governments are required to carry out too many tasks without due consideration of their financial problems. Because of this, local education officials implied that government directives and financial stipulations present the local education authority with difficulties in arranging priorities for policy making, which will then affect allocation of resources.

E. Byrne,¹¹ in her study of three local education authorities also acknowledges the constraints placed on local authorities by central government, especially in relation to the power of the decision making administrators in creating local policies concerned with resource distribution. A later article by E. Byrne¹² emphasizes the importance of central control on local authorities in the process of resource distribution, especially controls inherent in the mechanisms of the financial system. She identifies three categories of local authorities. Firstly, the financially wealthy authorities, secondly, those which have rate resources at about the national average and thirdly, those well below the average.

The wealthy local authorities can retain a development budget that allows for growth over and above that required for their statutory duties. These authorities have a high rate yeild, low social need and a high

standard of educational provision. Alternatively, the third group of local authorities are largely dependent on the Rate Support Grant (R.S.G.) for the majority of their finance and as a consequence, are dependent on the fluctuations of the political climate during the R.S.G. negotiations. These authorities have little extra money to provide additional welfare amenities and levels of education provision are low. They can only provide, what E. Byrne calls a "survival budget" for the development of their welfare services.

E. Byrne's conclusions,¹³ that "the financial system exists in almost total disassociation from needs and problems" requires further investigation, especially at the local level. E. Byrne has suggested that the mechanisms of finance allocation, working down through the local authority level, work in such a way that regional and local disparities of resource distribution are created and reinforced by the inadequacies the system. This supposition will be followed through in detail in later chapters.

Returning to the initial suggestion by G. Taylor and N. Ayres¹⁴ and E. Byrne¹⁵ that local education authorities are important in the variation of educational opportunity between different areas; the first of the two intermediate questions has been partially answered. Local education authorities have an influence on the distribution of resources, mainly through the constraints placed on the local authority by the financial mechanisms of control and allocation. This influence, together with the historical and economic components of resource allocation, strongly affect resource distribution and will be examined in more depth later in the study.

The second question still remains unanswered. How far can resources and provision in educational

institutions be held responsible for differences in educational opportunity? This is a fundamental question that has to be answered, if further analysis of inequality of educational resources is to be carried out. To what extent does increase or decrease of resource input affect output in terms of educational standards or achievement? If the answer is unclear then arguments in favour of equalisation will be constantly subject to controversy.

One of the main problems in this controversy is the comparison of American and English findings and the caution of transposing American findings onto an English setting.

Both J. Coleman¹⁶ and C. Jencks¹⁷ have questioned the relevance of educational resources to equality of educational opportunity. J. Coleman,¹⁸ working in the mid 60's in America, cast doubt on whether equal educational opportunity, defined in terms of educational resources (finance per child, school facilities, curricula and distribution of teachers) had affected equality of educational achievement. C. Jencks,¹⁹ using much of Coleman's material, suggested that while schools and schools environments were not negative, neither were they necessarily positive influences on educational opportunity and life chances. He suggested that inequality of educational resources between areas and schools was not responsible for unequal educational attainment.

J. Coleman²⁰ and C. Jencks²¹ conclusions are not borne out by English research and evidence. In fact, the assumption that resources can influence educational standards underlies much of the philosophy of selective positive discrimination, carried out in British education during the 1960's and 1970's.

In 1963, a survey undertaken for the Robbins Committee²²

showed considerable variation in the percentage of pupils entering higher education from schools of different education authorities. The report suggested that the variation was a response to different provision and practice by the local authorities, as they were directly related to the number of grammar school places provided by the local authority. The differences remained even when social class variables were held constant.

G. Taylor and N. Ayres,²³ assessing the lack of extended education among working class children pointed to the complex interaction of provision of educational resources, the socio-economic environment of the family and attitudes towards education. However, they made no attempt to measure the importance of each factor against the others. J. Eggleston²⁴ working on secondary education showed that staying on at school related to the type of school available, its material environment and the provision of extended courses.

D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher²⁵ showed a correlation between educational achievement and the quantity, type and quality of resources available between local education authorities. Their analysis suggested that certain types of achievement were affected by decisions about resources, regardless of the environmental influences. Their results are closely in line with those of E. Byrne²⁶, who analysed resources and policies at the local authority level. She also found a strong relationship between resources and educational opportunity.

Criticising D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher's²⁷ work, R. King²⁸ looked at levels of provision and attainment rates within one local education authority. He found mean levels of attainment negatively correlated with the level of certain types of provision and also

with the estimated proportion of working class pupils in the school. He suggested that the level of working class attainment was more strongly, or differently, associated with levels of provision than middle class attainment. This is interesting in light of comments made by B. Coates and E. Rawstron²⁹ in their study of aspects of the geography of education. They saw the home environment as being the dominant factor in educational attainment, especially where financial support reinforced a constructive middle-class parental attitude to education. However, they saw what they term the "facilitative environment" of the school as the dominant positive factor where parents were poor and working class.

The extent to which resources can make a difference in educational achievement and opportunity is far from clear. D. Barnes,³⁰ while admitting to a relationship between earnings and levels of attainment, comments, in his study of education and public expenditure;

"the conclusion that the schools contribute in some significant way to the variations in education qualifications...is less than self-evident. This assumes that the effect of school policies is, to some extent independent of the social context which produces the raw material, the children. In fact, the evidence on this is far from clear cut; on the whole, the presumption probably ought to be that the schools make only a minor contribution."³¹

Because the evidence is far from clear cut, the belief that educational resources should be distributed on equal terms to all children must stem from a belief that all resources have an implicit worth and that distribution should be "just", despite continuing controversy over the relationship between that distribution and future opportunities. Following C. Jencks' sentiment, R. King suggests that,

such things as pleasant school buildings,

plentiful books, small classes and indoor lavatories can be intrinsically valued, even if there is...little evidence to suggest they are associated with higher levels of educational attainment.³²

C. Jencks suggests a simple logic, which asserts that public money ought to be equitably distributed, even if that money has no long term effect:

adequate school funding cannot be justified on the grounds that it makes life better in the hereafter...but it can be justified on the grounds that it makes life better right now.³³

It is possible then, to provide a logic for studying the inequality of resource provision, even if that logic is based on an uneasy compromise between two differing views of the relationship between resource levels and educational opportunity.

The emphasis of the study must lie, it appears, with the local authority and the systems of financing, in that both have been postulated by previous studies to be responsible for persisting patterns of unequal resource distribution. However, this study attempts to provide an added dimension to previous work in the same field, by focusing on one local authority, and analysing the processes that have given rise to the persisting pattern of inequality at the local level.

The Analysis

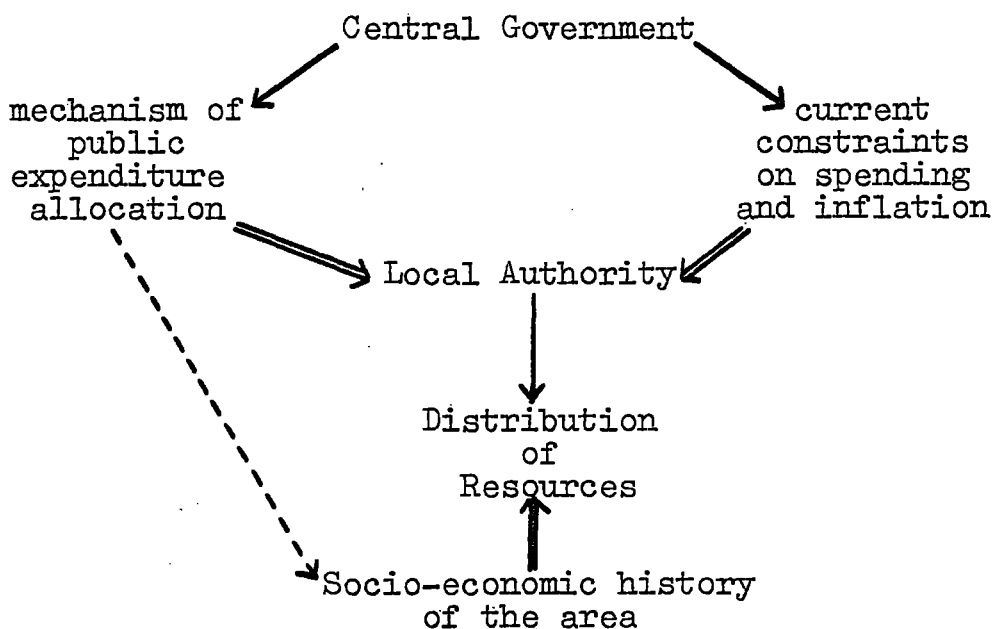
It is suggested that the present distribution of educational resources has been the result of a complex inter-relationship between a variety of processes, all of which have contributed to the production and reinforcement of a spatial pattern of educational inequality.

Any analysis of inequality of educational provision must, on the one hand, show the complexities of the processes involved, yet on the other hand, satisfactorily dissect out the individual elements in such a way that they can be readily analysed, yet not appear as simple isolated components.

On one level, it is possible to identify the major components involved in the analysis. (See Table 1.1)

The actual process of resource distribution is central to a system of relationships of control and constraint, all of which play an important part in the resulting pattern of resources.

Table 1.1



==== line of constraint

—— line of control

----- line of influence

This "static" representation of the processes of resource distribution is useful in understanding the major components involved in resource distribution, but misses out elements of "dynamic" change that may

be subtly influencing the relationships between the main components. Any hope of sensitivity in such a study must look beyond the static interpretation of resource distribution and into elements of pressure and conflict between individuals or groups in the system.

Just as mechanisms of distribution appear to constrain the distribution of resources, so too, do the decisions made by key persons in the distribution process. Indeed, policies and available finance can only be put into action through the mediated channels created by key people and bounded by their powers of decision making. R. Pahl,³⁴ analysing the key persons in local decision making suggests that

The built environment is the result of conflicts, in the past and present, between those with different degrees of power in society, landowners, planners, developers, estate agents, local authorities, pressure groups.³⁵

He calls these groups social "gatekeepers" because they control the actual distribution of urban resources and also set the bureaucratic roles and procedures of allocation. Because these gatekeepers are seen as powerful in society, they are also responsible for creating the spatial structure of urban areas. In line with R. Pahl³⁶; J. Simmie³⁷ and J. Davies³⁸ both argue that the spatial structure, including the distribution of resources, will complement and reflect the class structure, giving most of those who already have a lot and giving least to those who need it most.

The processes of resource distribution, are seen by D. Harvey³⁹ to be "a matter of jostling for and bargaining over the use and control of the hidden mechanisms of redistribution".⁴⁰ This continual jostling and bargaining will inevitably lead,

D. Harvey argues, to conflict between groups, not only over the current distribution but also over the dynamic mechanisms maintaining and changing that distribution. This conflict may have important implications for the development of the service in which the individuals are working, especially during periods of recession when the service is likely to suffer losses of resources, powers and status. As desirable resources become scarcer, conflict over remaining resources may increase, and as a consequence, it will be those groups in the social structure who have the most power who will obtain the largest part of the scarce resources. This apparent reflection of social structure and scarce resources leads J. Simmie to suggest that

'the social structure may be analysed according to the differential possession of scarce resources by different groups'.⁴¹

This dynamic approach to resource allocation allows a more detailed study of the relationship between resources and social structure, but neglects analysis of the actual processes underlying the allocation of the resources. The mechanisms of distribution need to be studied in more depth, in order to provide a more detailed context in which individual and group bargaining takes place.

The ideal combination of study would be to look at both the static mechanisms of distribution and dynamic bargaining of the key individuals in that distribution. This would only be possible if longer time were available for fieldwork and greater access into the local education offices and committees of the local authority could be negotiated. This study must fall short of that ideal and rely mainly on analysis of the mechanisms of resource distribution with only glimpses at the gatekeepers within the processes of distribution. In line with D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher⁴², it calls for more detailed local studies on the processes of policy and decision

making in local authorities, although accepting that possibilities of access are very limited. This study would then provide the background and a complementary approach to a more intensive study of the decision makers "jostling and bargaining over the use and control of the hidden mechanisms of redistribution".⁴³

The emphasis of this study must remain with the processes of resource distribution. It is especially concerned with the relationship between the operation of the education service and the mechanisms of control and allocation of educational expenditure. This relationship is examined on both a regional and local level, using the North East of England as the area of study.

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CHAPTER TWO

Resource Inequality in the North-East:
a historical perspective

Finance for educational resources is distributed on a spatial basis. Local authorities are responsible for providing resources within their boundaries, the finance coming from the Rate Support Grant and the local rates. An analysis of the processes involved in this distribution must, therefore, include a spatial element. In this study, the regional focus is the North East of England.

The socio-economic history of an area plays an important part in a discussion concerning resource levels, especially in education. Decades of under provision have led to a situation today, in which the North East is still a region of limited educational opportunity. This chapter clearly shows the relationship between education and financial constraints over a period of time and provides the underlying context for a more detailed analysis of one local authority within the region.

In 1970, the Northern Economic Planning Council published their report 'Challenge of the Changing North: Education'. Commenting on the disparity that existed between local authorities, especially those in the north of England compared with those in other parts of the country, they suggested that

'this disparity has been perpetuated by methods of financing, as between Government and local

authorities which have been so finely tailored to current needs as to allow little scope for making up lost ground.

... in many aspects of educational provision and performance, the North as a whole is still bottom of the league.¹

The initial disparity, perpetuated by a history of financial discrimination was seen to stem from the aftermath of the 1920's and 1930's,

'when public assistance expenditure imposed such heavy demands on the very limited resources available that new school building was ruled out almost entirely. The end of the last war found those authorities starting the task of reconstruction from a base line well behind many other parts of the country'.²

Indeed, in the 1930's local authorities like Gateshead spent over 45% of the local rate collected on public assistance.

1. The 1920's and 1930's

The system of elementary education in the North-East during the 1920's and 1930's has been well documented in three reports written at the time. Between them, they build up a clear picture of the state of education in Tyneside during this period and provide evidence to back-up the suggestion of regional educational disparity made forty years later in the Northern Economic Planning Council's (N.E.P.C.) report in 1970. They also show a clear link between the state of the education system and the financial difficulties that many local authorities were experiencing at the time.

By the 1920's, the rapid industrial growth of the nineteenth century had given way to economic depression on Tyneside, leading to increased poverty of the inhabitants of the area. In 1925, the Bureau of Social Research for Tyneside began publishing a series of papers and reports on the welfare of the local population.

In 1928, H. Mess completed his study of Industrial Tyneside³, stating that his main aim was to show clearly the chief factors concerning the welfare of the Tynesiders and to compare the area with other parts of the country. In a separate chapter on education he pointed to the major responsibility that the local authorities had, for the education of their children

'the responsibilities of the local authorities are obviously enormous, and their powers for good and for evil are beyond calculation.... It is of utmost importance that public opinion should be well informed and that it should encourage them to discharge their duties efficiently and generously'.⁴

Just how generous the local authorities were, Mess showed in a table of expenditure on public elementary education 1926 - 1927, reproduced below. It shows the amount spent per child by the various local authorities.

Table 2.1

Expenditure on Public Elementary Education 1926 - 1927.
Amount spent per child in average attendance.

Local authorities 1926 - 27	Expenditure on teachers' salaries	Total Expenditure
Newcastle	£6 18 6	£ 9 18 9
Tynemouth	£7 3 5	£10 6 5
South Shields	£6 15 7	£ 9 4 7
Gateshead	£7 3 2	£ 9 17 1
Average County Borough	£8 1 8	£11 9 3
WallSEND	£7 1 9	£ 9 7 5
Jarrow	£7 5 6	£ 9 5 1
Average Municipal Borough	£7 17 6	£10 14 2
Hebburn	£6 7 10	£ 9 7 6
Felling	£6 12 0	£11 1 11
Average Urban District	£9 0 4	£13 1 8

(Source H. Mess. Industrial Tyneside, 1928 p. 122)

The table shows the consistently low levels of spending in Tyneside. Of the 82 County Boroughs in England and Wales, only fifteen spent less than £10 per child in 1926 - 1927. Three of the four Tyneside county boroughs were among these fifteen.

H. Mess also pointed to other educational features of Tyneside. Many schools had classes with over fifty pupils, indeed, Hebburn had 65% of classes with over 50 pupils, and many children were taught in rooms containing two or more classes. There was great need for the building of new schools. In Gateshead, for example, no new elementary schools were opened between 1904 and 1927 and an increasing number of children were being taught in temporary or hired premises.

Although H. Mess noted the hard working efforts of the staff, he found

'a somewhat unimaginative and utilitarian outlook on education.... it is not an area in which there is a great deal of experiment or originality and such as there is does not meet with much encouragement'.⁵

During the 1920's, education in Tyneside schools was as depressed both in terms of educational provision and lack of originality, as the economic situation which surrounded them. This situation became further accentuated by the rise in local expenditure which was taking place everywhere at this time. The Tyneside towns had become specialised in their type of inhabitant; some were the homes of the wealthy classes, whilst others were inhabited almost exclusively by the working classes and this segregation led to what Mess describes as

'a maldistribution of burdens and of resources.... (which).... has come to be a very serious matter'.⁶

Between 1904 and 1927, rates had greatly increased throughout the country, but the increase on Tyneside, with the

exception of Newcastle had been considerably greater than in the average town of England and Wales. Another increase throughout Tyneside between 1926 and 1927 was mainly due to the effects of the coal stoppage and much of the abnormal expenditure on relief had to be met from temporary borrowing repayable out of the rates in future years.

Within the North East there were great discrepancies of 'rates in the pound' between the local authorities. Newcastle, Gosforth and Newburn had comparatively low 'rates in the pound', while South Shields, Jarrow and Hebburn had high rates. The inequalities of burdens and resources were 'partially modified by the Poor Law Unions. This meant that an area with a heavy burden of poor relief was helped by being in the same union as a better-off area. However, inequalities were never entirely compensated. Education and the Poor Law, being the two services of major importance in relation to local expenditure suffered as a consequence.

The fate of education in Tyneside was the subject of another publication in 1931.⁷ E. Dyer, writing on the finance of public education in Tyneside saw the area as one in which provision of elementary education was far below the rest of the country. Because of the high birth-rate of the area and the low rateable values, E. Dyer explained that

'it is the areas which can least afford it, which find themselves with the most children to educate'.⁸

Pointing to the inadequacies of the rating system, E. Dyer showed that the (yeild) of the penny rate in Tyneside areas was only a quarter of the (yeild) for richer towns. In Gateshead, the yeild per child produced only 1s 11½d,

compared with over 15s 0d in many local authorities in the South East of England. Tyneside towns had to fix high education rates in order to bring in sufficient revenue for the education service. As E. Dyer explained

'the poorer authorities, predominantly peopled by one class are waging a desperate battle against the factors of high child population and low rateable values and are compelled to raise their rates to almost prohibitive levels to maintain their services at a bare minimum of efficiency'.⁹

The effects of government compensatory schemes and Grant in Aid programmes had not been strong enough to level out inequalities between towns and areas and de-rating policies had intensified disparities in resource allocation.

'The disparity between the rich authorities and poor authorities becomes greater, not less each year and the formula is becoming ineffective to restore the balance'.¹⁰

Nine years later, 'Tyneside: The Social Facts' was published.¹¹ D. Goodfellow pointed to the disparity between rich and poor authorities. Of the twelve towns on Tyneside, only three, Newcastle, Gosforth, and Whitley Bay, had rateable values greater than the proportion of their inhabitants to the entire Tyneside area. Table 2.2 shows the population of these towns and their rateable values in 1940.

Table 2.2

Tyneside Towns: population and rateable values 1940

	Percentage of Population	12 Tyneside Towns Rateable Value
Gateshead	14.7	10.4
South Shields	13.9	10.2
Jarrow	3.9	2.2
Whickham	2.8	2.5
Felling	3.3	1.7
Hebburn	2.8	1.6
Newcastle	<u>36.4</u>	<u>49.3</u>
Tynemouth	8.4	7.4
Wallsend	5.5	4.1
Newburn	2.4	1.8
Gosforth	<u>2.5</u>	<u>3.5</u>
Whitley Manseaton	<u>3.5</u>	<u>5.2</u>

(Source: D. Goodfellow: Tyneside: the social facts, p.72, 1941)

Bearing these figures in mind, it is not surprising that Newcastle

'while urging the necessity for a larger unit of government on Tyneside repeatedly emphasised the condition that its own level of rates was not to be raised as a consequence'.¹²

Because of the development of one class towns in Tyneside an unjustifiable fiscal inequality was to be found. As he continued to explain

'When the one class is that of wealthy wage earners....in the lower reaches.... and who have a heavy burden of unemployment, their poverty is most materially intensified by a high local taxation, which falls directly upon them'.¹³

In the one class business towns, such as Gosforth, the burden of local taxation was carried by wealthier people,

whose incomes were almost entirely drawn from other areas, whose poverty was therefore increased.

Throughout the three reports, (H. Mess, 1928, E. Dyer, 1931, D. Goodfellow, 1940) the recurring theme is one of economic depression and financial inequalities both between local authorities in the North East, and between the North East as a region and the rest of the Country. Education was only one of the numerous social factors which suffered as a consequence.

In his conclusions, H. Mess looked at the past in an attempt to put forward recommendations for the future;

'The Tyneside which we deplore was the product of a long period of prosperity.... it was when rates were low that nothing much was done. It would have been possible then to accomplish what is desparately hard to do. Tyneside is called upon to wrestle in its black day with problems that would have taxed it's resources heavily in its prosperous times'.¹⁴

Both H. Mess and E. Dyer suggested similar ideas for the future. E. Dyer concluded by asserting that the State should be persuaded to accept a greater share of financial responsibility. H. Mess pointed out that the machinery of local government must be used, and some appeal made to the central government, especially for the transferrance of a large part of the cost of maintaining the unemployed from local rates to national taxation. This high cost had placed a heavy burden on the local authorities and taken up a large proportion of the limited funds available. In education, very few schools were built during the 1920's and 1930's and by the end of the war, the North East found itself with a huge backlog of old school buildings, which had to be cleared before the region could begin the reconstruction of a modern effective educational system, in line with that recommended in the 1944 Education Act.

2. The 1960's and 1970's

In 1963, the Hailsham report, 'The North East: a programme for development and growth'¹⁵, showed that the North East was still suffering from a number of educational defects and these could have a deleterious effect on regional development.

'The quality and range of schools available, will clearly make a big difference both to the efficiency of the region and to its attractiveness for the kind of people needed for economic vitality'.¹⁶

Recognising that the Northern region still had many old school buildings to replace, the report said;

'a considerable measure of priority was given to the North East when projects were being selected for 1964 - 1965'.¹⁷

However, no extra finance was allocated by the D.E.S. to the North East for any major school building programme as a result of the Government's concern for the improvement of the North East. The report had cautiously admitted;

'The complete replacement of all schools will be of necessity a long term matter, as not all can be rebuilt, remodelled at once and the need for schools in equally inferior buildings in other parts of the country must not be overlooked'.¹⁸

So, the North East, suffering from a cumulative backlog of low levels of resources was given no priority for a larger school building programme. The normal capitation allowance, the report suggested, would serve to provide a considerable number of new schools and would make an important contribution to the better development of the area.

In 1965, the D.E.S. published a report,¹⁹ using data

collected by the 1962 school building survey. The report clearly showed that a large number of schools still possessed poor antiquated facilities. Of the thirteen basic defects listed, the report showed that over 79% of primary schools and 49% of secondary schools possessed at least one of these defects. In the North, the figures were higher, with 84% of primary schools and 56% of secondary schools possessing at least one defect. This meant that 75% of primary school children and 47% of secondary school children in the North were being taught in sub-standard schools. As a region, the North had a smaller number of nineteenth century primary schools still in use (57%) than in England and Wales as a whole (59%) but a larger number of children (10,000) in attendance at all-age schools.

By 1968, many local authorities in the North still had over 40% of their primary pupils in pre 1902 buildings. In the secondary sector, things were better with only 16% of secondary pupils being taught in nineteenth century school buildings. During the 1950's and 1960's, the country as a whole had seen a steady increase in the building programme for secondary education, but in the North, the programme of building was showing a decline. E. Byrne²⁰ shows this clearly in a table of school building programme expenditure between 1955 and 1969. (Table 2.3)

Table 2.3

School building expenditure: a comparison of the North with the rest of the Country.

	National Programme Primary and Sec- ondary	Northern Region Secondary
1955	72,590	6,700
1960	78,427	6,900
1966	87,805	3,500
1969	111,167	4,900
% increase 1955 - 1969	+53% (Source D.E.S.)	- 26.9% (Source NEPC)

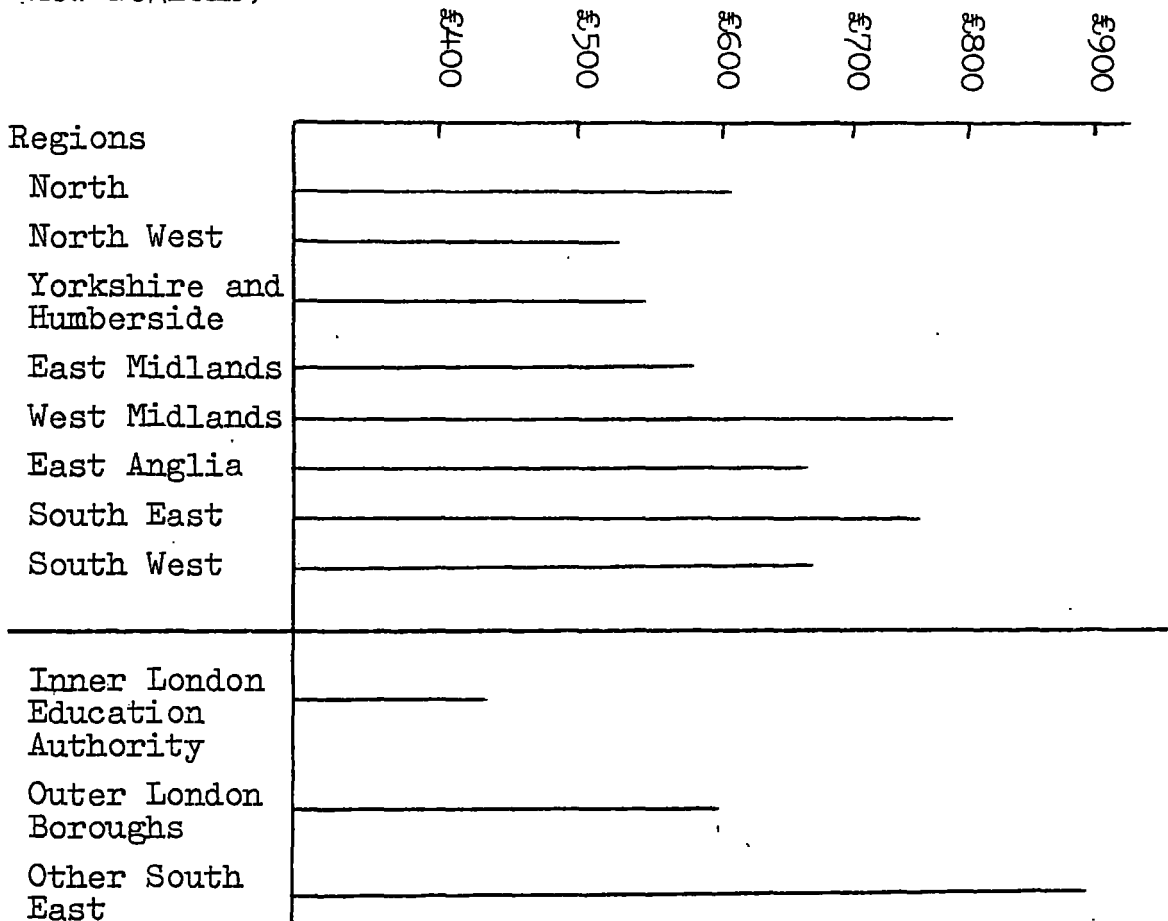
(Source: Byrne, Planning and Inequality, 1975, p. 1032)

Even the E.P.A. programme allocated only £225,000 to the secondary sector of the North, compared with a total of £2.4m for the whole of England and Wales.

A comparison of debt charges (for every 100 primary school children) incurred for the building of new primary schools between regions, shows the position of the North in relation to other areas in 1965.

Table 2.4

Debt charges per 100 primary school children 1966 - 67.
(new regions)



(Source: G. Taylor and N. Ares. Levels of Educational Provision in Local Authorities in England, 1973, p.81)

Within the Northern region, the incidence of new buildings was also uneven, with Durham, Gateshead and West Hartlepool

having debt charges below the national average. These three local education authorities, together with many others in the country, were areas of declining population and unfavourable environments and therefore received less capital expenditure than did expanding areas of the country. This was a reflection of national policy at the time, which preferred capital expenditure, closely controlled by the Government, being used to provide new schools in expanding areas. The implication of this, important in relation to the problems of the Northern region, was that those children already in poor school buildings had even less chance of being rehoused and taught in a school of modern standards.

In 1969, G. Taylor and N. Ayres²¹, commenting on the uneven distribution of capital expenditure, saw the growth of two nations, one in the new expanding areas of England and Wales and one in the poorer areas, common in the North of England. As they explain,

'that the two nations can and do co-exist within a short distance of one another is certain. What is significant and alarming... is the concentration in large areas, principally located in the three northern regions of children so handicapped in comparison with more fortunate children elsewhere that the majority will fail to achieve their potential intellectual and aesthetic development'.²²

The marked regional differentiation in the provision of new schools was increasing the gap between the two nations. In 1969, a change in educational capital spending occurred. Between 1969 and 1974, the capital expenditure of the North began to increase and stood at a higher absolute level than nationally. Table 2.5 shows the % distribution of revenue and capital expenditure in 1973 - 1974. It shows that while capital in the secondary sector had increased relative to the national figure, capital in the primary sector and further education were lower than the national average.

Table 2.5

Percentage Distribution of Educational Capital and Revenue Expenditure 1973 - 1974

	Northern Region	England and Wales
	%	%
Primary revenue capital	25.2 28.8	25.4 32.2
Secondary revenue capital	32.0 48.1	31.5 44.8
Further education revenue capital	23.2 18.0	24.9 14.1
Other revenue capital	19.7 10.1	18.2 8.9
Total revenue capital	100.1 100	100 100

(Source: Northern Regional Strategy Team. Education in the Northern region, draft final report, 1976)

In educational revenue expenditure, the North is approximately level with England and Wales as a whole. When education costs per thousand are studied, we find that the North is improving in relation to the whole county. However, a breakdown of the North shows that Tyne and Wear, as a county has come off consistently worse than Cumbria and consistently lower than the England and Wales average.

Tyne and Wear, as an area probably experiences more educational defects as a result of its background, than Cumbria. Claims by the N.E.P.C. in their 1970 report²³, that educational spending in the North was the highest per head of population in the country are of little significance in areas of deprivation on Tyneside, where spending is still below the average. Table 2.5. shows this consistently low spending in comparison with the rest of the region and the country.

Table 2.6

Major sectors of educational revenue expenditure costs per 1000 population, 1963 - 1964, 1972 - 1973.

	Tyne and Wear	Cumbria	Northern Region	England and Wales
1963 - 64	£	£	£	£
Primary sector	5,830	6,648	6,439	5,835
Secondary "	6,881	7,926	7,156	7,312
Further Education	2,477	2,743	2,882	2,989
Total	19,225	21,936	21,076	20,422
1972 - 73				
Primary sector	14,290	15,062	15,097	14,796
Secondary "	17,758	20,213	18,932	17,808
Further Education	9,620	9,405	9,087	9,578
Total	52,571	56,653	55,050	53,370

(Source: Northern Regional Strategy Team Education in the Northern Region, draft final report, 1976)

If we look at local authorities within the Northern region, again we find discrepancies in spending levels for education. Appendix 3 gives a breakdown of expenditure per pupil in the education service of most of the local authorities in the North. Reproduced below is the total education expenditure per pupil in these local authorities.

Table 2.7

Northern Local Authorities Education Expenditure Index.
(Local Authority average = 100) 1973 - 74

	Primary expenditure per pupil. average = 100	Secondary expenditure per pupil. average = 100
Darlington	94	101
Gateshead	97	93
South Shields	103	88
Newcastle	104	98
Sunderland	95	95
Teeside	104	95

Cont.

Cumberland	103	109
Westmorland	91	91
Northumberland	96	95
Durham	98	87

(Source C.I.P.F.A. education statistics 1973 - 74)

Only four local authorities have above average spending per pupil in the primary sector and only two in the secondary sector.

The reason for this below average spending may lie in a number of directions. It is possible that the local authorities are miserly in their spending on all services or other services are given greater priority. However, if educational spending is compared with the total public expenditure allocation to regions of Great Britain, some interesting points emerge.

Table 2.8

Regional breakdown of Capital and Current Expenditure 1969/70 - 1973/74 (average)

	Average 1969/70 - 1973/74	
	Capital %	Current %
<u>North</u>	<u>32.9</u>	<u>67.1</u>
Yorkshire and Humberside	24.7	75.3
East Midlands	26.6	73.4
East Anglia	29.2	70.8
South East	28.1	71.9
South West	27.7	72.3
West Midlands	25.7	74.3
North West	28.2	71.8
Wales	29.0	71.0
Scotland	29.7	70.3
Great Britain	28.1	71.9

(Source: Northern Regional Strategy Team Public Expenditure in the Northern Region, Appendix C, 1976)

In 1974, over 77% of total public expenditure went to the regions as 'regionally relevant expenditure'. A breakdown of this expenditure shows that the North spent proportionately more than other regions on capital expenditure and less on current expenditure.

In absolute terms, the North gets slightly more regionally relevant expenditure per capita than other areas of the country, but when this is broken down into its component parts, we find that expenditure per head for Trade, Industry and Employment is far greater in the North than other areas and local authority spending is proportionately lower. Table 2.9 shows this expenditure broken down into the three basic components of regionally relevant expenditure.

Table 2.9

Regionally relevant expenditure per head, current prices, annual average 1969/70 - 1973/74, by PESC programme in £ms

	N	YH	EM	EA	SE	SW	WM	NW	W	S
1. Social Security	<u>97</u>	84	75	74	76	82	73	88	95	85
2. Agriculture, Trade, Industry Employment	<u>61</u>	21	33	34	20	38	18	28	54	58
3. Locally influenced expenditure	<u>210</u>	178	190	201	238	193	184	204	213	235
Total	<u>368</u>	282	298	309	334	314	275	319	362	378
% of total										
1.	26	30	25	24	23	26	27	27	26	22
2.	17	7	11	11	6	12	7	9	15	15
3.	<u>57</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>62</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(locally influenced = roads, transport, housing, other environment, law, order, education, health)

(Source: Northern Regional Strategy Team. Public expenditure in the Northern Region. Technical Report No. 12, p.5 41 - 53)

The amount spent on locally influenced services is lower in the North than any other area. Education forms an important element of this and it would be expected that education gets proportionally less expenditure per capita than other elements of the regionally relevant expenditure allocation. This is, in fact, the case, as Table 2.10 shows. Between 1970 and 1974, education expenditure in the North never exceeded the average for Great Britain and was lower than all other elements of the regionally relevant expenditure. Only Health and Personal Social Services came consistently lower.

Table 2.10

Distribution of Northern regionally relevant expenditure (per capita) 1971 - 1974. Expenditure Index = GB = 100

	1971- 1972	1972- 1973	1973- 1974	GB average
Agriculture, fish, forestry	114.8	102.8	119.8	100
Trade, Industry, Employment	214.2	199.1	211.4	100
Nationalised Industry, Capital expenditure	114.6	121.2	87.6	100
Roads and transport	114.4	119.5	124.4	100
Housing	98.8	121.8	123.7	100
Other environmental services	86.7	90.8	97.3	100
Law, order, protective services	98.4	98.0	99.4	100
<u>Education, libraries, science and arts</u>	<u>93.0</u>	<u>93.9</u>	<u>94.5</u>	<u>100</u>
Health and personal social services	88.1	89.9	89.8	100
Social Security	118.6	119.4	117.1	100
Total	110.5	111.5	112.0	100

(Source: Northern Regional Strategy Team. Public expenditure in the Northern Region. Appendix E, Tables E13, E14, E15, 1976)

If this trend was similar for all regions, then the place of education compared to other components would reflect national policy and the relative importance placed on education by the nation as a whole. However, as the following table shows, when the North is compared to other

areas, during the same period of time, we find that, again, the North spends less on education than most other areas, when compared by a per capita index. (Table 2.11)

Table 2.11

Regional Distribution of Education Expenditure between 1971 - 1974. Per capita expenditure index GB = 100

	1971-1972	1972-1973	1973-1974
<u>North:</u>	<u>93.0</u>	<u>93.9</u>	<u>94.5</u>
Yorkshire and Humberside	93.8	94.3	94.8
East Midlands	92.2	93.0	93.0
East Anglia	101.8	101.7	98.8
South East	107.6	106.8	107.5
South West	88.6	88.8	89.5
West Midlands	92.8	91.6	90.5
North West	94.3	95.9	95.9
West	101.8	103.2	103.0
South	110.6	111.2	109.1
Great Britain	100	100	100

(Source: Northern Regional Strategy Team. Public expenditure in the Northern Region. Appendix E, Tables E12, E13, E15, 1976)

As had already been noted, the North is not a homogeneous region in terms of education expenditure and therefore some areas of the North are further below the average for Great Britain than figures from comparative regional tables would suggest. The North East, especially Tyne and Wear, is a case in point.

Here is a region in which there has been continual underdevelopment of, and under investment in education. It has had a history of industrial prosperity and depression, the results of which are still very apparent today, not only in socio-economic spheres but in general attitudes. Talking of education in the North, G. Taylor and N. Ayres reported that

'the combined effect of migration, environmental

deficiencies and lack of educational opportunities have resulted in a generation of parents whose level of education is low. Their understanding of the need for change and of the long term advantage of education is inevitably limited'.²⁴

This negative attitude towards education was also noted by T. Dan Smith, when he commented on the potential of education as a stimulus to regional development.

Education has always been a grey spot in our region. 'Get the bairns working' has been a catch phrase which must change.²⁵

In the N.E.P.C. report of 1970, it was suggested that certain sections of the community 'do not realise where their best interests lie'²⁶. The report went on to explain that verbal self expression was not generally stimulated in the area and suggested that schools should provide curricula

to broaden the horizons of pupils in an attempt to compensate for the intellectual restrictions of the industrial environment.²⁷

The limited value placed on education by many Northerners can be seen by the small numbers of pupils who remain on at school after sixteen. In 1973 - 74, only 29.1% stayed on for further education, compared with 35.1% in the country as a whole. However, this value is, in itself a reflection of the historical inadequacies of the education system of the North. As the N.E.P.C. reported.

Undoubtedly, the inadequate response of people in the North to education is due in part to the shortcomings in the quality and quantity of educational provision itself, but some measure of responsibility must be attributed to popular attitudes of mind of education.²⁸

To divorce attitudes of mind from shortcomings in educational provision serves no purpose. It can be equally argued that one is merely the outcome of the other, although which comes first in this 'chicken and egg'

situation is questionable. What cannot be doubted, is that there is a need for a change in provision levels in order to bring the North, and especially the North East to an equal level with the rest of the country. Faced with a background of poverty and under investment; a lack of finance through the historical inadequancies of the rating and public expenditure systems; a low level of regional educational expenditure and a poor response to education by the people, the North has no easy task if it is to provide an education service equal to the rest of the country.

It is with the local authorities that hope for change lies, yet it is here that, as later chapters will show, the main constraints on equality of provision exist. A poor local authority, in a poor area of the North, with a low level of education provision needs all the financial help it can get to provide a good education service, yet as G. Taylor and N. Ayres points out,

'the poorer the local authority, the higher the level of service required, yet the impoverished authorities lack the resources to maintain that service at an average level. To provide an above average service as in the interests of equality, they should, is quite impossible'.²⁹

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CHAPTER THREE

Distributing the Finance for Education

The complexities of the processes of resource distribution are further complicated by the large amount of finance involved. The local authorities, lying at the centre of the processes are subject to the changing levels of both public expenditure and gross local authority expenditure. These are both, in their own ways, closely related to the national economy and the changing priorities within that economy. Educational finance, as part of local authority expenditure has been subject to more changes in priorities than most other locally administered services, and the past twenty years have seen large fluctuations in available educational finance.

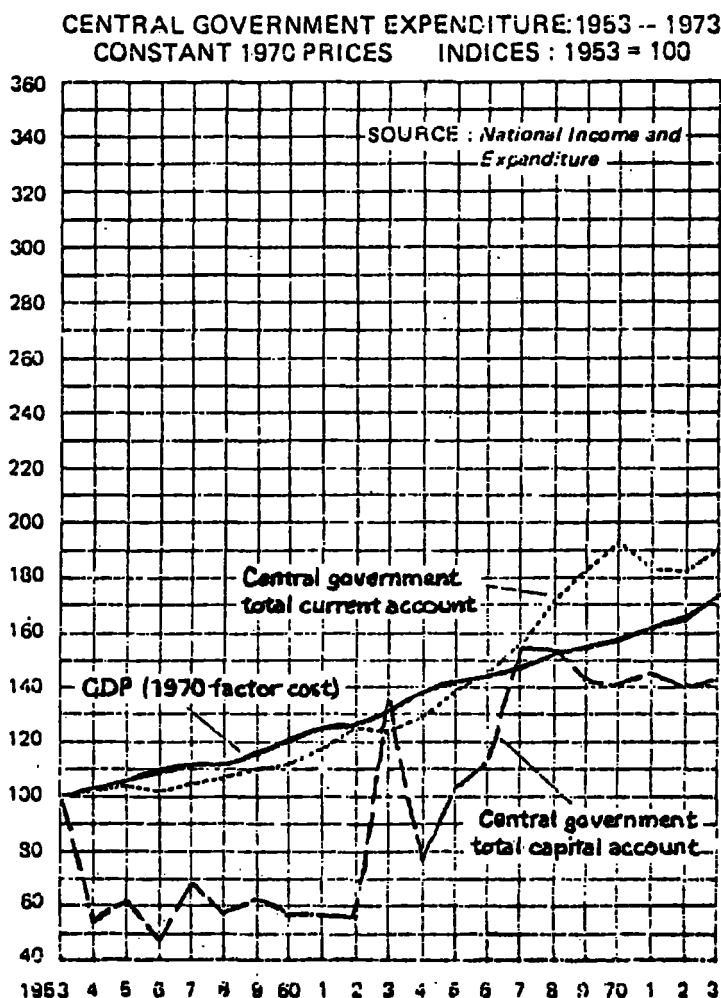
This chapter is concerned with the trends of public, local and educational expenditure over the last couple of decades and the mechanisms by which this finance is distributed to the local authorities. Implicit in these mechanisms are elements of control; control, not only in terms of management of the national economy but, it can be argued, in terms of social control, in that the uneven distribution of resources appears to be positively reinforced by central government expenditure constraints, a situation which leads to a stultifying effect on efforts to bring about a change in the pattern of social inequality.

1. Trends in Public and Local Expenditure

'Public expenditure tends to go its own way, like a great hippopotamus, but gets pulled up every now and again in a crisis... first the economy gets into trouble and then the tax payer is asked to foot the bill that excites his displeasure... in the end, public expenditure dips below trend and it takes some time before it regains its old momentum'.¹

The trends of the last twenty years show that this great hippopotamus of public expenditure has continued to rise, almost unabated. Occasionally, the animal has attempted to halt, but increased pressure from behind in the form of greater public demand for high standards, a rising population and an intensification of pressure by inflation has meant that public expenditure has continued to grow. The following graph shows that not only has public expenditure been growing in absolute terms but also at a faster rate than the national income.

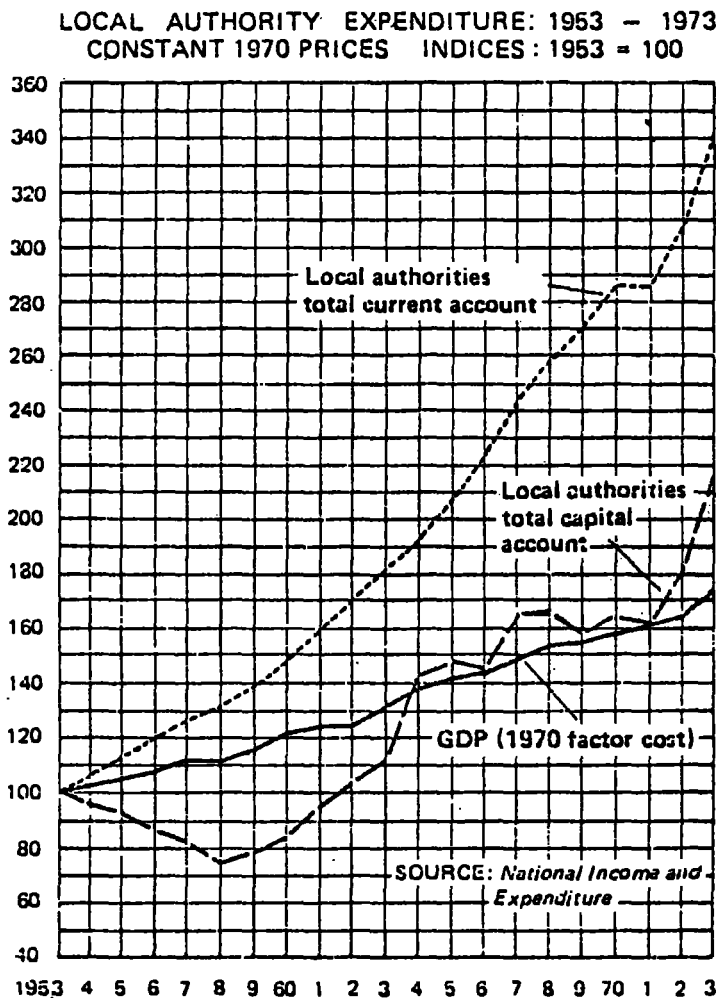
Table 3.1



This has led to an increase in the proportion of G.D.P. which passes through the hands of the Government. It has risen from 39% in 1953 to 45.2% in 1973, and the Government therefore controls nearly one half of the Country's total resources.

Local authority expenditure has also continued to rise, both in absolute terms and as a proportion of public expenditure. The following graph shows the growth of local spending since 1953.

Table 3.2



Between 1953 and 1968, the rate of local authority growth increased from 5.6% per year in 1953 to 1958, to 7.1% per year in 1963 to 1968. Commenting on this increase in growth, the Redcliffe-Maud report of 1967 commented that local expenditure will continue to expand, both absolutely and as a percentage of the G.N.P..²

In relation to local authorities, in 1969, the Royal Commission suggested pessimistically that local authorities were in sight of a solution to scarcely any of their problems.³

Neither report could have visualised the economic recession that was consequently to take place in the 1970's and the problems of inflation and public expenditure cuts that would accompany it. These have served to exacerbate the problems noted by the reports of the late 1960's.

By 1975, local authority expenditure accounted for 30% of all public expenditure and in the year 1974 - 1975, local authorities in England and Wales spent £5479 M on their revenue accounts and £2939 M on their capital accounts. Local spending was still growing faster than either the G.D.P. or central government spending. In the Budget speech of that year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the setting up of a consultative council where central and local governments could discuss the

'difficult but urgent policy decisions involved in bringing down the rate of expansion in local authority expenditure'.⁴

From a condition of rapid growth at the beginning of the 1970's, local authorities were faced in 1977 with reduced capital expenditure estimates and 0% growth for their estimated current account. This does not necessarily indicate that spending will follow this!

suggested trend. Inflation has increased the problem; and as local authorities are free to choose their own definitions of real growth and inflation, the concept of 0% growth in all local authorities may present a somewhat distorted picture of the reality.

As public expenditure and local authority expenditure increased during the last twenty years, so too did education¹ expenditure. Table 3.3 shows education expenditure and the percentage increase between 1953 and 1973. During this period, education doubled from 6.9% of total public expenditure to 12.9% and increased in actual terms ten times over.

Table 3.3

Total Education Expenditure 1953 - 1973 in £m's.

	Total Public Expenditure	Education Expenditure	Education as % of total
1953-54	6,710	463	6.9%
1958-59	8,308	785	9.4%
1963-64	11,666	1,282	11.0%
1968-69	19,138	2,182	11.4%
1973-74	31,979	4,134	12.9%

(Source: National Income and Expenditure Reports, H.M.S.O.)

It was a period of great education^a expansion. The demand for education was high with more and more children being catered for, as the birthrate rose and children stayed on at school longer. Between 1953 and 1973, while the G.D.P. increased by 74.7%, expenditure on education went up by 274.5%. Compared with other services, education expanded faster than most. In 1953, £100m more was spent on the NHS than the education services. By 1973, £900m more was being spent on education than the NHS, which only grew by 14.1% during the same period of time.

On the face of it, then, education has had two decades of high expenditure and expansion, and it could be argued that England and Wales must by now have a high level of education^a provision throughout. However, viewing the country as a whole obscures many of the pressing problems of inequality in the education system. As we have seen, the North:

'as a whole is still bottom of the league... all too often, the best efforts of teachers, children and administrators continue to be frustrated by outdated buildings and overcrowded classes'.⁵

A local authority like Gateshead still has 24% of its schools built before 1910. These features are not the result of bad administration or local authorities being miserly, but because much of the North is still suffering from the aftermath of the 1920's and 1930's when the limited resources available had to be used for Public Assistance payment. Because no new schools could be afforded:

'the end of the last war found those authorities starting the task of reconstruction from a base-line well behind, many other parts of the country'.⁶

By the 1970's, most northern local authorities had

not yet caught up with the rest of the country, and the disparity was further perpetuated by methods of financing during the 1950's and 1960's. In the 1970's, however, the country was faced with economic recession and a need for cuts in public expenditure. Education had to take its share of the cuts. There was a need for redefinition of spending priorities, both within education and between education and the other components of public expenditure.

If the logic of scarcity is a further centralisation of control, then the Government must develop new means to bring about the pattern of progress that it desires, for the present controls are outdated and ineffective. N. Hepworth makes this point very clearly when he says:

'A mere tightening of the present controls would be neither desirable or adequate. A more fundamental reappraisal of the control mechanisms is needed because the present controls have so many deficiencies and to tighten them would merely exacerbate those deficiencies'.⁷

2. Mechanisms of Educational Finance Distribution

It has been said that the actual mechanisms of finance distribution are both complex and deficient. We now turn to an analysis of those mechanisms which influence the amount of money made available to individual local authorities from central government. The mechanisms include within them certain discriminatory elements of distribution and control, such that certain local authorities receive finance in a way unrelated to the needs and problems of the local area. The implications of these mechanisms on one local authority are explored in Chapter 6, which relates specifically to Gateshead. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the actual mechanisms and the implicit control that give rise to the continuing

pattern of inequality of local authority resources.

i. The Public Expenditure Survey System.

The most important mechanism in directing public spending is the Public Expenditure Survey System (P.E.S.C.). It is responsible for keeping the Government informed about the size, shape and expected development of public sector expenditure and all the activities to which this relates. It slowly developed to its present form throughout the sixties: the initial impetus resulting from the Report of the Plowden Committee, on the Control of Public Expenditure in 1961. Their report recommended that:

Regular surveys should be made of public expenditure as a whole, over a period of years ahead and in relation to prospective resources; decisions involving substantial future expenditure should be taken in the light of surveys.⁸

Until this time, the system of supply estimates had been an annual occurrence, relating only to the forthcoming year. Considerations for capital expenditure were also made on an ad hoc basis and a more systematic planning scheme was urgently required.

The object of the P.E.S.C. is to relate the estimates of expenditure for 21 main programmes and sub-programmes to the national economy. It fits the expenditure of the various public sectors into a recognisable long range plan, in order to provide,

the operational framework within which public expenditure is controlled by those in day-to-day charge.⁹

The results of the plan are published in a annual Public Expenditure White Paper. This is divided into two major sections. The first deals with the role of

public spending and the national economy and the second lists estimates of levels of spending for specific programmes e.g. Education. These provide the main bases on which expenditure programmes are presented to Ministers for decision making. The P.E.S.C. does not recommend policies, it merely helps towards informed decisions made by the Government. It does not set out to analyse and review alternative policies; it shows only the cost of existing policies and measures their effect on the economy. Policy decisions are a matter of political judgement and it is these policy decisions which are the basic elements within government control which ultimately determine the scale of public expenditure.

In terms of relevance to local authorities, the P.E.S.C. has come in for considerable criticism. Asked about local authorities' reactions to the Public Expenditure White Paper, the Education and Arts Sub-Committee noted that their representatives

'found it a frustrating document. White papers in their present form are of limited use to individual authorities in planning the development of their services because the content is too generalized and does not take into account the differing needs and rates of development of local authorities. (It)... is produced in Whitehall without any direct reference to the local authority associations (who)... are unaware of the basic assumptions which have been made in aiming at the figures'.¹⁰

As the Survey is fundamentally designed for central government, it does not affect actual decision-making in local government, but it does influence local authority spending through the Rate Support Grant and allowances for local capital spending. To what extent local authorities are able to, or do produce the levels of spending suggested in the annual White Papers is questionable. It has been suggested that

the Public Expenditure Survey System is merely "a window dressing operation"¹¹ and only time can tell whether the Government ^{can make} made the forecasts of 0% growth for 1976-77 stick, despite political pressures being generated at the time.

Commenting on the 1975 White Paper and comparing it with previous surveys, Peter Jay is critical of the relevance of these White Papers.

'To the extent that this manoeuvre is an annual event, partly to deceive the eye about the true growth of public spending and partly because it is much harder to control actual spending in the current year than to hold down hypothetical figures for future years, there is a systematic tendency of the expenditure white papers to understate the true growth of public expenditure.'¹²

Backing up this statement, P. Jay points to the fact that total expenditure was planned to rise by only 7% in the next few years, yet it had grown by 21.6% over the previous four years, when the original forecast had been only 8.9% for those years.

It can be seen then that, as a method of control the P.E.S.C. has not been entirely successful and if the economy deteriorates further, it is likely that longterm planning will have decreasing significance especially on local authority spending.

The Financing of Local Authorities

A local authority has three major sources of finance, of which only one, the rates, is independent of the central government. This property tax works on the principle that the taxing valuation is related to the rent which might be got for properties in the area from year to year. The higher the rateable value of the authority, the lower will be the rate it needs to levy to raise a given amount of finance. Local

authorities with low rateable values have their total revenue from the rates raised to the national average by means of the Rate Support Grant (R.S.G.). The poorer the authority, the larger the grant and therefore the larger is government control over that local authority.

The other source of finance comes from local authority loans, the amount being determined by the Government. This finance is used for capital expenditure. The grant system and loan sanctions together provide a highly potent form of government control, as the study of both will show.

The Grant System.

The most important control of local authority recurrent expenditure is the Rate Support Grant (R.S.G.), which amounted to 66½% of local authority expenditure in England and Wales in 1975-1976. The amount is decided by negotiation between the Government and the local authorities. Joint working groups from the local authorities and government department representatives work at revenue estimates for each programme and present their estimates of total expected expenditure. Once the final amount of relevant expenditure is announced the Government decides the amount and basis of distribution of the R.S.G.

The use of government grants for education began in 1918, following the education act of that year, and the subsequent practice of administering it continued to govern grants to education authorities for about forty years.

There were modifications from time to time in the grant formula, but it was not until 1958 that the block grant to local authorities was substituted for the previously existing separate grants for education

and certain other services. After half a century, the financial year 1958-9 saw the end of the specific grant from the Minister of Education to individual education authorities. The introduction of the 1958 Act was due to the results of the Local Government Manpower Committee, who had drawn particular notice to the detailed controls and intervention in local affairs which specific grants entailed.

However, the move towards greater freedom of allocation of finance, now given to the local authorities, was strongly criticised, as it was feared that the local authorities would reduce the amount spend on those services not popular with the rate payers. Education was given as an example of this. However, this did not prove to be the case, perhaps due to the increase in interest in education during the early sixties. Despite hopes to return to some form of % grant by the new Government of 1964, the shift towards block grants was taken further by the Local Government Act of 1966, under which the Rate Support Grant accounted for 90% of grants awarded towards current expenditure. The Act suggested that -

A Rate Support Grant should be introduced to replace the general and rate deficiency grants and some specific grants...and should be distributed to authorities on the basis of demographic and environmental factors and to all authorities with below average rate resources.¹³

It also commented on the lack of suitability of the present system of rates to carry the strain of local expenditure but concluded that -

Within the present structure of local government, there was no prospect of any major reform of local government finance.¹⁴

Although the Act was regarded merely as a temporary

measure until a new structure of local finance could be evolved, it is the system which is used throughout the local authorities of Great Britain today. The Maud Committee on Management, reporting on the new Rate Support Grant said -

It is significant that the new Rate Support Grant which replaces the general grant on April 1st 1967, has been designed to allow the central government for the first time to influence the expenditure on all local authority services.¹⁵

Unreasonable expenditure by a local authority, or inefficiency in the maintenance of standards, may result in the grant being reduced or withheld. The threat of this and the increased financial dependence, due to the increased growth of grants could result in the diminishing autonomy of local authorities.

The Local Government Act 1974 (part 1)¹⁶ modified certain aspects of the R.S.G. system, but the method by which the annual total of the R.S.G. is determined remains unchanged, as does the allocation of the total between its three constituent elements. The act also reduced the grant period from two to one year.

The R.S.G. is divided into three elements:

1. Needs element - this forms the largest part of the R.S.G.. The 1974 Act modified the 1966 formula and introduced the possibility of some flexibility into the static distribution arrangement that had been used since 1966. The needs element for 1975-76 was therefore calculated on the basis of educational units, acreage of area, decline of population, pensionable persons, high population density, population plus 71.3% of the authorities' 1974-75 needs element entitlement.

The educational units form the second largest part, accounting for about 36% of the total needs formula (the largest is 'population' with 52%). The education units are calculated as shown in Table 3.4. It can be seen that the weighting is heavily in favour of further education students and pupils over sixteen. The implications of this to local authorities is discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 3.4

Formula for calculation of Education Units

Elements	Weighting
Primary pupils	1.0
Secondary and special pupils	
Under 16	1.79
Over 16	2.87
School meals (per 1000)	.68
Further Education Students	2.83
Full Value Awards	3.09

(Source: Pratt et al. Your Local Education, Pelican 1973 p. 78)

2. Resources element - this is payable to local authorities which have rate resources per head of population below the national standard rateable value per head of population (£170 R.V. in April 1974). The resources element therefore gives those authorities with a below average product enough money to bring them up to the old average.

3. Domestic element - this is paid to local authorities in order to relieve the burden of increasing rate poundage by permitting reductions on the rate levies on domestic and mixed hereditaments. (1975-76 distribution England 18½p, Wales 36p, mixed hereditaments 9p and 18. respectively.)

The R.S.G. serves three different and often conflicting objectives. Firstly, it is supposed to relieve rate payers of the full cost of local authority services, whilst not impinging too much on the autonomy of local decision making. Secondly, it is a mechanism to compensate local authorities for differences in their needs and resources, in order that rate payers should not be asked to pay widely differing rate poundages for the same standard of service. Thirdly, it has been used by central government as a means of control and influence over local authority spending, in order that local expenditure should meet the requirements of the Government's demand management policies.

These three objectives are not entirely compatible, for the present system was not designed to pursue two of these objectives fully and fairly. The resources element of the R.S.G. which was designed to compensate for differences in local authority rateable resources, a deficiency grant, does not achieve full equalisation. Further moves towards equalisation have been resisted on the grounds that it is unfair to allow councils that choose to spend disproportionately more than others, to use the resources element to penalise the taxpayer by helping to pay for the excess.

As a means of economic control, the R.S.G. has been used increasingly over the past few years. However, it is totally unable to discriminate between councils which are ignoring the government guidelines and those which are not. Accordingly, when sanctions are invoked, as they have been in 1976-77, the penalties are carried by everyone. The same control mechanism also provides the anomaly that only over spending is liable to penalisation. A local authority which is underspending on its services is not liable to any penalty.

Within the R.S.G., the largest element is the 'needs element'. The present system of grant allocation is

based on the assumption that all local authorities provide similar levels of service. It therefore uses actual local authority spending as an indicator of local authority overall needs. However, not only does the education service differ greatly between local authorities, but it is to be expected that in other services there is a similar disparity. Different levels of local authority spending do not necessarily relate to the levels of need in that area and it is often the low spending local authorities which have the most needs.

Two issues emerge from this. Firstly, the use of past expenditure as the main factor in the needs formula assumes that local authorities are highly responsive to the values and needs of local populations and to variations in cost between areas. However, it has been shown that there are weak correlations between expenditure on services and needs indicators, the implication being that needs factors have only a weak effect when indicators of other causal factors are controlled.

Secondly, the pattern of spending shows continuity over a long period. The system of grants after the war was superimposed on a system where extremes of poverty and wealth were great. The poverty of many authorities caused them to provide a lower standard of service than others. The ensuing poor demand for the service was generated by low citizen expectations, itself a result of the past poor supply of services. Thus, as B. Davies points out in his critique of the R.S.G.

'It is quite likely that some areas still have low standards of provision and outcomes because they were poor and so underprovided in the past. Thus, the grants system may discriminate against those authorities whose standards of service have long been lowest.'¹⁷

Judged by uniform national criteria, the poorer areas seem to need higher expenditures on the historically

under provided services than others and it is therefore likely that it is the neediest authorities which under provide. As the amount of local authority spending that comes from the R.S.G. increases, it becomes more important that the distribution of the grant is fair and provides a realistic compensatory distribution.

Chapter 6 deals with the implications of this in relation to Gateshead.

The Loan Sanction System

Local authority capital expenditure, controlled through a system of loan sanctions, is used to finance those projects which deal with long term expenditure. The central government controls the total level of spending, through procedures set up by the Local Government Act 1933. In 1970, the procedure was modified by Circular 2/70. Previously, the Government had to grant loan sanction for all projects individually, before the local authority could start. The new system was introduced to provide -

A greater freedom to local authorities in planning their capital expenditure.... to simplify administrative procedures by eliminating the need for individual loan consents.... to improve the Government's ability to monitor the total level and main trends of expenditure while reducing its detailed control of individual projects.¹⁸

Local authority expenditure is divided into 1) Key Sector Schemes, 2) Control free schemes, and 3) Locally determined schemes. The Government decides the total amount of money available in a given year for the Key sector and Locally determined schemes. The total amount of locally determined money is fixed by the Secretary of State each year. From the total, is subtracted the amount of money that local authorities can raise without borrowing. The remainder is allocated

on a formula basis to individual local authorities. The Key sector money has to be bidden for by local authorities, by submitting a list of projects to the relevant department for approval.

In Education, capital spending is mainly confined to the building of new schools and repairs to existing ones. The D.E.S. exercises control over this through the building programmes, that are submitted to the Department each year. The Secretary of State indicates which kinds of projects will be given priority and how much money will be allocated each year for 'Major buildings' and 'Minor Capital Works'. For the minor capital works, the local authorities receive an annual allocation to use at their discretion. The D.E.S. has to give specific agreement to major projects over £40,000. The process of decision-making concerning what projects will be allowed begins $2\frac{1}{2}$ years before the actual building can begin. The submitted projects are reviewed and cuts made, depending on the country's economic circumstances, until a design list is drawn up from which a definite programme of building is decided.

There is no allocation of actual money from central to local funds, the Secretary of State merely states how much the local authorities may spend of their own borrowed money. This has become the Government's method of controlling the total capital investment which it will allow on educational buildings. However, it should be noted that there is no way that the D.E.S. can give direct incentive for the local authorities to spend money on what are considered to be desirable aims. The local authorities are free to spend as little as they wish on educational major schemes and therefore the system can only succeed as long as the total amount of building allowed is less than the authorities want to provide. As there is no control on the minimum required capital expenditure, only the maximum, one is led to question the Government's motives behind grant-

ing loan sanctions to local authorities.

The annual sum is intended to bear some relation to the physical needs of the education service, but is more a measure of the country's situation. As D. Birley suggests:

'It is an annual lottery, fluctuating according to immediate pressures.'¹⁹

The careful control of local authority spending and borrowing by the central government and the regulating of the amount of loans available, serves as a useful tool in the management of the national economy. The original paternalistic ambitions of the scheme, designed to help local authorities keep their debts down to manageable proportions, have been overridden by the usefulness of the scheme in providing a means of financial control over the local authorities.

3. Mechanisms of Government Control

Financial control is but one aspect of the system of government control over the local authorities of this country. It is unquestionably the most important, as all other controls stem ultimately from financial decisions made by the Government. Public expenditure is limited by resources, and all other decisions have to be taken in the light of these limitations.

The Government is responsible for laying down broad social and economic criteria and the local authorities must confirm to these criteria. In order to ensure this, the local authorities are subject to three main controls - legislative, judicial and administrative. Both the legislative and the administrative controls reflect the will of the Ministers of central government. Judicial control is separate, but the Ministers have the right to amend any local government law, by

parliamentary majority, of which they dislike the judicial interpretation. In this way, the Ministers 'hold the reins' for all national supervision of local governments. The three main controls are briefly discussed below.

i. Legislative Control

Parliament may confirm or deny any powers or services to a local authority, which itself has no powers, other than those conferred on them by statute. The Councils which have been directly incorporated by Acts of Parliament are themselves statutory corporations and as such, are subject to the doctrine of ultra vires. If an action is performed for which there is not statutory authority, such an action will be ultra vires (beyond the powers) of the corporation and void. The use of the principle of ultra vires, was described by the Committee of Management of Local Government. They explained that:

Ultra vires, as it operates now has a deleterious effect on local governments because of the narrowness of the legislation governing local authorities activities.²⁰

Although slightly modified by the Local Government Act 1972, the basic principle still remains. A local authority is legally enforced to carry out the general principles of policy decided by national legislation.

A local authority can legally seek powers which are not contained in general legislation by promoting private bills in Parliament. However, it is a complicated and expensive business, and only the richer local authorities can afford the time and expense. It has been suggested that this formidable obstacle race has been set up to ensure that the local authorities remain under central government control.

ii. Judicial Control

The Queen's Bench Division of the High Court still

exercises supervisory jurisdiction over the activities of the local authorities. It can be justified on two main grounds. Firstly, it is impartial and not tied to policy and secondly, it secures public confidence that corruption is not present in the administration of public business, whereas, suspicions of these are always present where administrative control is involved.

iii. Administrative Control

There was no central administrative control of local governments until the appointment of the Poor Law commissioners in 1934. Subsequent control has developed in an unsystematic way, varying between services and local authorities. The variation is largely due to the extent of dependence that a local authority has from grant aid, and rarely from the basis of any coherent view of which tasks are best performed by civil servants and which are best left to the discretion of the local authority. In Education, policies made in Whitehall stem largely from decisions made by administrative civil servants, rather than from the H.M. Inspectors, who have a closer working relationship with the local authority and a far greater knowledge of the education service at a local level.

Government departments carry out detailed supervision of the work of local authorities, most of which is authorised specifically by statute. The Ministers of individual departments are responsible for co-ordinating all local action and planning and for bringing them into line with national standards. This responsibility is a means of control over the local authority services, as can clearly be seen in the Education Act 1944, where wide powers are given to the Minister of Education by generalised wording.

The Minister of Education has the duty to promote the education of the people of England

and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose and to secure the operative execution of Local Authorities under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive education service in every area.²¹

This control is reinforced by the requirements of certain acts e.g. Education Act 1944, for local authorities to submit their plans and proposals for approval by the appropriate department and to submit all annual returns of income and expenditure.

Because of legal control and the threat of financial sanctions the local authorities are acting as agents for the will of the Ministers. This impression is supported by section 68 of the Education Act 1944, which authorises that if the Secretary of State is satisfied that any local education authority -

"has acted, or is proposing to act unreasonably" he may,

"give such directions as to the exercise of the power or the performance of the duty as appears to him to be expedient".²²

It is this section of the act which gave rise to the publicized Tameside affair during 1976. The dispute began in May, 1976, when the Conservatives won control of Tameside Metropolitan Borough. They pledged to retain the area's five grammar schools and began to implement a return to selection procedures, but were restrained by a directive from Mulley, Secretary of Education at that time, under the Section 68 of the Education Act 1944. Despite support for the Minister by Lord Widgery and two other judges in the Divisional Court, the case went eventually to the House of Lords, where Tameside sought to show that the Minister had misdirected himself in reaching his decision to act under Section 68. The House of Lords decided that

Mulley had been acting unlawfully in directing the Council to go comprehensive and Tameside council therefore returned to the educational system of grammar schools and selection procedures in September 1976.

The struggle was not one of comprehensive vs. selection for secondary schools but one of the local authority vs. the Minister of Education and his power. If seen in this way, one cannot but be impressed by the tenacity of Tameside in achieving a victory over the Minister's power. Regardless of whether their victory is a good one for the education system as a whole, there can be no doubt that they succeeded in breaking through the barrier that had for so long divided the power of the Ministers from the subordinate local authorities.

Because of the lack of previous Labour statutory educational legislation, the 1944 Act, framed long before comprehensive education was ever considered has become a battle ground between local and national interests on matters that are beyond the scope of the 1944 Act. The Education Act of 1944 spoke of "the national policy for Education", without defining what the policy was to be. It has had to be assumed that the policy has to be decided and redefined from time to time, depending on the Minister who is responsible for educational policy at any point in time.

The Minister is also responsible for Departmental circulars which amplify and explain the provisions of various acts to the local authorities, explain changes in government financial policy and communicate the Department's attitudes towards specific economic and financial measures, in order that the local authority should be aware of the Department's likely response to local authority proposals. These circulars and regulations serve as further control over the local authorities. Though often subtle in their wording the underlying threat of sanctions still remain present.

One of the oldest types of central supervision is the use of inspection. Four local authority services are subject to inspection; police, fire, education and children. The H.M. Inspectors of schools visit all educational establishments and the grant in aid is dependent on a satisfactory certificate of efficiency from the Inspectorate. The two major aspects of their duties are to ensure that local services are efficient and standards are maintained and secondly, they advise local authorities on matters of technique and policy improvement. In theory, the provision of H.M. Inspectors means a high standard of education has to be maintained by the local authority, but in practice, this can lead to the local educational system being under the control of the Inspectors, in that any new ideas carried out by a school which run contrary to the ideas of the Inspectorate may lead to financial sanctions being imposed on that school and local authority.

Some government departments e.g. D.E.S. also exercise control over the appointment, dismissal and payment of certain officers. No L.E.A. can appoint a Chief Education Officer without first consulting the Minister of Education, who has the right to veto the appointment. This has been justified on the grounds that it would remove the possibility of any local pressure affecting the quality of the service or the officer's security of tenure. However, it may serve as one more means of undermining local discretion and providing one more weapon for controlling local authority action.

We have seen in this chapter the methods by which finance is distributed to local authorities and the discriminatory effects that these can have, especially in local authorities with backgrounds of poverty. The implications are looked at in Chapter 6. Implicit in these mechanisms are strong elements of control, increasing with the increase in the grant from the Government to the local authorities. The Government

also has considerable legal control over local authorities which becomes overt in situations where the control is questioned by the local authorities.

The mechanisms of distribution are anachronistic; they were imposed on an unequal system and have continued to reinforce that system ever since. In so far as the unequal regional and local situation was a reflection of the economic and social structure of the country, it would be difficult to argue against the conclusion that the present processes of resource distribution have served to reinforce and perpetuate an unequal socio-economic structure.

The local authorities provide the key to the processes of resource allocation and the decision makers within that context who are responsible for the ultimate distribution of resources. The focus of the study therefore moves to the local authority level, the education department within it and the people who make the choices at the local level.

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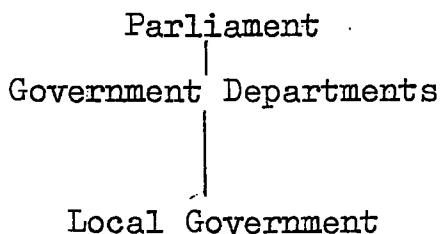
CHAPTER FOUR

Allocation of Education Resources:The Role of the Local Authority1. The Relationship between the Government and the Local Authorities.

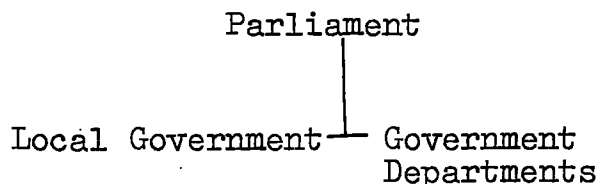
The control of local authority expenditure is at the core of the relationship between central and local government and hence, it affects the basic constitutional position of local government.¹

This relationship, between the Government and local authorities has become the focus of a number of studies, for it is only by understanding this relationship that it is possible to understand how the present system of finance allocation to local authorities has developed and been controlled.

Two contrasting patterns are posited when considering this relationship. On the one hand, the pattern is seen as a partnership of colleagues in a joint enterprise and on the other, it is seen as a principal-agent arrangement in which the principal has ultimate power over the subordinate agent. The two patterns are shown diagrammatically below:



The Principal-Agent Arrangement



The Partnership Arrangement

The two principles were originally formulated in the nineteenth century by E. Chadwick² and J. Toulmin-Smith³. E. Chadwick argued for strong central control, proclaiming it to be 'reason, which stands in the place of will'. A few years later, J. Toulmin-Smith, writing on local self government and centralisation, argued for equality with Parliament.

'All local affairs of common interest should be administered and controlled by true, practical institutions of local self-government'.⁴

The two contrasting patterns are still subject to controversy over one hundred years later.

The central government tend to speak in terms of partnership, especially when they wish to be tactful in certain circumstances. In considering the 'Future Shape of Local Government Finance', the White Paper suggested that:

'The right financial framework will be one in which central and local government can act as partners in promoting the welfare of the citizen, each exercising its proper responsibilities with the minimum of overlap and potential conflict'.⁵

The partner relationship was also implicit in the Government's White Paper on 'Proposals for Reorganisation of Local Governments'⁶, where it suggested that the move to larger units would lead to 'a vigorous local democracy', able to exercise their own responsibilities. They suggested a move towards increasing power for the local authorities.

'Authorities must be given real functions with powers of decision and the ability to take action without being subjected to excessive regulation by central government through financial or other controls'.⁷

On the one hand, therefore, the Government is seeking to preserve and strengthen the financial responsibility

of the local government and minimise detailed intervention by central departments, whilst on the other, the real situation shows that the independence of the local authorities is seriously undermined by their reliance on financial help from the Government.

The claim for clear independence for local authorities was stated by the Local Authority Manpower Committee in 1951.

Local authorities are responsible bodies, competent to discharge their own functions... and exercise their responsibilities in their own right, not ordinarily as agents of government departments. It follows that the object should be to leave as much as possible to the local authorities and to concentrate the department's control at key points where it can be most effectively discharged.⁸

The Committee of Management of Local Government also recommended that the local authorities should be given more say in how they spend their money. They stated that,

'local authorities, subject to certain safeguards, should be given a general competence to do whatever in their opinion is in the interests of their area or its inhabitants'.⁹

In their conclusion they said -

'The need for central government control over local authorities capital investment and of their borrowing is necessary as part of central control of the national economy, but that this control should be used only for fiscal and economic purposes and not to hamper the discretion of local authorities in the development of their services, nor to impose the will of the departments on designs and technical or administrative considerations in schemes and projects.'¹⁰

The Association of Municipal Corporations continued this theme in their 1968 report.¹¹ They found it questionable whether the central government rather than the local

authority really was better qualified to decide how capital resources should be channelled. The Royal Commission on local government also advocated greater freedom for the local authority capital spending although it saw that the central Government should be involved with certain aspects.

'We recognise that the central government must concern itself with at least three aspects of local authority investment. 1. Total investment. 2. Amount spent on each of the major services. 3. Compliance with national standards of provision in those services....subject to those limitations, authorities should have the widest possible discretion'.¹²

Despite these recommendations, the controls from central government appear to have strengthened over the past twenty years, with the transference of responsibility for certain public services from the local authorities to the central Government. Having carried out these transfers, the Government still talks of moves towards increased central control in the following way:

'Any substantial move in this direction would conflict with the Government's objective of devaluing power from central to local government and should only be considered where there are over~whelming arguments which make the change necessary'.¹³ *devolving*

The Government's ambiguous position and the confusion which stems from this has become a reflection of actual practice. In the 1930's W. Robson, writing on the relations of central and local government suggested that in this country we had never had any clear idea as to the principles which should govern the relationship. He pointed out that:

'We have merely drifted along, adopting whatever expedient seemed practical at the time.... the result is the relation-

ship is full of inconsistencies and absurdities and unnecessary restrictions which lead to inefficient, clumsy, and slow administration'.¹⁴

Forty years later, the relationship is still described in the same terms.

'It is no exaggeration to say that the present pattern of relations between national and local government is everything that it should not be'.¹⁵

The lack of clear definition and attempt at reappraisal of the system stems from the undefined positions of the two parties. Although the government parties may prefer a clear principal - agent relationship, this would mean an extension of its present role of inspecting and control to a far more vulnerable, politically insecure one of being actively responsible for the provision of services. The local authorities, on the other hand, may wish for their own independence, but have no desire to be cut off from their source of extra finance. To do this, would result in a local authority being proudly independent, but completely lacking in power.

The real problem lies in the Government's power in determining national policy and the strength of government departments in seeing that the policy is carried out. Local authorities become merely agents in putting the policies into practice. Therefore as O. Hartley explains:

'On policy matters there is an inherent potentiality for conflict which is incapable of resolution'.¹⁶

In educational policy making, this political conflict

affects, as D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher point out:

'the level of funding of the education service and spending priorities. It concerns all educational policies and every aspect of the day-to-day running and decision making of the local education authority'.

The relationship between the Government and local authorities has been thrown into relief during the 1970s because of the increasing concern about the national economy and the need to control public expenditure. As the system of finance allocation between the Government and local authorities forms the core of the relationship, the need for specific control over local authorities has been emphasized in order to contain local spending and bring it into line with national objectives.

But what does this relationship mean in real terms? How does it affect the actual workings of the local authority, especially the local education authority? Although the relationship between central and local government is a tight one, it has already been seen that there exists a number of disparities in spending and provision levels between local authorities and between regions. This would lead to the assumption that despite administrative control, local education authorities had considerable freedom in their choice of spending in education. However, the powers and duties of a local education authority are

exercised only in accordance with regulations laid down by the Secretary of State for Education.

In terms of actual expenditure, a local authority is controlled mainly by government legislation. As Mr. Peston and M. David have argued:

'central government has kept a firm hold over the local education authorities and attempted to standardise provision and allocation of resources'.¹⁸

The National Union of Ratepayers Association, giving evidence to the Layfield Committee, made this very clear when they said:

'standards of design, construction and staffing are laid down by the Government, staff salaries are negotiated nationally and the number, nature, siting and timing of new schools are effectively decided by the D.E.S.... few relatively trivial matters are really under local control.'¹⁹

The actual percentage of money that a local education authority has complete freedom to distribute is very small. The Society of Education Officers, discussing options for economies in education spending, identified only a vulnerable margin of 15% of educational expenditure as being capable of manipulation.

Analysis of annual revenue estimates show how little leeway there is for local authority discretion in allocating educational expenditure. (See Table 4.1)

Table 4.1

Breakdown of Local Authority Annual Revenue Estimates

Item	Expenditure	Comments
Teachers' salaries including super-annuation and national insurance	45.0%	The Burnham Committee determines salary levels (with some local discretion over above-scale allowances). The number of teachers employed (in schools) is largely determined by a quota fixed by the DES
Other salaries and wages	15.0%	Most scales are fixed by national bodies. Numbers are controlled by Establishment Committee
Premises and grounds: repair and maintenance	02.5%	To some extent discretionary but a certain minimum is of course essential
Fuel, Light, Water, Cleaning Materials	03.5%	To some extent discretionary but a certain minimum is of course essential
Rent and rates	03.5%	Inevitable
Debt charges	10.5%	Inevitable
Food, milk etc.	04.0%	Inevitable
Adjustments with other authorities	01.0%	Inevitable
Aid to pupils and students	07.5%	Mostly paid according to national scales: in large part according to national regulation
Equipment; books, stationery and materials	04.5%	
Furniture, repair and replacement	00.3%	
Improvements to buildings and furniture	00.7%	
Other expenses	<u>02.0%</u>	
	<u>100.0%</u>	

(Source: D. Birley. The Education Officer and his World, 1970 p. 30)

However, there does exist a pattern of education resource disparity between areas and J. Pratt et al suggest that:

'the responsibility and discretion given to local authorities are enough to make the pattern of education quite different from one authority to another'.²⁰

Within this area of flexibility it must therefore be possible to create circumstances that may lead to resource disparities. It is in this area that the wealthier local authorities find themselves able to take advantage of the freedom and may provide extra resources that the poorer local authorities would be unable to provide even if they wished.

Expenditure on teachers' salaries has important marginal flexibilities. Although the quota system prescribes the maximum number of teachers that each local education authority can employ and national salary scales prescribe how much they are to be paid, both are open to manipulation. The quota system prescribes the maximum number of teachers each local education authority can employ; they may employ fewer if they wish and this is becoming more common in the present financial circumstances, especially in poorer local authorities. As part-time and temporary staff are not included in the quota system, wealthier authorities can increase their staff to a limit of their choosing by extra employment of part-time staff. Alternatively, poorer authorities may cut down further on their numbers of teachers by withdrawing any opportunities for part-time teacher employment.

In terms of salaries, although the range is decided nationally, a local education authority has discretion in deciding at which grades teaching posts should be offered. A major problem is, what

D. Pyle refers to as 'the unimaginative uniform salary structure imposed by the D.E.S..²¹ In order to attract teachers to areas of, for instance, industrial conurbations, D. Pyle suggests that:

'there is a greater need for variation in payment to ensure uniform quality of staffing between areas'.²²

However, although the E.P.A. and S.P.S. schemes have gone some way towards meeting this aim on the local school level, local education authorities in unattractive areas are often those which lack the extra finance needed to offer as incentives to attract more high quality teachers.

Capital programming, like the teachers' quota is also a maximum control. Although local education authorities cannot spend more than their capital allocation provides, they may spend as little as they wish, providing that they fulfil their legal requirements to provide sufficient places for their resident children. Comparison of debt charges in Chapter 2 showed the variations between areas of the country, with some northern local authorities e.g. Gateshead and West Hartlepool being far below the national average.

In other areas of local education authority expenditure, DES control is virtually absent. A local education authority can spend as much or as little as it wishes on books, equipment and stationery; furniture and fittings; inservice training of teachers or school transport. Variation in provision levels can be influenced by the local education authority even though a large proportion of expenditure is undeniably difficult to vary.

Quantative research has gone some way to show this. N. Boaden²³ showed significant variations in patterns

of expenditure on education and other services which could not be merely explained by differences in local authority needs and points to a correlation between higher education spending and Labour controlled councils. This point is also made by D. Byrne and W. Williamson²⁴ in their study of local policy and education provision, in which they suggest that Labour controlled councils spend a higher proportion of finance on education, especially the primary sector.

E. Byrne,²⁵ in a study of three local education authorities, suggests that local discretion has decreased progressively since 1945, but also shows that the local education authorities have had a certain amount of freedom in making expenditure decisions at the local level. In fact, many government exhortations or instructions to economize were ignored or accepted by the local education authorities as only token obedience, the situation made more difficult since the change from specific to general grants.

Local Authority Spending: Freedom and Control.

We have seen that the local authority is to some extent constrained by political and financial aspects of the relationship between the central government and the local authorities. These constraints have left only limited freedom within which the local education authority can act and yet this freedom does allow discrepancies of resource levels to continue.

The 1970's have brought about a new stage in the importance of local authority decision making. The 1960's were years of general consensus about educational objectives and priorities. Education ideas gained momentum as politics seemed to recede. While finance was in plentiful supply, the relationship between local authorities and the central government flourished. However, the 1970's have seen education with-

in a changing context. The Government lowered education in their list of priorities of social services. Education was no longer seen as a cure of economic ills nor as an investment for the economic future of the country, as it had been during the halcyon days of the 1960's. Within education, priorities were changing and political parties disagreed over the basic structure of the education system. The harmony of the 1960's was over. During the early 1970's the DES was moving from a previous uniformity in regulations towards an acceptance of greater variance in local authority needs and capabilities. As mistrust of central government grew, opportunities for political manoeuvring within the local authorities increased, accompanied by the strengthening of the local authority as an entity following local authority reorganisation in 1974.

The 1970's have also seen the advent of the public expenditure cuts, which have emphasised education's changing position as a local authority service. Inevitably, as the authority's largest service, education has become an inescapable subject in political considerations and has shown that the process of resource allocation may be seen substantially as a political process. The decision maker within this process has therefore become increasingly important, as has his power to decide priorities and manipulate distribution of the increasingly scarce educational resources.

Detailed descriptions of the work of the various important decision makers in a local education authority have been made elsewhere,²⁶ here the interest lies in their position in the decision making process and their ability to manipulate resources within the constraints and legal boundaries imposed on them from central government. How far

can the local decision makers be seen as gatekeepers, manipulating the distribution of scarce resources within the local authority?

- Although an education department is legally obliged to work in specific ways, how it really works is a matter of influence and control within the council and community. Decisions depend on the political make up of the council and local pressures related to specific issues. The education authority has to recognise national policy and meet central government standards for many aspects of the service. It may still set priorities for what is to be provided and controls the flow of resources to the service; these policies being mediated through the education committee. Perhaps, as N. Boaden and R. Alford suggest:

'The timing, scope, funding and distribution of local government services is... far more within the scope of their powers than is commonly recognised in the literature'.²⁷

The choices made in regard to these factors constitute the local policies, which together, signify the range and scope of the local government.

Policies are, as R. Jennings suggests:

'a guide for taking future actions and for making appropriate choices or decisions towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired end....it is the intent of policy makers to change existing conditions in ways which will solve a problem. Policies are normative in that they are statements of what should or ought to be; thus they imply value bases'.²⁸

Policies, then, should be working towards a change in the present situation; a change towards a better system. The definition of what constitutes a better

system, however, lies with the potential participants of the policy making process, each of which could have an impact on policy through the decisions which comprise the process.

The chief participants in the policy making process in local education are the Chief Education Officer, the Chairman of the Education Committee and the Majority Party Leader, who all play a part in the political process of decision making. All three have critical roles to play within the subsystem of the local authority committee structure. R. Jennings's research on education policy making showed that Chief Education Officers are increasingly offering their roles to the local political system, and organising their education departments to move ideas into it.²⁹ By doing this, the C.E.O. is in command of the activities and decisions which support his role as a political participant in initiation and development of policy problems.

?
vague.

The Chairman of the education committee is, R. Jennings considers, the linchpin of the system, holding together the professional and political parts through his role interactions.³⁰ Whilst his committee actions must be in line with his party's aims, he must also bear in mind the ideas and information coming from the officers of the education department. He must tread a very careful path between the department on one hand and his local political party on the other.

The strength of the majority political party in decision making has increased since local authority reorganisation. At one time, education and politics were kept apart. Politics were not expected to intrude into education policy making, indeed, policy decisions were naively clear, - they were simply to provide the best environment for children within the tri-partite system. The move towards comprehensive

education began to establish politics as part of the policy making process. R. Batley, O. O'Brien, and H. Parvis studied educational policy making in two county borough during the process of comprehensive reorganisation in the 1960's³¹. One of the case studies was Gateshead, the town that provides the focus of the study. It is an interesting analysis of the interplay between local politics and the education department. The politics of Gateshead was, in the 1960's and remains the same during the 1970's, dominated by the Labour Party. Labour has had a long and secure tenure of power and has put forward explicit policies in terms of educational priorities. During the comprehensive reorganisation, the local party, through the education committee and the Director of Education, worked together in formulating the comprehensive policy of the Borough. As R. Batley, O. O'Brien and H. Parvis explain, with reference to Gateshead:

'The relationship between politician and administrator in the formation of policy was a partnership. The administrator did not merely carry out precepts inscribed on tablets handed down from high places.'³²

Indeed, the strength of the Labour Party in Gateshead has meant that the relationship between the education department and education committee is long established and based on consensus of objectives.

'You see, the members of the committee are made up of working-class people, so therefore your obvious sympathy lies with your own sort of person and you will have more sympathy inevitably with your own sort'.³³

Pat Murray, member of the education committee, explained the committee priorities and commitment towards helping the working class population of Gateshead.

'I would like to see all primary schools have a nursery class attached.... I want to see more children staying on over the statutory school leaving age.... I would like to see more money spent on youth... but this money has to come out of the education cake and its just not made of elastic'.³⁴

Within the local authority as a whole, there also have to be priorities between the services and as Pat Murray pointed out, Gateshead has a history of neglect to put right. Money is needed for housing just as badly as for education. As she explained:

'Its pointless having a beautiful school and a small teacher : pupil ratio for pupils if when the children go home at four o'clock to a slum house, with no water, no bathroom and no inside lavatory, it negates any progress you can possibly make in education'.³⁵

Within a local authority, priorities of spending are carried out in the policy and resources committee, which has financial control over authority activities. The advent of this committee has meant that service committee chairmen are placed in positions of being defenders rather than advocates of their proposals and as R. Jenning's study showed, education chairmen were concerned about the changing relationship between themselves and the leaders of the political parties in relation to policies and resources.³⁶

Although the involvement of local politics in policy making may provide a more consistent approach to problems, being organised around sets of political principles, the worry is that this approach may lead to doctrinaire solutions rather than pragmatic answers based on a full assessment of local conditions. The worry becomes more intense in situations where the party changes every few years and any consistent approach is lost. This is obviously of importance in

education policy making, where party views and objectives could be so different as to affect the actual structure of the education service.

The relationship between the C.E.O. and the majority party is crucial to the allocation of resources.

J. Eggleston³⁷ suggests that his advice to the political party is only likely to be acceptable if he is able to present it in a form that is consistent with party ideology. He is also constrained by the central government, the competing currents of demands and the bewildering range of local authority management styles. Within these constraints, the C.E.O. has to decide on allocation of resources, knowing that it must be in line with the ideologies of the prevailing political party. Using E. Byrne's³⁸ analysis, J. Eggleston suggests three main headings for local authority resource allocation by education departments:

- 1) Expenditure to maintain the existing system as it is;
- 2) Expenditure to develop the system along lines envisaged when it was set up;
- 3) A small proportion for new developments.

In addition, J. Eggleston suggests a fourth heading is often put into practice.

- 4) Crisis provision - for unforeseen but inescapable items during the year.³⁹

Such a strategy of resource allocation is widespread. Certainly, as Chapter 7 will show, it was a strategy used by Gateshead especially during 1974-1976 when

the expenditure cuts were having a strong effect. J. Eggleston suggests that such a strategy makes life more secure, as it minimizes the political risks. It can also be reinforced by what E. Byrne has called 'defensive reflexes'. They obscure the local politician or administrator from apparent inconsistencies or errors in the allocation of resources. They also minimize the need for change of procedure in subsequent years. They work on the basis that irrefutable evidence of unequal resource levels does not necessarily have any effect on the actual education of the child and so provides a breathing space for those politicians or administrators who could have the power to change the levels of resources but do not.

The local authority emphasis, then, appears to be one of reinforcement, rather than creation, the reinforcement of historical legacies of unequal resource levels. Although individual decision makers within the local context do have certain powers within the constraints of local political ideologies, they are used, more to continue the system rather than to push through change. Indeed, the very constraints that tie them are expanded in the imagery of the policy makers to provide total constraints on effective resource administration and allocation. Yet their positions in resource distribution are vital. E. Byrne⁴⁰ noted the importance of the C.E.O.'s and elected members of the education committees in decision making that determined educational expenditure. She saw many of the priorities in the education services over the past twenty years in certain authorities being chiefly the results of their decisions. These people held positions of power and had the ability to bring about certain changes, especially on the local level. They are not, as D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher explain:

'... simply rational bureaucrats, they are implicated in a political context in

such a way that their actions will influence the distribution of income in the widest sense and life chances'.⁴¹

Far from seeing the decision makers as actively manipulating resources through the policy process in order to provide better resources for their group or class in society, it appears that, through attitudes of resignation, they are merely continuing the system that already exists. But that, in itself is important, as the system that already exists is one in which the decision maker or gatekeeper class is already receiving a larger share of resources; and their inability or unwillingness to change the system is merely a reflection of the way in which the whole process of resource allocation may serve to reinforce and perpetuate the unequal structure that already exists and in doing so, may serve to maintain class differentiation through unequal resource allocation between areas and spatially and socially differentiated groups in society.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Education at the Local level, the case of Gateshead

The spatial dimension of the process of resource distribution centres round the local authority, being the recipient and distributor of the finance required for providing educational resources.

Within the North East of England, a number of local authorities have suffered more than others as a consequence of a century of economic prosperity and subsequent depression. The focus of this study is the local authority of Gateshead, standing on the banks of the Tyne.

Although showing signs of urban deprivation and symptoms of inner city decay, it was not picked because it represents an area of typical urban problems, but because it represents a poor local authority, in financial and historical terms, within an underdeveloped region. The problems that Gateshead experiences are common of poor local authorities throughout the country, both urban and rural; although Gateshead's history is unique to Tyneside and the surrounding areas.

This chapter examines the growth of Gateshead and the growth of its education service. Attention then moves to the present educational situation in the area and the problems and policies of the 1970's.

Although Gateshead as an administrative region has expanded greatly since local authority reorganisation in 1974, the

study area examined in this thesis refers to the former County Borough area. All reference to Gateshead before 1974 refers to the study area. Events since 1974 have naturally affected the whole of the new Metropolitan Borough, but the emphasis of this study still remains within the boundaries of the former County Borough of Gateshead.

1. The Historical Development of Gateshead

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gateshead was a small town on the banks of the Tyne; its potential development stifled by the control of the conservatorship of the Tyne by neighbouring Newcastle. As Tyneside expanded during the nineteenth century so too did Gateshead and its population rose rapidly. By 1858, figures produced by the Borough Surveyor indicated that the population was growing faster than the rate of house building. Many of the one family houses were deteriorating into lodging houses and tenements. During the 1870's and 1880's, considerable housing development took place but the stock of available land soon became exhausted and the older properties fell further into decay.

Commenting on the housing conditions in Tyneside, the Newcastle Daily reported in 1901:

'The great demand for the working classes has offered a temptation to the landlords which they are unable to resist and from cellar to roof, every building is packed with inhabitants'.

Overcrowding and the growth of slums continued to be a major problem in Gateshead until the 1950's. In 1936 a housing survey showed Gateshead to be the second worst county borough in England for overcrowding, with 16% of its population living in overcrowded conditions. During the 1930's, J.B. Priestley visited Gateshead and expressed his feelings about the place in the following way:

'there seemed to be a great deal of Gateshead, the whole town appeared to have been carefully planned by an enemy of the human race in its more exuberant aspects. No true civilisation could have produced such a town, which is nothing better than a huge dingy dormitory'.¹

By 1942, over 5,600 people were living in property scheduled for demolition, as the building programme could not cope with the numbers of new houses required. By 1956, over 30% of all families in Gateshead were living in overcrowded conditions. Because of the lack of space available, within the borough boundaries, Gateshead became one of the first towns to use multi-storey flats. However, realisation that vertical living provided numerous social problems meant a re-evaluation of the housing programme and the development of more conventional estates in the southern area of Gateshead, together with the building of 'villages' within Gateshead. St. Cuthberts Village was consequently built on the banks of the Tyne. Today, Gateshead represents a jumble of different housing concepts and styles; from the victorian terrace houses and Tyneside flats to the higherized apartments and village developments of the 1960's and 1970's. Housing has become one of Gateshead's chief priorities for spending and between 1946 and 1970, the local authority built over 10,000 new homes, three times the national average rate.

Commenting on Gateshead's replanning policy D. Bean made a significant point:

By far the most endearing thing about the whole of Gateshead's replanning policies is that it is leaving its new civic centre until its housing, roads and shopping centre are done. Until there's some sort of life at least for its ratepayers to live. Gateshead has its priorities right.²

In the economic sphere, Gateshead suffered badly from the industrial depression of the 1920's and 1930's. Many of the labour intensive industries closed and unemployment reached a peak of over 12,000 in 1932, following the

closure of the railway works. In 1934, Tyneside was one of the depressed areas investigated by the Ministry of Labour. The report³ stressed the effects that the depression was having on towns like Gateshead and concluded that the root of the problem lay in the local rating system. It recommended the removal of the unequal rate burden imposed on local authorities because of unemployment and the clearance of derelict sites. Indeed, in 1934 Gateshead was paying out 45% of its collected rate on public assistance.

The town's rateable value at that time was only £521,226, with a population of 122,447. In comparison, Newcastle, with just over twice the population had a rateable value of £2,340,043, over four times that of Gateshead. In a study of local expenditure carried out by the National Institute of Economics and Social Research⁴ in 1943, rate disparities throughout the country were studied for the year 1938 - 39. In terms of actual rate poundages levied, Gateshead was seen as a 'recognisably poor local authority' with a rate poundage of between 16s and 17s. This compared with only 7s - 8s for Bournemouth, Eastbourne and Southport. When rates per head of population were compared, Gateshead came low on the list with between £3.10s and £3.15s per head, compared with over £6 for Eastbourne and Manchester. Local authorities like Gateshead, Stoke on Trent and Dudley with imposing high poundages got a receipt per head far below the norm.

Following the Local Government Act of 1929, local authorities were given an annual block grant, in order to diminish the burden of the rates. When this block grant was added to the local authority receipt from the rates it was be expected that most local authorities would come out with equal expenditure per head of population. This was, however, some distance from reality. While Gateshead now received between £4.15s and £5 per head, towns like Manchester and Eastbourne received over £7.5s per head. As the report of the National Institute of Economics and Social Research explained

'The block grant does something to give help where it is needed, yet applied as it has been applied up to the present, it has not changed the problem of inequality of resources.'⁵

They go on to suggest that any comparison between local authorities on this basis may be seriously misleading as it takes no account of differences in need. A town may appear to receive a high proportion of finance, but this need not necessarily mean that it is a rich local authority, for it takes no account of the fact that it may be obliged to spend abnormally high amounts on specific services; poor relief payment being a case in point and Gateshead a good example of a town paying out nearly half of its finance on public assistance.

Additional finance from elsewhere was also lacking. The recommendations of the 1934 report had required government money, which was very slow in coming. Private capital showed little interest; a point brought out by the report on special areas in the same year. The Government had appointed a Commissioner of Special Areas, whose first report underlined this point. Commenting on depressed towns like Gateshead, it said:

'The very fact that they are distressed not only reduces their power to attract industries, but to some extent reacts on the inhabitants themselves who seem to have partially lost confidence in their own districts. This is evidenced by the difficulty in obtaining a moderate amount of finance locally to establish industries'.⁶

In 1935, the North East Development Board was set up and recommended the establishment of trading estates and increased government influence on the location of industry. In 1936, the North East Trading Estates Ltd., was formed and a 700 acre site in Team Valley was selected for development. The development plan envisaged a 400 factory sites with 15,000 people employed, in order to benefit the unemployed of Tyneside.

By 1973, the Team Valley trading estate employed nearly

20,000 workers (12,200 males and 6,800 females), nearly half of the employed of Gateshead. Table 5.1 shows the breakdown of the Gateshead labour market for 1975.

Nearly half are employed in the manufacturing industries. Unemployment stands at 9%, the average for all of Tyneside.

Table 5.1

The Gateshead Labour Market, broken down by type of employment, 1975.

000's	Males	females	Total
Primary industries (farming, mining)	2.4	0.4	2.8
Manufacturing	17.9	8.2	26.0
Construction	2.7	0.2	2.9
Gas, Electricity, etc.	0.8	0.1	0.9
Distributive Industries	3.0	3.6	6.6
Miscellaneous Services	1.2	2.8	4.0
Public Administration	2.2	1.2	3.3
Other service industries	4.3	4.5	8.8
Totals	34.5	20.9	55.3

(Source: Department of Employment, regional office, Newcastle. 1975)

2. The Development of the Education Service

The mixed economic fortunes of Gateshead have been matched by the mixed development of the education system in Gateshead. Despite the growth of slums in the 1830's, a quarter of the children ages 3 - 13 in Gateshead at that time were receiving some form of elementary education. By 1851, this had risen to $\frac{2}{3}$'s. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 established school boards to make up for local deficiencies in school places. After Manchester, Liverpool and Rochdale, Gateshead became the fourth town in the country to elect a school board.

By the 1920's, the population of Tyneside had greatly increased and the existing schools became overcrowded. H. Mess showed the extent of this overcrowding in a table in his book on Industrial Tyneside⁷, reproduced below.

Table 5.2

Numbers and Percentages of classes of different sizes in public elementary schools, 1925 - 26

	Size of Class					
	Under 40		41 - 50		Over 50	
Gateshead	131	27.1%	187	38.6%	166	34.3%
Newcastle	155	16.2%	360	37.7%	441	46.1%
Tynemouth	74	32.0%	76	32.9%	81	35.1%
South Shields	142	29.2%	212	43.6%	132	27.2%
English County Boroughs	17,240	40.0%	16,158	37.5%	9,695	22.5%

(Source: H. Mess, Industrial Tyneside, 1928, p. 119)

Gateshead showed consistently worse conditions than the average for county boroughs, although other areas on Tyneside fared even worse than Gateshead. With nearly three-quarters of its classes having over 40 children, the teacher pupil ratio for the town was 36:1, compared with the county borough average of 33:1.

As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, at this time the local authorities in the North East were spending comparatively less on educational expenditure than other areas of the country. Between 1904 and 1927, Gateshead built no new schools and by 1925, Gateshead was spending only £9.17s 1d per pupil per year, nearly £2 less than the average for similar local authorities and was one of only fifteen county boroughs in England and Wales to spend less than £10 per pupil in 1925 - 26.

This low spending was a reflection of the poor financing system that was operating at the time. As E. Dyer⁸ pointed out, many of the Tyneside towns were in serious difficulty with low rateable values and high numbers of school children. This led to the local authorities being

'compelled to raise their rates to almost prohibitive levels to maintain their services, at a bare minimum of efficiency'.⁹

A disparity grew up between local authorities both within the North East and between the North East and the rest of the country, as the system of financing the public services led to serious problems of inequality of resources.

Between 1926 and 1938, the population on Tyneside declined by over 10.5%, a decrease of 92,158 persons, chiefly due to migration out of the North East. This took the pressure off the education system, as Gateshead was now catering for less children. In line with recommendations from the Hadow Report (1926), 42.6% of children under eleven were now taught in reorganized classes (national average = 42.7%), but under 30% of children over eleven were in reorganised classes (national average = 38.8%). Numbers per class also fell, and by 1938, 39% of all children in Gateshead were taught in classes of over 40 children, compared with 73%, ten years earlier. Many areas on Tyneside were comparatively worse, as Table 5.3 shows. All local authorities in the North-East, with the exception of Jarrow and Felling were over 12% higher than the average for England and Wales.

Table 5.3

Percentages of Elementary School Children in Classes of 40 Pupils or more. 1938

	% children in classes 40 pupils
Gateshead	38.9%
Newcastle	52.5%
Wallsend	44.2%
Tynemouth	53.3%
South Shields	50.2%
Jarrow	18.0%
Hebburn	47.1%
Felling	24.1%
England and Wales	30.6%

(Source: Goodfellow. Tyneside the Social Facts, 1941, p. 65.)

Following the 1944 Education Act, in which every local education authority was asked to submit a development plan for primary and secondary education, Gateshead produced their plan in 1951. Commenting on the existing schools in use, the plan pointed out that

'the buildings which were erected through the efforts of the voluntary bodies or the school board follow the well known and easily recognisable pattern of the solidly built, dark and.... inconvenient type'.¹⁰

The lack of adequate provisions was also noted:-

'they are seriously deficient in suitable cloak-room and lavatory accommodation, have no playing fields and small irregular shaped playing spaces, not infrequently sloping steeply or indeed, divided up into small areas of different levels'.¹¹

Using regulations prescribed by the Ministry of Education, the plan included a table for primary and secondary school site deficiencies for the County Borough. Table 5.4 shows the existing sites and deficits.

Table 5.4

Primary and Secondary Schools: Sites and Deficits
1951 (acres)

Primary	Existing Sites		Sites Required		Deficit	
	Buildings	Playing Fields	Buildings	Playing Fields	Building	Playing Fields
County	26		107	87	81	89
Voluntary	8	1	22	19	14	18
Total	34	1	129	108	95	107
<u>Secondary</u>						
County	4	2	61	232	57	230
Voluntary	4		17	71	13	11
Total	8	2	78	303	70	301
Totals	42	3	207	411	165	408

(Source: Development Plan 1951. Gateshead Education Committee.)

The County Borough required a total of 573 acres, of which 408 acres were needed for playing fields. At this time, existing playing fields covered only 3 acres. Because of the high density of population the lack of space available for extra building, and the need for 400 acres for playing fields, the development plan explained that

'it can be stated that the possibility of providing the whole of this area within the existing boundaries of the Borough is so remote as to be outside practical consideration'.¹²

Any space that was available, mainly on the town's periphery was to be used for the proposed secondary modern schools as there was no space for four acre sites in town.

The report was also concerned with the low level of grammar school provision explaining:

'It has been recognised for some years that grammar school provision which accomodates 7% of the children is inadequate and proposed provision will rise it to 11.6%'.¹³

Even at this higher figure, it was still 3% lower than the average for England and Wales (14.5%). It was also proposed that 20% of children went to technical schools. Although the report explained that this could be considered somewhat high, it pointed out that this still only accounted for less than one third of children going to selective schools and would only include those children with an I.Q. of over 106. The rest (67.8%) would go to secondary moderns.

The need for new secondary schools was obvious. By 1960, over 40% of thirteen year old pupils in Gateshead were still taught in all-age schools, compared with only 4 - 5% for the rest of the country. Between 1960 and 1965, ten new secondary schools were built, and there were already two large Roman Catholic schools. Table 5.5 shows the schools, dates of building and initial numbers of pupils.

Table 5.5

Secondary Schools: building 1956 - 1966

	Date of Building	Numbers of Pupils
Secondary Moderns:		
Hillhead Boys	1960	450
Hillhead Girls	1960	450
Greenwell Boys	1960	600
Greenwell Girls	1963	600
Beacon Hill Boys	1964	600
Beacon Hill Girls	1964	600
Breckenbeds	1965	<u>600</u>
		3,900

Cont.

Selective Schools:		
Girls Grammar	1956	720
Heathfield Grammar	1961	720
Elgin Technical College	1962	650
Boys Grammar (reoused)	1963	<u>720</u>
		2,810

Despite the agreement in 1958 by the Education Committee on the principle of comprehensive education for the area, it appears that the building programme reflected no conscious policy decision concerning the switch to comprehensives in the near future. It was only in 1964, when the building programme was virtually completed that reorganisation was considered. Commenting on the establishment of comprehensives in 1964, the Gateshead Post said:

'The secondary school system in the town had to be completed before the committee could embark on a scheme of this sort'.¹⁴

Because of the size and location of the new secondary schools, a two tier structure of comprehensives was proposed, with junior and senior high schools.

The details for the change to comprehensive education were published in a pamphlet written by the Education Committee in 1967.¹⁵ The junior high schools took pupils from eleven to fourteen and the senior high schools from fourteen onwards. The comprehensives are now as follows:

Junior High
Schools

Senior High
Schools

transfer:

Hillhead
Brekenbeds
Beacon Hill
Greenwell

Avenue Road
Heathfield
Elgin
Dryden

The move to comprehensive education in Gateshead was rapid. By 1971, Gateshead had eight comprehensives, in which over

80% of the thirteen year olds of the area were being educated. Compared with the rest of the country, the system in Gateshead was well advanced, as Table 5.6 shows.

Table 5.6

Percentage of thirteen year old pupils in comprehensive education. 1968 - 1973.

	Gateshead		North		England and Wales	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
1968	-	-	17.2	17.6	20.6	20.1
1970	80.4	81.7	32.5	34.5	31.3	30.7
1973	81.3	73.5	57.7	51.2	48.2	47.3

(Source: D.E.S. Statistics of Education. Vol. 1. Schools 1968, 1970, 1973.)

After local authority reorganisation in 1974, Gateshead Metropolitan District became responsible for an extra 72 primary schools and ten secondary schools.

Teachers increased from 842 to 2056 and pupils from 17,342 to 42,357. Reorganisation strengthened the financial base of the authority. Rateable value per head increased from £41.18 in 1973 - 74 to £90.78 in 1975 - 76. However, Gateshead still remains poorer than many other authorities in the country.

In 1974 - 75, the product of the 1p rate for Gateshead produced only £4.51. This compares with the average for Metropolitan areas of £5.50 and over £10 for some London and South East local authorities. In terms of overall expenditure on education, table 5.7 shows that Gateshead spends considerably less on education than other areas of the country.

Table 5.7

Local Authority Costs per pupil. 1974 - 1975

	Primary	Secondary
Gateshead	£208.38	£335.99
Tyne and Wear	£223.8	£342.4
Average Metropolitan Areas	£215.2	£343.8
Average England and Wales	£226.8	£365.6

(Source: C.I.P.F.A. Education Statistics 1974 - 1975.)

Gateshead's spending is 8% lower than the national average. This is not reflected in pupil teacher ratios, however, which have continued to improve in Gateshead during the 1960's and 1970's. Table 5.8 shows the actual figures.

Table 5.8

Pupil teacher ratios 1963 - 1975 in Gateshead

	1963 - 1964		1972 - 1973		1974 - 1975	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Gateshead	31	20	27	16.8	23.6	17.4
England and Wales	29	19	25.5	17.0	23.9	17.0

(Source: C.I.P.F.A. and I.M.T.A. Educational Statistics, 1963 - 1975)

Despite this continued improvement the 1970 report - Challenge of the Changing North, part 1 - Education,¹⁶ - showed that many pupils were being taught in outsize classes and Gateshead came far above the national average for primary education although below for secondary education. (See Table 5.9.)

Table 5.9

Percentage of outsize classes in primary and secondary schools 1969.

	outsize classes as percentage of all classes		% of pupils in outsize classes	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Gateshead	20.6	13.0	25.5	20.0
Average for Northern region	10.2	26.3	13.5	38.7
Average for England and Wales	9.5	24.2	12.5	37.6

(Source: N.E.P.C. Challenge of the Changing North. Part 1.)

This reflects the large secondary building programme of the 1960's which provided eight new comprehensives for the area.

Comparison of spending on school supplies (text and library books, stationary, materials and equipment) also shows deficiencies and any economy measures are a matter of concern. In 1966 - 67, G. Taylor and N. Ayres¹⁷ showed Gateshead to be 10% below the appropriate average for spending per pupil on school supplies.

In 1974 - 75, Gateshead was still far below the national average, as table 5.10 shows.

Table 5.10

School Supplies per pupil 1974 - 1975

	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools
Gateshead	5.88	14.0
Tyne and Wear	7.21	16.22
Metropolitan Districts	7.76	17.51
England and Wales	7.90	15.29

(Source: C.I.P.F.A. Education Statistics 1974 - 1975.)

Again, the primary sector is worse than the secondary sector.

In terms of attainment levels, measured by pupils who remain at school beyond sixteen, Gateshead fares worse than most. Only 21.1% of children remained at school in Gateshead after the age of sixteen, compared with 29.6% for the Northern region and 35.1% for all of England and Wales. Of those leaving school at eighteen, smaller proportions went on to further education than either the northern or national average (see Table 5.11).

Table 5.11

Numbers of students going on to further education, 1975
(per 1000's population)

	University	Establish- ments of further education	Colleges of Education
Gateshead	44.8	36.2	41.2
Tyne and Wear	53.9	49.7	44.8
Northern region	54.9	57.1	43.9
England and Wales	74.3	80.2	43.6

(Source: D.E.S. Statistics of Education. Vol. 5. Finance and Rewards. 1975)

This pattern of attainment may be due to the pull of the labour market in the North East or negative attitudes towards further education by the general public. However, as K. Harrop points out it is much more likely to be a reflection of inadequate provision, indeed,

many northern authorities with their weak rateable value base and accumulated consequences of inadequate resources simply cannot afford the levels of spending needed to boost attainment.¹⁸

This follows from the work of D. Byrne, W. Williamson and B. Fletcher¹⁹ who carried out statistical analysis of local education authorities in the country, and of D. Byrne and W. Williamson²⁰ in their detailed observations of selected local authorities in the North. They argue convincingly that variation in educational attainment between local education authorities may be attributable to variations in provision levels and resources between local authorities. In a discussion on education in Gateshead for Open University, Williamson concluded by pointing out that

'the educational life chances of people in Gateshead, whatever their abilities are... limited by the pathways of opportunity which Gateshead can supply and the financial and social constraints of the area'.²¹

3. Present Levels in the Education Service: Problems and Policies.

Following local government reorganisation in 1974, Gateshead Education Department became responsible for a further seventy two primary schools and ten secondary schools. Education priorities and policies had to be changed in line with this new increase in area and child numbers. The newly acquired area had experienced great population increase over the previous few years, in comparison with a decline in population in the former County Borough area. It had been rumoured that County Durham, on finding that it was losing part of its region had not put sufficient priority on the building of new schools in this area to cope with the rising number of school children.

Gateshead was now faced with the problem of providing places for these extra children. The previous policy for the replacement of some of the oldest schools in central Gateshead had to be replaced with a policy for expansion in the new suburbs to the west of Gateshead. As a consequence, of all the new school building since 1974, only two infant schools have been built in central Gateshead,

one of which has since burned down.

Since 1974, the constraints on local authority spending, especially capital spending has meant that the limited finance available has had to be channelled to new areas of priority and many of the old victorian schools in central Gateshead are left with no chance of renovation or renewal in the foreseeable future.

Despite this, in the primary sector of education in Gateshead, the decline in population has led to a surplus capacity in some schools in the former County Borough, where at present there is a surplus of 3547 primary places, which is expected to rise to a surplus of 6114 places by 1981. The position in 1976 for the whole metropolitan Borough was as follows:

Table 5.12

Surplus capacity in Gateshead Primary Schools

	Notional Capacity	No. on roll	Surplus
County Primary	27,000	19,436	7,568
Roman Catholic Primary	5,410	3,850	1,560
Church of England Primary	880	551	329
		Total surplus	<u>9,457</u>

(Source: Gateshead Education Department, 1977)

The official policy is "to secure school accommodation for all children in the Borough at a reasonable number per class". Whilst there is a large surplus of pupil places in some areas of Gateshead this is not reflected in what would be expected to be excellent teacher : pupil ratios. The official local education authority ratio is 23.5 : 1 in primary schools. This compares favourably with the

rest of the country. However, as the next chapter will show, a breakdown into areas within Gateshead and a comparison of class sizes shows that there is a considerable range of ratios and class sizes, a range that the average figure for the whole Metropolitan Borough hides.

In the Borough, the building of secondary schools during the early sixties had led to a worry, later realised, that junior school building would take second place to the priority of secondary schools and become neglected. Between 1950 and 1966 only six primary schools were built. However, between 1966 and 1972, the programme for primary schools was expanded and twelve new primary schools were built. This programme has now been halted as priority changes have come into effect. At present there are 25 primary schools built before 1903 (23% of primary school buildings). The education department's policy on building is understandably vague, considering the present constraints on spending and lack of possible future planning. The general policy is that old schools should be replaced and improved as resources permit. Unfortunately at present, resources do not permit and little change can be anticipated in the future.

In relation to the cutbacks of the 1970's, the Education Department has put staffing ratios and capitation allowances as priorities. The authority allocates £8 per pupil for capitation. However, in terms of resources the cost per pupil in Gateshead stands at £280. (This compares with Newcastle at £330 and the average for Tyne and Wear at £293.)

In secondary education there is at present a major review in progress with a view to making the most effective and efficient use of buildings and facilities in the authority. As in the primary sector, there is a surplus of pupil places. In 1976, it was estimated that 2115 secondary school places would be vacant in central Gateshead, which is expected to rise to 2683 places by 1981.

Although there are at present three split site secondary comprehensives in the Metropolitan Borough, the secondary school buildings and facilities are generally of a good standard. The local authority policy for notional capacity of classes is 30 per class and pupil : teacher ratios are about 17:1. One of the major criticisms of secondary education in Gateshead is the structure of secondary schools in the former County Borough area. Four junior high schools and four senior high schools serve the children in this area, taking children of 11 - 14 and 14 - 16 respectively. Whilst school size is reduced using these structures, it can lead to discontinuity of curriculum, lack of familiarity with teaching staff and an extra break during a child's secondary education. Staff also become unavoidably conditioned into teaching a narrow age range and only limited time to establish a working relationship with the children. An additional problem in Gateshead is the differential preference by parents for certain of the junior high schools. Therefore, although the local education authority policy is for parental choice in deciding which school their children should go to, certain schools e.g. Brekenbeds and Heathfield have very strict catchment areas.

Sixth forms are generally small, with only 286 pupils in the sixth forms of the schools in the study area. As a consequence of this, sixth form facilities are under utilised. The present local education authority policy is "to provide sixth form places within the normal secondary school provision". However, a major review of education for the 16 - 19 year olds is at present being undertaken, with the objective of widening the opportunities of the sixth form curriculum.

Secondary costs per pupil for Gateshead still fall below those of other areas. They stand at £398 per pupil. (This compares with Newcastle at £469 and the average for Tyne and Wear at £431.)

Mention must be made briefly of pre-school provision in

Gateshead as it is an area of education most susceptible to cutbacks and financial constraints. The local authority policy on nursery education is in line with proposals in the White Paper, 'Education: A framework for Expansion'.²² This entailed the provision of nursery classes for most four year olds and some three year olds. Nursery provision usually includes children aged two to five, but Gateshead's view is that it should just be for three to five year olds. The education cuts of the past three years has meant that the policy for nursery expansion has been suspended until new resources are available.

Those nurseries that do exist display severe locational imbalance. The western area of the study area has good nursery provision, while areas of Dunston, Swalwell, Felling/Bill Quay/Wardley and Heworth have very little provision. Policy is to ensure effective distribution throughout the authority, with the ultimate aim being the provision of nursery units in association with each infant school in order that "every child who can benefit from nursery education will have the opportunity to do so".

In terms of expenditure, however, Gateshead ranked 103rd out of 104 local authorities for expenditure per nursery pupil in 1976. (£235 per pupil, Newcastle - £405 and Tyne and Wear £385.) However, it must be noted that this does not include urban aid money spent on nursery classes. In pre-school play groups, Gateshead ranks as second highest spender. (Net expenditure on pre-school play groups per 1,000 population was £523, compared with Newcastle - £483 and all metropolitan areas - £199.)

This irregularity of pre-school spending plus the suspension of further development until new resources are available puts local authority nursery policy in need of a reappraisal. While it is politically advantageous to talk of all children being able to benefit from nursery provision; the areal inequalities already existing, the inequalities of expenditure and the future constraints on spending put the policy ideals in an area of make-believe.

Some areas of Gateshead, with symptoms of urban deprivation have poor, or a complete lack of nursery facilities and will continue to do so.

Indeed, the case of pre-school provision exemplifies many of the major problems facing areas like Gateshead in the 1970's. Unfortunately, nursery education is not compulsory and cannot be held responsible for a later lack of life chances for the individuals concerned. The emphasis must therefore turn to primary education and its problems in an urban area like Gateshead.

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CHAPTER SIX

A Survey of Educational Resources in
Gateshead Primary Schools

1. Survey Background

Chapter two and Chapter five, have shown that there exists a persisting spatial pattern of educational inequality not only between regions but even between local education authorities in the same region. Gateshead has come off comparatively badly, not only in regional terms but also in national terms. However, Gateshead has had a hard and poverty stricken past and this has been reflected in the development of the local education system. The major problem has always been one of finance, or lack of it and this has dogged its development since the early 1900's.

Commenting on the problems of education in Gateshead, Miss M. A. Sproat, Director of Education in 1973, said

'the special difficulties that Gateshead encounters in the field of education are, I suppose, mainly financial. It is certainly not a rich authority and, of course, it has had a difficult history.'

The allocation of resources within Gateshead, an example of a typical poor local authority, depends on a number of interacting factors. Neither the Government or the local authority can be blamed entirely, but both play a significant role in the reinforcement of disparities. In addition to the general financial mechanisms, such as the R.S.G. and loan sanctions, there are also the educational

instruments of salary scales, D.E.S. regulations, teachers quotas and capitation allowances. These have all been influenced by the present constraints on spending and by inflation. Added to these, are local political decisions which may influence allocation, although these can only form one part of the network of influences and cannot be held to be entirely responsible for the continuing disparity of local resources.

- i. To discover the extent of resource disparity within Gateshead, a questionnaire was sent to every primary school in the Metropolitan Borough. Concerned chiefly with the provision of resources, it provided the basis for analysis of different resource levels within the local authority. Primary schools were chosen rather than secondary schools because there appeared to be greater disparity within the primary sector. In secondary education, the standards are high. Eleven secondary schools were built between 1960 and 1965, and the oldest secondary school dates back only to 1956. If anything, the problem in the secondary sector is now one of over provision, rather than under provision, with the number of children in secondary education declining, as the population declines. The present sixth form facilities are under-utilised in many of the former County Borough schools because of the small number of children remaining on beyond the age of sixteen. In 1976, it was estimated that 2115 secondary school places would be vacant in the former County Borough area. This is expected to rise to 2683 places by the year 1981. A new programme will be implemented in September 1979 to deal with the problem, and suggestions are at present under review.

The questionnaire was sent to 110 primary schools, having received the approval of Gateshead Education Department. The choice of resources was a compromise between those considered the most valuable in educational terms, and those that the education department considered would not upset the headmasters in any way. This was because the

local education department recognised the large disparities between different areas of the local authority and feared that headmasters would be made more aware of their own resource deficiencies if reminded by a list of possible educational resources on a questionnaire. The following categories of provision were disallowed.

- 1) Numbers of children taught in temporary accommodation. Despite evidence to the contrary, the education department said that no children were at present being taught in temporary premises.
- 2) Separate dining room - Gateshead ^{has} ~~have~~ a policy of using the dining room for lessons. Those schools in the newly acquired areas, formerly County Durham have separate dining rooms. This subject could therefore provoke unnecessary unrest.
- 3) Central heating systems - although all schools have them, many are ineffective and it is a constantly touchy problem.

Appendix 1 shows the complete questionnaire.

The social composition of the catchment areas, using 1971 census data, was also studied, in an attempt to relate levels of educational provision to the area surrounding the school. The hypothesis to be tested was that the financial constraints of local authority spending have established and continue to reinforce a pattern in which deprived schools are located in poor areas and fare worse than the better schools in the wealthier areas. The social indicators chosen were the following:

- 1) Households overcrowded $> 1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room.
- 2) Households with no exclusive use of three basic amenities - inside toilet, bath, and hot and cold running water.
- 3) Persons active but not in employment.

- 4) Persons in S.E.G. 7, 10, 11, 15.
- 5) Number of children receiving free school meals.

It was seen as a necessary part of the study to identify areas of Gateshead in terms of socio-economic criteria. The provision levels in the schools could then be related to levels of social deprivation in the catchment areas.

- ii. The use of social indicators for determining the make up of an area is however, open to criticism, especially when they relate to concepts of urban deprivation. The idea here, however, was not to identify areas of deprivation but to provide a pattern of social criteria over a geographical area. Many criticisms of the use of social indicators still remain and will be considered briefly below.

The use of social indicators in this country in the past have been related to specific programmes of Education Priority Areas, General Improvement Areas, the Urban Aid programme and the Housing Action Area programme. But urban deprivation has never been adequately defined, and is unlikely to be, for no one has qualifications enough to entitle him to put a measurement on human misery, except perhaps the person who is suffering. As J. Edwards points out, when discussing the uses of social indicators,

The application of precise and detailed statistical techniques to such an ambiguous area is about as meaningful as using a micrometer to measure a marshmallow.²

Because of the lack of definition in this ambiguous area, one of the major criticisms of using social indicators concerns the lack of theoretical orientation. K. Harrop explains that the past success of economic indicators has relied on a generally accepted functional economic theory which defined the given economic system. He points out

'No such theory of society exists, however and the social indices produced are often shakily erected without theoretical substance.'³

The confusion concerning the underlying theory has often led to inappropriate variables being included and irrelevant conclusions reached. The output from such studies becomes merely a reflection of the input. Where imprecise indicators are chosen, the results, which merely define deprivation in terms of the indicators chosen, may be erroneous. This technique of 'cart before the horse' has been used, J. Edwards⁴ explains, with varying degrees of statistical sophistication in places such as Liverpool, Southwark, the G.L.C. and Newcastle.

Closely related to this is the problem of non-congruence between the social concept and the operational definition. The concept of urban deprivation is obviously a case in point. To collapse the many facets of deprivation into simple social indicators is to ignore the real meaning of the concept. Urban deprivation is not an inbuilt personal handicap to be measured by social variables, but represents the inability to compete effectively in the three basic markets of opportunity - the employment market, the education market and the housing market. Any efforts to cure deprivation should originate in the political arena and not from social work or psychology.

These markets represent situations of conflict and competition and are closely linked together. As J. Edwards suggests, disadvantage in one may determine disadvantages in others.

If a child's parents are poor and live in an inner city area of decay, the chances are that he will go to a poor school, his education will be deficient and the opportunities for advancement through examination success will be low or absent.⁵

This child, J. Edwards argues, will emerge from education at the first opportunity to take a low paid job, or be unemployed. The social position and lack of finance will prevent him from competing successfully in the housing market and the chances are that he will remain in the inner city area to continue the cycle of deprivation.

J. Edwards makes the link between poor areas and low education provision explicit in his concept of circular deprivation. Certainly this can be recognised on a regional and local authority level, with the poorer local authorities spending comparatively less on educational provision. Gateshead, as an example, provides proof of this. On a local level, however, the question must be asked, is it true that some areas are worse off than others in terms of educational provision, and if so, how does it relate to the social and economic make up of the areas in which the schools exist? Continuing from this, are we dealing with a market situation of competition and conflict for educational resources and how does the resulting imbalance relate to the broader financial structure and other mechanisms of local authority expenditure.

2. The Social Composition of Gateshead

- i. In 1976, the Planning Department of the Tyne-Wear County Council published their report⁶ on the survey carried out in connection with the County Structure Plan. They were interested in the range of social areas that existed within the newly formed county, especially in areas that may contain symptoms of urban deprivation.

Using 1971 census data, collected at ward level, they isolated six descriptive categories of social areas, based on a number of indicators. Table 6.1 shows the indicators

Table 6.1.

Average Values of Ward Characteristics for each Descriptive Category

Categories	Houses lacking basic amenities	Private rented housing	Local authority housing	Owner occupied housing	High Status manual workers	Other non-manual workers	Skilled manual workers	Low status workers	Qualified workers	No cars	2 cars	Unemployed	Children 0 - 14	Old People
1	50	49						41		79		12		31
2				68	32				10	44	10			29
3			30	49	16	23				57	5	5		
4	8		82					43		78		12		
5	7		71				43	32		65		7		
6	22		43	35			47	28		64		6		
County Average	19	21	46	33	12	16	38	32	7	65	4	7		26

Source: Report of Survey 1976 County Structure Plan.
Tyne & Wear Planning Dept.

Table 6.2

Categories for descriptive analysis of Tyne and Wear Wards

Category 1

Gateshead Wards	Houses lacking amenities	Private rented	Unemployed	Low status workers	No car	Old People
Askew	58	51	11	49	87	21
Bensham	59	63	7	38	76	32
Claremont	63	64	11	40	79	30
Shipcote	51	61	5	38	74	34
Claxton	37	54	10	47	81	28
County Average	19	21	7	32	65	26

Category 2

Gateshead Wards	Owner occupied	High Status	Qualified Workers	2 cars	Family with car	Old People
Low Fell	63	23	15	5	48	29
County Average	33	12	7	4	35	26

Category 3

Gateshead Wards	Council Housing	Owner occupied	High Status Workers	Other non-manual workers	No car	Unemployed	2 cars
Enfield	34	47	19	20	51	6	5
County Average	46	33	12	16	65	7	4

Category 4

Gateshead Wards	Local authority housing	Houses lacking amenities	Unemployment	Low status workers	No car	Children 0 - 14	Large Family
Teams	67	21	10	51	82	23	2
Riverside	84	14	15	55	89	26	5
Chandless	80	13	10	46	86	24	0
County Average	46	19	7	32	65	24	3

Category 5

Gateshead Wards	Local authority housing	Houses lacking amenities	Unemployment	Low status workers	Skilled manual workers	No Car	Children 0 - 14
Wrekenton	76	3	6	30	44	65	30
County Average	46	19	7	32	38	65	24

Category 6

Gateshead Wards	Local authority housing	Owner occupied	Houses lacking amenities	Low status workers	Skilled manual workers	No Car	Unemployed
Saltwell	24	36	21	74	40	65	5
County Average	46	33	19	32	38	65	7

Definition of indicators:

Low status - head of household SEG 7,10,11,15,17

High status - head of household SEG 1,2,3,4,13

Qualified - H.N.C. or above

Other non-manual - head of household SEG 5,6

Skilled non-manual - head of household SEG 8, 9, 12, 14

Manual - head of household 7,8,9,10,11,12,14,15 or 17

(Source: Report of Survey 1976 County Structure Plan Tyne
and Wear Planning Department.)

chosen and the average value for ward characteristics for each descriptive category. These six categories formed the basis for further analysis. Each ward in Tyne and Wear was fitted into one of these categories, in order to show a pattern of social areas throughout Tyne and Wear. Whilst such an arbitrary division is open to methodological criticism, the survey provides some useful information about Tyne and Wear, and especially Gateshead.

Table 6.2. shows the six categories, the indicators used, and the Gateshead wards that fit into each category. Out of the twelve wards in Gateshead, five fall in category one. This category displays some of the accepted indicators of urban deprivation; lack of amenities in houses, a large proportion of private rented accommodation, small car ownership and the male population mainly employed in low status jobs or unemployed. These wards, all in the older area of Gateshead, display signs of deprivation of far greater proportions than the Tyne-Wear average.

Category four has three Gateshead wards. These have very similar category values for the social indicators, except that housing is mainly local authority housing, and of a higher standard than the properties in category one. Therefore, out of the twelve Gateshead wards, three-quarters have signs of 'urban deprivation' in this analysis. The remaining four are spread over the other four categories. (See maps 6.1, 6.2)

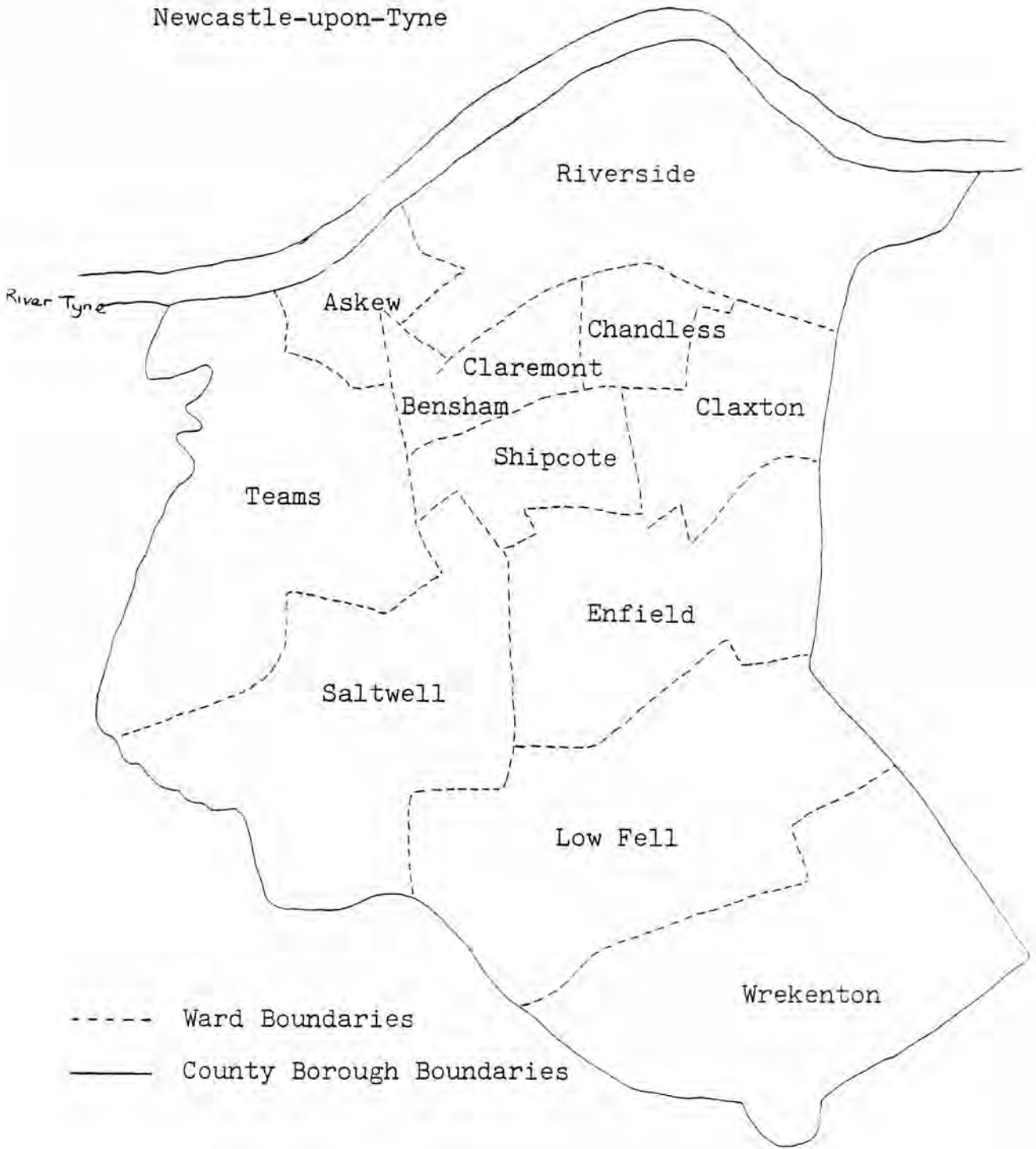
The analysis also provided a composite 'deprivation' score for each ward, based on the following variables:-

1. economically active males in socio-economic group 11.
2. economically active males who are unemployed.
3. Households with no exclusive use of all amenities.
4. Household with no car.

The choice of these four was based on use of them by the

Map 6.1

Ward Boundaries in Gateshead (Study Area) 1977.



Map 6.2.

Distribution of Categories for Descriptive Analysis
of Tyne and Wear Wards, 1976



(See Table 6.1 for breakdown of ward characteristics for each category.)

Department of Environment for their definition of 'economic deprivation'. Each variable was then given equal weight and a composite value estimated for each ward in Tyne and Wear. This equal weighting opens the analysis to certain criticism and may invalidate the results, but again, it provides a picture of the types of areas in Tyne and Wear, and as such, serves a useful purpose.

The variation from the county average was estimated, and a deprivation score for each ward was worked out. This score represents the amount, measured in standard deviations that the variable scores for each ward exceed the average (0), averaged over the four variables. Of the twelve wards in Gateshead, seven came below the county average.

Table 6.3.

Ward	Score in Deprivation Analysis (County average=0)
Riverside	- 1.41
Askew	- 1.41
Claremount	- 1.14
Teams	- 1.08
Claxton	- .89
Bensham	- .66
Chandless	- .64

- ii. Whilst this method provides comparative data on the wards of Tyne and Wear, the arbitrary choice of indicators and categories and the limitations of the analysis suggest the need for a more comprehensive analysis, if a more sensitive understanding of the area is to be achieved. The interest here is in understanding the composition of the Gateshead catchment areas in order to relate them to the schools and school resources.

In order to achieve this, all the primary schools were asked to define their catchment areas. Although Gateshead Education Department had explained that the catchment areas

were under constant review, most schools were able to define their catchment areas quite accurately. Map 6.3. shows the major divisions between school areas. The chief divide is the A1 road with only one catchment area crossing it. 1971 census data was used to calculate the following categories for each enumeration district in the catchment area:

- i. Total persons in enumeration district.
- ii. Total households in enumeration district.
- iii. Number of houses with symptoms of over crowding i.e. $> 1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room.
- iv. Number of households without exclusive use of basic amenities i.e. hot and cold running water, bath, inside lavatory.
- v. Number of persons active but not in employment.
- vi. Number of persons in socio-economic groups 7, 10, 11, 15.

From this data, the following information was extracted, based on school catchment areas.

- i. Total persons in the school catchment area.
- ii. Total households in the school catchment area.
- iii. Percentage of houses overcrowded.
- iv. Percentage of houses with no exclusive use of basic amenities.
- v. Percentage of persons active but not in employment.
- vi. Percentage of persons in socio-economic groups 7, 10, 11, 15.
- vii. Percentage of children receiving free school meals.

Map 6.3.

School Catchment Areas in Gateshead (Study Area) 1977



----- Catchment Areas.

———— County Borough Boundaries

Scale



1 mile

The enumeration district data was coded and Pearson's correlation analysis used to provide a correlation matrix. This showed some interesting associations, although it implies no causality. There was a statistically significant relationship between the following social variables:

Overcrowding and S.E.G. 7, 10, 11, 15
($r = .7753$ $s = 0.001$)

Overcrowding and Unemployment
($r = .7287$ $s = 0.001$)

Non exclusive use of basic
Non-use of exclusive amenities and Unemployment
($r = .4577$ $s = 0.003$)

S.E.G. 7, 10, 11, 15, and Unemployment
($r = .7114$ $s = 0.001$)

Free school meals was also, as expected, associated with areas of high overcrowding ($r = .7091$ $s = 0.001$), areas of unemployment ($r = .6211$ $s = 0.001$) and areas of S.E.G. 7, 10, 11, 15, ($r = .6483$ $s = 0.001$).

It can be shown that certain areas have high scores on the majority of the social indicators and have definite signs of 'urban deprivation'. The following maps show the distribution of these indicators in relation to school catchment areas. They all show a similar pattern. Areas by the river and central Gateshead came off comparatively worse than areas to the south of Gateshead. Areas of Low Fell and parts of Wrekenton have developed since the war and are attractive with open spaces. The population is mainly middle class.

The indicator, (exclusive use of basic amenities) produces a pattern rather different from the others. It reflects the image of Gateshead as seen by an observer; areas of new modern housing and areas of broken down terraces, but is not significantly related to other social factors. This is largely due to the extensive development of local authority

Map 6.4.

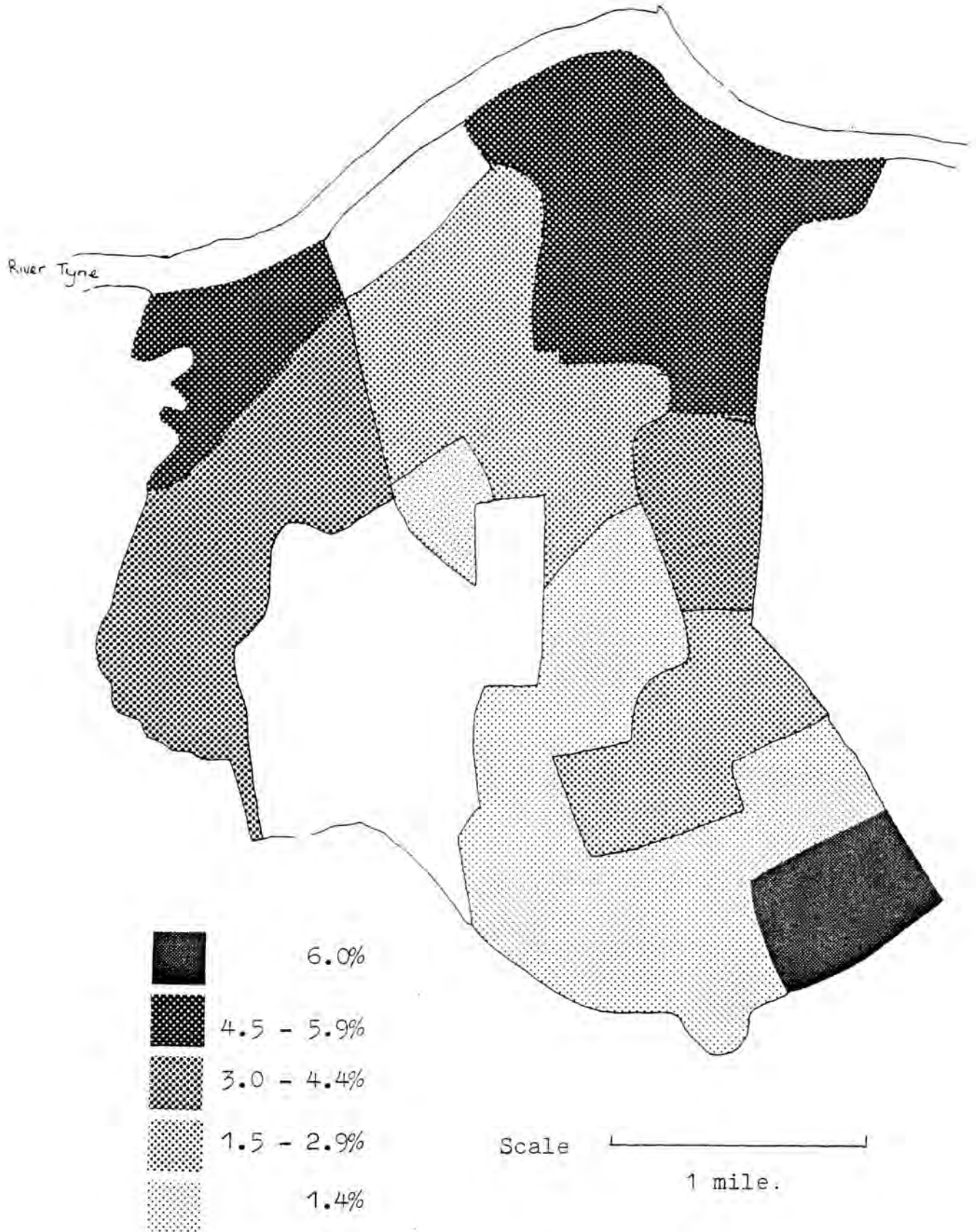
Percentage Distribution of Socio-Economic Groups
7, 10, 11, 15 (by school catchment areas) in Gateshead



(For complete breakdown see Appendix 4)

Map 6.5

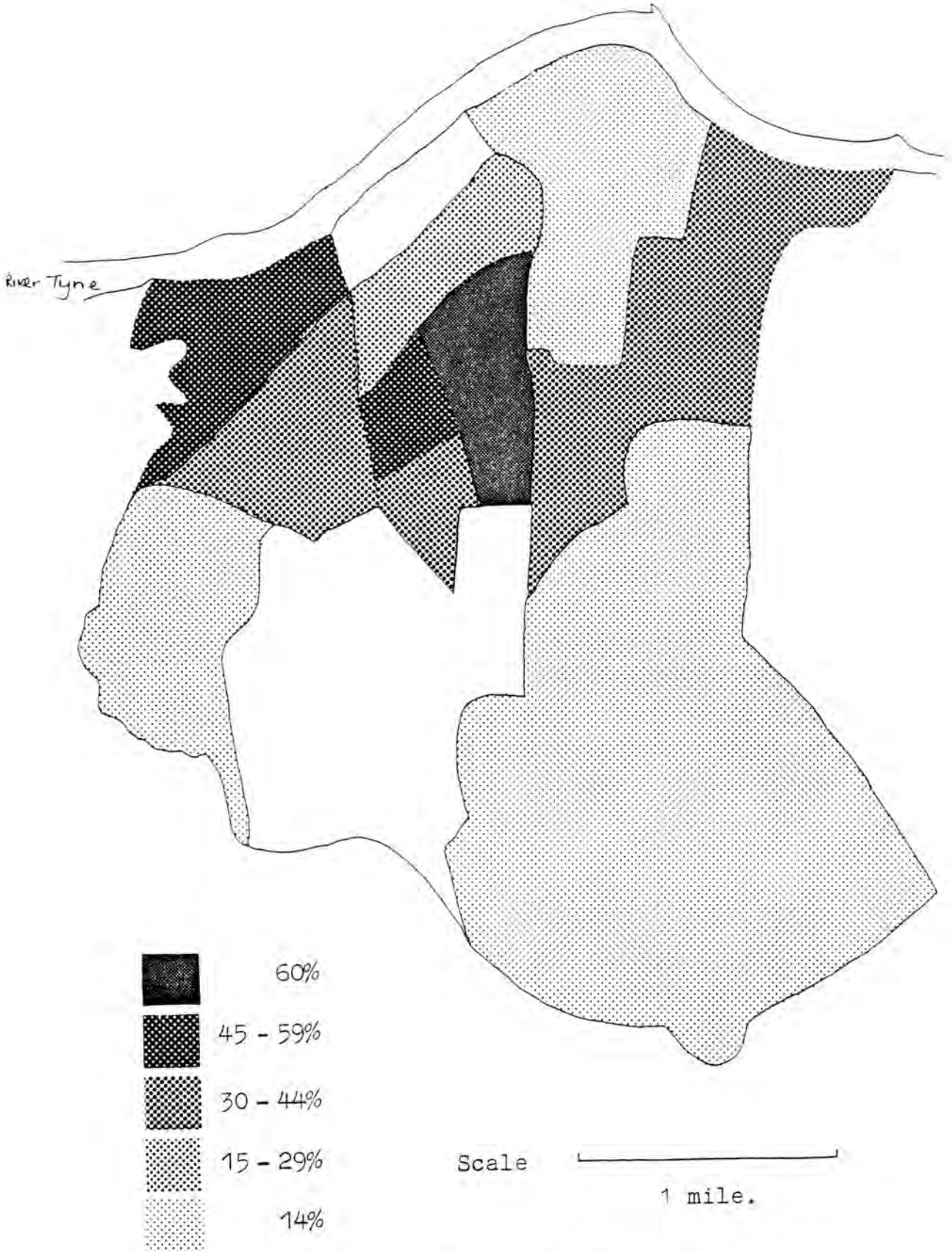
Percentage Distribution of Overcrowded Households
(by school catchment areas) in Gateshead



(For complete breakdown, see Appendix 4)

Map 6.6.

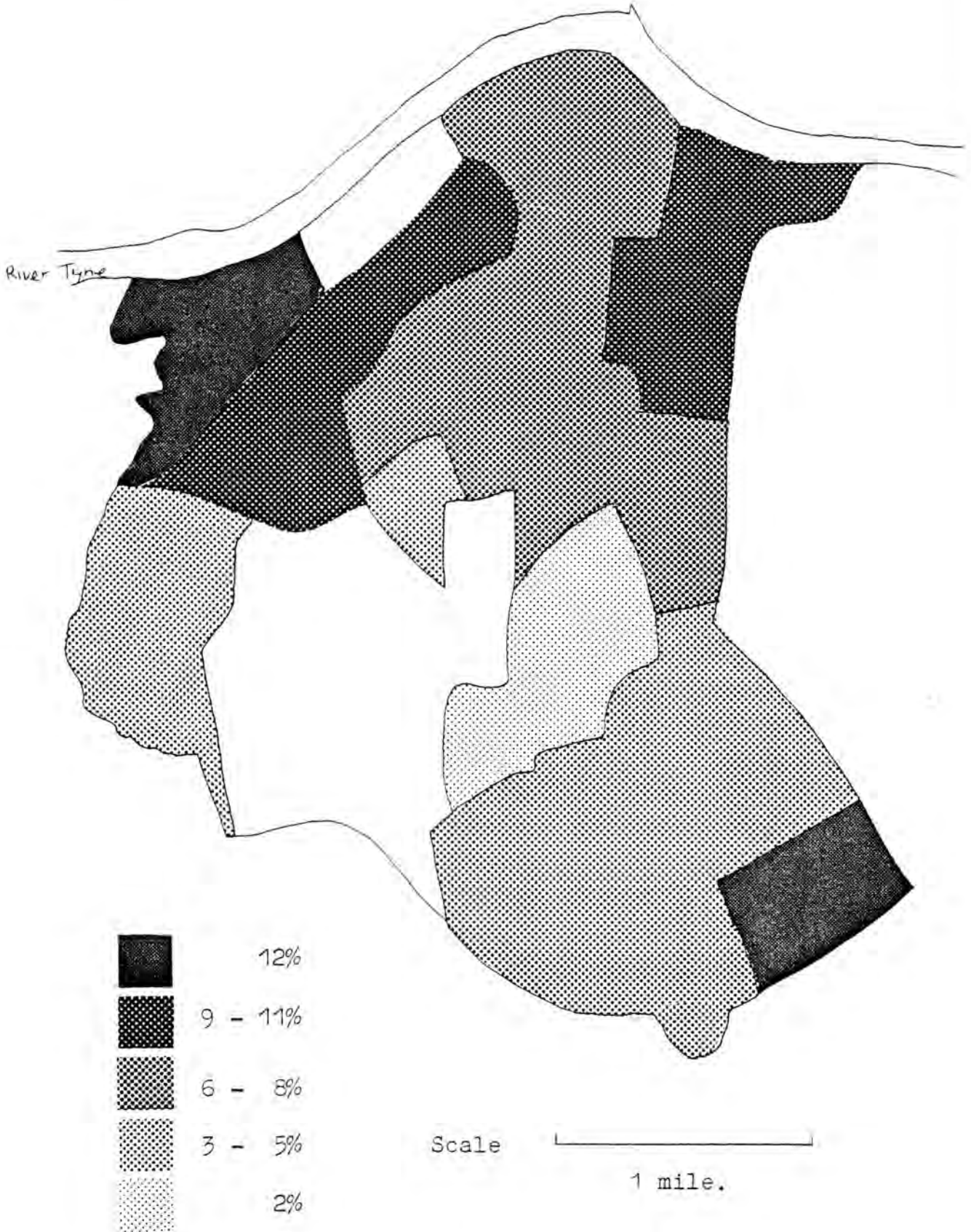
Percentage Distribution of Houses lacking Basic Amenities
(by school catchment areas) in Gateshead



(For complete breakdown, see Appendix 4.)

Map 6.7

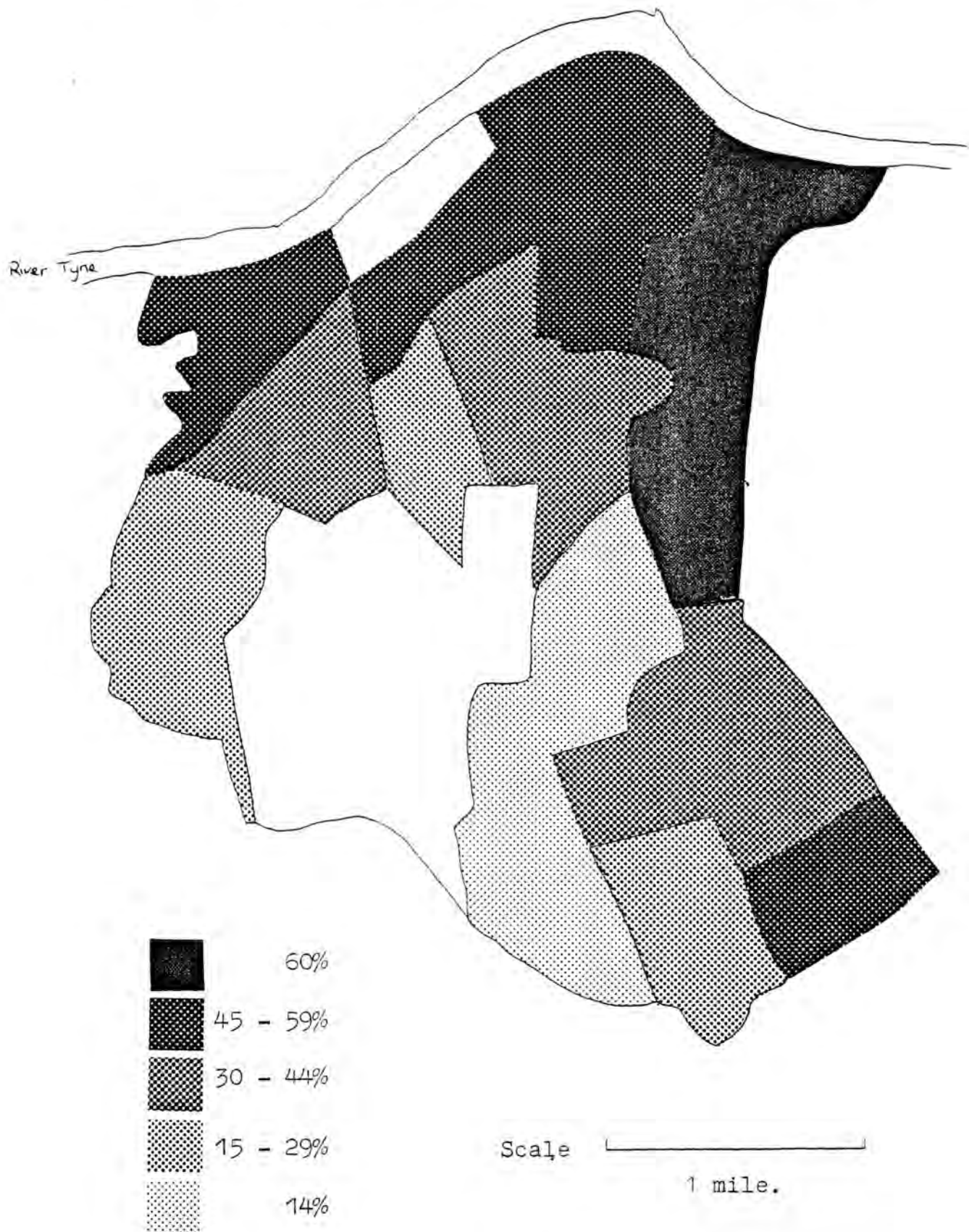
Percentage Distribution of Persons Active but unemployed
(by school catchment areas) in Gateshead



(For complete breakdown, see Appendix 4.)

Map 6.8.

Percentage Distribution of Children receiving free school meals (by school catchment areas) in Gateshead



(For complete breakdown, see Appendix 4.)

housing to the south east and south west of Gateshead with comparatively good facilities. The worst area, in terms of amenities is central Gateshead, where nearly 75% of the households do not have exclusive use of amenities. This is a poor run down area, little changed over the last hundred years.

3. School resource levels

There are forty infant and junior schools in the former Gateshead borough, of which thirty five replied to the questionnaire. Of the remaining five, three were small Roman Catholic schools, and one provided information at a later date. The questionnaire is reproduced in appendix 1. The schools and their positions within the area are shown in map 6.9. The following areas of information were covered:- pupil teacher ratios and class size, age and upkeep of the school, equipment and provision of facilities within the school, the distribution of social priority schools and the distribution of related community facilities. Each were related to the socio-economic composition of the catchment area.

i. Pupil teacher ratios and class size.

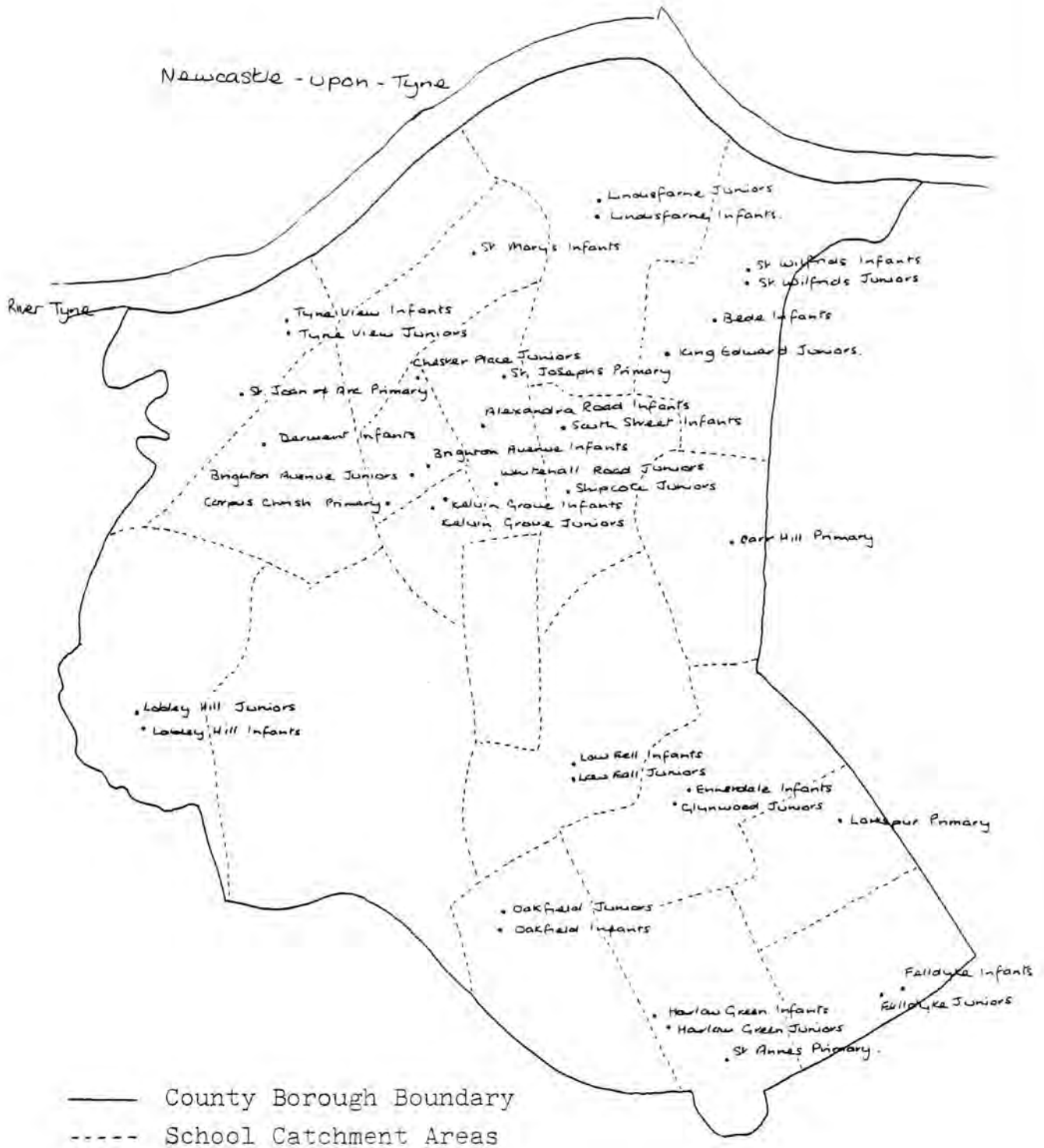
Within the schools of the study area, class sizes differed from 17 to 34. The average was 27.9 pupils per class. There was no significant relationship between class size and the composition of the catchment area, nor between social priority schools and class size. (Exact figures per school are given in appendix 2.)

The local authority estimates the pupil teacher ratios for the Metropolitan Borough at 23.5 : 1. Whilst it is in the local authority's best interests to show the ratio to be as low as possible, the class size gives a more realistic picture of a child's working environment.

The average pupil : teacher ratio for the former Gateshead

Map 6.9

Position of Primary Schools in Gateshead (Study Area)
1977



borough is 25.1 :1, although the range is from 17 to 32. (Appendix 2 shows actual figures.) As with class size, there is no significant relationship between the pupil: teacher ratio and the social composition of the catchment area. This area has a surplus number of places for primary pupils, yet this is not reflected in the pupil : teacher ratios. Teaching staff are being cut back in this area as pupil numbers decline.

ii. Age and Upkeep of Schools.

The study area of Gateshead has a high proportion of old schools. Table 6.4. shows the proportions of schools in the County Borough area of different ages.

Table 6.4.

Ages of Primary Schools in the County Borough of
Gateshead

Ages/Periods of Development	Percentage of Total
Before 1910	24%
1928 - 1936	14%
1950 - 1956	14%
1962 - 1970	29%
1971 - 1976	19%

As map 6.10 shows, the oldest schools are predominantly found in the wards of Bensham, Shipcote and Chandless, the oldest areas of Gateshead. These are also the areas of old terrace houses, badly maintained streets and in which most households do not have exclusive use of basic amenities.

It would be unfair, however, to assume that just because the fabric of the school is old, that the pupils suffer in

any way as a consequence. However, there is a strong relationship between the age of the school and levels of resources and these combine to provide an environment that can hardly be said to provide a compensatory environment for those children brought up in slum-like housing.

Mr. Smith, the head master of King Edward Junior School, had the following to say, with regard to the age of his school; a typical old school in central Gateshead.

"Physically, the building itself, the external fabric of the building has suffered in recent years through vandalism There are few playing facilities in the area..... and the children use the school yard in the evenings.... the windows are frequently broken, a number of the windows on the lower floor are boarded up for sheer economics and are covered by graffiti. Parts of the buildings, such as the old toilets have suffered considerably - slates have been broken from roofs and this kind of thing".⁷

The effect of this environment on teachers and pupils alike cannot be over estimated. The main problem, as Mr. Smith explained:

"is chiefly one of morale. It isn't very pleasant to be surrounded by this kind of thing, damaged property, broken windows, to come in and face broken windows and glass littering the playground week after week. The morale of the staff and children suffer considerably through being exposed to this kind of environment".⁸

However, attempts to compensate for the external environment and fabric of the school have been made.

"We try and compensate for the very unpleasant external environment by creating inside the school a very cheerful environment..... but, yes, I do feel that I'm fighting a losing battle at times, I feel that the impact of education on the children is not as great as one might hope for sometimes..... and one does get despondent".⁹

The relationship between age of school and composition of the catchment area has changed significantly over the last fifteen years, due to local authority policy, intent on

evidence

replacing many of the oldest schools in Gateshead with modern ones. Between 1966 and 1972, twelve new primary schools were built. Six of these were in response to the growing number of children requiring schooling in Low Fell and Wrekenton, to the south of Gateshead. The remaining six schools were replacements for old schools in the more run down areas of central Gateshead. Until 1966, there would have been a strong relationship between the old victorian and edwardian schools and the composition of the areas in which they were located, areas suffering from high unemployment, overcrowding, lack of basic amenities and a high percentage of persons in low socio-economic groups. However, between 1966 and 1972, the building of these new schools has meant that the correlation has changed with the newer schools now found to a large extent in some of the poorer areas of Gateshead.

Analysis showed that the schools were newest in areas where overcrowding, unemployment, low socio-economic groups and numbers of children receiving free school meals were highest¹. However, since 1972, a number of related factors have occurred that have stopped the local authority from progressing towards their policy objective. Reorganization has forced a policy priority change, and available finance is moving to the newly acquired areas that were formerly County Durham. King Edward Junior School is just one example of one of the old schools in Central Gateshead that was due for new accommodation, but is now extremely unlikely to get it because of pressing priorities elsewhere and because of the cutbacks in local authority expenditure during the past few years.

¹ Correlation analysis showed the following associations:

Age of school to overcrowding $r = .3068$ $s = .039$

Age of school to Unemployment $r = .3227$ $s = .031$

Age of school to socio-economic groups 7, 10, 11, 15,
 $r = .5061$ $s = .001$

Age of school to free school meals $r = .3425$ $s = .0321$
(Overcrowding, unemployment and socio-economic groups from Census data 1971. Age of school and free school meals from questionnaire 1976.)

Added to these is the decline in pupil numbers in the central Gateshead area. Obviously, this area has had to stand back when other schools are overflowing with children. Yet, it should not be forgotten that nearly 40% of the schools in this area were built before 1936, that they still have low resource levels and are still situated in areas where between 40% and 75% of the houses lack satisfactory amenity usage. Neither must it be forgotten that a large number of children brought up in poor conditions must spend their school days in schools, more reminiscent of Victorian work houses than the exciting learning environments to which many middle class children have unlimited access.

iii. Resources: Equipment and Provision levels.

The questionnaire sent to every primary school in Gateshead asked for details of resources. As has been explained, the list given in the questionnaire was a compromise, eventually arrived at, following a number of discussions with the local education department. It asked for details concerning the following:

Equipment

Piano
 T.V., audio visual equipment
 Radio
 Record Player
 Tape Recorder
 Sand Pit
 Oth. musical instrumts

Provisions

Assembly Hall
 Play yard
 Playing Fields
 Library, quiet room
 Separate staff room
 Separate Head's room
 Sick Bay
 Inside toilets

*Separate Staff
 Common Room
 Outside toilets
 school kitchen*

In an interview with the Deputy Education Officer, policies concerning resource levels were spelled out. The local authority had no policy of positive discrimination for resources, but believed in uniformity of provision throughout. Interestingly, there were no details within the education department concerning levels of resources in

their schools and much of the fear concerning the questionnaire centred on the discrepancies that would be found between schools, an obvious worry, considering their policy of 'uniformity of resource levels'. It was also feared that the schools' head masters may become far more aware of the differences and perhaps lobby the local education department.

The survey details of resource levels has since been used by the newly formed C.C.P. group in Gateshead and by Gateshead Education Department. It can only be suggested that such a survey in fact should have been carried out by the local authority itself at some earlier time, for the details have proved valuable to them for future education planning. A poor thing then, that it took someone, outside the local authority to highlight the problems of the schools before the people, committed to education in the area took notice of the obvious discrepancies within their boundaries.

However, of interest here is the relationship between the resource levels in the schools and the social composition of the catchment areas. The chief relationship is between age of school and resource levels: the age of school already being highly related to the composition of the catchment area. The following table shows the relationship in more detail.

Table 6.5

Age and Provision in Primary Schools,
Gateshead

Age of School	Percentage with separate library	Percentage with play-field	Average Equipment Index (range 0-7)	Average Provision Index (range 1-24)
Before 1910	22	0	6.0	12.8
1928 - 1936	0	0	6.2	11.4
1950 - 1956	40	80	6.4	18.6
1962 - 1970	50	60	6.8	18.8
1971 - 1976	84	84	6.4	21.0

Table 4 indices:-

Equipment indices and
weighting

Piano,
T.V., Audio Visual equipment,
Radio, record player
Tape Recorder

} equal weighting

Provision indices and
weighting

Assembly Hall 2
Play Yard 3
Playing Field 5
Library/quiet room 6
Separate Staff Room 2
Separate Head's Room 2
Separate Sick Bay 2
Inside Toilets 2

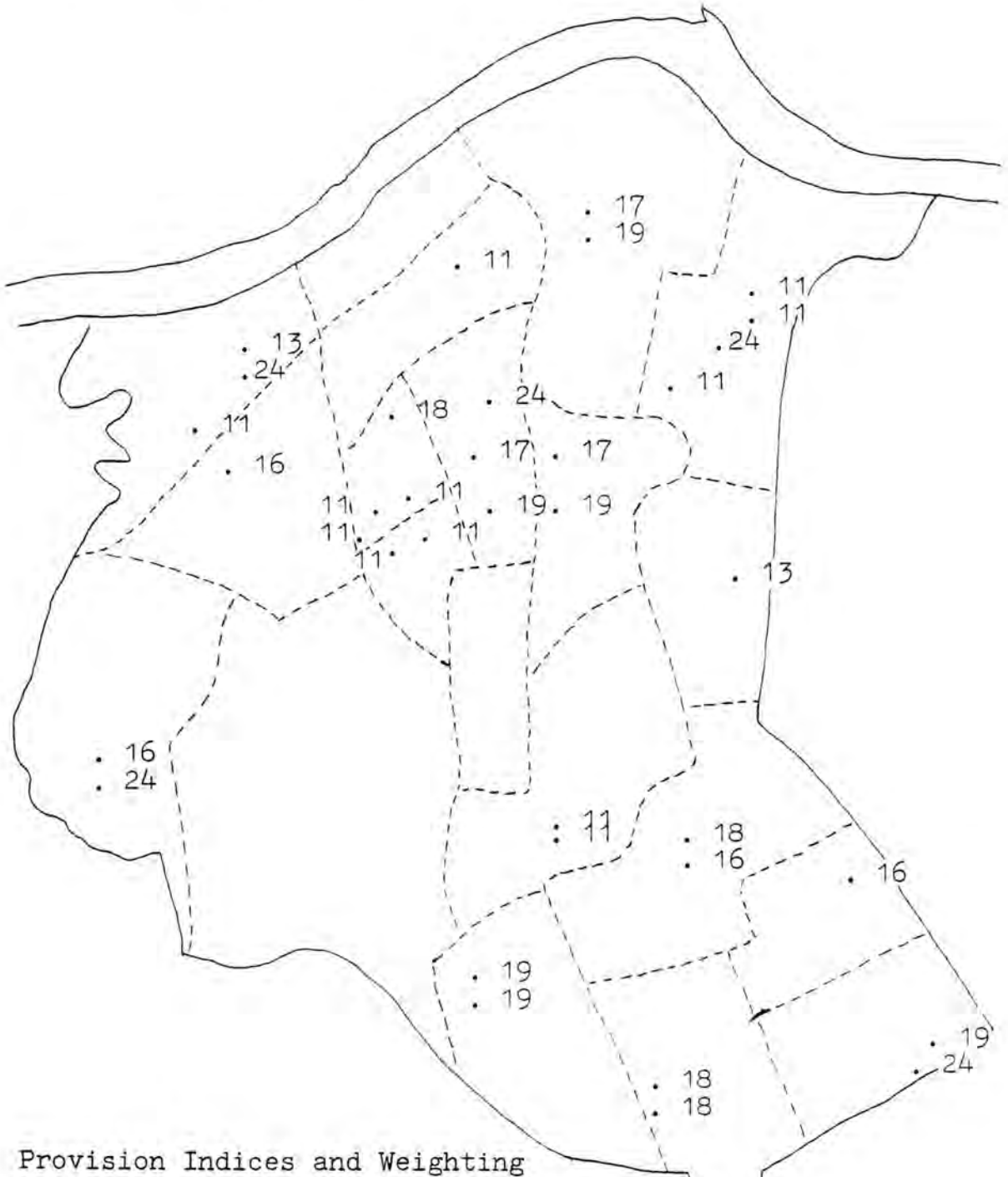
Why a different list to that contained in Appendix 2

It clearly shows that the oldest schools lack libraries, playing fields, and come low on both the provision and equipment indexes. The newest schools have better facilities, better equipment and better sports facilities.

These new schools are chiefly in the wards of Riverside, Askew and Teams along the banks of the Tyne. (Map 6.11 shows the distribution of school resources.) Although these areas are chiefly working class, the accommodation is far super-

Map 6.11.

Distribution of Resources in Primary Schools in Gateshead (Study Area) 1977.



Provision Indices and Weighting

Assembly Hall	2	Library	6
Play Yard	3	Separate Staff Room	2
Playing Field	5	Separate Head's Room	2
Separate Sickbay	2	Inside Toilets	2

Scale



1 mile

ior to that in the central area of Gateshead. Most of the housing is new, local authority accommodation in a variety of styles; ranging from higherized flats, village complexes, to rows of small, new terrace houses, each displaying the planning ideal of the date when each area was redeveloped.

Returning to the central area of old Gateshead, where housing is of low standard and where the schools are old; here, the schools rarely provide library facilities or playing fields, their level of provision and equipment is significantly lower than in the newer schools, yet they are not, as will be seen in the next section, schools worthy of high social priority rating.

Mr. Smith, headmaster of one such school, commenting on the facilities that he and the children would like:

'we would like playing fields surrounding our school, we would like gardens which could be decorative and used by the children. The children would love a swimming pool, football fields, netball courts, tennis courts and this kind of thing. We would enjoy having a mini-bus, so we could take them around the wider environment of Tyne and Wear.¹⁰

And his dream for the future?

If the authority were to replace this school at some time in the future, I would like to see a community type school, a library, a nursery clinic and other social services our greatest problem is the attitudes of parents towards education and their involvement in their children's education. I feel that if we could attract parents to the school with a community type building, then we may, probably succeed a little better'.¹¹

The vicious circle of low provision, old schools, low expectations and lack of interest. In the words of a member of the education department in Gateshead, "the best thing we can do for the children of Gateshead is to teach them how to get out of Gateshead at the first available opportunity".¹²

Inevitably, this vicious circle, created by a history of low resource levels and reinforced by the inflexibility of a system constrained by government policy and reductions in spending, has an effect on the teachers of Gateshead.

Arguably, the most important resource of all, teachers are faced with both attitude and resource problems in Gateshead. A survey¹³ carried out in 1976 showed that over 40% of Gateshead teachers were born in Tyne and Wear and nearly 60% trained within the North East. This has led to what the education department sees as "traditional insularity" on the part of the teachers, leading to a resigned attitude of accepting the low expectations and achievements of the children of the area. Female aspirations are particularly low, with few going on to further education.

Whilst it would be wrong to blame low resource levels entirely for low achievement and expectations, they do form an important part of the build up of both teacher, pupil and parent attitudes towards education and serve to reinforce the lack of mobility, both social and spatial, of the participants in education.

4. The Distribution of Social Priority Schools

In 1967, Gateshead had the choice, together with all local authorities in England and Wales to submit areas to the DES, for E.P.A. (Education Priority Area) consideration, following the Plowden reports' suggestions on the subject. No submission was made.

Following the commencement of the S.P.S. scheme (Social Priority Schools), Gateshead found itself with thirty six social priority schools. It may be suggested that had Gateshead submitted areas in 1967 for the E.P.A. allowance they would certainly have received some extra finance.

Here, the concern is with the relationship between these schools and their respective catchment areas. Of the 36 SP schools in the Metropolitan borough, 20 came within the study area - the old County Borough of Gateshead. They are chiefly concentrated in the Riverside and central area of Gateshead. Map 6.12 shows the distribution of the priority schools and their rating in the metropolitan chart and within the study area.

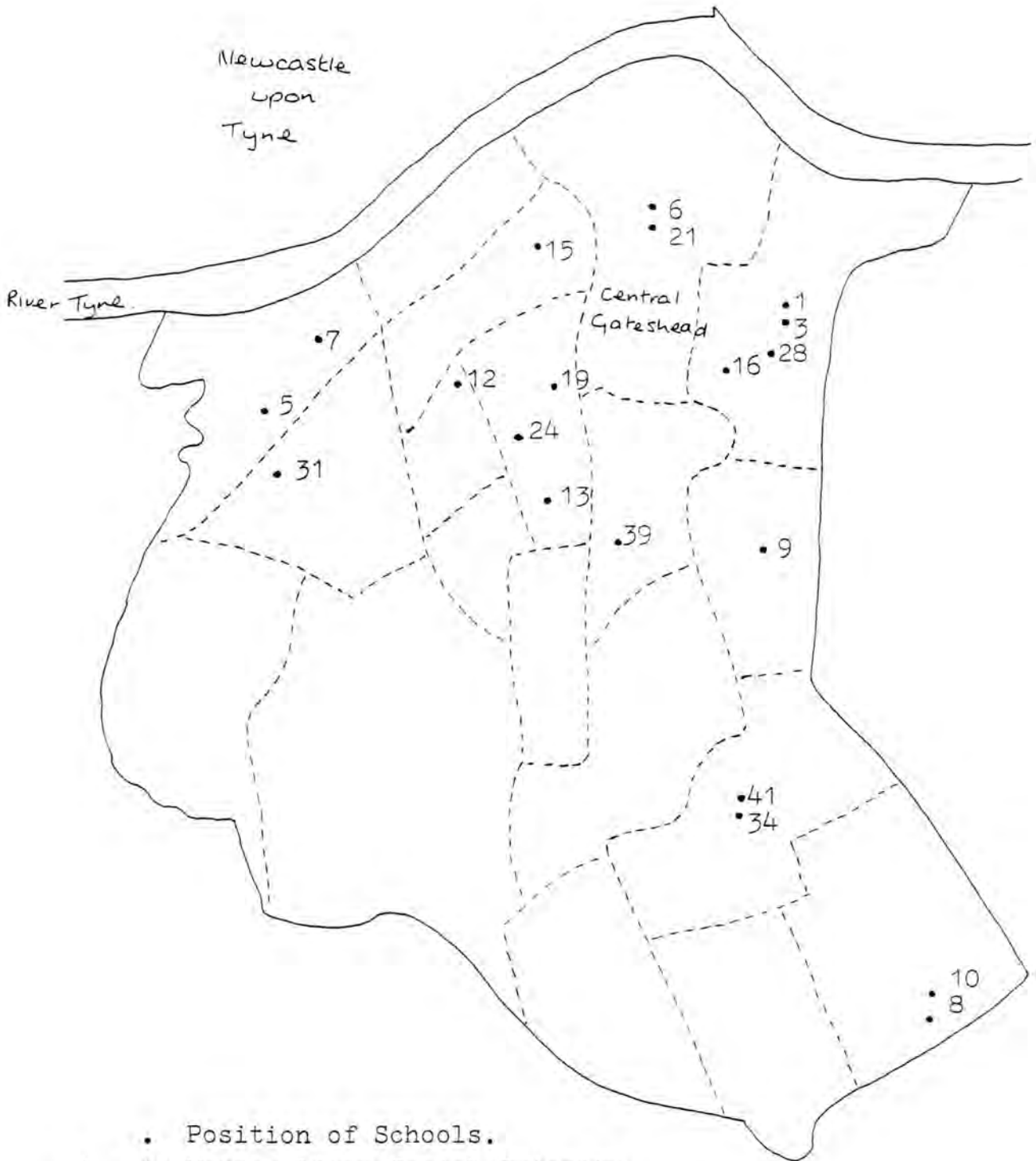
The criteria for allocation of social priority is based in Gateshead's case on free school meals. As this is based on social factors related to the family income, it is not too surprising to find that schools with S.P.S. rating are found in those areas with high percentages of people of socio-economic groups 7, 10, 11 and 15, high levels of overcrowding and high unemployment. The concept of social priority schooling assumes that the children need some form of compensatory experience at school. Although the teachers receive more salary for teaching in these schools, and there is a significant relationship between these schools and longer-staying staff, the provision levels for these schools are not significantly better than other schools, as one would perhaps hope. In fact, as the following table shows, many of them, especially the top three have extremely low levels of resources. (See next page) ¹⁵²

Members of the Education Committee expressed concern over the use of free school meals as a criteria for special allowances as it has led to certain anomalies within the area. For example; a. One comprehensive school, formed from two secondary schools on adjacent sites, now has half the staff receiving the S.P.S. allowance, while the remaining staff receive no extra for teaching the same children.

b. Two primary schools, situated very close together. One is new, with excellent facilities, the other is over one hundred years old with very poor facilities. Teachers in the new school receive the allowance, while teachers in the other primary school get no extra money for teaching similar children in worse conditions.

Map 6.12

Distribution of Priority Schools in the Study Area, 1977.



. Position of Schools.

1 - 41 Metropolitan Social Priority Ratings

Scale



1 mile.

Table 6.6

Social Priority Schools and Resource Levels
in the Study Area

Priority rating in Metropolitan Borough	Priority rating in Study Area	Schools	Provision index rating (range 1 - 24)
1	1	St. Wilfrid's Infants	11
3	2	St. Wilfrid's Juniors	11
5	3	St. Joan of Arc Primary	11
6	4	Lindisfame Junior	17
7	5	Tyne View Junior	24
8	6	Fell Dyke Junior	24
9	7	Carr Hill Primary	13
10	8	Fell Dyke Infants	19
12	9	Chester Place Juniors	18
13	10	White Hall Juniors	19
15	11	St. Marys C.E. Infants	11
16	12	King Edward Junior	11
19	13	St. Josephs Primary	24
21	14	Lindisfame Infants	19
24	15	Alexandra Road Infants	17
28	16	Bede Infants	24
31	17	Derwent Infants	16
34	18	Glynwood Junior	16
39	19	Shipcote Junior	19
41	20	Ennerdale Infants	18

As the table shows, of the top fifteen social priority schools in the Metropolitan Borough, eleven fall within the study area. If a comparison is made between S.P. schools and those schools which are the oldest and have the lowest levels of provision we find no relationship. Those schools in the wards of Shipcote and Bensham, all built before 1910 and having very low levels of resources

are not S.P. schools. This highlights an interesting anomaly in the social area data. If S.P. schools had been based on poor housing conditions, then the distribution map would have appeared very different. Gateshead has large areas of local authority housing; good housing with high levels of amenities, with a low working class population. It also has a central area of extremely poor rented accommodation, with few facilities, but a slightly higher social class population. If urban deprivation is based on housing conditions, then the worst areas are in the wards of Shipcote and Bensham, accompanied by old schools and low resource levels. If deprivation is based on the socio-economic groups of the population and unemployment, then the chief areas are Teams, Askew and Riverside, even though their housing standards are superior to those of central Gateshead. Here the schools are newer, most have S.P.S. rating and some have high levels of provision.

Deprivation to the casual observer is usually synonymous with poor housing conditions and this is, I think, a more useful index. The local authority are more concerned with the social indicators of deprivation and have put their money into areas where these indicators are the lowest. The hope was that the central area of Gateshead would also be redeveloped at some point, but this looks extremely unlikely at the present time. The low housing standards will remain, as will the old schools with their low resource levels.

5. Community facilities

Many of the schools, especially the newer ones, are used for further education classes in the evenings. There is no specific relationship between adult education usage and the catchment areas social composition. A report¹⁴, revised in 1976, was published by Gateshead concerning a schedule of community facilities, both related to schools and other community services. It included the sports facilities

available at all Gateshead schools including those facilities available to the public.

The Junior and Senior High Schools, as expected had the largest variety of sports facilities. Only one primary school - Felldyke Junior School had a pitch large enough for hockey. Harlow Green Juniors and Lobley Hill Infants/Juniors also had a pitch that could be used for cricket. These schools, to the south and west of Gateshead are situated in more open areas of 1950's and 1960's residential growth. Naturally, those schools in the more densely populated areas of central Gateshead have no such facilities, although most have either netball courts or five-a-side pitches marked out on their tarmaced yards.

In the questionnaire replies, a number of head teachers had expressed strong feelings about the play areas available to their pupils. Many lamented that they had no playing fields, while some expressed concern that the playing areas available were "inadequate", "uneven and unsatisfactory", "grass areas being used as a dump by the locals" and "no climbing apparatus etc. available".

Commenting on the lack of playing space available for children in central Gateshead, Miss Wright, a head mistress of a primary school said:

"the children should have more spaces where they can play away from the streets because there's nothing for them there and its seeing all these derelict buildings and all this destruction around them its not having a very good influence on them."¹⁵

Survey Conclusions

Although to generalise may be to lose some of the individuality between schools, it appears that there are three

basic divisions, both between the schools and the catchment areas. Firstly, and most importantly, there are the old schools with low provision levels in the old, densely populated area of central Gateshead. The area shows positive signs of urban deprivation in terms of housing standards and total lack of open spaces. Secondly, there is the area of Teams, Askew and Riverside along the banks of the Tyne. These are areas of relatively recent re-development and the schools reflect this. They are mainly new schools, with good resources and have social priority ratings. The population is low working class, with high levels of overcrowding and unemployment. Thirdly, the areas of Low Fell, Wrekenton and Lobley Hill. These areas have chiefly developed during the 1950's and 1960's. The schools display high levels of resources provision and appear, to the eye, to be pleasant attractive learning environments. The population is chiefly middle class and the standard of housing is high. It is these areas which are expanding and as a consequence, display the highest class sizes in the schools. However, such finance that is available is helping to put this right. Over crowded classrooms are a local authority priority for change.

unfortunate phrase

6. Constraints on Local Educational Resource Equality

- i It could be argued that the channelling of finance into these middle class areas, to the detriment of some working class areas shows a clear example of gatekeepers manipulating the system to allow their groups or classes in society to have better resources and facilities than others. It can also be argued that this manipulation is serving to perpetuate and reinforce the class structure of the area, through maintaining an unequal resource distribution between social classes. As J. Douglas points out:

'When social inequalities are equated with inequalities in local educational provision,

the competition between classes cannot fail to be seen.¹⁶

This class differentiation is maintained by both the unfair processes and mechanisms of resource allocation and the power of the local decision makers. S. Bowles explains that

'..... class differences in schooling are maintained in large measure through the capacity of the upper class to control the basic principles of school finance, pupil evaluation and educational objectives.'¹⁷

But how far are the levels of resource provision at the local level a result of the larger mechanisms of finance distribution and the decisions of the local education officers, or are the present levels of resource merely being maintained by these processes? S. Bowles considers that:

Although the unequal distribution of political power serves to maintain inequalities in education, the origins of these inequalities are to be found outside the political sphere, in the class structure itself and in the class structure typical of capitalist societies. Thus, education has its roots in the very class structure which it serves to legitimise and reproduce.¹⁸

Indeed, as this study has so far shown, the historical legacy of industrial growth and depression in the North East has produced a pattern of inequality, reinforced by inequalities in the distribution of low finance and public expenditure over a long period of time. It is in this situation of continued underdevelopment and regional inequality that the present educational system has its roots. Within this system, inequality is maintained through the processes of resource allocation, of which local decision-making plays a part. However, as Chapter 4 showed, this decision making is often based on attitudes of resignation, because of the constraints of local politics, central government control and adverse local

conditions.

This resignation is also, to some extent, a reflection of the local attitudes towards, and expectations of, education in the North East. Faced with a history of unemployment and economic underdevelopment, and shortcomings in the quality and quantity of educational provision, the people of the North East have what G. Taylor and N. Ayres describes as:

(an) understanding of the need for change
and of the long term advantage of education
(which) is inevitably limited.¹⁹

Aware of this lack of interest in education by the people of Gateshead, the local education department sees itself fighting an uphill battle in terms of persuading parents to let children remain at school after the school leaving age. The lack of interest in education in the local area was clearly seen during the planning of the comprehensive system during the 1960's. The Education Department made little effort to consult the public. R. Batley, O. O'Brien and H. Parris point out that:

'(the public) were regarded as not sufficiently informed to be consulted and lack of public response was taken to imply indifference or tacit approval'.²⁰

Mr. Stokes, the Director of Education at the time saw no value in consulting parents whose views would be 'uninformed, limited and subjective' and he guessed from the 'extraordinary little reaction from parents' that most approved of the scheme. Although the local labour party called for consultation with parents, this idea was considered to be impracticable and even undesirable until such time as the final plans had been submitted and approved.

Public response was therefore very slight. The Education Department received no communication from parents and few

teachers were consulted about the change in the local education structure. Parental contribution was virtually nil. It would be unfair to say that this reflected the total lack of interest by the local population, rather that the education department assumed lack of interest on the population's behalf. This assumption still exists and was frequently commented on by education officers during interviews or informal talks during 1976-1977.

Inevitably this situation could be seen as providing the education authority with greater freedom within the area, for no local pressure groups are going to push for additional resources in any one specific area of the authority. However, it leads more to an attitude of resignation, for even when additional resources were provided to establish sixth forms in the comprehensives of the study area, they remained under-used and are now at the centre of a study of amalgamation; an attempt to bring resources into line with numbers of pupils in the sixth forms of Gateshead.

The questionnaires also highlighted the lack of interest by parents - only one in ten junior schools had a P.T.A., although many infant schools said that parents consulted teachers over their children's progress during the week, when collecting the children from school.

It would be fair to say, then that the accepted lack of interest in education by the public and the lack of making use of sixth forms in Gateshead prompt the education department to assume that the present levels of resources, be they unequal, are adequate for a population, of which the children's chief ambition is to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Hence the levels of resources are to a large extent maintained by the decisions and assumptions of the local education officers.

- ii Control and maintenance of unequal levels of resources is also partially due to the present mechanisms of finance distribution, especially the Rate Support Grant. The following table shows a break down of the source of Gateshead's finance from during the past four years.

Table 6.7

	Rents, charges	Rates	Government grants
1972 - 73	26.2%	26.9%	49.9%
1973 - 74	(figures not available)		
1974 - 75	21.0%	16.0%	63.0%
1975 - 76	14.1%	19.5%	66.4%

Gateshead now relies on the Rate Support Grant for nearly 70% of its finance. Together with many poor local authorities, Gateshead is dependant on the R.S.G. to pay basic salaries, maintenance of schools and colleges and administration of the authority. These local education authorities are especially susceptible to the fluctuations in the political climate during R.S.G. negotiations every autumn. Unlike a wealthy authority, Gateshead is unable to present a coherent resource policy for it may be faced with short notice fluctuations in the R.S.G. at any time. Yet, as J. Eggleston points out:

'both (wealthy and poor) ... authorities are held to be equally responsible by central government and by their constituents for the education ecology of the area they serve'.²¹

This has implications, not only for levels of resources but for poor relations between departments in the local authority. The education department is unable to make plans for the future, ahead of perhaps one year from the present. Unfortunately, other departments who rely on the education department for related work, have to work in the dark, never knowing what the future will hold. Hence, at the time of this research, there were threats of redun-

dancy in other departments as a result of lack of educational finance for major or minor building work, a situation which could not have been planned for, because of the yearly fluctuations in available finance from the R.S.G. and permission for capital expenditure.

The unfairness and inadequacies of the R.S.G. have been studied by a number of researchers.²² The main conclusions show that the R.S.G. is not tied sufficiently to local authority needs and is not tailored to allow for past inequalities. It does not compensate for expenditure equitably on a per capita basis, neither does it discriminate consistently in favour of areas of greatest need. One of the major criticisms of the R.S.G. is the allocation of the 'needs element'. This forms the main portion of the R.S.G.. By taking into account demographic and 'geographical' characteristics, including educational factors, an allocation of finance is made to each local authority, based on a needs formula. Table 6.8 sets out the main factors taken into consideration in the needs formula and the relative importance of each. The educational units form the second largest part; 36% of the total needs formula.

Table 6.8.

<u>The Rate Support Grant</u>	
<u>Formula for calculation of needs element 1973-74</u>	
<u>Basic Grant</u>	<u>Relative Importance %</u>
Population number	51.82
Children under 15	.97
<u>Supplementary Grants</u>	
Children under 5	.29
Persons over 65	.47
Educational units*	36.26
High Density	.40
Low Density	3.53
Roads	4.35
Declining Population	1.29
Metropolitan Authorities	.57
	<u>100.00%</u>

(Source: Pratt et. al. Your Local Education, Pelican 1973, page 77).
* See Table 6.9

In 1974 - 75, the average needs element per head of population in metropolitan areas was £41.13. Gateshead received £38.37 per head. Although it was not a great deal lower than the average, an increase to the average multiplied by the entire population of Gateshead would bring in another £613,548 per year. Considering all the metropolitan areas, 69% came within 10% of the average. Indeed, for all local authorities, rich or poor, rural or urban, 74% came within 10% of the average. So much for discriminatory policies; the figures show the limited differentiation that the needs element makes. A town like Gateshead could have done with more money, but like many others, gets discriminated against because only a small proportion of children staying on at school after the age of sixteen, and this is reflected in the needs element of the R.S.G.. Educational units form the second largest part of the needs element and Table 6.9 shows the formula for calculation of the educational units. It can be seen that the weighting is heavily in favour of further education students and pupils over 16.

Table 6.9

Formula for calculation of Education Units 1973-74

<u>Elements</u>	<u>Weighting</u>
Primary pupils	1.0
Secondary and Special pupils	
Under 16	1.79
Over 16	2.87
School meals (per 1000)	0.68
Further Education Students	2.83
Full Value Awards	3.09

(Source: Pratt et. al. Your Local Education, Pelican 1973, p. 78).

An area with a high proportion of children staying on at school does well from the formula. How can Gateshead hope

to break out of the tradition of early school leaving when these policies encourage what has been termed as a 'cycle of causation'. Those authorities which are well off and have wealthy residents have a high demand for education. The children remain on at school, the R.S.G. makes substantial payments, the education service improves and lures others to remain on at school and earn the local authority more R.S.G.. The deprived local authority, which needs extra expenditure in order to create a more attractive educational climate is discriminated against because of its lack of students in higher education.

The inadequacies of the R.S.G. mean that a local authority, which requires high levels of spending because of social and environmental problems, is not getting sufficient finance to cope with a greater level of conflicting demands. Compensation for past inequalities is not forthcoming, as E. Byrne puts it,

"to level up to a backlog of need, the authorities need a development budget, not a survival kit".²⁵

If education costs are compared between all local authorities in the North East, Gateshead comes below the average for spending on repair and maintenance of buildings and grounds, supplies and services and for total spending in primary and secondary education.

Table 6.10

Breakdown of spending 1973/74 for County
Boroughs in the North East (per child)

County Borough	Primary Education Spending	Secondary Education Spending	Primary Index (100)	Secondary Index (100)
Darlington	142.28	265.31	94	101
Gateshead	144.55	243.48	97	93
South Shields	156.33	230.99	103	88
Newcastle	157.84	258.52	104	98
Sunderland	144.02	248.84	95	95
Teeside	156.99	250.65	104	95
Average C. Borough	150.58	257.11	100	100

(Source: CIPFA statistics 1973/74. For more details see Appendix 3.)

Gateshead spent over 40% of its current expenditure on education, yet was still below the average for English county boroughs.

The financial constraints imposed on Gateshead by the system of finance allocation especially the R.S.G. mean that the education authority cannot provide a service in relation to local need. As R. Pahl points out, one would expect

'to find a positive correlation between the need for public services and facilities and their provision. Thus, the Welfare State and notions of citizenship would be a reality and the inequalities following from wage differentials would be compensated for, so that the poor would not be doubly penalised.²⁴

At present, the population of Gateshead are penalised both through central government constraints and through assumptions that they have no desire for better levels of educational provision. In addition, their spatial

^{of what}
location in the crowded areas of central Gateshead means that they are discriminated against in terms of new buildings, because of the surrounding areas of middle class occupation with faster raising numbers of children of school age. x

Finance for new buildings comes from debts raised by the local authority, although constrained by limits imposed by the D.E.S.. These limits have drastically dropped over the 1970's, as Table 6.11 shows. Spending has halved between 1970 and 1980. Gateshead's capital expenditure has also begun to reflect this drop as Table 6.12 shows.

Table 6.11

Education Capital Expenditure. Actual and Estimated levels of spending 1970 - 1980

		Primary, Secondary	Total Education and Libraries
a	1970 - 71	492.0	788.7
a	1971 - 72	569.3	867.7
a	1972 - 73	687.8	975.5
a	1973 - 74	662.3	963.3
a	1974 - 75	469.7	708.4
e	1975 - 76	386.4	623.4
e	1976 - 77	378.2	595.8
e	1977 - 78	298.0	495.3
e	1978 - 79	238	396
e	1979 - 80	217	374

£million at 1975 Survey prices.

a = actual spending e = estimated spending.

Table 6.12

Total and education capital spending in Gateshead

		Total Capital Expenditure	Education Capital Expenditure
a	1970 - 71	6,086,270	368,598
a	1971 - 72	5,591,064	341,562
a	1972 - 73	6,946,837	281,764
a	1973 - 74	(figures unavailable)	
		(creation of metropolitan borough)	
a	1974 - 75	18,093,092	1,157,625
e	1975 - 76	28,421,979	1,867,100
e	1976 - 77	20,776,139	1,752,500

a = actual spending e = estimated spending

(Source: Gateshead Budget Plan, 1976 - 1977)

Whilst this drop in the limits and actual capital spending would hold little significance for authorities with high levels of resources, Gateshead still needs heavy capital spending to provide a good education system.

These limits, and those constraints imposed by the R.S.G. serve to maintain a system already characterized by unequal levels of resources both on a regional and local level. They perpetuate a system created through unequal regional development and local discrimination in terms of anachronistic mechanisms of finance distribution. The perpetuation of the system has served to keep the population with low expectations and negative attitudes towards education and provide local decision makers with the justification for merely maintaining and not radically changing the pattern of inequality.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Expenditure Cuts and Inflation in the 1970'sLocal Authority finance and the education expenditure cuts

Over the past five years, Gateshead, together with many local authorities, has faced tremendous financial problems because of decisions taken at central government level concerning levels of public expenditure.

Gateshead, with its low rateable value and high dependence on the R.S.G. relies heavily on the government for finance. This chapter shows how the government cuts and inflation, especially in the education field have led many local authorities into a situation of no growth during the 1970's. What can be seen clearly is the lack of understanding of local authority problems and the failure to put forward clear policy objectives by the government during this time. Whilst it cannot be doubted that there was a need for reduction in public spending in line with the accompanying economic crisis, it can be argued that more consideration over priorities should have been taken, especially in relation to local authorities, in the light of the raging inflation occurring at the same time.

Justification for cuts in education spending was made in terms of falling pupil numbers and the high level of provision that already existed in British education. Certainly, it cannot be denied that in many areas, there exists a high standard of educational provision. How-

ever, as previous chapters have shown, there are still many areas with well below the national average for resource levels. Yet, when the cuts came, they had a blanket effect over all local authorities and no priority was given to specific areas for spending. Inflation and expenditure cuts served to reinforce the existing inequalities and force many local authorities into an inescapable situation of having to provide an increasingly costly service with a decreasing budget.

As Chapters 5 and 6 showed, by 1972, Gateshead had expanded its educational service greatly and the future looked promising. The 1972 White Paper on public expenditure, allowed for rapid growth between 1972 and 1974, but with a slowing down after that date. Expenditure on education and libraries was planned to rise by £482 M between 1972 and 1976. By 1976, the education and library programme was expected to account for over 14% of all public expenditure.

Much of this increased expenditure was tied into the development suggested in the White Paper 'A Framework for Expansion' (Cmd. 5174). This included a substantial development in provision for nursery education, allocation of further resources for the improvement and replacement of school buildings, the acceleration of the special schools building programme, improvements in the in-service training of teachers and the continued expansion of higher education.

Gateshead prepared their general rate estimates (G.R.E.'s) for 1973 - 1974² in the same optimistic light. The estimates showed current educational expenditure increasing by over 20% from the previous year. Of this increase two thirds was for increased salaries and wages. The number of teachers increased from 755 to 842 and this led to a further improvement in the teacher: pupil ratios of the area. Gateshead also began an extensive nursery programme, in line with that suggested in 'A

Framework for Expansion'³.

During 1973, the Government announced a series of changes in public expenditure, which were to seriously affect local authority spending. The government budget of 1973 put forward lower levels of spending for 1973 - 1974 than had been anticipated by the 1972 White Paper on public expenditure.

In May 1973, another series of cuts were announced. There would be a decrease of £300M in public expenditure in 1973 - 1974 and a further decrease of £500M in 1974 - 1975. In terms of local authority spending, this meant a decrease of £100M from capital projects and £80M from current expenditure.

Circular 77/73⁴ was sent out to local authorities in June 1973, explaining the suggested cuts in public expenditure. It stated that:

'The White Paper "Public Expenditure to 1976 - 77 (cmd. 5178) forecast a growth of local authority current expenditure of 4% for 1973/1974 - 1974/1975..... The Government are looking now for some restraint, although the rate of growth after modifications will still be of the order of 2½%..... this entails a reduction of over £70M at 1972 prices'.⁵

In October 1973, following the Government's announcement of its proposals for the phase 3 Counter Inflation Policy, the D.E.S. sent out Circular 12/73⁶, announcing that they would give no more final approvals for projects until the end of the year. Projects already given final approval could be started. The circular also said that no further minor works should be started between the time of the circular issue and the end of 1973.

On December 17th, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced yet a further series of measures for overcoming the severe economic problems which had arisen. Priorities were made clear -

'the main weight of the action should lie, not on persons or the private sector of industry but on public expenditure. To do that will make for a more tolerable level of personal consumption and release resources for exports and for private industrial investment'.⁷

Local authorities were notified of their part in these plans in circular 157/73.⁸ It explained that all public sector programmes (other than housing) would have reductions of 20% in capital expenditure and 10% in current expenditure on goods and services. These reductions were on the levels which would have otherwise operated, as set out in the White Paper 'Public Expenditure to 1977 - 1978'.⁹ The revised estimates were as follows:

<u>1973 White Paper forecasts</u>		<u>Reductions for 1974 - 1975</u>		<u>1974 - 1975 revised estimates</u>
1973-74	1974-75	Capital Procurement		Total
£32,348M	£32,804M	-£876M	-£339M	£31,859M
		Total		
		-£1215M		

In cost terms, instead of the planned 1.8% growth in total expenditure for 1974 - 1975 there was now a decline of 2.0%. The White Paper, Public Expenditure to 1977 - 1978 (Cmd. 5519)¹⁰ was rendered obsolete, even before it had been published.

Local authorities were expected to co-operate, and Ministries were expected to notify local authorities as to how these reductions were to be made, before negotiations for the R.S.G. 1974 - 1975 could continue. In January 1974, the White Paper, The Rate Support Grant 1974 - 1975¹¹ appeared. It explained that the prospects for the economy in 1974 were dominated by energy problems.

"In these circumstances, it is more than ever necessary to safeguard the balance of payments. The Government took action.... to restrict the growth of domestic demand principally.... by

reducing the public sectors use of goods and services".¹²

Because of this, it was explained that local authorities would have to reduce their current expenditure by £111M. This was in addition to the May 1973 reduction of £81M on their current account. D.E.S. sent out circular 15/73¹³ to local authorities pointing to drastic reductions in future building programmes. Only two categories of projects would be given approval until June 1974. These were:

1. Schools projects to meet basic needs for additional places.
2. Special school projects.

A month later the D.E.S. sent out circular 2/74¹⁴, Rate Fund Expenditure and Rate Calls in 1974 - 75. The purpose of the circular was

'to emphasize to all authorities at this time, when they are preparing their budgets for next year, the importance which the government attaches to their limiting their expenditure so that full savings required in the national interest are achieved'.¹⁵

It explained that the government accepted that the reductions in planned expenditure would mean a slowing down in the present rate of local authority services and could lead to a reduction in some, so that acceptable standards could be maintained in those services of high social priority.

No help was forthcoming in how these cuts in procurement items were to be achieved, although the circular did explain that the methods for securing the savings would vary between local authorities:

it will rest with each local authority to decide by what combination of measures to secure the

required reduction of 10% in their prospective expenditure in this field.¹⁶

With education, the Secretary of State hoped that:

'authorities will generally recognise the desirability of maintaining adequate levels of expenditure on books used in schools and colleges, even though this may entail a rather higher proportionate reduction in some other procurement items.'¹⁷

Local authorities were now faced with the expenditure cuts, inflation was beginning to bite hard and it was the first financial year after local authority reorganisation in 1974. In education, local authorities were asked to carry out a careful scrutiny of requests for additional staff and equipment in order to effect a substantial reduction in the rate of growth of their current accounts.

Gateshead, following reorganisation, had to cope with and additional 72 primary schools and ten secondary schools. Teachers increased from 842 to 2056 and pupils from 17,342 to 42,357.

Gateshead's first estimates for 1974-75 education revenue expenditure came to £14,479,790, made up in the following way:

Secondary Schools	£4,934,910
Primary Schools	£4,882,240
Total expenditure	£14,479,790

Increases from the previous year were chiefly due to wage cost inflation, increased building and maintenance costs and debt charges. The local authority, now much expanded, also had to allow for:

'additions to ensure that a standard level of service is provided in the amalgamating authorities'.¹⁹

Amendments made to the first estimates resulted in reductions of £441,350 of which £89,630 came from the primary budget and £185,310 from the secondary budget. The chief reductions were in teachers salaries, maintenance of buildings and equipment. The final estimate for education came to £14,308,605.

However, by the time the 1975 - 76 budget was produced, the 1974 - 75 estimates had had to be changed to a new total of £14,778,360, a 3% increase on the previous estimate. The final revenue account for 1974 - 75 was £16,455,968, an increase of 15% over the estimates originally suggested by the 1974 -75 General Rate Estimates. Circular 2/74²⁰ had asked for a 10% reduction and cutback in non-teaching expenditure with a growth rate of only 2½%. Gateshead could not hold its recurrent expenditure within the Government's guide lines and had overspent on its educational estimates by nearly £2 million.

When negotiations for the 1975 - 76 R.S.G. took place, it was apparent that other local authorities had been in the same situation. Not only were the estimated outturns for 1974 - 75 based on local authorities' own estimates, 8% higher than the R.S.G. settlement for that year, but actual expenditure was going to be considerably higher. One of the chief reasons was seen to be the Government's miscalculation of inflation for 1974 - 75. Using a system of forecasting by trends, they had advised local authorities to budget for only 8% inflation in 1974 - 75. The realistic figure was much higher.

The Government, worried by the excess spending of the local authorities, sent out Circular 12/74,²¹ suggesting that local authorities examine their future commitments very carefully, and become aware of the serious implications of the R.S.G. settlement, then agreed by Parliament.

In the three years since 1971/72, current spending of local authorities had been going up by 7.8% (excluding inflation). Because of this, the circular stated,

'however desirable it is to see a further development of standards and services, a rate of growth which outstrips the growth in national resources cannot go on indefinitely. For the year 1975/76, local authorities would be expected to play their part in the achievement of national objectives by limiting the rise in their expenditure to what was absolutely inescapable'.²²

The Circular gave growth rates, e.g. 4.1% growth for education in real terms, which should not be exceeded and it was hoped that they would lower the growth rate to 0% or even achieve a reduction. In education, it was suggested that the growth allowed would,

'be chiefly taken up in the continued development of the education service to meet the growing number of pupils and students.... improvements will be very limited and many planned improvements will have to be deferred'.²³

The implications of these reductions on educational policies did not go without mention:-

'the government recognise that the settlements include no allowance for the implementation of recommendations, made in recent and prospective reports.... except to the extent that some of the recommendations may have no significant expenditure implications or could be implemented by some redeployment of existing resources'.²⁴

In Gateshead, the local authority was preparing the first in a new series of Budget Plans.²⁵ The idea was to prepare a new budget plan each year in an attempt to discontinue the old G.R.E.'s and produce a comprehensive survey and plan for future allocation of finance in the local authority. It was seen as

'the first step towards the deployment of the authority's resources. Under the present

economic climate, it is becoming increasingly necessary to examine, not only new growth and increases in levels of services, but also the existing allocation of resources to ensure that the services being provided are those for which the community has the greatest need and that value for money is being obtained'.²⁶

The plan allowed an additional £8,676,000 to be added to the £29,483,160 that was the net expenditure going to the committees. This sum was specifically for price increases and pay awards.

Educational expenditure was estimated at £16,661,700, 60% of the total revenue expenditure of the local authority. Following the growth rates set out in Circular 12/74,²⁷ Gateshead, allowed education a 4.1% increase, the maximum allowed by the Government. Growth was divided into the categories of inescapable and proposed.

Table 7.1

Educational Growth and Improvement: estimates
1975 - 1976

<u>Growth levels as per</u> <u>Circular 12/74</u>	<u>Growth and improvement in service</u> <u>provided for 1975 - 1976</u>		
	<u>Inescapable</u>	<u>Proposed</u>	<u>Total</u>
Education £605,910	£337,770	£261,940	£ 599,710
Total £1,395,675	£1,053,035	£557,945	£1,610,980

The actual expenditure for 1975 - 1976 in Gateshead's educational service proved to be far in excess of their estimates and the 4.1% growth became submerged under a tide of raging inflation. Table 7.2. shows the education estimates and actual expenditure for Gateshead 1975 - 76.

Table 7.2.

Education Estimates and Expenditure 1975 - 1976

<u>Estimated</u> <u>Expenditure</u> <u>1975-1976</u>	<u>% growth</u> <u>as per</u> <u>12/74</u>	<u>Actual</u> <u>expend-</u> <u>iture</u> <u>1975-76</u>	<u>% increase</u> <u>over 1975 -</u> <u>1976</u> <u>estimate</u>
Primary £ 4,926,100	4.1%	£ 6,678,350	26%
Secondary £ 6,069,820	4.0%	£ 7,891,890	23%
Total Education £16,661,760	4.0%	£21,577,110	23%

Gateshead was not alone in overspending. In Circular 88/75, local authorities were told that the excess in local authority spending in that year

"means that there is no scope for increased expenditure in total in real terms in local authority current expenditure for 1976 - 77 over that which is now estimated to being spent by local authorities in 1975 - 76".²⁸

The White Paper on Public Expenditure (Cmd. 5879)²⁹ which had shown an increase in total public spending of 3% for 1977 - 78, now proved to be obsolete, with the estimated figures for future spending being quite unrealistic. In education, the emphasis was on a stand-still for all educational spending,

"there will be no scope for improvement of standards of the education service at any level and only by strict economy and careful planning will it be possible to obviate the need for reductions of standards".³⁰

Local authorities were asked to "rationalise and concentrate resources" and "make the best of a period when standards of material provision and upkeep of premises must remain below the level generally accepted as

desirable in the recent past".³¹

The eventual R.S.G. Settlement for 1976 - 1977 followed an agreement by local authority associations for a standstill in local authority current expenditure for 1976 - 77. Circular 129/75 made this very clear:

"the main message of this circular, as of the whole R.S.G. settlement, is the need to maintain a standstill in the total local authority current expenditure in real terms".³²

It accepted that some local authorities would be unable to avoid increased expenditure on some services because of population changes or deprivation in some localities and suggested that such authorities should make "off-setting savings elsewhere".³³

Such suggestions are of little help to a local authority which is having to overspend in order to provide adequate services; a local authority like Gateshead, where housing, education and social services are all the more necessary because of the poor, densely populated working class population who live there. Gateshead's programme for 1976 - 77 had a growth rate of 0%. The education department had given priority of spending to staff and capitation allowances. The nursery programme has had to be halted. Capital expenditure on school buildings also came to an abrupt stop, with minor works recoving only £300,000 and no major works given permission to go ahead by the D.E.S..

Gateshead's budget plan for 1976 - 1977³⁴ spelled out the problem. It pointed to the fact that Gateshead relies heavily on government finance. The R.S.G. meets nearly 70% of Gateshead's expenditure and cash limits imposed on the R.S.G. were based on a reduced rate of inflation of 10% - 11%.

The allowance for inflation which this authority

has to meet has been based on the same inflationary rate. It is essential that inflation is brought down to 10% this year, or Gateshead, in common with local authorities throughout the country will be in great financial difficulty.³⁵

The future could hardly look less attractive for Gateshead. The public expenditure cuts have served not only as a force in maintaining the present distribution of resources but as a creative force for further inequalities.

Inflation and the Effect on Local Authorities

Intimately linked with these cuts has been the related force of inflation which has played a significant part both in the reinforcement of inequality and in the creation of a new source of control by the central government over local authority spending:

'The inflation effect on local government spending is now so significant that it is at least as important for public expenditure controls purposes as the rate of growth in real terms of local authority spending and yet in all the relationships which exist between central and local government, this is virtually ignored'.³⁶

This new dimension of local authority spending has become increasingly important in the 1970's. The effect of inflation on local authorities is felt strongly in two ways. Firstly, local authorities are labour intensive and wages form a large part of local authority expenditure. Secondly, because their residual source of income, the rates neither increase with inflation nor reflect ability to pay. The confusion caused by inflation becomes more apparent when budgeting and planning for the future are put into effect and the consequent difficulty of controlling spending leads to the situation when local authorities' out turns are far in excess of the original estimates: i.e. local authority relevant expenditure estimates for 1974 - 75 (at 1973 prices)

were £5671M. The estimated out turn for that year at 1974 prices was £7595M, an increase of 34%.

Yet, inflation has been virtually ignored in the financial relationship between the government and local authorities. As we have seen in the R.S.G. analysis, the basis on which the government makes its estimates and the ways in which local authorities draw up their own budgets are very different. Whilst the government's main interest in local authority expenditure is to regulate its growth rate to that of public expenditure and the economy, the local authorities are concerned primarily with providing adequate services with the minimum burden to the ratepayers. Whilst the government defines growth in expenditure as the increase in spending over the previous year, less inflation, the local authorities see growth in terms of expansion in the local services. Local authorities also make the distinction between 'improvement to existing services' and 'inescapable growth'. The latter includes such items as staff pay increments, loan charges on new buildings or demands created by increased population.

This ambiguity of 'real growth' leads to the annual miscalculation by the Government of what the local authorities are likely to spend. Related to this, is the problem of calculating inflation. While the government seeks to give a figure to inflation for the coming year, local authorities often claim that local circumstances invalidate any national indices of inflation. There is also considerable confusion over what should be classified as inflation and what as expansion. It is in the best interests of the local authority to classify as much as possible under inflation and keep their real growth expansion within the government guide lines. In this way, they can claim more in their local authority estimates of relevant expenditure. It is not surprising that these estimates rarely coincide with estimates produced by the Government.

Because of the numerous definitions of improvement, inflation and expansion that the local authority budgets suggest, the concept of 'real growth' becomes ineffective as a means of controlling expenditure. The Houghton awards exemplify this point. The report of the Committee of Inquiry (Cmd. 5848) into the pay of non-University teachers said:

'the teaching profession is a large and important group within the public sector which lacks any agreed doctrine of comparability or a reliable estimate of public esteem. This may account in part for the pay of teachers falling behind. We have now tried to get teachers' salaries and careers more in line with a realistic assessment of present conditions in our schools and the place of education in the country's future'.³⁷

The decision to increase salaries was a definite move to improve the quality of the profession and therefore, should logically be considered as an improvement of the education system. However, the burden of payment fell to the local authorities who regarded the pay awards as inflation. To have considered them as real growth would have increased their relevant expenditure estimates far in excess of a realistic proposal.

Therefore, as local authority spending increases, it becomes impossible to say what is growth and what is inflation and to see whether there has been any improvement in the services available. It can be argued that inflation is hitting all local authorities equally and in itself can not lead to further inequality of provision between local authorities. However, it does exacerbate the present situation of inequality, especially at a time of recession.

The R.S.G. negotiations for 1976/77 included the imposition of cash limits on local expenditure. Tied to the inflationary rate of 10 - 11%, it was expected that no local authority would spend above this figure. However,

there is no reason to believe that a definition of a general rate of inflation will have any similarity to the rate within individual local authorities. Indeed, the R.S.G. negotiations made no allowance for the problems of individual local authorities, and by imposing a cash limit on spending, it may only serve to increase the hardship on the rate payers in areas like Gateshead. As the Gateshead budget for 1976/77 stated:

'the cash limit has been based on the reduced rate of 10 - 11%. Similarly, the allowance for inflation which this authority has had to meet has been based on the same inflationary rate. It is essential that inflation is brought down to 10 - 11% per year, or Gateshead, in common with local governments throughout the country, will be in great financial difficulty'.³⁸

protection
already
1976/77

Not only will they be in financial difficulty in absolute terms, but local needs may become increasingly neglected; needs which have had to remain unmet up to now, because of a historic backlog of poverty, despite overall increases in local expenditure. Local authorities do differ in their ability to cope with the present financial crisis, but this difference has not been reflected in any government policy regarding spending and inflation.

Inflation has not only served to reinforce the present inadequate mechanisms of finance allocation, but also provides a mechanism in itself for social inequality. If all prices were in step with earnings in a close society, then inflation would be socially neutral. However, in a country which relies heavily on exports for its economy, and where prices and earnings do not increase at a similar rate, inflation becomes 'one of the most powerful instruments of income distribution yet invented'.³⁹ As Klein explains:

'it shifts purchasing power from those who are weakly organised to those who are strategically situated and militantly led. It discriminates in favour of those who have the skill and know-how required to protect their money, as against those who do not. It helps those who already own their own house, as against those who want

to buy one'.⁴⁰

Indeed, inflation may be creating a new class of poor - those who rely on savings and pension funds, for both are being eroded away by inflation. It is redistributing resources from the small saver, who finds his capital decreasing in real terms, to the Government and large financial institutions. This redistribution may create extra demands for services, the cost of which must be met out of public expenditure, for inflation creates a higher demand on the social services and the social cost of unemployment has to be met from government funds. In Klein's view:

'Social expenditure becomes in these circumstances a form of compensation, for the consequences of economic policy'.⁴¹

Inflation has created, therefore, an entirely new angle to the problems of local authorities, both in terms of reinforcing present resource inequalities through constraints in the finance system, and by creating a higher demand for those social services, which are themselves suffering cutbacks as a result of the public expenditure cuts.

1. Public Expenditure to 1976 - 77, Cmnd 5178, HMSO, 1972.
2. Country Borough of Gateshead. General Rate Estimates 1973 - 74, Gateshead, 1972.
3. Education: A Framework for Expansion, Cmnd 5174 HMSO, 1972.
4. Department of Environment Circular 77/73, Public Expenditure 1974 - 75, 8 June, 1973.
5. Ibid para. 2.
6. Department of Education Circular 12/73 Rephasing of Education Building programmes. 12 October, 1973.
7. Hansard, 17 December, 1973.
8. Department of Environment Circular 157/73, Public Expenditure 1974- 75, 19 December, 1973.
9. Public Expenditure to 1977 - 78 Cmnd 5519, HMSO 1973.
10. Ibid
11. The Rate Support Grant 1974 - 75, Cmnd 5532, HMSO, 1974.
12. Ibid, p. 1., para. 4.
13. Department of Education Circular 15/73, Education Building 1973 - 75, 18 December, 1973
14. Department of Education Circular 2/74 Rate Fund Expenditure and Rate Calls in 1974 - 75, 31 Jan., 1974.

15. Ibid, para. 4.
16. Ibid, para. 19.
17. Ibid, para. 19.
18. Metropolitan Borough of Gateshead General Rate Estimates 1974 - 75, Gateshead, 1973.
19. Ibid.
20. Department of Education Circular 2/74, Rate Fund Estimates and Rate Calls in 1974 - 75, 31 Jan., 1974.
21. Department of Education Circular 12/74, Rate Fund Expenditure and Rate Calls in 1975 - 76, 23 Dec., 1974.
22. Ibid, para. 3.
23. Ibid, para. 13.
24. Ibid, para. 13.
25. Metropolitan Borough of Gateshead. Budget Plan 1975 - 1976, Gateshead, 1974.
26. Ibid
27. Department of Education Circular 12/74 op. cit.
28. Department of Environment Circular 88/75, Local Authority Expenditure in 1976 - 77 Forward Planning, 1975.
29. Public Expenditure to 1978 - 79 Cmnd 5879, HMSO, 1975.

30. Department of Environment Circular 88/75 op. cit. para. 8.
31. Ibid, para. 13.
32. Department of Environment Circular 129/75, Rate Support Grant Settlement 1976 - 77, 31 December, 1975.
33. Ibid, para. 16.
34. Metropolitan Borough of Gateshead. Budget Plan 1976 - 1977, Gateshead, 1975.
35. Ibid
36. Hepworth, N., Public Expenditure Controls and Local Government, Local Government Studies, January, 1976, pp 1 - 14 p. c.
37. Report on the Committee of Inquiry into the pay of non-University teachers (Cmnd 5848) HMSO, 1975
38. Metropolitan Borough of Gateshead, Budget Plan op. cit.
39. Klein, R. (ed.) Social Policy and Public Expenditure, Centre for Studies in Social Policy, 1975, p. 2.
40. Ibid, p.2.
41. Ibid, p.3.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions: The Need for Change

This study has highlighted the failure of both past and present systems of resource allocation in the education service of this century. Resource disparities have been created and reinforced on regional, local and neighbourhood levels by a combination of interacting processes and influences. In line with E. Byrne's conclusions

The key factor, indeed in accounting for educational inequality was the financial question, which underlay much of the complex pattern of political, educational and philosophical influences. Innately, unequal financial resources, or discriminial redistribution on principles not directly related to assessed needs, seemed to override all other factors.¹

The 1970's have added a new dimension to E. Byrne's conclusions. Inflation, recession and public expenditure cuts have accentuated the failure of mechanisms of finance allocation and led to a stronger reinforcement of existing inequality of educational resources.

At the local authority level, the education department has only limited autonomy to decide on priorities within the service. However, this degree of autonomy, free of government control, allows local political considerations and the defensive strategies of the decision making participants to have some effect in the distribution of resources. It has been seen that certain

defensive strategies are used by key decision makers to maintain the local system as it is, and to show that it is not in need of fundamental change. The strategies are based on the assumption that resource levels make little difference to the life chances of children. Even when extra facilities are provided, the local population rarely use them. This lack of demand shows local disinterest in education. This circular argument provides the basis for maintaining the local education system in its present form and gives rise to an attitude of resignation on the part of the local decision makers. This attitude helps to reinforce any inequalities that exist, because of a lack of dynamism needed to bring about change and redistribution of educational resources at the local level.

1. What Sort of Change?

Local education authorities are largely constrained in their spending on educational resources by central government directives. As E. Byrne suggests

The balance of power appears also to have shifted constraintly from local to central government over the past 25 years, to the detriment of the local education authorities' capacity to respond to the local needs and demands.... which is part of the *raison d'etre* of local government.²

This shift has led to confusion over the role of the local authority and confusion over the relationship between the Government and the local authorities. This relationship is best described by A. Marshall, when he points out

'In short, the relationship between central and local government has become ambiguous, uneasy and unstable; the situation being aggravated by the local government's increasing calls on manpower and on the public purse'.³

The Layfield Committee's report on local government finance⁴ exposes the gravity of the present situation. Their message is explicit:- local government is drifting towards a dangerous dependence on central government, local autonomy is already seriously eroded and the situation between the two levels is so confused that neither the taxpayer nor ratepayer can hold their elected representatives to account for local spending.

The answer lies in one of two possible directions. Firstly, central control could be intensified. The Department of Education could become more responsible for education at the local level. Alternatively, local authorities could be given more power to decide on their own allocation of resources, in line with local levels of need.

A move towards more central control has a number of advantages. Firstly, the rating system as a form of local taxation could be abolished. Secondly, centralisation would remove the need for a costly local administrative system. Thirdly, the Government could control levels of spending more directly, thus enabling local expenditure to remain in line with the economy. Fourthly, the Civil Service would have direct power over services and could take direct action to influence service administration.

The suggestion that the Government and Civil Service would provide a more superior form of administration is seriously doubted by the Layfield report⁵. It is critical of the way in which the Treasury and Department of Environment have handled the central aspect of local authority expenditure. The chief criticisms were that; the Government had provided no firm guidelines to local authorities either on the expenditure they should plan for in the medium term or on the grant they may expect; that the government's attitude to counter the effects of the economic crisis by regulating public expenditure

had resulted in the worst of both worlds, with maximum disruption and minimum effort; pressures on local authorities and had used controls for purposes for which they were not intended and not suited.

A move towards increased centralisation would also provide a wider gulf between those people who use the services and those who have the power over the services. The ability to discover just what the local needs are, would be lessened and local choice would be undermined because it is not compatible with highly centralised organisations. It could be argued that centralisation would provide uniform common standards for the services, but power would be dispersed so far away from the individual, that it would be unlikely that areas' differences would be removed. It would seem more likely that individual local service needs would be overridden by political and economic considerations at the national level. At least local authorities do provide a link between the consumer and a powerful organisation of government and support their populations' interests to the best of their ability.

The alternative to centralisation is that local authorities must be reestablished as responsible for their own finance and the relationship between local authorities and the Government must be clarified. It was this alternative that the Layfield Committee considered to be the correct answer.

The Committee concluded that local government needed a new set of relationships with the Government and an additional source of taxation, in order to allow them to raise finance, which at present comes in the grant system. Proposals included the continuation of close co-operation between the central government and local authority associations and the setting up of a forum to achieve the aims of expanding the local authority associations.

There would be a new unitary grant, based on needs and resources, but this would not be used for longterm regulation. Aggregate expenditure should be in the hands of the Government, which would have powers of influence and enforcement in reserve if needed. In fact, the Committee go back to the old idea that responsibility should be clear and undivided. Concerned not merely with adjustments, they envisage a

'financial system based on a clear identification of responsibility for expenditure and the taxation to finance it.'⁶

The report pointed out that the confusion about responsibilities had been highlighted by the virtual stoppage in the rise of real national income, coinciding with the rapid increase in inflation and reorganisation of local government. As a result

'few people, if any, know where the real responsibility rests for decisions about local government services and the money to be spent on them..... In a situation where sums of about £13,000m a year are being spent, these are grave and fundamental defects.'⁷

In order to achieve a system based on local responsibility, increased powers of local decision must be matched by greater control of local authorities over their source of revenue, or the combination of financial and political forces will continue to push towards greater central control. The present financial weakness of the local authorities, based on a combination of high and increasing proportions of grant and an inflexible local tax base must be removed. If a local authority is to be responsible for its own finance, there must be a lessening of dependence on national taxation and a consequential increase in the capacity of local authorities to raise taxes without creating political strain.

Such moves would have to be agreeable to the Treasury

and this may prove the major stumbling block.

D. Chester is critical of the Treasury and pessimistic about its acceptance of the Layfield proposals.

'The treasury's record so far as local finance is concerned is pretty lamentable.... They have gone along with a series of measures which it is obvious to a layman, let alone a financial expert would undermine the responsibilities of local authorities. They have tried one fashionable device after another to control public expenditure without success. Surely all the gimmickry cannot have obscured to them that accountability is the system which comes closest to a person spending his own money'.⁸

At present, the future looks unattractive for local authorities, especially those encumbered by histories of inequality. It must be hoped that the future will bring active change to replace the passive continuation of the outdated and inadequate mechanisms of finance allocation at present being uses. This change will then provide greater educational opportunities for those children at present being denied any chance of future mobility through their ~~spatial~~ location in areas of continuing poor resource provision.

The Need for More Research

There is a need for more research in this area of education. The study has been chiefly concerned with the processes of resource allocation and the spatial implications of these at regional and local levels. Implicit in these processes has been elements of control and the distribution of power in the system of educational expenditure and resources. This needs further analysis, especially in terms of local inequalities of resource distribution.

Ideally, a study of resources should analyse the mechanisms in the processes of allocation and all the complex elements of decision making and conflict that exist in the system. This study has related the mechanisms of distribution to the unequal pattern of educational resources at a local and regional level. It has provided a detailed analysis of the major components that may influence individual decision making on resource allocation, by showing the limits of control and freedom, and the mechanistic and legal constraints that confine decision making by key personnel.

Although the study has provided glimpses of the decision makers at work, there is now a need to look in more detail at the "gatekeepers" in the education system, in order to better understand local policy making and decision making in relation to resource distribution at the local level. Research in local authorities or educational institutions presents problems of access. However, the request for further research at the "grass roots" must be tempered by the knowledge that access for this kind of research is difficult and involves a great deal of negotiation between the researcher and those in positions of power. The goodwill of the "gatekeepers" of research access must never be taken for granted. It must be worked for and maintained

in order that researchers may also be allowed future access to areas of education⁶ decision making, at present under researched and often misunderstood.

1. Byrne, E., Planning and Educational Inequality, N.F.E.R, Windsor, 1974, p. 308.
2. Ibid. p. 307.
3. Marshall, A., The Layfield Report; Financial and Administrative Implications. A Special Review Feature, in Local Government Studies, October 1976, pp 59 - 64, p. 61.
4. Report of the Layfield Committee of Inquiry into Local Government Finance, (Cmnd 6453), H.M.S.O., 1976.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, quoted in Chester, D., The Layfield Report; Constitutional Implications, in Local Government Studies, October 1976, pp. 65 - 69 , p.66.
7. Ibid. p. 66.
8. Chester, D., op cit, p. 68.

4. Are the school facilities used by local community groups after school hours?

If so, please indicate which groups -

- a. Adults only, (i.e. clubs, evening classes).
b. Children supervised by adults.
c. Children unsupervised, (i.e. Playing fields, Playground, etc.)
d. Other (please specify)

5. What is the value of the school capitation allowance?

1973-74 _____

1974-75 _____

1975-76 _____

6. How many children in total were there in the school in

1972-73 _____

1973-74 _____

1974-75 _____

1975-76 _____

7. (a) What is the minimum age at which the school admits children?

- (b) Does the school have a nursery attached?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

If so, what is the minimum age of admittance?

8. How many classes were there in the school in 1975-76?

9. How are the children organised into classes? Please tick the box or boxes which most accurately describe the arrangements within the school?

	One teacher per class for general subjects	Team teaching
Form classes. Same age range. Unstreamed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Form classes. Same age range. Streamed or grouped in any way.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Family or vertical grouping.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Area grouping with a home base.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If your school differs from any of these categories, please specify

10. Please indicate the number of teachers in the following categories for the year 1975-76.

a. Length of services in this school

0-11 mths.	1-3 yrs.	4-8 yrs.	9 yrs.+	Total

11. How many teachers left the school in the following years?

	1973/4	1974/5	1975/6
Winter Term			
Spring Term			
Summer Term			

12. Does the school employ any of the following, and if so, how many?

	1974-75	1975-76
Part-time teachers		
Auxiliary assistants ..		
Supply teachers		
Kitchen staff		
Lunch time supervisors ..		
Groundsmen		
Caretaker		
Cleaners		

13. Does the school have a Parent-Teacher association?

14. How many parents usually visit the school to discuss their children in the normal week?

15. How many children regularly take school meals?

16. How many children at present take free school meals?

17. What are the street boundaries of your catchment area? (if known)

18. a. FOR INFANT SCHOOLS ONLY

In the case of Infant schools, which Junior schools did your pupils go on to in the years, 1975 and 1976?

b. FOR JUNIOR SCHOOLS ONLY

In the case of Junior schools, which Secondary schools did your pupils go on to in the years, 1975 and 1976? Could you please indicate the number of Pupils transferred to each school.

19. Is there anything that you would like to add, concerning the facilities that you have in your school, i.e. Do you consider them adequate, what extra facilities would you like to have, etc.?

Breakdown of Results of Questionnaire - for Primary Schools in the Study Area

	Per Pupil Capi- tation 1973-74 £'s	Per Pupil Capi- tation 1974-75 £'s	Per Pupil Capi- tation 1975-76 £'s	Average Class Size	Pupil:Teacher Ratio 1975	Age of School
Alexander Road	n/a	5	7	27	23	1968
Bede Infants	n/a	n/a	n/a	26	26	1976
Brighton Ave. Infants	n/a	n/a	n/a	30	21	1910
Carr Hill Primary	5	4	8	34	30	1930
Derwent Infants	n/a	n/a	7	31	26	1970
Gnnerdale Infants	n/a	8	10	27	32	1952
Felldyke Infants	n/a	n/a	n/a	25	22	1956
Harlow Green Infants	n/a	n/a	8	29	19	1967
Kelvin Grove Infants	3	n/a	8	28	25	1903
Larkspur Primary	4	6	9	26	26	1967
Lindisfarne Infants	5	8	7	29	29	1972
Lobley Hill Infants	n/a	n/a	10	24	24	1954
Low Fell Infants	n/a	n/a	5	30	30	1897
South Street Infants	4	6	8	29	25	1882
Tyne View Infants	n/a	n/a	7	27	16	1971
St. Marys C.of E. Infants	n/a	n/a	10	24	24	1930

Appendix 2 (cont.)

	Per Pupil Capi- tation 1973-74 £'s	Per Pupil Capi- tation 1974-75 £'s	Per Pupil Capi- tation 1975-76 £'s	Average Class Size	Pupil:Teacher Ratio 1975	Age of School
Chester Place Junior	6	7	7	34	25	1966
Fell Dyke Juniors	7	7	9	33	26	1962
Glynwood Juniors	5	6	8	32	27	1953
Harlow Green Juniors	n/a	7	9	33	26	1970
Kelvin Grove Juniors	n/a	5	8	29	25	1900
Lindisfarne Juniors	5	6	7	25	25	1968
Lobley Hill Juniors	8	8	8	28	28	1950
Low Fell Juniors	n/a	n/a	8	30	30	1897
Oakfield Juniors	7	7	8	32	29	1966
Shipcote Juniors	5	5	8	27	27	1890
Tyne View Juniors	n/a	n/a	n/a	25	21	1975
Whitehall Rd Juniors	4	5	8	25	21	1968
Corpus Christi R.C.	4	5	8	30	27	1909
St. Annes R.C.	n/a	n/a	n/a	25	25	1970
St. Joan d'Arc	n/a	n/a	11	17	17	1930
St. Josephs R.C.	n/a	7	8	25	25	1971
St. Wilfrids infants	n/a	5	7	29	29	1936
St. Wilfrids juniors	5	8	9	25	20	1928

	Teacher Turnover				Provision Index(total=24)
	% staff 1 year	% staff 1 - 3 years	% staff 4 - 8 years	% staff 9 years	
Alexander Road	0	50	39	11	17
Bede Infants	13	74	0	13	24
Brighton Ave. Infants	10	0	40	50	11
Carr Hill Primary	6	50	28	16	13
Derwent Infants	0	72	28	0	16
Ennerdale Infants	0	50	17	33	18
Felldyke Infants	20	20	30	30	19
Harlow Green Infants	13	47	40	0	18
Kelvin Grove Infants	40	40	10	10	11
Larkspur Primary	0	21	34	45	16
Lindisfarne Infants	0	50	17	33	19
Lobley Hill Infants	0	67	33	0	24
Low Fell Infants	29	42	0	29	11
South Street Infants	0	43	28	29	17
Tyne View Infants	60	20	0	20	13
St. Marys C of E Infants	0	40	60	0	11

Appendix 2 (Cont.)

	Teacher Turnover				Provision Index (total = 24)
	% staff 1 year	% staff 1 - 3 years	% staff 4 - 8 years	% staff 9 years	
Chester Place Juniors	36	28	36	0	18
Fell Dyke Juniors	0	26	66	8	24
Glynwood Juniors	14	58	14	14	16
Harlow Green Juniors	9	48	34	9	18
Kelvin Grove Juniors	28	14	14	44	11
Lindesfarne Juniors	43	0	57	0	17
Lobley Hill Juniors	0	20	50	30	16
Low Fell Juniors	0	20	70	10	11
Oakfield Juniors	9	55	32	32	19
Shipcote Juniors	38	24	38	0	19
Tyne View Juniors	0	17	83	0	24
Whitehall Rd. Juniors	14	58	14	14	19
Corpus Christi R.C.	0	50	17	33	11
St. Annes R.C.	0	44	56	0	24
St. Joan d'Arc	0	20	40	40	11
St. Josephs R.C.	14	72	0	14	24
St. Wilfrids infants	0	0	34	66	11
St. Wilfrids juniors	16	34	50	0	11

Appendix 3

Breakdown of Spending per Child in North East County Boroughs 1973-74

County Borough	Repairs and maintenance of buildings and grounds		Fuel, light, cleaning, water		Furniture and Fittings		Supplies and Services		Totals	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Darlington	4.03	6.93	4.63	9.05	.94	1.43	5.56	13.27	142.28	265.31
Gateshead	6.66	10.71	6.34	9.77	.88	1.26	5.30	10.25	146.55	243.48
South Shields	7.93	8.25	7.31	9.02	.82	1.02	5.37	11.07	156.33	230.99
Newcastle	4.38	5.95	6.31	8.53	.73	.88	5.63	11.95	157.84	258.52
Sunderland	9.35	13.90	5.67	8.04	.60	.51	6.59	12.93	144.02	248.84
Teeside	7.79	10.53	5.76	8.22	.57	.62	5.86	13.13	156.99	250.65
County Borough Average	7.62	11.78	5.75	8.62	.80	1.22	5.57	12.29	150.58	257.11

Appendix 3 (Cont.)

Breakdown of Spending per Child (based on index (average = 100)) 1973-74

	Repairs and maintenance of buildings and grounds		Fuel, light, cleaning, water		Furniture and Fittings		Supplies and Services		Totals	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Darlington	53	39	81	105	117	117	100	108	94	101
Gateshead	87	91	110	113	110	103	95	83	97	93
South Sheilds	104	70	127	105	103	84	97	90	103	88
Newcastle	58	51	110	99	91	72	101	97	104	98 ²⁰⁷
Sunderland	123	118	99	93	75	42	119	105	95	95
Teeside	102	89	100	95	71	51	106	107	104	95
County Borough Average	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source ?

Appendix 4 (CONT.)

	St. Cuthberts C.E.	Tyne View Juniors	Whitehall Juniors	St. Annes R.C.	St. Joan d'Arc	St. Josephs R.C.	St. Wilfrids R.C. Infants	St. Wilfrids R.C. Juniors	Corpus Christi
Houses overcrowded 1½ p.p.r. %	4	5	2	1	4	3	6	6	1
Houses - no exclusive use of basic amenities %	44	54	52	2	56	34	34	34	42
Persons active but not in employment %	9	13	7	5	10	9	10	10	5
Persons in socio-economic groups 7, 10, 11, 15 %	39	42	27	20	39	37	36	36	23
Children receiving free school meals.	-	58	54	-	56	23	50	72	5

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