

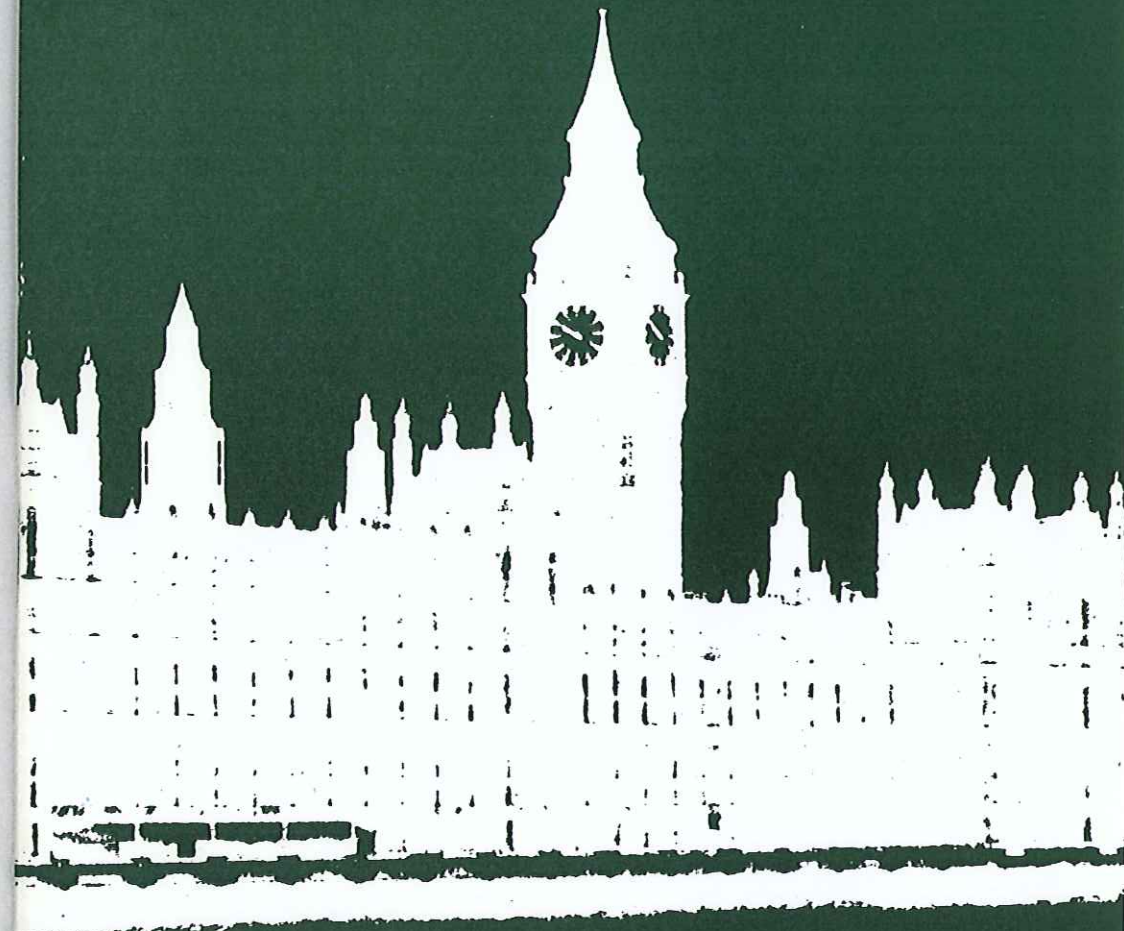


Policy Study No. 98

Away with LEAs

ILEA abolition as a pilot

Sheila Lawlor



CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES



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Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction	5
1 As we are	8
Spending	8
Needs	9
Planning	10
Specialist services	13
2 After abolition: leading the way with ILEA	15
Introduction	15
The new Leas' roles	16
Selling the services	17
Transport	18
School meals and milk	19
School support services	21
The ILEA inspectorate	21
Equal opportunities unit	23
Learning Resources branch	23
After-school education	24
Introduction	24
Further education	25
Adult education	27
Conclusion	29
Appendices	30
References	33

Preface

Successful educational reform will not inevitably be the consequence of the new Act. This will, rather, depend on the seriousness of the Government's intentions; and can be judged by the extent to which the LEAs and their doctrine of support services remain unchallenged. In their case for reform, the Conservatives have been wrong to dwell merely on the extravagance of certain LEAs, on unnecessarily high costs, or on the excesses of the Left. These alone are not the enemies of quality, standards, choice. Rather, the LEA system itself poses the greatest threat to reform. If the Government is serious about reform, it is to that system itself that it must now turn. The slighter the emphasis on teaching and learning, the poorer the prospects of high standards, diversity and choice.

Introduction

ABOLITION OF ILEA SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE GOVERNMENT TO DO more than merely dissolve a high-spending Authority with poor academic results¹. For here is an opportunity to tackle one of the most serious threats to education reform – the dominance of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in running the school system. As long as LEAs continue to control the life of individual schools through their extensive bureaucracy and support services, the aims of reform will be frustrated. Higher standards for pupils, greater responsibility for schools and more choice for parents, will remain illusory. The root of the problem is the LEA system itself, which must not be left intact. Unless the role of each LEA is confined to that of an agency whose sole business is to transfer funds and to ensure that no pupil is without a school place, prospects of genuine reform are dim.

The elaborate network of LEA administrative and support services which has grown up over the past 20 years – and the assumptions on which it rests – needs to be challenged. For not only has the extensive LEA establishment diverted funds which ought properly to go to the schools and teachers themselves, but it has encouraged a dull uniformity of outlook and practice, resulting from acceptance of the belief that the system as run by LEAs is necessary to the life of each school. One of the worst consequences is that too few individual heads and teachers see themselves as masters in their own schools, responsible for decisions about running the school and about teaching. Rather they are drawn into dependency on the LEA's social services; inspectorate; resources; media resources; mobile classrooms; consultants; welfare officers. Such LEA services visibly sap individual initiative and responsibility and lead to mediocre uniformity, putting generations of heads and teachers to sleep. If, for example, teaching aids are produced by an Authority, a teacher's own inventiveness becomes superfluous.

For as long as LEAs continue to have unquestioned responsibility for running the system, they will continue to undermine the autonomy of schools, prejudicing the prospects of excellence and diversity; and continue to divert resources from schools in the interests, not of high standards of teaching, but of high levels of support. Parental choice will be Hobson's choice.

It must be noted that the part of the Reform Bill which might seem most to challenge the LEAs' continued existence – the delegation of budgets to schools – will not involve the whole of the school budget; and the LEAs will continue to bear responsibility for a number of reserved services. If these are on the lines of reserved services in Authorities who already practise financial management, then the LEAs will continue to trespass on the ethos of individual schools, diminish the responsibility of heads and teachers, and play a part in appointments of teachers and of governing bodies².

The powers and responsibilities of LEAs as they now exist must, therefore, be reduced so that it is to the teacher that the initiative in teaching falls; that it is to the head that the initiative in running his school devolves; and that choice of school for parents becomes a reality: not a choice of uniform mediocrity but a choice of what is best to educate the diverse talents of their children.

Abolition of ILEA provides the occasion for this necessary reduction of the powers, scope and role of the LEAs. The Government should use it both as a means to stop the boroughs simply taking over from ILEA (which would multiply thirteen-fold a system which has failed) and as a pilot for ending LEA dominance in the rest of the country. By acting thus boldly, the Government will not only promote the fundamental aims of its policy, but also save itself from an embarrassing failure; since what reason is there to expect that a continuance of the old system will lead to a better education for Inner London children than that provided by ILEA? Or that a series of smaller Authorities will be better than a large one? Indeed, the contrary is more likely. The efficient boroughs will impinge to a greater degree on the autonomy of individual schools, the inefficient ones may not even manage to ensure that there are the requisite places for all the pupils needing them in September 1990. The administrative shortcomings of some Inner London boroughs are well-known: disaster threatens if they should be entrusted with the provision of education.

So, instead of asking the boroughs to 'take over', Mr Baker should use ILEA's abolition to promote the principles of his Bill. He should devolve power and responsibility to schools, heads and governors, as the first stage of quelling LEA dominance.

For he should know that the LEAs, when deprived of some functions, will quickly set about creating others.

One of the principal obstacles to following this policy lies in the large and unwieldy supporting establishment of the LEAs. But, again, abolition of ILEA creates the opportunity to terminate, at one stroke, the administrative and support services. These should be abolished or broken up into competing, privatised, commercial groups – such as catering and transport; and consultancy groups – such as the inspectorate and the careers services. The new LEAs should not be expected to take these on. Rather, their role should be diminished and consequent savings directed to schools themselves. For schools to take a greater share of the education budget would correspond with greater responsibility and greater scope for the head and teachers. It would be for each school to choose and pay for the services needed. LEAs would act merely as financial agencies – securing and transferring funds to the schools; and as service brokers – recommending to schools the companies which will best meet their specific building, catering, transport or consultancy needs.

In the second half of this pamphlet, some detailed proposals are made for ways in which the new LEAs should succeed ILEA; and for how the services formerly provided by ILEA could be privatised and used as needed by individual schools. These arrangements would ensure that no pupil's education would be disrupted by LEA failings after 1990; that the LEAs would lose their grasp over schooling; and that initiative and responsibility would revert to those who ought to exercise it: heads and governors, parents and teachers. But the first half of this pamphlet considers the case made for ILEA. This is a necessary task, given that although ILEA has been defeated the arguments in its defence have not. Indeed the Government, while attacking ILEA's failings, appears to have left unquestioned many of the assumptions which underlie the failings.³ By accepting the arguments about Inner London's particular needs, specialist services and exceptional provision, the supporters of ILEA have prepared the way to ensure that its successors will be no different to ILEA itself.

As we are

ILEA has now, reluctantly, accepted its abolition as inevitable. But, strangely, the case made by its protagonists has become the basis of the Government's own proposals for continuity and transfer, not termination. The intention is that the boroughs should take over the running of education on much the same lines as ILEA, and that ILEA's other activities will be supported either by individual boroughs or by special provision. The principle of an LEA-run service has not been challenged. The Government's attacks have been directed not to the service itself, nor to the presumptions on which it rests, but rather to the failings of ILEA on its own terms. The danger now is that the bad practices – arising as they do from the false assumptions – will persist not in one, but in 13 LEA-run systems.

ILEA's high costs have been justified by protagonists in terms both of the exceptional needs of, and exceptional services provided for, Inner London. But although critics have challenged the high costs, they have not questioned the nature of these exceptional needs or the value of the services. There is no reason therefore, to suspect that the abuses, failings and extravagances will automatically stop. They are symptoms of the way in which Education Authorities have come to usurp the powers and responsibilities which ought properly to fall to parents, teachers and schools. ILEA represents an extreme example of the malaise of the whole system; and the disease itself needs to be treated rather than simply its unfortunate symptoms. Otherwise the successor Authorities will simply perpetuate what they inherit from ILEA – and be encouraged by the Government to do so. The consequences for Inner London's pupils will scarcely be better, and may well be worse.

Spending

While the Government has continued to use ILEA's high level of spending as one of its principal criticisms, it is the extravagant mode of delivery of services, not the overall aims and objects of ILEA, which forms the foundation of its attack. Yet ILEA's high costs, mainly due to its large number of non-teaching staff, reflect

in exaggerated form the extent to which in many LEAs teachers have come – often willingly – to take second place to 'support' staff.

ILEA's high costs have been generally considered in the light of unfavourable comparisons with similar Authorities. The Government, quick to point out that ILEA spends 30% more per pupil than Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle, and almost 60% more than Birmingham, refers to the unnecessary size and cost of the administrative staff. Two-thirds of ILEA expenditure goes on manpower costs for its 68,000 employees (full-time equivalent (FTE) figures), of which fewer than one-third are school teachers and almost half consists of non-teaching staff: administrative, clerical, 'professional' and manual⁴. Rather than assuming that, indirectly, legislation will, somehow, lead to a reduction in numbers, the very existence of a support service no matter how small should be challenged from the outset. So too should the concept of exceptional needs or services – too often considered somehow to justify the extraordinary diversion of resources away from teachers and schools. Sociological considerations – and budgets – should be divorced from educational ones.

Needs

The practice of ILEA, however, represents in an extreme form the way in which LEAs in general have come to confuse social needs with teaching needs. ILEA often justifies maintenance of its extensive ancillary staff by referring to Inner London's exceptional needs. These have recently been listed by ILEA (under the single heading *Inner London's Needs*) as follows: 'poverty', 'unemployment', 'language', 'single-parent families', 'population density' and old schools⁵. Such a list, confusing social problems with problems of teaching and schooling, leads to advocacy of more extensive (or intensive) support services; and diverts resources from education proper.

The waste of resources is not the only cost of such confusion. The genuine needs of many children are neglected, despite the panoply of services designed to fulfil them. For example, the pupil who lacks proper nourishment may need not one but two square meals; and the pupil from a family background where homework may be difficult to do may need

regular supervised homework periods at school. The pupil who plays truant may not be helped by a battery of welfare officers; but his parents might see that he attended school if criminal proceedings were taken against them for breaking the law. Poverty or deprivation should never be correlated with intellectual deficiency. Nor should they be used to excuse undemanding teaching or low academic expectations. This is to confuse social needs with academic ones. For example, the pupil for whom English is not a first language does not need more inspectors, advisers and support services. He needs school time and a teacher who will give extra, specialist, teaching to help him reach the standard needed to understand and progress, in all his lessons.

Instead of merely directing its criticism at the extravagance of ILEA by alluding to its overspending, high costs and extensive bureaucracy, the Government should challenge the very assumptions which gave rise to these, lest what the Secretary of State hopes for – ‘an orderly transfer’ – will lead to a continuance, not an end, of the life of the ancillary services; to a confirmation, not a rebuttal, of the notions on which these rest⁶.

Planning

ILEA, like other Education Authorities, sees central planning at LEA level as one of its main functions. Planning the system seems for most LEAs to be an indispensable, if not sacrosanct, activity. Its fruits can be seen in a series of schemes to build schools, close schools, lop parts off schools, amalgamate schools – often under the euphemism of ‘reorganisation’, which in turn is justified by reference to fleeting demographic changes and efficient use of resources. Such schemes tend not to gratify the wishes of parents and teachers, nor to further the interests of schools, but rather to confirm (in their own eyes) the essential role of the planning officials.

The planning functions of the LEAs should be curtailed both because of the consequences for schools, and because they are inconsistent with the thrust of the new education reform. If the LEA planners continue to be supreme, they will frustrate the very mechanisms intended to give greater choice to parents and promote greater competition amongst, and more responsibility for, individual schools. The proposals for financial

delegation, open enrolment and opting out should reflect parental choice and encourage increased autonomy for schools – so that the market mechanism will determine which schools open, close, grow, shrink. Indeed, the Audit Commission in its response to the Government’s proposals stressed that it did not oppose allowing the ‘market mechanism’ – rather than the LEAs – to determine which schools should close⁷. The objects of the Reform Bill will be undermined unless the powers to establish criteria to determine which schools should open, close, or change their character is taken out of the hands of LEAs. Two of the areas cited by ILEA as in need of strategic planning illustrate precisely why such planning acts to the detriment of choice, competition and excellence – and why, in order that reforms succeed, strategic planning by the LEAs must be ended.

16-19-year-old provision

ILEA, like many other Education Authorities, intends to meet the problem of falling rolls and smaller 6th forms by closing the 6th forms in individual schools and transferring A-level pupils to large tertiary colleges. These institutions would also serve as further education colleges for all post-16s – academic and vocational. Many Education Authorities claim that the tertiary schemes – on which they are intent irrespective of the wishes of parents, teachers and schools – avoid the waste of resources incurred by small 6ths, and ensure that pupils have a broader choice of A-level subjects than most schools can or do provide.

But whatever savings tertiary colleges make in terms of 6th form class sizes, the capital costs involved, let alone associated debt charges, will be far in excess of such savings⁸. They may offer a breadth of A-level subjects in a single place – but how necessary is this? 6th forms at different schools could easily (and already to a considerable extent do), offer different A-level subjects; and pupils could choose or if necessary move their school on this basis. Each school and each 6th form could be a magnet for a different area of interest. (In any case, if some subjects are so unpopular that not enough 6th-formers want them, is it for the planners to waste

resources offering a choice that no one desires?)

Not only does tertiary reorganisation lack academic or financial advantages for itself, but by leading to the abolition of 6th forms in schools, it will greatly harm secondary education. Without their 6th forms, schools will lose morale and direction and many of the best teachers – especially those in rarer subjects. Many of the best schoolmasters of tomorrow will not be attracted to teach in schools where no sixth form exists. And many pupils, faced with changing school at 16+, may be prompted not to change but to stop their education.

Although the case for replacing 6th forms with tertiary colleges is usually made in terms of resources and rationalisation, the scheme appeals to planners and theorists for reasons wider than falling rolls – such as a desire to impose educational uniformity and social conformity, and to educate, side by side, the academic and the non-academic. The object is social egalitarianism, not academic excellence (a term which receives no mention in ILEA's plans).

Now that ILEA is to be abolished, the Government should ensure that successor Authorities do not have the chance to undermine the objects of the Bill.

Bids for capital expenditure

Capital expenditure is another area over which LEAs claim paramouncy. ILEA, for example, suggests that it can take a 'strategic view for Inner London as a whole' over competing demands for capital expenditure. LEAs make analogous claims. Just as ILEA assumes that competition between boroughs for capital must in itself be bad, so do smaller LEAs assume that competition between schools must be. But why accept this view? Why should bids for capital expenditure be settled in advance by the grant-making Authority? Why cannot capital allocation be administered automatically as part of a capitation/recurrent grant so that each school would know exactly where it stood in regard to capital expenditure? Extraordinary capital needs could be met by special grants from a fixed sum administered by an especially established

and independent grant-making body, working to clearly set-out terms of reference. Now is the time to bar the successor LEAs from embarking on capital-intensive programmes on the lines intended by ILEA. It would be a good start towards tackling the problem nationally.

Specialist services

One of ILEA's recent statements explains that it offers the following specialist services – inspectors, in-service training, learning resources, research and statistics, further and higher education, adult education, careers service, student grants⁹. When ILEA defends itself by referring to the services it provides, it relies on a widely-held view that such services are beneficial. But whom do they benefit, beyond the Authorities themselves, which gain patronage and power from providing extensive services? It is not at all clear that such services are in the interest of either high standards or good teaching; or indeed properly come under the head of education at all. The Government should ensure that ILEA's extensive services are not automatically passed on to the new LEAs. This danger is real, since most LEAs now aspire to maintain similar services, even if most have a less extensive establishment.

The inspectorate

ILEA employs an inspectorate of its own – distinct from the HMI – of some 170 inspectors. Before transferring it to the boroughs, two questions should be put. Has it been conducive to good teaching? And, even by ILEA's own terms of reference, do the inspectors fulfil their role?

ILEA's inspectorate is divided between primary, secondary and special schools; individual subjects; non-traditional specialisms; special schools; adult and youth work. Were their terms of reference linked to high standards, the case for keeping the inspectorate might be persuasive. But ILEA's poor performance does not suggest such a link. Nor is it clear that even in its own terms the inspectorate justifies its existence. Despite its size it has only 3 English language inspectors, 2 foreign language inspectors, 5 mathematics inspectors and 6 science inspectors. Its programme for 'Inspectors Based in Schools' (IBIS) – putting a team of inspectors in an

individual school for three weeks – will have little result for Inner London schools. It would take 65 years for each primary school to be visited and 14 years for each secondary school.

Individual boroughs should therefore guard against taking on an inspectorate which does not appear to raise standards, may undermine them and fails even to meet its own criteria.

Specialist courses for adults

The lure of specialist courses seems to be as strong for ILEA's opponents as for its supporters. Protagonists and antagonists have been vying with each other to insist that there should not be and will not be any threat to such courses. But there has been little discussion about the educational value of such courses – whether indeed they should form part of education at all – and whether they should be maintained in their present form or to their present extent. ILEA's claim to offer 'a range of adult education courses and youth service activities unmatched anywhere else in the country' should not be treated as uncritically as it has been, nor should its specialist activities be treated as sacrosanct. The boast of 'breadth and range' should be treated with circumspection. When ILEA is broken up, the Government should not automatically encourage individual boroughs to take responsibility for such education, or to follow ILEA's example of profligate spending on specialist courses.

It is by no means self-evident that an Education Authority ought to divert resources from pupils of school age in order to subsidise an extensive variety of adult courses, many of them peripheral. Rather than successor boroughs being expected to – or indeed promised subsidies to – maintain the existing level of such services, they should be prohibited from doing so and alternative schemes for Further and Adult education considered.

After abolition: leading the way with ILEA

Introduction

The case made by the supporters of ILEA largely rests, not on the excellence of its schools, nor on the standards reached by its pupils, but on the extent of its 'services'. The danger remains that demands to retain existing services will determine the framework of transfer. Already the Government has set out to appease the critics on their own terms and the *Draft Guidance*¹⁰ suggests that the DES intends to encourage more of the same. Not only does it demand that each Council prepare a development plan, as proposed in the Bill, but its specific proposals are such as to encourage the boroughs to perpetuate the system. Moreover, it may be that some boroughs will fail to take over, with the result that instead of a bad education for pupils, there may be none at all.

One way to prevent this would be to insist at the outset that ILEA's services were not transferred to the boroughs. Instead, the new LEAs would simply act as financial agencies with responsibility for transferring funds and ensuring that parents found a school for their children. Funds would be allocated on a set *per capita* basis; and additional amounts would be allocated on the basis of clear criteria (see below page 16) – boroughs would not be expected to take on the extensive support role and ILEA's services would not automatically be transferred to the successor LEAs in their present form. Support and administrative staff numbers would be reduced; and, where retained, ILEA services put in a position whereby they must compete for the custom of the individual schools. There would therefore be more money for schools and budgets could be increased. Only those services necessary to the schools would survive. Individual schools would become more properly autonomous and heads and governors would have greater responsibility for their schools. Such a scaling down of LEA's service-centred role in the Inner London boroughs would serve as a pilot scheme, a first step toward drastically reducing the

activities of LEAs throughout the country.

One immediate advantage would be that fewer pupils in Inner London would be left to the mercy of maverick or hopelessly incompetent boroughs; individual schools could be expected to take a more responsible attitude. A professional and efficient funding agency would ensure that funds were transferred and a small clearing-house (on the lines of UCCA) would ensure that no pupil was without a school.

The new LEAs' roles

First, the LEA would act as the agency for calculating the funds due in respect of education for pupils in the borough; for applying for funds; and for keeping this information up to date. It would also be responsible for transferring funds to individual schools in respect of pupils. These funding arrangements are foreshadowed under the proposals in the Bill for delegating financial management to schools due to be in operation by 1990. The new LEA would promote one of the indirect objects of the Bill – *per capita* funding – so that stipulated funds were transferred in respect of pupils at primary and secondary school. Any funds in respect of social disadvantage would be paid from the social services budget. As for capital expenditure, there would be an automatic allowance included in cash recurrent allocation – to be made under the new Act (in line with pupil numbers and ages).

A new independent grant-making body should be set up to provide special grants to schools requiring extraordinary capital expenditure (which they could not meet from their regular allocations). This body would receive a fixed sum from the DES which it would distribute according to clearly set out criteria, such as a school's rapid growth, good results, poor or unsafe condition of buildings.

Second, the LEA would run a small Information Unit. This would circulate to parents details of schools prepared by the schools themselves, the places available in them, their character and ethos, and examination results. Parents would apply direct to one or more schools in order of preference. The schools would deal direct with applications. The Information Unit would merely record and co-ordinate these applications (in the way that UCCA does for university admissions). Parents would apply

in September direct to schools for entry the following year. Where the first choice applications were unsuccessful, the LEA would record and co-ordinate second (and any subsequent) choice until a school was found. If parents did not apply by the deadline, or within a fixed time of a reminder from the LEA, the LEA would apply to the most popular school in the neighbourhood for the child.

Applicants to each school would be settled by February of each year; and the LEA would simultaneously prepare the statement of the funding which each school could expect for the coming academic year.

Schools would be obliged (under the Education Reform Bill) to admit up to their physical capacity. Popular schools would grow and flourish. Unpopular schools would, by contrast, be forced to improve or close. However, the LEAs would, in co-operation with all schools, operate a type of 'insurance' to make sure that existing pupils at unpopular schools were protected over a fixed period. A small portion of annual income would be retained in a fund which unpopular schools could use, for two years at the most, to supplement their reduced income and maintain adequate teaching. The pupils in those schools which had not improved their reputation and increased enrolment would be protected while the schools arranged their closure (Appendix 1).

Selling the services

More competition, and a mechanism for encouraging higher quality and greater efficiency in some of ILEA's services, are already foreshadowed in the Local Government Act 1988 which will introduce competitive tendering into a range of Local Authority services. The ILEA services subject to this include catering, maintenance and transport. The example of other Local Authority services which have been put out to competitive tender shows how the mechanism can work. But that will take time. More direct intervention at the outset may be needed to secure results quickly.

Other non-teaching services could be tackled in addition to those covered by the legislation for competitive tendering. For example, the inspectorate, careers, psychology and welfare services could all be broken up into commercial consultancy

groups. It would then be for the individual schools not only to decide on priorities but to choose between competing companies offering similar services.

Transport

The Transport Division of ILEA was formed in April 1986. The intention was to form a fully-integrated transport service by amalgamating staff and services of ILEA's transport support group with those of the GLC's supplies department and motor transport services division. Annual costs amount to £10m – under £8m for staff and £2.4m for vehicle maintenance¹¹.

The division responsible for ILEA's transport controls a fleet of 1,100 vehicles. This includes 360 school buses, mainly for pupils with special needs, and 80 vehicles for school meals transport (which also deliver mail). The fleet is supplemented during the day by hire agreements with commercial companies to provide transport to games, swimming and other activities. The division also has a car-pool of 12 self-drive vehicles and 6 chauffeur-driven vehicles. The transport division employs approximately 560 people. (This account and figures are based on ILEA's figures (May 1988) and on the annual report 1986-87.)

The activities of the transport division include home-to-school transport; school meals delivery; the supply of vehicles and plant; hired vehicles; maintenance and repair. Before resolving on future transport arrangements, the needs of those entitled to transport should be assessed, as should the best and most efficient means of meeting them.

At present children with special needs and those living more than the prescribed distance from school (secondary, 3 miles; junior 2 miles; infant 1.5 miles), are entitled to free transport. Under the proposal below, no new LEA would inherit the burden of the existing ILEA transport service. Instead, the schools would be advised by the LEAs as to which pupils were entitled to free transport and would take responsibility for seeing that those entitled to it received it. Payment would

automatically be made by the LEA direct to the school; or else it could be recovered from the LEA by the company in respect of pupils carried.

Proposal

Competitive tendering may encourage the transport division to be more competitive by 1990¹². If so, schools might be given the option to enter into fixed-term contracts, say of two years, with a division which would be independently established. If sufficient schools did not wish to make such contracts, then the transport division should either be privatised or its assets sold to private companies. These could include some or all of the depots; alternatively, depots could be leased or fall to the London Residuary Body (LRB) for disposal. Vehicles would become the property of the new companies. Staff would, where needed, transfer to the new companies; or else they would be made redundant. Their redundancy payments would be met from the sale of assets (which might be administered through the LRB). On a crude approximation, up to 90% of employees might be entitled to redundancy payments, which could cost £4m in the first year. The trading deficit would be paid off at privatisation. After privatisation, LEAs would transfer funds in respect of transport direct to the school which would make the necessary payments.

School meals and milk

Should ILEA, or its successor bodies, be responsible for free – or any – school meals? Free school meals are a matter of social, not educational policy. They are there to provide nutrition for pupils whose families could not otherwise afford it.¹³

As to the method of provision, it should be for individual schools to decide whether to prepare meals on the premises or to contract with a commercial operator (who would prepare them either on the premises or elsewhere). There is no need for the new LEAs to continue to exercise exclusive control over catering outfits. Nor should they maintain a meals service which schools are

obliged to use. Instead, the LEA might act as an agency, putting schools in touch with the company best-placed to meet their needs.

At present, ILEA heavily subsidises all school meals. Under the new arrangements, it should be for individual schools to decide whether, and how much, to subsidise them. Children from poorer families are entitled to entirely free school meals (32% of pupils in England; 46% of those in ILEA). This entitlement would remain, and schools would automatically recoup the cost of each free meal (up to an agreed maximum) from Local Authority funds. However, schools would be encouraged not to ignore the object of free school meals – to provide nutrition. Instead of merely providing cafeteria choice, which often means pupils choose what they wish – not what is nutritious – the content of free meals should reflect the reason behind them¹⁴.

Proposal

The first stage would be to disband the school meals system altogether so that it would not be available, either for transfer to the boroughs or as a service which they would be obliged to use. The catering service would either be privatised, becoming an independent commercial service, or its equipment and assets would be sold to existing companies, or a new company formed. Staff could be offered employment with the new companies or by individual schools. The models for such companies could be those school catering companies which produce school meals for independent schools on an individual contract basis (and can do so cheaply because they buy in bulk).

Schools would benefit by having the choice whether to prepare meals themselves, or to employ a firm and hold it to account. Caterers could either deliver hot meals or prepare them on the premises. Costs would be met either by the Local Authority direct, or by its transferring sums in respect of each pupil entitled to free school meals to the school.

School support services

ILEA maintains a number of sports sites – used by all primary pupils and secondary pupils up to age 14. These include 161 swimming-pools (of which 86 are attached to ILEA schools and 60 are hired by ILEA); 24 playing-fields (of which 6 are to be closed in 1988-89); 7 combined schools sports centres (of which 3 are to be closed in 1988-89). The cost of providing the service is £15,765,000 ('88/89). Each site employs staff, the number of which varies – but normally includes a head of centre, secretarial and maintenance staff. (Warren Farm School sports centre has 1 head of centre, 1 leader, 2 instructors, 12½ hours secretarial assistance, 11 grounds maintenance staff.)

Proposal

The centres, pools and games-pitches which belong to ILEA should become separate sports clubs, established as one or more independent charitable Trusts. Once school needs were met, they would be free to encourage commercial use of their facilities (even if only out of term). The Trust would employ a small staff to maintain and make the arrangements with individual schools. The cost of upkeep and staff (which would be greatly reduced if the centres could also be used commercially), would be met through a fee paid by each school – whose grant would include an element in respect of sports facilities. Schools using one of the ILEA sports centres could continue to use it if they chose.

The ILEA inspectorate

The abolition of ILEA is a good occasion to consider the role, purpose, value and future of the local inspectorate – not only for ILEA but for other LEAs. How far does the existence of such an inspectorate promote high standards and good teaching practice? How far does it undermine them? Is its role to advise or inspect? What criteria does it adopt? In any event, how far will the new education reforms reduce the need for inspectors? Instead of perpetuating an LEA establishment, should this not be challenged? Alternative arrangements might be in the best interests of schools and pupils and the existence of an

LEA-maintained inspectorate may not be the best means of raising and monitoring standards. Indeed, the Authorities cited by ILEA as having fewer inspectors, have better results¹⁵. Nor will maintaining a local inspectorate be necessary for purposes of monitoring the progress of schools. The Education Reform Bill will introduce new and surer mechanisms to establish the quality and popularity of a school. School results of the proposed testing at 7, 11, 14 and 16 will provide a clearer guide to quality than an inspector's report; and a more effective warning to failing schools than an inspector's report will be provided by the school's ability to attract pupils – which will directly affect its funding (given that funding will be in line with pupil numbers). Where a school is weak or failing, it should be in a position to choose the best possible independent, professional advice.

Proposal

The existing inspectorate would be offered redundancy payments, lessening the likelihood of its members being transferred to the new LEAs. The LEAs would maintain no inspectorate – but independent advisers/inspectors should operate on the lines of a professional consultancy firm, being called in for practical help when deemed necessary. These independent inspectors would be licensed to work in any LEA area – on the model of the pre-war District Surveyors (professional civil engineers operating in their private capacity to ensure that the London Building Acts were complied with). A small element of the per capita grant would be in respect of fees which a school might choose to pay their independent inspectors. Additionally, a school which was proving unpopular would be entitled to a mandatory special grant from the LEA to pay for the use of such inspectors to advise it on how to improve.

Equal Opportunities Unit

The Equal Opportunities Unit will have small reason to survive ILEA given that its function is to promote ILEA's

anti-racist, anti-sexist and multi-ethnic policies. The unit should be disbanded and its staff made redundant. Instead, schools with children for whom English is a second language should have an allowance for additional English language teaching.

Learning Resources branch

The stated aims and activities of the Learning Resources branch provide ample reason to doubt there is any justification for its existence. In the jargon of the educationalist, it 'is concerned with providing information and advice on the organisation and use of a wide range of learning resources in educational establishments as well as with the development and production of new learning materials to support particular aspects of the curriculum'. Within the unquestioned framework of an expansive bureaucracy, it sets out to provide 'advice to headteachers, principals and teaching staff on resources [and] . . . professional support to libraries, media resource officers and technicians; information and bibliographic services and central loan services'.

As if this were not tending sufficiently to caricature, ILEA's Annual Report explains that the branch is organised into 3 divisions, each of which is responsible for one of 3 areas of work: the Production Division, the Advisory Division, and the Administrative Division.

The more such a branch expands, or the more efficient it is, the more uniformity there will be in how and what teachers teach. Creativity and inventiveness on the part of individual teachers will be dulled by externally produced 'resources'. A uniformity of approach will be encouraged by whatever resources are available.

The very idea of a learning resource (and a learning resources branch) challenges, possibly by design, the central role of the teacher, reducing him to an agent of an extensive support service. There is no suggestion by ILEA that the existence of such a branch is designed to help educate pupils or promote excellence. It is there to meet what it euphemistically calls 'classroom needs'.

Introduction

Further and Adult education, from having served as the rallying cry for the defenders of ILEA, have become the public test of the Government's humanity. Abolitionists, no less than supporters, contend that ILEA's further and adult education provision must be saved. The Government, instead of questioning the nature, extent, purpose and quality of this provision, has shown itself keen to pass the test set by its opponents on their terms. The boroughs will be expected to take over where ILEA leaves off and have been asked to submit their plans for doing so. What is more, there will be extra support from central funds for certain colleges¹⁶.

Like other aspects of the Government's plans, these will impose continuity and perpetuate an LEA-run system. Instead, the underlying principle of LEAs providing further and adult education should be re-assessed. The reforms proposed elsewhere in the Bill for further education – giving colleges greater independence from the LEA – should not be undermined by allowing the LEAs to continue as paymasters and planners. In addition, the principle of independence from the LEAs should be extended to adult education. Nor should the Government resort to arguing that the LEA role is necessary to avoid duplication, given that in all other areas this Government's policy has consistently been to encourage competition rather than a monopoly provision in order to promote higher standards and better value. In further education, colleges should compete for students – and in adult education too.

If colleges and institutes become independent of the LEA, there will need to be clear mechanisms to allocate such resources as come from public funds. The proposals below set out such mechanisms for further education and suggest that adult education should be self-financing. Behind the proposals for further and adult education lies the conviction that there are, and should be, clear distinctions between education and training on the one hand, and social services on the other; and while a call

may properly be made in respect of education or training on public funds so designated, these should not then be misappropriated to provide a social service. If, on the other hand, the Local Authority supports such policies as part of its social services activities, then finance should come, not from the education but the social services, or the leisure and recreation, budget.

Further education

At the moment LEAs are obliged to provide full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory age¹⁷. As the proposals stand, out of ILEA's 18 further education colleges (and 45,494 students FTEs), five boroughs will have one college each, five two each, one three colleges, and two none¹⁸.

The *Draft Guidance* suggests that the manner of provision within the LEAs will continue as at present. Councils should state their intentions with regard to the provision and organisation of further education for those aged over 16 who have left school.

Elsewhere in the Education Reform Bill, the Government has set out to loosen the stranglehold exercised by LEAs over further education colleges. Institutions are to be given greater responsibility for their affairs, for the appointment of staff, and control over their budgets. In addition, their governing bodies are to have fewer LEA representatives¹⁹. But these measures represent an uneasy halfway house – between attempted autonomy for individual institutions and ultimate control by the LEA, whose role will be that of strategic planner and paymaster with continued representation on the governing body. The upshot would be that LEAs continue to determine further education and deny the principle of allowing colleges a proper chance to respond to changing circumstances. Indeed, the Government implicitly recognises the unsatisfactory nature of such a solution: it has stressed that further education colleges need more independence, more autonomy and greater flexibility than at present to respond to changing needs (particularly of employment), and has approximated the role intended

for the LEA to that of some sort of financial agency. Yet simultaneously it proposes that the LEA bear responsibility for overall planning, as the basis for setting the college budget and in order to avoid duplication²⁰. The Government should have the courage of its convictions and set the colleges free of LEA control in the way intended for the polytechnics. It should not resort to the unsatisfactory alternative in which the boroughs – not the colleges – will dominate in succession to ILEA.

Proposal

The further education colleges in Inner London should be given the opportunity to run themselves. They should become free-standing corporate bodies – on the lines already proposed in the Bill for the polytechnics. Governors would include businessmen and representatives from the local community who would be in touch with the training needs of business and industry – an emphasis already foreshadowed in the proposals elsewhere in the Bill for the colleges.

Funds would be allocated on the basis of amounts set by a new Colleges Funding Agency. This body would include financial experts, representatives from business and industry, the new LEAs, universities, polytechnics, colleges and schools. It would set out and keep under review the amounts to be transferred to colleges on a per capita basis, and the circumstances in which they would pay for different courses. The Colleges Funding Agency would decide which courses should count as 'main' – of primary academic or vocational use – and it would then set and pay to colleges varying fixed amounts for all such main courses. In addition, for every 5 students admitted to a main course, the college would receive a notional amount at a given level for one student to take a non-main course. Colleges would be free on the one hand to contract with local businesses to provide certain courses; on the other, they would have the advantage of knowing what public funds they could expect, and would be encouraged to expand where a demand existed. The advantage over existing proposals would be that the colleges themselves

would be paramount and independent; they would benefit from close connections with industry; they would be free to respond quickly to needs without awaiting plans for approval (and finance) from the LEA; there would be more competition between colleges – not a stultifying monopoly imposed by the LEA – which would help raise standards. Moreover, principals and governors would have greater incentive to lead.

Adult education

So much has been alleged about the quality of ILEA's adult education service that abolitionists hold it as sacrosanct as ILEA's own supporters. The Government has publicly accepted that the adult education service makes a 'valuable contribution to Inner London'; and it intends, not to examine the nature or extent of that service, but simply to transfer responsibility for it to the boroughs, while ensuring financial support to certain special institutions²¹. At the moment, ILEA runs a series of adult education institutes in 17 areas as well as Morley College, Mary Ward Centre and Working-Men's College. According to ILEA, 224,000 students are enrolled or signed-up (equivalent to 13,000 full-time students). The annual budget is £40,666,000 – with an income of £2,930,000 from fees. Fees paid by Inner London residents are at the rate of 50p an hour, and by out-county residents at £1 an hour. Concessionary rates are available at 5p an hour for certain groups, and fees may be waived for others. No fees are charged to certain categories. Different fee levels are set by the colleges²². Courses offered range from leisure courses such as 'sport, PE, dance' (the most common in the adult education institutes, which account for 20.5% of courses) to the liberal and social studies programme of the Mary Ward Centre which includes courses in black writing and film-making, women's studies, urban community studies²³.

Proposal

The Government should challenge the nature and extent of ILEA's adult education service, and not encourage its transfer to the boroughs. Adult education should not

continue to be – or even be thought as – a service provided by LEAs, and the boroughs should not automatically be expected to take over responsibility for present provision from ILEA. Adult education institutes should offer those courses for which there is a need, and a demand; they should be financed through fees – which would have to be raised – and through business and industrial support. They might also be eligible for grants in respect of training from the DTI or MSC. Competition between different institutions for students would help keep standards up and fees down. Leisure or sports classes, or those meeting a social need, might qualify for social services or other local authority grants. But there should be no automatic transfer of responsibility for adult education in its present form to the boroughs. Rather, individual institutes and colleges should be encouraged to become self-governing, self-financing and competitive as quickly as possible. To promote this, the responsibility of the LEA for providing adult education should be terminated.

Instead of transferring responsibility to the boroughs to maintain existing provision in its present manner, courses which more properly would fall into the category of training should be funded, if at all, from the DTI and MSC; and those which fall into the category of social services should be funded as such, rather than out of an education budget²⁴. This division already exists, at least in principle, for secondary and further education; it should be applied more rigorously to adult education.

Conclusion

The history of ILEA is by no means untypical of the way in which LEAs – with all their attendant support services – have come to operate nationally. One of the causes which underlie the formidable growth of these authorities is the confusion between social services and education. This confusion has infected the entire system, and extended even to the content of the classes.

This pamphlet proposes that this confusion be ended, and that the whole system to which it has given rise be disbanded. LEAs of the future should act merely as funding agencies and brokers. To some extent the new Education Act anticipates the direction of such change. But unless clear measures are taken radically to alter the system itself, and to challenge the false assumptions on which it rests, it will remain intact to frustrate the aims of the Reform Bill. The national resources available for education, and the attention of all those engaged in it, must be concentrated on teaching, and no longer be diverted towards ends which have little or nothing to do with schooling proper.

The abolition of ILEA is an opportunity to end the confusion and to start in an altogether new direction, giving far greater opportunity to schools to manage their own affairs.

Appendix 1

The operation of Inner London LEAs as agencies

- 1.1 The LEAs of Inner London would form individual units or one combined Information Unit which would have computing and printing facilities, and a small managerial and clerical staff.
- 1.2 The Unit(s) would send questionnaires to all Inner London schools. It would then prepare and publish, by August of each year, its Annual School Admissions Guide. For each school this guide would state:
- Name
 - Address
 - Type of school: age range, boys'/girls'/mixed
 - Comprehensive or otherwise
 - Voluntary-aided/controlled
 - Religious denomination
 - Examination results
 - Ethos of school (a 20-word statement devised by the school)
 - Number of places vacant next September in the first year
 - Number of places (if any) available next September in other years
- 1.3 A copy of the Annual School Admissions Guide (along with an explanation of how to apply for school-places) would be sent to all parents whose children were due to begin or change schools the next September. Copies would be available free to other parents on application.
- 1.4 (i) Parents would apply direct to the school of their choice but also list up to 3 schools in order of preference. One copy of the application would go to the school of first choice and a second to the Unit which would, where necessary, send it to the school of second and third choice. The schools would deal with the applicants direct. The deadline for applications would be the end of September the year prior to entry.

- 1.4 (ii) If, by the end of September no application had been received for a child due to start or change school the following year, the Unit would send an urgent reminder to the parents. If parents failed to reply within a fixed period, the Unit would submit an application on behalf of the child to the three most popular schools in the neighbourhood.
- 1.5 By December places would be filled and 2nd, 3rd and subsequent choices considered; final places would be settled by February.
- 1.6 By February the LEA would publish the budget each school could expect the following academic year.

Appendix 2

How these proposals could be accommodated under the Education Reform Bill

Under the Act the Inner London Councils will become responsible for education in their areas after the abolition of the ILEA on 1 April 1990 and will become LEAs. They will be expected to submit a development plan. Some LEAs might be keen to fulfil their responsibility for education as set out in this paper, transferring almost all the education budget directly to the schools, on the grounds that a second tier of (LEA) support services is unnecessary.

There is no intention in any case to transfer such services automatically. Mr Baker has indicated that 'institution-based' staff – that is in the main teaching staff and others attached to schools – will be transferred by order to the new LEAs, no such commitment has been made for centrally based support services. Although the Staff Commission proposed in the Act has powers to encourage transfer of ILEA staff to particular boroughs, it will not need to use them if the proposals put forward in this pamphlet are adopted. The Act makes ample provision for redundancy.

The Act envisages that ownership of the ILEA schools will pass to individual boroughs. This arrangement is perfectly compatible with the system outlined above. The LEAs could become the nominal owners of the schools. Should the governors and parents of any particular school wish it to become independent of even this nominal role they can apply for Grant Maintained Status.

References

- 1 There is little disagreement about ILEA's being a high-spending Authority – though its supporters claim that Inner London's 'exceptional' needs justify this. On results, supporters and critics disagree. ILEA's supporters claim that the results should be altered to take socio-economic factors into account; a recent study which did this, found that ILEA came 56th out of 74 Authorities. However, without such weighting, ILEA came 86th out of 96 Authorities.
See – *DES Statistical Bulletin*; 13/84
– *CIPFA Education Statistics*; 1986/7
– *Hansard*, House of Commons; 12.1.1988
– T Gray & D Jesson; *Exam Results & Local Authority League Tables*; in *Education & Training*, UK 1987
- 2 Not included in a school's delegated budget will be allocations in respect of capital expenditure or in respect of other items 'as may be presented'. The example of Cambridgeshire, where a financial management scheme has been in operation for secondary schools, is of 18 items managed centrally:
 - Capital spending and associated debt charges
 - Administration, including pay, tax, superannuation matters, accounts
 - Advisory and inspection services
 - Peripatetic teams
 - Curriculum development teams
 - Education welfare service
 - Careers service
 - Education psychology service
 - School library service
 - Financial, legal and medical advice Redundancy payments, where the need for redundancies is agreed between the LEA and the school
 - Certain expenditure supported by central government grants
 - Home-to-school transport
 - School meals

- Maintenance of buildings and playing fields
- Pupil support (eg maintenance awards, necessitous clothing)
- Special education, including out of county provision
- Foreign language assistants

See - *Education Reform Bill*; 35 (4)

- *LFM News No.8*; Cambridgeshire Local Finance & Management; 4.1.1988

3 The Government has put ILEA's failings down to poor political leadership and extravagance - particularly in respect of the numbers of administrative staff employed. While it has alluded to the numbers of support staff, it has not addressed itself to the principle of their existence. It has gone some way to concede the value of ILEA's services and the quality of their provision - such as Further and Adult education; nursery provision; much of special education; music; museums - and has conceded even that there may be a case for some of the multi-cultural (Afro-Caribbean) emphases.

See - *Hansard*, House of Commons; 4/2/88; cols. 1185-88; 1191-2; 17/2 - cols 1003-5, 1069-73

- *Hansard*, House of Lords; 17/5/88; cols 195, 302, 305, 312

4 For the Government's allusions to the spending of other Inner City Authorities and references to comparative administrative costs, see Kenneth Baker's statements in *Hansard*, House of Commons on 4/2/88 - col. 1178; 10/2/88 - cols. 453-4. The problem, suggests Mr Baker, is not one of bureaucracy but rather of 'massive bureaucracy'.

ILEA employs 68,000 full-time equivalent (FTE) staff. The figure can be broken down as follows:

- 21,000 school teachers
- 13,000 lecturers in polytechnics, colleges of adult education and other staff on teachers' scales
- 15,000 administrative, professional, technical and clerical staff (including technical and clerical support in schools and colleges, administrators,

inspectors, welfare officers, psychologists and careers staff)

18,000 manual staff (school caretakers, school meals staff, groundsmen, cleaners and maintenance staff)

See: - *CIPFA Estimates 1986/7*

5 *Inner London's Needs*; Issue Brief 1 in the series published by ILEA *The Future of Education in Inner London*. In this brief, the question of pupils for whom English is not the first language is treated as if it constituted the same problem as poverty, unemployment or living with one parent.

6 For Mr Baker's hopes for an orderly transfer, see *Hansard*, House of Commons; 4/2/88 - col. 1183; see also L Norbury, DES to all Chief Executives of Inner London boroughs 26.4.1988, enclosing *The Transfer of Responsibility for Education in Inner London, Draft Guidance* (hereafter referred to as *Draft Guidance*).

7 The Commission referred to the two ways of tackling closures on account of falling rolls: either by administrative fiat - by the LEA, but confirmed by the Department; or 'by allowing the market mechanism to work' - towards which route it saw the Government's proposals shifting. The Commission did 'not oppose this choice' but was concerned lest the proposals for reform slowed down the process of school rationalisation rather than the reverse. There was a risk, in its view, that LEAs might shrink from closure if schools could opt out. If the LEAs were stripped of their planning role and the market mechanism allowed properly to operate, then the LEAs would not be in a position to threaten the success of such a process.

See - *Audit Commission's Response to Consultation Papers from the Secretary of State for Education and Science*; September 1987; pp 2-3

8 When ILEA put forward its schemes in 1987 for the three divisions (3,4,5,) the approximate cost was estimated at around £30 million; that is, even without taking into

account the costs of servicing the debt.

9 See *Responding to the Challenge*; ILEA, November 1987

10 See *Draft Guidance*

11 Staff costs:
 – Direct £7,633,000
 – Indirect £202,000
 – Vehicle maintenance £2,375,000

Source : ILEA May 1988

12 The weakness of the ILEA-maintained transport division can be seen in its high level of absenteeism (Analysis of driver unavailability, ILEA, T 7026). During the academic year 1986/7, in addition to employing 429 drivers for 391 rounds, ILEA employed 38 spare drivers to cover absenteeism (16,185 days were lost due to driver unavailability). Despite this, it had to resort to outside contractors to cover during shortages at an unbudgeted cost of £4,500 per week.

13 Under the Social Security Act, 1986 (which came into effect in April 1988), pupils whose families receive income support are entitled to free meals. In addition, pupils whose families receive family credit have a weekly allowance of £2.55. The number of pupils entitled to free meals in ILEA, and who receive them, is 68,500 plus 6,000 whose parents may receive family credit. Before the changes, 90,000 pupils received meals who were eligible – less than half the pupils in the Authority. The corresponding figure (1986/7) for England shown in the school meals census was 17.4%. The figure for pupils paying for a school meal was 32% which brought the English figure for pupils having free, or paying for, a school meal up to 49%.

14 ILEA's annual school meal costs of £42,704,000 arise partly from school meal subsidies to those not entitled to free meals. Each meal costs £1.40 to produce; yet where it

charges, it charges 35p – 25p less than the average.

Annual direct costs breakdown:-

Staff costs	£27,010,000	
Premises	£ 2,684,000	
Supplies and Services	£10,537,000	
Transport	£ 1,160,000	
Equipment (leasing)	£ 734,000	
Agency	£ 225,000	
TOTAL		£42,704,000

Income sources

Charges	£9,298,000	
EEC Milk Products Grant	£ 834,000	
Miscellaneous	£ 2,000	
TOTAL		£10,134,000

15 ILEA suggests that even large metropolitan Authorities – like Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield – outside London cannot maintain a team of inspectors larger than 20; yet these 3 Authorities have better results than ILEA. In the table of examination results for LEAs published in rank order of spending (for secondary pupils) ILEA are 86th out of 94 Authorities; Manchester comes 80th; Liverpool 85th; Sheffield 74th. Although their performance was not strikingly better, it certainly was better and hardly substantiates the insistence that a large inspectorate is necessary. See table listing LEAs in rank order of expenditure per secondary pupil per year, together with their position in the table of examination results for school-leavers; *Hansard*, House of Commons 12/1/88.

16 Baroness Hooper has emphasised in the House of Lords that the Government is committed to continuity in respect of further education, and that the *Draft Guidance* made clear that 'Colleges would usually transfer to the boroughs intact and the boroughs should continue with the broad pattern of provision that they inherit'. In adult education the Government acknowledged that the ILEA provides a first-rate service and its intention is 'that a first-rate service should continue . . . decisions . . . are best taken by the

boroughs . . . the main provision will come from that source . . . As regards the specialist colleges, the future of Morley College, the Mary Ward Centre, the Working Men's College and the City Lit . . . the concern of the Government for these four institutions is such that their future is guaranteed . . . the LRB will meet the shortfall in their funding . . . to ensure the continuation of an effective service. Beyond that, the Government are willing to continue to provide financial support.' *Hansard*, House of Lords; 17/5/88; Cols. 249-50

17 The Legal Basis of Further Education, extracts from the Education Act 1944 (as amended) in *Maintained Further Education: Financing, Governance and Law*; DES, August, 1987; see also sections 7 & 4.

18

Further Education		
	Colleges	Students (FTE)
City of London	0	0
Camden	2	2732
Greenwich	1	1771
Hackney	2	4005
Hammersmith & Fulham	1	3738
Islington	2	4445
Kensington & Chelsea	0	0
Lambeth	3	4951
Lewisham	1	4084
Southwark	1	2594
Tower Hamlets	1	937
Wandsworth	2	6521
Westminster	2	9716
TOTAL	18	45494

ILEA Education Committee, *Report*; 18/3/88; Appendix B

19 LEAs will be expected to prepare schemes for the delegation of budgets to Further Education colleges; and the governing bodies should have maximum freedom to determine how this is spent. In addition, the powers of governing bodies should be extended, particularly with

regard to the selection of staff.

See *Education Reform Bill*, Part 2.

– *Maintained Further Education: Financing, Governance and Law*; DES,; August 1987

20 Baroness Hooper stated that it was not the Government's intention that 'the strategic planning role proposed for LEAs might constrain the ability of colleges to respond to the changing needs of students and employers'. On the contrary, 'a key purpose . . . is to give colleges greater freedom'. Yet she added that 'the Government have all along emphasised the importance of strategic planning by LEAs of the FE provision in their areas'. Lady Hooper added that the LEA should determine what each college should be contributing to the further education service, and that colleges had a role in helping create the overall plan.

Hansard, House of Lords; 16/5/88, col. 86.

21 *Hansard*, House of Lords, 17/5/88, cols 198-9

22 The 17 institute areas are
 Camden
 Central
 Clapham-Battersea
 Fulham and Chelsea
 Hackney
 Hammersmith and North Kensington
 Islington
 Lambeth
 Putney and Wandsworth
 Ravensbourne
 South Greenwich
 South Lewisham
 Southwark
 Streatham and Tooting
 Thameside
 Tower Hamlets
 Westminster

See ILEA circular letter 7/88; also *Floodlight – ILEA Guide to Courses*; pp. 8-9.

- 23 For the detailed list of courses offered, see *Floodlight – ILEA guide to part-time day and evening classes in Inner London, 1987-88*, ILEA (1987), pp. 66-320
- 24 For example, the 'social workers' course; 'massage and relaxation'; the 'women's classes' – which include topics such as 'confidence-building', 'yoga in pregnancy', 'post-natal', 'self-awareness' should not be funded out of education budgets. For further examples see *Floodlight*, *ibid.*