International Conference on Education in Sparsely Populated Rural Areas (7th, Golspie High School, County of Sutherland, Scotland, July 9-17, 1974). Interskola Golspie '74 Report.

Aberdeen Coll. of Education (Scotland).

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Papers from a conference series initiated in the Aberdeen College of Education in 1968 and recently held in Golspie, Scotland (July 1974), address policy oriented recommendations relative to rural education. This conference report is intended to serve as a useful source of ideas; as background information on international rural educational thinking; as encouragement to others to associate themselves with this conference; and particularly this year, in the context of Scottish education, as a guide to the future for all concerned with problems in the enlarged perspective of the new Scottish Regions, especially administrative and professional staff in the Educational Offices and those in the Regional Education Committees. Designed to be of maximum relevance to the 1974 Scottish situation, conference themes are, nonetheless, applicable to rural areas in general. Themes include: (1) the educational implications of regionalization; (2) problems facing rural schools (primary, secondary, and administrative); (3) education and rural depopulation; and (4) problems of language and culture (special reference to Gaelic and bilingual education). Questions derived from these themes are presented in conjunction with individual working committee resolutions and/or recommendations (some 60 conference participants representing Norway, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, and Wales). (JC)
7TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN SPARSELY POPULATED RURAL AREAS

INTERSKOLA GOLSPIE '74

July 9th - 17th 1974  Golspie High School, County of Sutherland  SCOTLAND

REPORT
### A General Impression of Interskola '74

 Educational Provision in the County of Sutherland

Mr. Ian R. Findlay  

**THEME 1:**

1. **The Educational Implications of Regionalisation**  
   Mr. R. MacDonald  
   Questions for Working Party Discussion and Recommendation  
   Group Discussions  

**THEME 2:**

2. **Problems Facing Rural Schools (A)**  
   Dr. C.E. Stewart  
   " " " " (B)  
   Mr. Murdo M. Grant  
   " " " " (C)  
   Mrs. M. Bell  
   Questions for Working Party Discussion and Recommendation  
   Group Discussions  

**THEME 3:**

3. **Education and Rural Depopulation. The Experience of the Scottish Highlands and Islands**  
   Mr. J. Sewel  
   Educational Organization, School Localization and the Process of Urbanization in Sweden  
   Miss A. Andrac  

**THEME 4:**

4. **Gaelic in Scottish Schools**  
   Dr. Findlay MacLeod  
   The Position of Irish (Gaelic) in Ireland  
   Mr. John Rushe  
   Questions for Working Party Discussion and Recommendation  
   Group Discussions  

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### Theme 2:

**Problems Facing Rural Schools (A)**
- Dr. C.D. Stewart

**Problems Facing Rural Schools (B)**
- Mr. Murdo M. Grant

**Problems Facing Rural Schools (C)**
- Mrs. H. Bell

**Questions for Working Party Discussion and Recommendation**

**Group Discussions**

### Theme 3:

**Education and Rural Depopulation**
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**The Experience of the Scottish Highlands and Islands**

**Educational Organization, School Localization and the Process of Urbanization in Sweden**
- Miss A. Andrae

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- Mr. John Rushe

**Questions for Working Party Discussion and Recommendation**

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INTRODUCTION

A General Impression of Interskola '74
Golspie, Scotland, (9-17 July 1974).

by Ian R. Findlay,
Aberdeen College of Education

As the originator of the Interskola conference series, perhaps I may be forgiven for the intensity of my personal interest in its continuing welfare over the years since its first beginnings in Aberdeen College of Education in 1968. In that time, the conference has been - from the Scottish viewpoint - a recognised part of the in-service programme of Aberdeen College of Education, while other participant countries have given it varied forms of official backing on a national or regional basis.

For the realisation of the 1974 conference, the thanks of Aberdeen College are due to the County of Sutherland for magnificent academic and residential facilities in Golspie, and for ready access to county schools for field study purposes. The Counties of Invernessshire and Ross/Cromarty also gave ready cooperation in the provision of generous hospitality and organised school visits, for which the thanks of the conference as a whole go on record. Finally, the breadth of interest shown in Interskola is attested by the cooperation of both the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the British Council, who contributed financially to the success of this year's venture.

A personal word of gratitude must also be recorded to those colleagues who made a direct contribution to the academic and professional 'thrust' of Interskola '74: a) to Mr. D.M. McBain, Sutherland County Convener: Mr. J. McLellan, Director of Education, Sutherland; Mr. R. McDonald, Director of Education, Inverness; Dr. C.E. Stewart, Director of Education, Argyll; Mr. M.J. Grant, Headmaster, Kingussie High School; Mrs. M. Bell, Headteacher, Shieldaig Primary School; Mr. J. Sewel, Department of Education, University of Aberdeen; Miss Annika Andrae, University of Gothenburg; Dr. F. McLeod, Primary/Gaelic Adviser, Stornoway, and 
Mr. J. Rushe, Chief Executive Officer, County of Limerick, Eire, and b) to those who worked with me on the organising Committee and helped me with the chairing of Working Parties: Mr. D.I. Sutherland, Assistant Director of Education, Sutherland (who also made everything happen in Golspie): Mr. L.O. Brown, Headmaster of Castletown School, Caithness; Mr. F. Macintosh, Rector of Royal High School, Edinburgh; Mr. J. McLeod, Assistant Director of Education, Inverness; Dr. F. McLeod, Primary/Gaelic Adviser, Stornoway; Mr. J.F. McLeod, Primary Adviser, Sutherland.

The pre-conference brochure which publicised Interskola '74 indicated an intention to move the series into a second phase of 'policy-oriented recommendations'. This plan was implemented to the full at Golspie by 6 Working Parties of international composition and representative of primary, secondary and administrative personnel as well as members of inspectorate, advisorate and education committees. The specific recommendations collated from the discussions held by these groups may be read in full in the following Report. A fitting comment most certainly is that they are both relevant and useful for the contemporary rural education policy scene, and that such recommendations have been made against the context of international study of each problem.
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It is hoped therefore that this Conference Report will serve; as a useful source of ideas; as background information on international thinking;
thinking for those concerned with rural education decision-making; as an encouragement to others to associate themselves with future Interskola conferences designed to throw light annually on rural education problems; and particularly (this year) in the Scottish context as a guide to the future for all those who will be concerned with such problems in the enlarged perspective of the new Regions (especially administrative and professional staff in the Education Offices and those in the Regional Education Committees. It is also intended for dissemination to all other bodies interested in educational development, e.g. Colleges of Education, University Education Departments, schools, the media etc. Finally, it would be fair comment that, since the Scots have in 1974 benefited from the ideas and experience of their visiting colleagues, future Interskola conferences must see the process reciprocated in favour of whichever countries host the project.

Interskola has now taken place in Scotland (twice), Norway (twice), Sweden, Finland and Eire. The 1975 Conference will take place in Bangor, North Wales, from 8/16 July, 1975. Some effort will be made in the near future to involve some new participants, possible candidates being Iceland, Denmark, West Germany and Eastern European countries.

To set the scene, however, for the Report immediately following, a brief description of the 1974 setting seems appropriate. The County of Sutherland is a crofting county of mainly heath and moor which lies in the north-west highlands of Scotland: the population of 13,000 is widely scattered over a land mass of some 2000 square miles. Approximately half of the population reside in a chain of small townships along the east coast of the County. One such township is Golspie which lies about 50 miles south of Wick and 75 miles north of Inverness. Golspie might also be described as the educational centre of Sutherland since it houses the High School, the only 6-year secondary school in the County, which has a roll of almost 1000 pupils. Golspie High School forms in fact part of a modern educational complex comprising a secondary school, primary school, games hall, swimming pool, playing fields and two residential hostels.

The themes discussed (designed to hold maximum relevance for the Scottish 1974 situation and at the same time to focus international expertise on it from parallel experience elsewhere) were:

1. the educational implications of regionalisation;
2. problems facing rural schools, primary, secondary and administrative;
3. education and rural depopulation
4. problems of language and culture (with special reference to Gaelic).

The reader is invited to continue his examination of this Report in detail and to pass his copy if necessary to any appropriately interested colleague, who may not have received one.

Ian R. Findlay, M.A., M.Ed.,
Senior Lecturer in Education,
College of Education,
Aberdeen,
Scotland.
May I, also, add my welcome to that expressed earlier by the Convenor and say how very pleased I am to have you all as guests in the county and particularly in Golspie High School. I do hope that you find this conference fruitful. I know you will find the county a pleasant place to visit. By the way it may assist you to place Mr. Sutherland's flattering remarks in their proper context if I remind you that he is my Assistant. He has been responsible for the organisation of the conference at this end and naturally if it succeeds I shall share in the credit. If it does not, I shall not share in its failure.

I have the task of presenting a sketch of educational provision in Sutherland and so that you may be put at your ease right from the beginning I can promise you that it will not lack for brevity. We have in Sutherland 27 educational establishments. There is one special school, 26 primary departments and 5 secondary schools and if my arithmetic sounds strange I would explain that of the 26 primary schools 21 of them are separate independent units and the other 5 are attached to the 5 secondary schools. The total school roll is about 2600 and of that number there are 1500 primary pupils and 1100 secondary pupils. The average roll of the primary schools in Sutherland is therefore about 60 and for secondary schools about 220. I have enclosed in your conference folder a list of all schools in the county showing the total roll of each and the roll of each class within the school, from which you will observe that the actual rolls of the primary schools vary from 3 to 260 and for secondary schools from 40 to approximately 750. The number of pupils and the number of schools is indicative of the sparsity of population and indeed Sutherland is the most sparsely populated county in Britain having a population density of about six persons per square mile. Most of the schools are scattered round the periphery leaving the large central area almost desolate.

It is the Education Committee's policy to maintain primary schools to the extent that no child in the county is required to leave home or travel an inordinately long distance to school. Those of you who read your Times Educational Supplement will have noted in a recent issue that the smallest school in Scotland is in this county at a place called Loch Choire. Strictly speaking, it is not officially designated a school but is, in terms of the regulations, a special education arrangement. The term 'special education arrangement' is not to be confused with the term 'special school' for mentally and physically handicapped pupils. It is simply an arrangement to cope with special circumstances and enables a non registered teacher to be employed. Loch Choire provides primary education for the family of a keeper in a remote part of the Countess of Sutherland's estate. It is 12 miles from the nearest road and is reached by a track really only suitable for a landrover. I recall that when the keeper first took up residence in this remote area and I advertised the post, there were no applications. Thereafter the Countess of Sutherland, in whose interest it was to staff this remote shooting lodge, took a hand in the affair and persuaded some of the Sunday 'heavies' - The Sunday Times, Observer - to feature the situation in articles roughly on the lines 'Come to Loch Choire and teach Mr. Cairney's children. The Education Committee will pay your salary and the Countess of Sutherland will provide...
visit. By the way it may assist you to place Mr. Sutherland's flattering remarks in their proper context if I remind you that he is my Assistant. He has been responsible for the organisation of the conference at this end and naturally if it succeeds I shall share in the credit. If it does not, I shall not share in its failure.

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their qualifications hardly impressive. One young lady from England wrote to say that she would be delighted to live in a remote area like Loch Chòirò because she no longer had any interest in man-made pleasures. In the following sentence she explained that she had recently divorced her husband. The teacher who was appointed to Loch Chòirò stayed there for four years and enjoyed the experience and I am glad to say there was no difficulty in appointing a fully qualified successor.

The number of primary schools in the county has declined steadily and during the past 15 years has fallen from 40 to the present number of 26. As I see it, following the closure of a further three schools, the closure of one of which will take place in the next two months, the position will be fully stabilised. Provided no dramatic changes take place in population or population distribution there must be 23 primary schools in the county. Of those 23 schools all but one has been rebuilt or modernised in the last 12 years. The closure of 15 primary schools in the course of the past 15 years was possible because either two old schools could be combined or the creation of modern primary departments of the new secondary schools built between 1962 and 1964 enabled one or more of the surrounding primary schools to be incorporated into the new primary departments associated with the secondary school. You will visit the new primary school at Melvich on Monday, and while the whole place looks like a builder's yard, as indeed it is, you can see side by side the old Melvich School built in the 1870s and the new school which is to replace it and the neighbouring single teacher school at Strathy.

As I indicated, there are 5 secondary schools in the county, 4 of which are situated on the east coast and 1 at Bettyhill on the north coast. This school in which we are meeting is a six year comprehensive school with a roll of 750. The other three along this coast are at Helmsdale, with a roll of about 40, Brora, with a roll of about 80, and Dornoch, with a roll of approximately 100. Each of those three schools provides the first two years of a comprehensive course and at the end of second year all pupils transfer to this school, that is to say to Golspie High School. All pupils who have to leave home for secondary education and that means all pupils living west of Lairg and some pupils on the north coast begin their secondary education in Golspie as do pupils resident in the Golspie area. Then at the end of second year there is added to the roll of Golspie all the pupils from Helmsdale, Brora and Dornoch areas. The fifth school is Farr Secondary School on the north coast and it provides a four year secondary course for pupils in that part of the north coast who are within daily travelling distance. During the first two years of the course it is fully comprehensive and is in every respect the same as Helmsdale, Brora and Dornoch. At the end of second year the very ablest pupils leave; some come to this school, others have the option of attending Thurso High School in the neighbouring county of Caithness. The majority of pupils, however, remain in Farr School until their fourth year when they may either leave school, if they have attained the age of 16, or if they have shown promise in the SCE 'O' grade examinations they continue their education for a fifth and sixth year either in Golspie or in Thurso.

As you know it is the Education Committee's policy to ensure that no child, no matter how remote his home, is required to leave for primary education. Because of the sparsity of population it would be quite impossible to apply this policy to secondary education and rather than seek some compromise solution which might enable some children in the remotest
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As you know it is the Education Committee's policy to ensure that no child, no matter how remote his home, is required to leave for primary education. Because of the sparsity of population it would be quite impossible to apply this policy to secondary education and rather than seek some compromise solution which might enable some children in the remoter parts of the county to travel to secondary school and others to live in small hostels, the Committee has decided to establish one six year school for the whole county in Golspie with the proviso that Farr School, Bettyhill, will continue as a small four-year school. The closure of Brora, Helmsdale/
Holmsdale and Dornoch will take place whenever sufficient capital investment is made available to extend this school so that the first and second year pupils in those three communities can be accommodated here. In effect this will provide for a six year secondary school, with a roll of about 1000 and a four year secondary school on the north coast with a roll of about 100.

Approximately 190 children require to leave home for secondary education and all of them attend this school. Fifty or thereby are in lodgings and the remainder, 140, are accommodated in hostels. As the majority of you know, two of the hostels are in Golspie but unfortunately the other two are in Dornoch and those children travel daily to and from Dornoch by school bus. Plans for two new hostels in Golspie are well advanced and when built they will provide a sufficient number of places to ensure that every child who leaves home can be given a hostel place.

As you would expect, the closure of a school, however small, is difficult to achieve. The parents must be consulted and their views, together with the Education Committee's reasons for seeking the closure, submitted to the Secretary of State who has the power to reject the Education Committee's proposals. Inevitably the parents object, and while I believe their objections are wholly sincere, I do not believe that the educational content of the objection is sincere. I find it difficult to accept that a caring parent would rather have his child educated in a miserable inadequate building staffed by one teacher when by travelling ten minutes, and I mean that literally, his child could be educated in a modern building staffed by three teachers and having adequate space for visiting teachers of art, music and physical education. Have this in mind when you visit the new school at Melvich and see the old school at Strathy which will close as a result. It is distressing for a community to see the population declining and the proportion of old people to children increasing. Yet, if one lives in a small declining community one can hardly blame one's neighbour for moving to the more populous area for better housing, for employment opportunities, nor can one easily fix blame on a government agency which closed the post office for example, because those responsible for the closure are many miles in the south and anonymous. On the other hand one knows the officials of the Education Committee and knows personally some of the councillors whom one has elected and who are promoting the closure of the local school. All the resentments, some almost unconscious, which cannot be expressed in a practical way when one's neighbour leaves or the post office is closed, are channelled into condemnation of the Education Committee and of course its officials and as a result the objections, however irrelevant, are vigorous indeed. I remember the old crofter in the heights of Bogart expressing some of this concern when we closed the school there. He explained, calmly and without bitterness, how when working his croft he was from time to time aware of young life in the community because he could see children playing in the playground and clearly hear their voices carried in the wind. Now that the school was closed, this pleasure and interest had been taken away and he felt that some essential part of life was gone and would never return. This may be in some senses a sentimental view of the situation for with good roads and cars there is the opportunity to take part easily in the life of the village community five or ten or fifteen miles away; nevertheless it is one of the less happy aspects of school closures. Of course everyone, including the crofter, must promote his case as best he can. I remember on one occasion at a County Council meeting when the question of rotes was being considered, Kenny Macleod,
the other two are in Dornoch and these children travel daily to and from Dornoch by school bus. Plans for two new hostels in Golspie are well advanced and when built they will provide a sufficient number of places to ensure that every child who leaves home can be given a hostel place.

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to work and was in straitened circumstances. The convener at that time was the late Rev. William MacLeod and knowing something of the situation reminded Kenny that while this might be so the old man had a large flock of sheep to which Kenny replied "But he only keeps them for the company".

I indicated earlier that we had the smallest school in Scotland, the smallest population density in Britain, and perhaps not unnaturally the highest costs in Britain. The gross annual cost is £456 per pupil, that is to say the sum of the cost of running expenses, teachers' salaries, heating, lighting, transport, books, apparatus and stationery, plus the capital and interest charges on the sums borrowed to build new schools, improve existing schools and provide new furniture. The high cost of educating a child in Sutherland is by no means negative because as well as reflecting the Education Committee's firm commitment to provide as good an education as possible in the conventional sense, it also reflects the Committee's generosity to pupils in the sphere of extra curricular activities. There can be few, if any, counties in Scotland which provide so generously for pupils wishing to take part in inter-county competitions, educational cruises, visits to other countries in Europe, or even to Canada. 22 pupils from this school recently returned from a three week visit to Ottawa where they were most hospitably and lavishly entertained. The Education Committee, incidentally, met rather more than half the cost of the visit. Education is, of course, the most expensive of all local authority services and indeed the County Council spends more on education than all other services of the County Council put together, but this is so of all areas in Scotland and the same situation obtains at national level. The total value of the sum which the Secretary of State has to disburse by way of grants to local and health authorities in Scotland is £1640 million pounds and of that sum education received £393 million pounds which is 24% of the total. The next largest slice of the cake, if cake it is in these hard times, is allocated to health and social services and amounts to about 22% of the whole. Roads, which are so important to all of us, account for only 8%.

It is because education accounts for such a large proportion of local government expenditure that many county councils would not be averse to the cost of education being shifted entirely from being partly rate-borne and partly government grant to a situation where the cost was met wholly by central government. But on the basis that he who pays the piper calls the tune, this is simply a recipe for the removal of education from local government and if that were to happen, the viability of local government itself might be put in jeopardy. Indeed, there are some indications from south of the border where reorganisation is one year ahead of ours that the education service is coming under severe pressure from the other committees of the County Council and there is danger of the education service being held to its existing level while the other services are permitted to expand. It may be, therefore, that central government itself may have to take another look at the education service to protect it from erosion. However, I must not digress on to Mr. Macdonald's territory because his theme tomorrow morning is local government reorganisation and its implications for education. I make these observations simply for the benefit of those Regional Councillors here tonight.
Mr. R. Macdonald,
Director of Education,
County of Inverness.

THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONALISATION

Mr. Findlay in his opening remarks endowed me with a greater degree of vision than any human being can possibly pretend to have in relation to Local Government Reorganisation and I shall not be able to give any clear picture about what is going to happen because there are very many decisions still to be taken. What I think I may do is throw up problems which are very familiar to you and perhaps put a little colour, or slant, or twist, on these in the hope that we may provoke some helpful discussion in your groups. I propose to begin with a brief introduction to the existing authorities, particularly to the Highland authorities, and then to illustrate, to let you see a little of the countryside that we are talking about, and then I will come back and deal with some of the problems that are likely to arise.

So far as the existing authorities are concerned can I go back to the period before 1929. Up to that point education in Scotland was administered by what was known as ad hoc authorities. Now these were bodies elected specifically to deal with education and they had no other function. Then the Act of '29 and into the '30s saw the establishment of the Local Education Authorities in Scotland as we know them now. These were, and are, 31 county councils and 4 counties of cities. They vary in size quite substantially. I will try to avoid giving you undue statistics but one must give points of reference for scale and if I say that the existing authorities vary from Glasgow, which has about 860,000 of a population to the County of Bute which has about 12,000, you have some idea of the range of the existing authorities. So the problems and the resources in administration and in education at the moment will vary widely.

Moving to the Highland authorities you will see maps here on my left which give some indication of the geography of the country we are talking about. Mr. McLellan last night told you about his own county of Sutherland where the population is about 13,000, Caithness about 28,000, Ross & Cromarty about 59,000 and Inverness about 89,000. Then you have the Outer Hebrides which are shared, for administration purposes, between the mainland authorities of Ross & Cromarty and Inverness. The island of Lewis is administered by Ross & Cromarty and the rest down the chain by Inverness-shire.

At the present time we have local authorities which deal with many functions. Education is but one of them and the County Council or the City Council delegates to the Education Committee almost all of the duties that they have to undertake. I use the word delegate because that has a certain significance in relation to the new pattern of administration. The exclusions from the delegation include the power to raise money by rate, the power to acquire land and functions of that nature. Finance is derived from central government and from local rating and to help with the local rating central government provide what is known as rate support grant. I will not go into the details of that complex financial exercise other than to mention that rate support grant is weighted, in theory at least, to take account of population high density in the city, population low density in a county such as Sutherland, and Sutherland don't do too badly out of it.
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The Education Committee and the Education Authority is the major spender on local services and therefore gets blamed for the impact on the rates of cost. The local authority has some degree of control over what they/
they spend and the central government, the Scottish Education Department, has a particular control in relation to capital investment - the amount of money that you can put into school buildings - and to that extent the two bodies complement each other in controlling or injecting money as the national purse will allow. Money always presents difficult problems of scale and I will give you a brief comment on my own county of Inverness-shire. For the year 1974/75 the gross budget for education is about £8,000,000 which is related to a school population of 19,000 pupils. The rates in Inverness-shire in the landward part this year have been fixed at 82p in the £ applied to industrial properties and unless anyone wants me to go into the rating system I shall not. There is a device so that the private householder is relieved of some cost and in this year the reduction to the private householder is 17p so that in Inverness-shire in the landward part the domestic rate is 65p.

A brief sketch then of where we are at the moment, what has been the pattern of Local Government administration. Why change? The change proposed in Local Government derives from the Wheatley Commission, the Royal Commission set up on Local Government in Scotland which took evidence and considered the situation for some three years, from 1966 to 69. They begin with this declaration, the heart of the problem as they describe it, "Something is seriously wrong with Local Government in Scotland. It is not that local authorities have broken down or that services have stopped functioning; the trouble is not so obvious as that, it is rather that the Local Government system as a whole is not working properly, is not doing the job that it ought to be doing. At the root of the trouble is the present structure of Local Government. It has remained basically the same for 40 years, when everything around it has changed; the structure is no longer right and it needs to be reformed." Well there is a declaration of intent at the opening of the report and the commission go on to develop their ideas and to suggest quite early on that a thoroughgoing reform is required. They write, "We believe that many Local Government areas have been shown to be inappropriate; that authorities tend to be too small for the functions they have to discharge; that the relationship between different kinds of authority is over-complicated and makes for conflict rather than harmony; and that the relationship of Local with Central Government does not promote a proper sense of local responsibility." Having taken all the evidence the Committee came out with the report which leads us to the stage where in May 1975 we are to have a review, a reduction, a change, in the structure. The Commission set out certain objectives which they wish to secure in the new and revised Local Government structure, and these they detailed as follows:

In our view re-organisation should seek to secure Power. Local Government should be enabled to play an important and responsible and positive part in the running of the country to bring the reality of government nearer to the people.

Effectiveness. Local Government should be equipped to provide services in the most satisfactory manner particularly from the point of view of the people receiving the service.

Local democracy. Local Government should constitute a system in which power is exercised through the elected representatives of the people and in which those representatives are locally accountable for this exercise.

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And lastly Local Involvement. Local Government should bring the people into the process of reaching decisions as much as possible and enable those decisions to be made intelligible to the people.
The Report constitutes a fairly wide sweeping condemnation of the system that exists and sets out fairly high ideals for the future.

Can I turn then for a moment to the new Education Authorities and mention that in the new pattern there will be Island Authorities - Shetland, Orkney and the Western Isles described as most purpose authorities having to exercise virtually all the functions of Local Government. Then there will be 9 Regional authorities, described as top tier authorities. Shetland will have about 17 thousand people and is of course a Local Authority in its own right at present so the change for Shetland and Orkney is one of status rather than any dramatic change in function. Orkney will have just over 17 thousand people and the Western Isles will have 30 thousand.

The Regional Authorities will have as part of their function education and in the new set-up education will be referred to an Education Committee. You will recall that earlier I used the word, delegated, which is the present phrase applicable to the transfer of responsibility from the County Council to the Education Committee. In the future pattern it will be referred and legal argument may well develop as to the subtle difference between delegating and referring. It could happen in this way that a Regional Authority refers to an Education Committee all the functions for education. That could also mean that an Education Committee has relatively little positive control without the approval of the Regional Council. That could happen - I hope it won't, because it would be quite foreign to the Scottish pattern.

There are also in the new organisation District Authorities and these have no real function in education, not in the strict sense of the term although the second tier authorities, the District Authorities, will be responsible in some of the larger areas for libraries, for community centres and recreation and for museums and art galleries. In the Highland Region libraries stay with the Regional Authority.

So far as the elected members are concerned the Highland Region which has, or will have, a population of about 175,000 people, will have 47 Regional councillors. The smallest Regional Authority will be the Borders, down in the south of Scotland with about 99,000 people and at the other end of the scale Strathclyde, which will have a population of about 2 1/2 million people. I think that illustrates the quite dramatic difference that has been produced in the size of administrative units as a result of the Royal Commission. They certainly did not seek to achieve, and did not achieve, units comparable in population, comparable in financial resources or indeed comparable in population density. More particularly the Highland Region, characterised by dispersal over a wide area, will have about 9,800 square miles in which to put the 175 thousand people. The population is grouped mainly along the Western seaboard and there are few towns of modest size. Inverness itself which is the largest centre of population has about 32 thousand people. The region as it is at present constituted as County Council Authority areas is described very frequently as an area of heath and moor and I think that is a very apt description. While there is a concentration of population on the East coast there are vast areas with very little population and seven little islands scattered off the West coast where education and other services have to be provided and large mountainous regions where there are few people. How does the population density work out on the new set-up? In the Highland Region it will be about 18 persons per square mile, in
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Highland Region as it is at the moment will have a school with 1 pupil and there will be other schools ranging up to 1,600 and between these limits the pattern varies enormously.

One cannot consider Local Government administration without some regard to the industrial scene. In the Highland Region we are experiencing a period of dramatic change from an area which has been largely agricultural with small industry, distribution and support services. The impact of oil platform construction is taking its toll and this has disturbed the existing pattern. It has upset the employment situation, it has led to a movement away from the traditional occupations, from agriculture, from the small building firm, from the garage and has caused population migration from outwith the region. This has created a need for housing, for schools, at a time when the authorities were trying to cope with the replacement of old school building. So this comes at a time when we may not be all that well financially endowed to cope quickly with this new development.

So much for the Highland Region and now a word about the Western Isles, a region which is being formed for the first time and as I mentioned a region where the present administration is shared by two mainland authorities. The Outer Islands is largely a crofting and fishing community, deeply religious by modern standards and contrasting religions in that if you go down the Outer Islands you have in the North, in the Lewis end, very strong dominance of the Protestant religion and when you finally get down to the South end of the chain, in Barra, a very strong dominance of the Catholic religion. This area has not in the past worked together as an administrative unit so clearly there will be some preparation to be done. There is only one population centre of real significance in these islands, Stornoway, in Lewis, which has a population of about 5,000. There will be in the Western Isles a language problem because there is the native Gaelic language and English requiring bilingual education. I mention the point in passing because Dr. McLeod will be dealing with this in greater detail.

The islands produce their own particular administrative problems. If I can illustrate this from school transport. You would expect pupils to come to school by bus and by car and perhaps even by boat but one authority pays a pony allowance because three pupils travel to school daily on two ponies and the Local Authority pays them a hay allowance.

What will be the problems affecting administration in the new region? Clearly one of the problems that first come to one's mind is that of centralisation and devolution, conflict or compromise, call it what you will. Neither the present authorities nor the Scottish Education Department are satisfied with the present structure. The Scottish Education Department retain pretty firm financial control and they influence development through their grant structure, by legislation, by statutory instrument. It has been indicated from time to time that the Scottish Education Department would wish the local authorities to take a greater share in Local Government administration. So there might be one area of devolution from Central Government to the new Regional Authorities. On occasion where there is a political difference between the government in power and the political party holding the majority vote in the local authority this can produce tensions in educational administration if the policy of the Central Government and the policy of the local authority do not coincide as, for example, in relation to comprehensive education, in relation to denominational schools and similar questions. The Royal Commission suggested that the arrangement should be overhauled and simplified and that the Local Authorities because they were to be bigger would be better
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local authorities have been somewhat unwilling, it seems to me, to take
unto themselves a greater burden of decision making than is laid upon them.

At the moment in the Highland Region there are education offices in
districts, at Wick, in Sutherland, in the village of Brora, in Ross and
Cromarty, at Dingwall and in Inverness for the County of Inverness. It is
likely that in the new region the administrative headquarters will be in
Inverness. It has been recommended that there should be divisional or
area education offices in Wick or Brora, in Dingwall, in Inverness and
there was a suggestion that there might be an office in Fort William. Now
that pattern is intended to devolve some of the administration in education
from the centre to the periphery and these areas will have in effect an
education office where there is an education office at the moment. It is
proposed that each of these offices will be in the care of a member of the
administrative staff of the equivalent of Depute Director of Education,
responsible for the day to day running of the service. In effect if this
pattern is followed the teachers and the public will have no further to go
to the education office than they have at present. But some of them will
have to go to a different education office from that which they have at
present. For example the County of Nairn will have to look towards
Inverness, whereas in the past it looked towards Elgin. That part of the
County of Argyll, the north of Argyll, which is coming into the Highland
Region will look towards Inverness instead of Dunoon. In terms of
physical remoteness Wick, the most northern education office at the moment,
will be about 136 miles from Inverness. But within the mainland of
Inverness there is a school, a secondary school, which is 110 miles from
that office, within the existing Inverness-shire Education Authority.
There may be a psychological difference, however, as well as a physical
one between the 136 miles from Wick to Inverness and 110 miles from
Mallaig to Inverness.

Apart from the physical changes and the physical distances there will
be I suspect psychological resistance to change. Administration affects
people as well as procedures and this is especially so in a personal
service such as education. There is likely to be a psychological resis-
tance to change, change from the familiar to the unfamiliar. They whom we
know are a different they from those we knew not. There are existing
loyalties, there are existing relationships between parents and teachers
and the education administration and the new authority will have to
integrate the component parts of existing educational authorities if we
are to have a unified regional education service and not separate units
federated in some way. So the new elected members and the new admin-
istration will have to pay particular attention to creating a feeling of a
unified service. This affects all sorts of things - the career structure
of teachers - the teacher who happens to live in Inverness and the teacher
who happens to live in Wick must feel that they have equal consideration
in the promotion structure, in appointments to school and the like.
Officials and the administration will require to modify procedures that
have long been regarded as almost holy writ and I would hope that out of
this would come the best of existing practice, the pooling of good ideas.

Resources of course will be a key problem in the new situation and the
new structure really does not confer any financial advantage on the new
region - you simply put together the existing rating authorities and
you perhaps spread out the cost more evenly than at present. But until
you have new industry producing some into product, you have not injected
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Financial resources are of course important but what of human resources. Now it has been said and I am bound to say with some relevance and truth, that/
that some of the smaller Education Authorities in Scotland could not in
the past afford, not in terms of money, but in terms of the size of the
job, to employ the range of advisory staff and support staff that a large
authority could do and might not be able to provide the specialised
services in psychology or in advising in the specialist subjects of art
and music and so on, although some did. The new authorities will have, it
seems to me, an ample case, an ample job, to justify the appointment of
such advisory staff. The new region will still have this wide disparity
in size of school and when we are talking of human resources there is at
the moment a shortage of teachers in Scotland, particularly in so far as
we are concerned, in certain specialist categories, in music, in technical
subjects, in business studies and there can be shortages outside that, and
I don't think the regional structure will materially affect that situation.
Nor will it affect the filling of the post of Head Teacher of the small
country school - this is proving quite difficult at the moment. The one
and two teacher country school with a schoolhouse attached used to be a
very attractive unit. Our experience in recent years has been that it is
not so, perhaps because it is one of the educationally isolated jobs and
teachers to a greater degree do not wish to teach on their own as a single
teacher. This may produce a situation where an education committee, quite
apart from building, may have to re-think the organisation of the smaller
school.

If we obtain in the new regions the increase in support staff for such
things as curriculum development there will probably be a change in the
present arrangement whereby individual authorities lean very heavily on
Colleges of Education, such as Mr. Findlay's college in Aberdeen, for staff
for In-service Courses which have to be organised locally because while it
is a hundred miles from Inverness to Aberdeen, for the married woman who
has a family commitment it is perhaps impossible for her to go away for a
week or a fortnight for an In-Service Course.

Industrial development I spoke of and how this has disturbed the
pattern of life and has produced a socially destructive influence in a
rural area. This has affected the school population where we have children
sitting side by side from America, from the south of England and the
industrial belt of Scotland and coming from the west and the remote parts
of the county. Teachers find their classes not now so homogeneous.

How will the new regional councillor cope? There are only 47 of them
in the Highland Region. He will have a massive exercise in keeping in
touch with the electorate. How is he to be in a position to judge all the
merits and demerits of a case being argued anywhere within his 9,800
square miles? How does he get to know the geography to say nothing of the
detail of the problems? The period of election is 4 years, so that if
there is a rapid turnover of councillors then there is a rapid turnover
of information painfully acquired. Will the councillor be able to adjust
to the new scale? One of the criticisms that has been made of the present
Local Government organisation is that committees deal with too small
detail and in the new region they certainly will have to consider much
larger questions of policy - there will require to be a change of scale.
The sheer size of the problem will in fact produce a requirement for a
lesser number of meetings than at present and this may impose a degree
of discipline on those who would want to spend time discussing the
relative merits of door-knobs with round handles or lever handles. How
does the councillor communicate with the electorate? At present the
councillor is on the ground much more closely related to his electorate -
they know him as a figure, particularly in the rural areas - this will be
more difficult in the future. In this context you may wish to think over


country school - this is proving quite difficult at the moment. The one and two teacher country school with a schoolhouse attached used to be a very attractive unit. Our experience in recent years has been that it is not so, perhaps because it is one of the educationally isolated jobs and teachers to a greater degree do not wish to teach on their own as a single teacher. This may produce a situation where an education committee, quite apart from building, may have to re-think the organisation of the smaller school.

If we obtain in the new regions the increase in support staff for such things as curriculum development there will probably be a change in the present arrangement whereby individual authorities lean very heavily on Colleges of Education, such as Mr. Findlay's college in Aberdeen, for staff for In-service Courses which have to be organised locally because while it is a hundred miles from Inverness to Aberdeen, for the married woman who has a family commitment it is perhaps impossible for her to go away for a week or a fortnight for an In-Service Course.

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How will the new regional councillor cope? There are only 47 of them in the Highland Region. He will have a massive exercise in keeping in touch with the electorate. How is he to be in a position to judge all the merits and demerits of a case being argued anywhere within his 9,800 square miles? How does he get to know the geography to say nothing of the detail of the problems? The period of election is 4 years, so that if there is a rapid turnover of councillors then there is a rapid turnover of information painfully acquired. Will the councillor be able to adjust to the new scale? One of the criticisms that has been made of the present Local Government organisation is that committees deal with too small detail and in the new region they certainly will have to consider much larger questions of policy - there will require to be a change of scale. The sheer size of the problem will in fact produce a requirement for a lesser number of meetings than at present and this may impose a degree of discipline on those who would want to spend time discussing the relative merits of door-knobs with round handles or lever handles. How does the councillor communicate with the electorate? At present the councillor is on the ground much more closely related to his electorate - they know him as a figure, particularly in the rural areas - this will be more difficult in the future. In this context you may wish to think over in your deliberations the place of the community council; a sounding board or possibly a sounding board and a vehicle of communication required to be established in terms of the Local Government Act by the District Council/
Council or the Island Council to focus public opinion and having no statutory responsibility. This body would have no responsibility in terms of education but would perhaps be in a position to provide a local point of view in relation to the structure of schools. Another vehicle of communication would seem to be the School and College Council, a council appearing for the first time in Scottish Local Government structure so far as schools are concerned, representing parents, religious interests, teaching and other educational staff. According to the Local Government Act they are required to discharge such of the functions of management and supervision of educational establishment as the authority shall determine. The present Local Government structure has in it what is known as Education District Sub-Committees with limited functions and powers and they will disappear under the new Act. Whether the School and College Council will replace these in whole, or in part, or in a new style remains to be seen because the Council will define the functions to be undertaken by this body but clearly there are certain points to be avoided. One would not wish the School and College Council to be breathing down the neck of the Headmaster and his staff in the way of interfering with the running of the school but the Council could form a useful contact between the school and the parents whose pupils are taught in that school. Equally there is a danger that if the local councils, the School Councils, do not have a worthwhile remit they will lose interest and people will not serve on them.

Local authority administration exists to serve the community, to provide personal services, particularly so in education. In the end a new structure cannot of itself produce effectiveness - only the people who operate the structure can do so - the teachers and the administrative staff who are involved in the process of education. The new organisation offers a unique opportunity to remove obstacles to effectiveness and to create the right conditions for a better service. I hope that in Scotland we will be wise enough, and able to think broadly enough, to grasp and realise that opportunity.
QUESTIONS FOR WORKING PARTY DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION

THEME 1: The Educational Implications of Regionalisation.

Q.1. It has been claimed that the existing small education authorities lack the financial resources to support a full range of educational provision. What criteria should be used in determining the most effective form of educational administration?

Q.2. How can the new regional councillor keep in touch with the educational problems of the region? (In the Highland Region there may well be an Education Committee of 16 elected members covering an area of 9800 square miles (25,380 sq. kilometres)).

Q.3. A regional structure of education administration may create a feeling of real or psychological remoteness between the parents and the education office, between those who teach and the administrative staff. What action should be taken to create administrative accessibility?

Q.4. The new education authorities will provide new problems and opportunities for curricular development and in-service training of teachers. How should this be reflected in the provision of advisory services and training facilities?

Q.5. The new pattern of educational administration provides for the appointment of school and college councils including representatives of parents, persons interested in the promotion of religious education, teachers and in the case of further education establishments representatives of persons engaged in crafts, industry and commerce. What functions might properly be allocated to such councils? How should they relate to the schools or colleges concerned?

Q.6. The membership of the new regional authorities is more closely identified with the national political parties than was the membership of the existing local authorities. Will party politics in regional government be to the advantage or disadvantage of the education service?
QUESTION 1.

Working Party 1. The members doubted if there was a dearth of educational provision in every small authority and instanced sparsely populated authorities where educational provision demonstrably was not lacking.

It was however underlined that in determining the most effective form of educational provision in the new regions it would be of extreme importance to identify very clear lines of communication between schools and the centres of administration. The Norwegian system of administrative devolution was described and discussed and it was agreed that there ought to be the maximum possible amount of local devolution. In the light of information provided by the Norwegian representatives it was clear that there must be a retention of personalised administration.

The question of administrative flexibility was also discussed and the extent to which schools themselves should be able to control their own budget. A Norwegian delegate outlined the degree of administrative autonomy currently operative for the past year or so in his school.

Some discussion centred around the concept of replacing headmasters with a system of school chairmen who would have responsibility for the running of a school for a limited length of time and then return to teaching. Indeed the desirability was questioned of employing qualified teachers for administrative purposes of any kind, it being assumed that teachers were qualified to teach rather than to administer.

It was felt however that success in the acquisition for an authority of material and other resources correlated directly with the expertise in negotiation of the practised administrator.

In the end it was seen that before definitive answers could be given to all or any of these points a degree of research into educational administration in this and other countries with similar problems would require to be undertaken.

Working Party 2. Discussion began on the problem of whether we should tolerate a more restricted form of curriculum in rural areas.

Scandinavians were very much for the smaller schools; this being the policy in Norway at the moment. Choice of subjects is restricted in their smaller schools but small schools are still more desirable because of cultural ties etc.

There was some doubt about the idea of 'full range' of provision as if someone somewhere had decided what the absolute limits of school learning should be. It was felt that sub-culture differences should be taken into account.

Throughout the discussion this theme recurred: that centralist ideas on curriculum should be leavened with local ideas of what schooling should comprise.
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Throughout the discussion this theme recurred: that centralist ideas on curriculum should be leavened with local ideas of what schooling should comprise.

Working Party 3. It was agreed that small education authorities lack the financial resources to support a full range of Educational provision. Regionalisation was welcomed. In examining the criteria
that should be used in determining the most effective form of education administration the group were impressed with the findings of the Norwegian and Swedish delegates. In those countries the trend is towards decentralization of educational administration - more and more power is being given to communities to initiate and pursue educational procedures - this trend is based on the belief that local administration is closer to the source of the problems and consequently more realistic. The group pointed out that efficiency and size of unit did not always correlate. Given the necessary and essential financial backing small or sparsely populated areas could carry through effective educational policies of a social, personal and community type.

The group agreed that it was inevitable that the macro-structure of the administration of education should be dealt with by the newly formed Regions but it did not inevitably follow that the micro-structure should also be retained by it.

Delegates found it easy to identify the macro-levels of policy - school building, hostel building, professional staffing, supervision of curriculum, school meals etc., recruitment and promotion policy, multimedia resource distribution, teachers' centres and the policy of in-service training etc.

There was general agreement that there was an urgent need for the encouragement of local initiative, local administration and the development of grass roots policies with the Region delegating as much power to the lower levels as Parliamentary Statute permits - intervening mainly to hold the balance of power, to prevent excessive parochialism and solve problems incapable of solution at the purely local level.

It appears that the criteria for effective local government is the quality of leadership at all levels. The more community involvement there is the more effective will be the Regional administration in the long run.


(a) The group felt that Education was a personal service which demanded maximum local contact and that an administrative structure must be devised to provide this. This might mean the setting up of more local offices for educational administration.

(b) In deciding on the administrative divisions to provide a "local" service geographical size and distance from the regional centre are important factors.

(c) The Advisory service will play a vital role: the administrative division must therefore be large enough to warrant the provision of advisory services in all areas of the curriculum. We would also emphasize the value of Curriculum Development projects and in-service training.

Working Party 5.

Criteria:

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Criteria:

(1) Adequate resources: the quality of provision depends on the resources available, though 'big' does not necessarily mean 'better'.

(2) Basic level of population and demographic pattern are important factors.

(3)
(3) Duties within the Region - flexible structure allowing devolution since humanity in bureaucracy depends on size. There must be regular contact with those served, since education is essentially a personal service.

(4) Provision for lay influence, (particularly parental participation) is vital, so that bureaucrats can be kept accountable.

(5) Ease of communication must be aimed at, bearing in mind geographical and topographical configuration.

- Generally, it was agreed that small authorities can be viable, but there is a level below which they cannot fall.

**QUESTION 2.**

**Working Party 1.** Concern was expressed over the considerable difficulties which might arise over communication, and it was felt that it would not be possible for the regional councillor (who might not be a member of the regional education committee in any case) to keep closely in touch with the educational problems of his region.

The Norwegian system of local government was considered to be much more satisfactory whereby education was controlled by the municipality, similar in size and structure to the new district in Scotland.

It was felt that the system proposed for Scotland would be the most centralised system in North Europe.

Within the system proposed for Scotland, where education is to be controlled at regional level, it was agreed that if lines of communication were to be at all adequate Schools Councils would require to be set up which would be as powerful as possible. The desirability was expressed of having, as a member of each of the Schools Council, the Regional Councillor.

With this in mind, the role and scope of the Schools Council were also examined and it was recommended that as much budgetary control as possible should be sought for these councils.

**Working Party 2.** Main items of recommendation were:

(1) Quarterly or monthly bulletin published to keep councillors and all informed.

(2) Director to send out regular memoranda to members.

(3) Schools Councils to submit reports on work done.

(4) Sub-committees desirable unit because of more local involvement.

**Working Party 3.** The group next discussed the problem of communication. How could the new Regional councillors keep in touch with the Region? Apart from a general knowledge of the Region, councillors concerned with educational planning and administration should know a great
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theory and practice and should be aware of new curriculum developments, such knowledge could be acquired by accordanace to in-service courses at Colleges of Education. It was considered essential that councillors find time to move around to gain first-hand experience of conditions.

It was also considered most important that educational decisions should be based upon sound advice. This implies that councillors should be able to receive delegations, widely representative of area interests and they should have close consultation with the county advisory services. People who are knowledgeable about education and interested in education must have more say in policy formulation. Pressure groups will be necessary. These will only be effective if the criteria for selection is the quality of the leadership based upon sound local knowledge, wide representation of people with access to the sources of decision making.


(a) It was felt that in such a huge Region with 47 councillors, carrying many committee responsibilities the other duties of the 16 (or so) members of the Education Committee should be restricted as far as possible, to give them time to make all the contacts implied in the service.

(b) Councillors should be ex-officio members of the school councils in their areas. Another sounding board for them would be the Community Council.

(c) There should be a close contact between the councillor and the area education office. This is the level at which contact must be established to avoid dangers of 'by-passing'.

(d) The councillor should have 'clinics' in his own area and should keep in touch with developments in local schools.

Working Party 5.

(1) Paid, full-time councillors working with written-in policy would be advantageous.

(2) School and community Councils, which councillors should attend reasonably regularly, would act as sounding boards combined with visits to Electorate.

(3) There should be a fair proportion of councillors, who are educationally informed via "In-Service" or Induction Courses organised for their benefit.

(4) The people themselves must be encouraged to keep their councillors fully informed.

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Working Party 4. Problem of remoteness were seen under 2 headings:

(a) Parents and the Education Office.

(b) Teachers and the Education Office.

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(a) Parents and the Education Office.

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(a) (i) Divisional offices are essential in the Highland Region, accessible not just by telephone.
The Director and his staff should have a solid educational background, with teaching experience so that they are able to show something more than an administrative sympathy in dealing with parents' problems.

(b) (i) The Director should visit schools and actually see the staff. Such visits are morale-boosters.

(ii) Meetings should be arranged, such as informal meetings in school staffrooms and area meetings with staff or groups of them.

(iii) The circular letter from "the office" should develop along newsletter lines, leaving instructions regarding fire drill and chimney-sweeping to more formal methods of communication.

(iv) More ambitious magazine projects giving reports on teaching experiments etc. (such as already exists in Sutherland) were also welcomed.

Working Party 5. Administrative accessibility can be improved in various ways:-

1. Information should be generally available as to "who does what" in Education offices. A Divisional Director responsible to H.Q. seems essential.

2. An Area Office for repairs and maintenance is equally necessary, or else a regional presence in each District.

3. Regular meetings are advisable between Administrative staff and teachers, either Regionally or Sub-Regionally, at least annually.

4. Parents must be brought into the system on a more formal basis, with arrangements for consultation built into the system.

Working Party 6. To create administrative accessibility there is a need for local offices. These offices need power. The function discharged by the area office would reflect the need of teachers and parents to have a readily available, concerned and powerful (with the power to make appropriate decisions) education officer close at hand. This divisional office should deal with such things as the problems of local parents and local teachers, the running of local schools and information to local schools on educational topics.

This latter would free the Regional Office of the burden of the day-to-day problems and leave to it the task of initiating and co-ordinating educational policy for the region as a whole, for curriculum development and dissemination of information.

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QUESTION 4.

Working Party 1. It was recalled that the National Committee for in-service training exists for the purpose of identifying priorities and suggesting strategies, while the regional in-service committees act as links between colleges of education, local education authorities and schools.
Emphasis was placed on the need for the maximum degree of personal contact between trainer and trainee, particularly in areas of sparse population, and the feasibility was discussed of setting up a chain of reasonably accessible resources centres throughout the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The possibility was raised, but discounted, of having a mobile resources centre, suitably equipped and staffed, visiting small schools on a regular basis. The need was underlined never-the-less for having staff, either in the training or in the advisory situation, who were first and foremost active teachers, and who were seen to be on secondment from teaching for a limited number of years.

The question arose of identifying needs both in developmental and training areas and it was generally agreed that teachers themselves were not necessarily in the best position to do this.

In curriculum development, it was reported that for the last five or six years the existing advisers in primary education had been meeting regularly for the purpose of co-ordinating effort and exchanging ideas. During this time there had been developmental work done in reading and a start made on work relating to environmental studies.

Much discussion arose over the question of making time available to teachers for both developmental work and in-service training, and of teacher replacement.

The Norwegian compulsory system was described whereby one week per year (known as the 38th week) was made available.

The concept was discussed of having introduced a credit system whereby success at in-service courses increased salary. It was reported that no such system at present existed in Scandinavia.

It was agreed for areas of very sparse population, a team should be available to make regular visits to schools in session to complete follow up work which had been previously initiated in the college and with which the teacher had been concerned; in general it was thought that courses run by the colleges in the colleges should be those leading only to qualifications whereas courses arranged locally and held locally would be mainly or wholly concerned with follow up work.

The sensitive question of assessment was raised. One member criticised those teachers who attended in-service courses apparently thereby to enjoy an expenses-paid week in the city, whereas another member reminded the group that a certain amount of merit resided in the fact that, for teachers working normally in very isolated situations, a week in the city, rubbing shoulders with teachers from elsewhere, must surely be advantageous. There would, in any case, be some 'spin-off benefit' from having attended the college.

Working Party 2. Here a most interesting difference became apparent in that both Norwegian and Swedish delegates reported that teachers in their countries were very keen to attend courses, even in their own time and where they had to pay their own expenses. This contrasts with the Scottish pattern, e.g. Aberdeen College has to cancel a fair number of the Secondary Courses offered during the summer. Also, in the North West there is some reluctance to attend courses, especially away from home and especially in the teachers' own time.
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One delegate suggested:-
Frequent meetings of small groups of teachers desirable.

The teachers should discuss and try things out, rather than young theoreticians coming to them from college.

Working Party 3. The group agreed that the increase in the size of the new Regional and District authorities would provide opportunities to solve some curriculum development problems. It would certainly affect the pattern of inservice training of teachers. The Norwegian delegate pointed out the growth in his own country of teachers centres and advisory services - the group were impressed with the Norwegian Council of Innovation.

A Scottish delegate commented on the need to ensure that the education advisory services were related to specific pupil ratios and distances - another group member stated that the position was quite confused by the ad hoc appointment of advisors to solve immediate problems.

Appointment of advisors had to be looked at nationally. There should be a career structure for advisors and a clarification of the advisors' role. Should they be administrators, Regional Educational Inspectors, curriculum innovators, tutors, assessors, or teachers? What should be their career path and salary structure?

It was felt that once their role was clarified there should be a training programme devised - at a Staff College or College of Education. It was suggested that the growth of teachers' centres in the new Regions and districts would have an effect on the in-service pattern in Colleges of Education. Some lecturers and tutors are at present having to travel long distances, thereby being unable to work in depth with new materials. Many advisors are in a similar position. There appear to be dangers in separating the tutorial role, the advisory role from the teaching role. These roles should complement each other, but the present salary structure prevents a move back into teaching. One delegate expressed it thus - "Good teachers are lost to teaching when they become administrators or advisors."

There was general agreement that there should be a continued growth in teachers' centres but these centres appear to be more effective in urban areas - or rural areas with an urban periphery.

Other methods will have to be devised for sparsely populated rural areas, for teachers in these areas need in-service facilities even more than teachers in more populated areas. Delegates from Norway and Sweden discussed the need for in-service facilities in term time and the closing of schools in rural areas for short periods to allow teachers to meet together to exchange ideas.

Working Party 5.

1. The size of a Region produces opportunities as well as problems. The aim should be a levelling up of opportunities through improved advisory services with a clear division of Region into areas in which advisors work to reduce travel for teachers. This will involve a suitable grouping of schools for in-service courses, together with a residential In-Service Centre for the Highlands as a whole.
A Scottish delegate commented on the need to ensure that the education advisory services were related to specific pupil ratios and distances - another group member stated that the position was quite confused by the ad hoc appointment of advisors to solve immediate problems.

Appointment of advisers had to be looked at nationally. There should be a career structure for advisers and a clarification of the advisers' role. Should they be administrators, Regional Educational Inspectors, curriculum innovators, tutors, assessors, or teachers? What should be their career path and salary structure?

It was felt that once their role was clarified there should be a training programme devised - at a Staff College or College of Education. It was suggested that the growth of teachers' centres in the new Regions and districts would have an effect on the in-service pattern in Colleges of Education. Some lecturers and tutors are at present having to travel long distances, thereby being unable to work in depth with new materials. Many advisers are in a similar position. There appear to be dangers in separating the tutorial role, the advisory role from the teaching role. These roles should complement each other, but the present salary structure prevents a move back into teaching. One delegate expressed it thus - "Good teachers are lost to teaching when they become administrators or advisers."

There was general agreement that there should be a continued growth in teachers' centres but these centres appear to be more effective in urban areas - or rural areas with an urban periphery.

Other methods will have to be revised for sparsely populated rural areas, for teachers in these areas need in-service facilities even more than teachers in more populated areas. Delegates from Norway and Sweden discussed the need for in-service facilities in term time and the closing of schools in rural areas for short periods to allow teachers to meet together to exchange ideas.

Working Party 5.

1. The size of a Region produces opportunities as well as problems. The aim should be a levelling up of opportunities through improved advisory services with a clear division of Region into areas in which advisers work to reduce travel for teachers. This will involve a suitable grouping of schools for in-service courses, together with a residential In-Service Centre for the Highlands as a whole.

2. Resource Centres with technicians are needed.
3. Part of teachers contracts should include In-Service days annually (5 or 6) and part of an adviser's duty should be training in the use of equipment.

4. Open University "follow-up" for group discussion is recommended.

5. Programmed learning and 'distance learning' should be pressed into service.

6. Quality of educational provision for E.S.N. and bright pupils alike should be improved.

7. There should be a sabbatical year or term to help teachers up-date their training and at the same time make the profession more attractive. It was generally agreed that the critical group consist of teachers in one or two teacher schools and everything should be done by way of service and support for them.

Working Party 6. New regional authorities with their greater resources can now tackle the problems of In-Service in a more thorough way. There is great need for a residential In-Service centre. The group also feels an expanded advisory service could strengthen links between administrative centres (local and regional) and the individual schools, thus helping to combat any feeling of isolation.

QUESTION 5.

Working Party 2. School Councils should encourage parents to become more aware of school activities: devise ways of informal meetings between staff and parents; encourage and aid visits by children to other areas, e.g. exchange visits to stay with children from another school.

School Councils are part of the current set-up in Norway but they are too recent to have been effective so far.

School Councils should be closely involved with the community provisions in the school and in helping the smooth running of such facilities within the school. Involved in planning now schools/community centres.

Working Party 3. The new pattern of educational administration in Scotland provides for the appointment of school and college councils - the group discussed what powers and functions should be allocated to such councils - a group member drew the group's attention to the excellent pioneering work that was being done in both Orkney and Shetland in the setting up of community councils and suggested that valuable lessons could be learned from a study of these councils.

All delegates were of the opinion that the role of the schools council should be much wider than that of the existing sub-area committees which at present deal with truancy, appointments of non-teaching staff, local holidays etc. The group felt that there should be no limitation to the free expression of opinions. Local representatives should have power to make recommendations on most matters of general educational
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Working Party 4. There was lengthy discussion on school councils. Some very useful information was provided by a report on the Norwegian organisation of councils over the past three years.

The Norwegian school council is advisory but allowed to discuss budget, curriculum, homework etc.

Members seemed to favour a development of EDSC to cover such matters as school attendance, allocation of children to school, school lets, a great range of advisory functions but no interference in the curriculum, sharing in extra-curricular and social functions, reflecting local opinion and bringing it to the notice of Regional Council, possibly through Councillor; communication of ideas from schools to public, including such matters as curricular innovation.

It was emphasised that interest must be created so that this council would strictly represent local views and act as a pressure group on the remote elected body.

Working Party 5.

A) It was felt that one group of functions would consist largely of duties transferred from District Education Sub-Committees whose role would have to be discharged at this level. This would include -

1) dealing with truancy, absenteeism, Children's hearings, referral, anti-social problems in general;
2) school holidays - "floating" days and recommendations re main holidays;
3) transport of pupils, i.e. sympathetic ear for local difficulties;
4) minor repairs and maintenance;
5) advice on catchment areas and on problems arising from remoteness;
6) appointment of non-teaching staff - janitors, cleaners and auxiliaries;
7) school letting and use of school buildings.

B) In addition it was felt that they must have more status than the old DESC's. How?

1) Advice on Educational needs of area in relation to industry, agriculture or potential developments. In this way they would act as a pressure group;
2) The Clerk to the Councils should be knowledgeable on Educational matters and be able to make the voice of the councils heard and heeded at regional level. This would help to reduce the feeling of remoteness caused by size of region.

Working Party 6. (i) The need was stressed for a schools council providing representation for the secondary school and its feeder primary schools. Districts may also have separate schools councils for the primary schools in the area.

(ii) A good question: Who sits on the council? As well...
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(ii) A good Question: Who sits on the council? As well as the mandatory representation we see a need for people with special interests such as pupils, social workers.
(iii) Functions:

(a) A convenient way of relaying information on curricular matters to parents and for parents to convey the needs of the pupil as they see them.

(b) Supervision of school hostels to promote better relationships within the community.

(c) A school management function to promote best possible uses of school for the community.

(d) Organisation of a particular school's transport needs.

(e) Appointment of school chaplain.

(f) A responsibility for truancy.

(g) Appointment of ancillary staff should not be the concern of the council but should be dealt with at area level in consultation with Head Teacher and also the case of appointment of cleaners, janitors.

QUESTION 6.

Working Party 1. It was noted that to date the regional membership in the sparsely populated areas of Scotland is not party political; indeed those candidates who entered the regional elections with obvious party political connections were not successful. The possible benefits of the politics of the region being coincidental with those of the nation were realised, however, as were the disadvantages of having disparity between the two levels of government, although it was noted also that neither of the two major parties appeared to possess specific commitments which were relevant to sparsely populated areas.

Working Party 3. The question of the merits and demerits of party politics under the new regional authorities was discussed. Delegates were clearly divided on this matter. The Scandinavians with their long history of Social Democratic government considered that educational policy was above party politics - all political parties should co-operate to further educational ends. Other delegates felt that educational philosophies were already closely tied in with political philosophies and the identification with National political parties was not only inevitable but sometimes necessary. It was suggested that too many independent members could make for unstable and even erratic local government. Stability could come from established party policies. Some of the delegates suggested that rigidity, and prejudice, could be the logical outcome - they feared that party government could result in educational decisions being arrived at by a caucus, outwith the debating chamber. Rural areas could be at a disadvantage because of their lack of representation on a large authority.

Working Party 4. There are many advantages of an independent system of government but a danger of parochial interests creating the same kind of political tension. Could we possibly have a compromise? Elsewhere it seems party politics are only used to the disadvantage or denial of educational interests when no one party has a sufficient majority to take an open-minded approach. Where the issue is a national party political one the approach will tend to be destitute.
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Working Party 5. If politics don't count at present, personalities do! On balance, the service should benefit since there should be more coherence and continuity arising from the fact that new Regional Authority policy can be formulated beforehand. This allows the electorate to pass judgement in advance and should make for stability in carrying the programme out. Moreover, it should allow failure or success to be more easily pinpointed. The main disadvantage is that the 'plan' might become inflexible and not allow adequately for modifications, but we think that generally the introduction of party politics should have little effect on the day to day running of affairs.

Working Party 6. At the moment politics do not play a significant part in this region. Political decisions at national level influence LEA policy. There could be problems if the party in power in the region was at variance with the party in power nationally. Could the regional authority in effect reverse a national decision? Party politics in local government would not help the education service.
Dr. C.E. Stewart,
Director of Education,
ARGYLL

PROBLEMS FACING RURAL SCHOOLS (A)

I am very pleased to have been invited to speak at Interskola '74 because most of the Scottish representatives here are, I think, from that part of Scotland which will form the Highland Region after local government re-organisation. Argyll, although it is a sparsely populated area will become part of another education region - the Strathclyde Region. The Strathclyde Region is generally associated in the minds of most people with large populations and densely populated areas but in fact the sparsely populated Argyll district will make up about half the total area of this region.

The present County of Argyll is the second largest county in Scotland with an area of about 3000 square miles and a school age population of about 10,000, roughly 6,000 of whom attend schools in the four fairly large towns, so that about 4,000 school children are scattered over some 3,000 square miles of landward area. Argyll is therefore a sparsely populated area and the end result of the population statistics on the nature of its education system is that there are 104 primary departments 85 of which have three or fewer teachers while 38 are single teacher departments. There are only 8 secondary departments which range in roll from about 50 up to about 1,300 pupils. There is therefore a great variety of school provision in the area although I shall concentrate this morning on the problems related to small and remote units.

There are two broad categories of problems with which I would like to deal which face administrators in any type of area although I shall relate them later to areas of sparse population.

The first category is concerned with the efficient and effective day to day running of the existing system, e.g. staffing of schools, in-service training and transport of pupils.

The second category is concerned with the longer term - with shaping the overall provision to ensure as far as possible that the system meets adequately the ever-changing needs of an area. This involves matters such as the size and siting of new schools, the type of educational provision to be offered in them.

The problems in this second category are very much complicated by economic, social and even cultural factors.

In devising solutions for both categories of problems the administrator has to bear in mind the following points.

(1) The educational needs of the whole area for which he is responsible must obviously be met as uniformly as possible, i.e. the standard of provision throughout the area must be as consistent as possible.

(2) The solutions to educational problems must be acceptable to the electorate and take into account the social and cultural factors which they consider to be important.

(3) The solutions must be economically feasible and must take into account the financial limitations imposed on the Education Authority by...
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(3) The solutions must be economically feasible and must take into account the financial limitations imposed on the Education Authority by Central Government.

The problems I have mentioned are not, as I have already indicated, specific to sparsely populated areas, all administrators in all types of areas/
areas face those problems. I intend this morning merely to cover a selection in the context of sparsely populated areas which may merit discussion later and I would hope that the deliberations of the discussion groups might provide some inspiration and ideas as to how some of these problems might be solved.

If we look first at the provision of primary education in a sparsely populated area we are concerned, by and large, with small isolated units which are generally distant from each other and from centres of population which are other than very small.

Staffing the Single-teacher School.

In my experience there is a great deal of truth in the assertion that good teaching staff is the major factor in making good education provision and when staffing a remote single-teacher school one might write a job specification along the following lines.

(1) In Scotland at present, the teacher has to be capable of teaching up to 19 children whose ages range from 5 to 12 years and whose learning capabilities can range from that of the child who requires a fair amount of remedial attention to become basically literate to that of the child who may ultimately occupy a chair in a University.

(2) The teacher's professional abilities and background knowledge are supposed to be sufficiently broad-based for her to cope with everything from basic language and number skills, through science and environmental studies to aesthetic subjects and health education. She has to encompass all this with, under present circumstances, very little professional advice and support. This is a point I shall return to later.

(3) Apart from her professional ability, she has, from her own personal resources to achieve harmonious and fruitful relationships with the parents of her pupils and the local community in general.

I can only speak from experience of Argyll but the rural population in the more remote areas of that county is changing in nature.

Teachers are finding that the difficulties which arise from parental apathy, which loom large in many town schools, are being replaced by those presented by articulate, intelligent parents who have deliberately removed themselves and their families from the urban environment often served by large and well-equipped primary schools to remote areas. Those parents are generally deeply concerned, in their own way, about the education of their children and are quick to tell teachers what they expect of them rather than co-operate without demur with a teacher who should have a shrewd idea of what can or cannot be accomplished in her particular school situation.

The teacher must be able to establish mutually beneficial relationships with such parents and this is often no easy matter.

(4) The teacher may have to prepare her pupils, in present circumstances, for a move out of their local environment to a distant secondary school either at the start or at some stage in the course of their secondary education and in any case, unless present trends are dramatically reversed, many of her pupils will unfortunately for economic reasons spend their adult lives in a totally different, possibly industrial, environment.
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(5) She has to be uncommonly healthy since if she is absent from duty through illness it can prove extremely difficult to find a temporary replacement and without a replacement the school closes.
The administrator's problem in staffing such schools may be reduced to answering the question "Where do I find the teacher with the necessary professional and personal qualities to do such a job and do it well?" The teacher's job in a single-teacher school is a most demanding job and it is proving more and more difficult to find teachers who are willing and able to fill it.

Provision of In-service Training.

The provision of in-service training for teachers employed in a number of rural schools scattered over a very large area presents quite different difficulties from those which arise in more densely populated areas.

The establishment of a teachers/resource centre which teachers can attend on a daily basis after school hours and in which a wide variety of courses can be offered is not a practical proposition.

A residential centre would be useful and in Argyll the education authority has been trying to establish one for some time now but has been unsuccessful so far in obtaining financial backing from Central Government for the project. An existing teachers' centre has proved to be useful but it is not residential and limited hotel accommodation in its locality restricts the number of teachers who can make use of it.

Much in-service training in Argyll is provided in the form of 'area' courses which are courses of 2 or 3 days duration offered to teachers employed in a clearly defined geographical area of the county, e.g., the Island of Mull. All primary teachers in the area attend the courses and schools are closed for the duration of the course.

Where the course is organised by the Authority's Advisory Staff it can be repeated in different areas of the county at different times and thus a reasonably large number of teachers can ultimately have the opportunity of attending.

If such a system is to be developed significantly, however, many more advisory staff are required compared with the present situation and there has been an instance in Argyll where a teacher in a single-teacher school spent more time travelling to and from an area course than she spent in attendance with the result that her school was closed for a week.

It is also of great importance that such courses should be effectively "followed-up" by advisory staff visiting the teachers in the schools and this makes great, almost impossible demands on advisory staff in a sparsely populated area. Merely organising in-service courses in an area about once every two years is neither efficient nor effective. "Follow-up" is essential.

Another complication met with in organising such course arises when H.M. Inspectorate or Colleges of Education are involved. The Staff of such agencies have many other demands on their time and it is often the case that a course has to be mounted at a time and place when they are available rather than at the optimum time and place for the teachers who attend. Nevertheless Argyll has gained much from the involvement of such agencies in the field of in-service training.

At the end of the day, then, much in-service training in a sparsely populated area has somehow to be provided in the schools, which entails the provision of many more advisory staff than are employed in most areas.
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Support Services.

Teachers in very small schools are expected to be mathematicians, musicians, physical education instructors and so forth.

In a large primary school it is often possible to provide from within its staff teachers with special abilities in such disciplines and to make good educational use of such abilities. The possibility of doing this diminishes as the number of teachers in the school diminishes and if the breadth of education offered to children in small rural schools is to compare as far as possible with that in town schools visiting specialist teachers are required on such a scale that they can visit remote schools with reasonable frequency. In making such provision it has simply to be accepted that visiting specialists may spend a great deal of time travelling.

At present it is difficult enough to obtain specialist teachers of e.g. music for secondary schools in view of national shortage and therefore virtually impossible to provide them on an adequate scale to support teachers in remote schools.

As well as providing supporting staff the provision of material resources presents difficulties. The provision of television sets, tape recorders, duplicators, sowing machines, etc. just has to be made and the economic use factor ignored. A very small school may, however, require a large quantity of books, charts, tapes, etc. as supporting material for a project involving say, two class P.7 pupils. If the authority supplies this material to the school it may well be two or three years before there are any other class P.7 pupils in the school and an extensive pack of support material lies unused for this period. This is clearly profligate use of resources.

In Argyll an attempt has been made to circumvent this problem by establishing a resource distribution centre from which advice and packs of support material may be obtained by any school on loan for whatever period it is required, distribution being effected by mail or by advisers when visiting schools.

Liaison between Primary and Secondary Schools.

In Argyll there is a secondary school catchment area which is vast in extent and in which there are 27 feeder primary schools.

Satisfactory liaison between secondary and primary schools in this situation is indeed difficult to achieve. The two major parts of the schools system cannot operate to the advantage of pupils in isolation from each other yet it is often the case that the secondary school teacher has very little idea of what is going on in the primary school and also, although probably to a lesser extent, the case that the primary school teacher has no great knowledge of aims and methods of the secondary system.

Contact between senior members of staff in the two parts of the system is not enough and some experimental visits have been arranged in Argyll which involve the teachers and senior pupils from a small primary school spending a full day in a Secondary school and being accommodated in a school hostel to enable them to do so. These visits have proved useful but more thought and effort requires to be applied to liaison between primary and secondary schools in sparsely populated areas.

Contact between Administrators and Schools.

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Contact between Administrators and Schools.

In areas which are densely populated, where the smallest primary school has 8 teachers and the norm may be considerably larger, it may not matter very much if a teacher only very rarely meets a senior member of the administrative staff.

Experience/
Experience in rural areas served by small isolated schools suggests that personal contact between administrative and teaching staffs is of considerable significance to both. It is of great assistance to the administrator who because of the nature of the area may only visit a school once every few years to have an impression of the school and its environment and to have met the teacher who may feel quite cut off from her central administration and sometimes forgotten by it. A visit from senior administrative staff is important to her if it does nothing more than boost her morale.

The above, then, are a few of the problems concerned with effective and efficient day-to-day operation of the education service in a sparsely populated area. We now turn to a few of the longer term matters to which the administrator must give attention, those concerned with the overall pattern of school provision in a sparsely populated area.

The Primary School System

The existing pattern of primary school provision is in many rural areas determined to a considerable extent by the locations of school buildings erected over the past century or so.

Movement of population over this period and decline in the landward population, have resulted in a reduction in the number of small primary schools. In spite of the fact, however, that many school buildings have been improved and extended over the years, many new schools built, the skeleton of the primary school system often relates to an earlier age when the distribution of the landward population was quite different from today, when lines of communication were different and travel, at least on land, very much more difficult. The buildings were designed for an age when what was expected of primary education was quite different from present expectations.

Many schools which still exist would have been replaced or grouped into slightly larger units if capital allocations for this purpose had been provided by Central Government. Until very recently, however, the first call on financial resources was the provision of secondary places. The administrator's problem is to devise practicable ways of re-shaping this system to fulfil present and future educational needs.

The number of single-teacher schools could be reduced considerably without hardship to the children concerned. Such schools will always exist in certain circumstances, for example there are at least 5 islands in Argyll which will always require a single-teacher school unless there is dramatic increase or decrease in population.

There would appear, however, to be a strong case for reorganising the primary system into units of between about 50 to 80 pupils with 3 teachers. There are educational and social advantages for the children in a unit of this size and the demands on the teacher, referred to earlier, are probably less than in a single-teacher school.

The three-teacher school is still a small unit, however, which serves a fairly limited number of families and relatively small fluctuations in the child population can add or subtract a teaching group. Instead of building a school to exist unchanged for many years therefore consideration must be given to the question of providing genuinely mobile classroom...
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The three-teacher school is still a small unit, however, which serves a fairly limited number of families and relatively small fluctuations in the child population can add or subtract a teaching group. Instead of building a school to exist unchanged for many years therefore consideration must be given to the question of providing genuinely mobile classroom units which can be readily re-sited at another school as the need for accommodation alters.
It has to be said that any reorganisation of the primary school system which involves closure of some very small schools often meets with stiff resistance from the local community whether or not that community has offered the school much support in the past or even made much use of the building. Very often the main objection put forward by parents relates to their children having to travel in a motor vehicle some distance to another school. It is rarely the case that this travelling time need exceed 30 minutes and this is often comparable to the time spent by children in towns in walking from home to school without the advantage of being in a vehicle in inclement weather.

Nevertheless the social argument that the removal of the school from a small community may detract from it is one which the administrator must take into account. It has to be set against the other social argument that the child attending a larger unit will be part of a reasonably sized peer group.

The main problems to be faced in shaping primary school provision in a sparsely populated area seem to centre round the desirability of reorganising into slightly larger units than single-teacher schools and the need to make satisfactory provision for fluctuations in the child population. There is a need to spend time and effort in convincing parents of the educational and social benefits which their children may gain from such reorganisation.

Provision of Secondary Education

In the majority of rural areas in Scotland secondary education is organised along comprehensive lines with all children from a given primary school transferring to the same secondary school where they follow a common course for two years at the end of which they have a choice of courses. In making this choice they have the benefit of the advice of the teaching staff and the parents concerned are consulted.

At present three types of organisation of secondary education exist in areas of sparse population.

(1) All children transfer from their primary school at 12 years of age to a large, distant, 6-year comprehensive school. This may necessitate their living away from home, at least during the school week, from the age of 12 years.

(2) Children spend the first two years of their secondary education in a small, local school and transfer to a distant school thereafter when aged about 14 years.

(3) Children spend four years in a local 4-year secondary school and only those going on to Scottish Certificate of Education 'H' grade stages transfer to a 6-year school at about 16 years of age.

All three types of organisation may exist side by side although there are no two-year secondary schools in Argyll and while 2-year and some 4-year and 6-year schools may be of small size and might be described as "rural" schools the 6-year school is in many cases similar in size and in nature to secondary schools in urban areas. For example, Oban High School has a roll of about 1,300 pupils.

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The main problems to be faced in planning primary school provision in a sparsely populated area seem to centre round the desirability of reorganising into slightly larger units than single-teacher schools and the need to make satisfactory provision for fluctuations in the child population. There is a need to spend time and effort in convincing parents of the educational and social benefits which their children may gain from such reorganisation.

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The educational considerations to be taken into account in deciding the pattern of secondary education for a sparsely populated area centre around the question of whether or not a satisfactory, broadly-based, secondary education can be provided in a relatively rural school. Do children who attend/
attend such a school suffer an educational disadvantage compared with those who attend a larger secondary school?

Experience of very small 4-year departments suggests that, although the curriculum is somewhat restricted compared with that in larger schools, it is adequate for most pupils always providing the calibre of the teaching staff is high.

Staffing of such schools is, however, a major administrative problem and the effect of one or two extended staff absences or unfilled vacancies can result in the elimination of a subject from the curriculum.

On the social side such schools offer distinct advantages. Close relationships between pupils and staff; parents and school are easy to arrange. The children remain in the security of a small local community and under the direct influence of their families during most of their adolescence. The existence of the buildings and facilities after school, can be of significant usefulness to the community in general.

For those pupils who will take 6-year courses, however, and transfer at the end of their fourth year after sitting Scottish Certificate of Education 'O' Grade examinations, there is the matter of adjusting to a much larger school and probably to living in a hostel all within a year of 'H' Grade examinations. It might be better to cope with such adjustments at an earlier, less critical, stage in their secondary career.

In general the problem is one of balancing possible social deprivation against possible education deprivation but as far as these children who will benefit from a 6-year education are concerned it might well be educationally sound for them to transfer to the 6-year school sooner rather than later.

In recent years there has been a tendency in Argyll for parents to be more concerned about having their children living at home for as long as possible during their educational career even although they accept that their children are well cared for in modern school hostels. These parental views must be taken into account in evolving the pattern for the future.

I hope I have given some indication of a few of the problems faced by an administrator in a sparsely populated area. I have omitted those related to handicapped children and nursery education since time is limited. I have also drawn heavily on experience of Argyll.

I think that this conference presents an excellent opportunity to produce, from the deliberations of an international group, concrete recommendations which might influence the policy of central and local government towards education in rural areas. I think that it is particularly important to put forward such recommendations in the present Scottish context when reform of local government is resulting in the creation of an enormous education authority area like the Strathclyde Region whose members and officials may be so immersed in formulating policy aimed at the solution of urban education problems that they may tend to give less than the required amount of attention to the special problems of that 2½ per cent of the population scattered over half the area of the Region.
Mr. Murdo M. Grant,
Rector,
Kingussie High School.

PROBLEMS FACING RURAL SCHOOLS (B)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I usually find an excuse every year to get back to Golspie, where I taught, and Interskola seemed a pretty good one this year. When Mr. F. McAlay approached me to talk about "The problems of the rural secondary school", I found it quite flattering at first—until I began to wonder why I should be specially associated with problems. Then I thought of my city colleagues; and as I sat with my feet on the desk gazing at the Cairngorms I decided I didn't have any. So I telephoned to tell him that. He wasn't to be cheated and said "In that case you can speak about the characteristics of the rural secondary school." What has emerged from all this, I'm afraid, is a dreadfully biased panegyric on the rural secondary school. And I also apologise in advance for taking my own school as an example— it's not necessarily better, just that I think it is.

While my experience in teaching is confined largely to rural secondary schools and I am the product of one, I suppose you could say that what you are going to get this morning is a very "teuchter" approach to the problem. I leave the Scotsmen here to explain that word to the visitors! If as a teacher I have gained any insight at all into this business I would say that it was largely through the influence of the late W. Rutherford, who was Headmaster here until 1966, and achieved so much for education in Sutherland.

Well, what do we mean by the term rural secondary school? I decided to consult the 'bible', "Secondary School Staffing", the famous red book—a bit of a Jonah story as far as the small school is concerned. These are the latest figures on the situation (the estimates for 1974). It is quite clear that the numbers of smaller schools have been drastically reduced since 1971 by the trigger-happy economists and pupil/teacher ratio scalp hunters. But it seems to me that the species is still numerous enough and healthy enough to demand conservation measures. Perhaps at this conference we could even discuss further breeding. Out of the total of 456 Scottish Secondary schools, approximately 120 have a roll of 500 or less. I took the number 500 because that was the line below which we were told about four years ago no secondary school was efficient. This was decided by the 'wise men in the East'. They didn't stop to tell us how we measure the efficiency of a school so I'm afraid we are still looking for the answer. But it seems to me that the same kind of argument could be used to show that the most efficient way of travelling from where you are now down to London would be by means of a double-decker bus. Some of you might survive the journey. 500 is now well below the average roll, which, according to the 1974 estimates is 875. On the other hand 120 out of 456 is a minority worth some consideration.

There are great differences in type, most of them with primary departments. We have Junior High (two-year schools); Junior Secondary (with or without 'O' grade work); four-year schools (with 'O' grade presentation); six-year schools with area Junior Secondaries absorbing the less able pupils; and finally six-year fully comprehensive schools. The last-mentioned are usually derived from the old Scottish "omnibus" school. They're often situated in a small town but essentially rural in terms of their catchment area.
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I thought a reasonable approach to this would be under the heading of 'Roots and Branches': First, the Roots of the school in the community and then the Branches of school life that have developed from that particular situation, influencing the curriculum and the general aims of the school.

My own school has 360 secondary pupils with a separately-housed primary department of 155. The secondary department not only enjoys one of the most inspiring views in the country, already referred to, but operates in the luxury of well-equipped new buildings occupied in 1970 and still big enough. The original 1876 building has just been extensively renovated to house the primary department, plus public library and, although not purpose-built as a community centre, the secondary department is involved in a number of community activities. Generally I think that rural secondary schools do well in physical provision compared with urban in that it is easier to assess the needs of well-defined geographical areas. Even with such dramatic intrusions as the Aviemore centre, approximate estimates of future growth can perhaps be provided. Oil is a very different problem. In the Highlands of course we've got the protection of mountains and rivers and seas, operating against centralisation, so that small schools survive, breathing life into the dying communities.

Approximately two-thirds of the secondary roll travel daily by bus up to 20 miles single journey. One of the problems here is giving a sense of loyalty to the school because you have pupils arriving in different bases, carrying with them their village loyalties. When the proportion of travellers reaches a certain point it can be quite a problem for the school as a community.

Unlike many Highland schools we don't have boarders.

Pupils come from what is statistically described as 'working class'. The average V.E.C. of the intake over the last eight years was 96.5, by the Moray House test. The highest average for any year was 99 and the lowest was 94. If you look at other parts of the Highland area you will find similar figures - even lower in some parts. It is a fact of life that the pattern of migration has adversely affected our intellectual balance of trade. At the same time of course one has to remember that an intake with an average of 94 IQ may still have a very good "top". Again, we should never underestimate the compensating factor of interested Highland parents who believe in the value of education. Surely that is worth quite a number of points on the IQ scale. Parents believe in education as a passport to a better job and, less frequently, for its own sake. So for this and other reasons the proportion of the complete comprehensive age group obtaining 'O' grade passes in two or more subjects can be as high as 70%. At the top end we probably send too many people to university, which of course still has tremendous prestige in the North. The industrial developments in recent years in the Highlands have not produced many openings for a boy or girl with ambition. This has been rather disappointing - although those with a foreshortened time-scale can be attracted by the immediate prospect of big money.

From my own limited experience it is clear that there is a problem of integration when a number of families arrive with a very different view of life. How far can the character of the school and the community be preserved when massive industrial developments occur? This is one of the fundamental problems in the future.

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Working class, which I talked about earlier, is of course an alien term in these parts where we are not nearly sophisticated enough to stratify people properly. Our class movement is much more open and this also produces a degree of independence, with little respect for such institutional symbols as school uniform. Loyalty to a school is based on personal/
personal relationships, rather than on any kind of institutional conditioning which the school can produce. The school becomes that so-and-so headmaster, that cranky teacher of English and so on.

The personal element in school tradition is in fact very important. Again to refer to my own school, everybody knows that there has been a school there, and always will be. School history mentions a school established possibly by Columba missionaries, that James MacPherson, author/translator of Ossian, and famed throughout Europe in the 18th century, had a spell there as the headmaster before he found other ways of making money. At the beginning of this century, during the 30-year reign of one Edward Roberts, the school had a very high national reputation in relation to carefully selected bursars from all over the Highlands and Islands, including this county. These community memories can be very awkward bedfellows when the school has to change its role. They are, you will note, associated with the office of Dominic and even today although his position as sage in the community has been usurped by national figures like Hughie Green, he is still expected to take a lead in all sorts of important things like chairing the ceilidh or judging the VRI toffee.

As in many communities in the Highlands, my school constitutes the largest single industry in the town, even if you take such obviously material things as rateable value and staff salaries. The staff too are expected to play a leading part in community life, although perhaps less so today. I think this is related to lowered income, relatively, and perhaps, consequently, the lower status that they occupy in the community today. They tend to be well qualified, many with honours degrees, and they take an interest in the individual pupils both in the classroom and in extra-curricular affairs. Some have opted out of the promotion race in return for the immense personal satisfaction of this kind of teaching. Of course things like an uncluttered mountain golf course also help.

Younger staff come. They're attracted partially by the developing open-air pursuits of our area and this is going to be one of the better features of certain developments in other parts of the Highlands too. The younger staff usually move on after three or four years for promotion, for the bright lights, very often to overcome chronic housing difficulties or even because the guardians of the community morals take too close an interest in their private lives. In these parts everyone is a public figure. One of the minor points I would raise here is that the introduction of guidance systems has perhaps accentuated this problem. Is it - 'Do as I do' or 'Do as I say'? For the same reason in the rural secondary it is difficult to conceal from the public the professional shortcomings of a teacher. And within the school, departments are so small that a weak link can have considerable repercussions.

To avoid the obvious danger of isolation and intellectual inbreeding, staff are encouraged to take part in in-service courses (which Dr. Stewart mentioned earlier) - many of them organised by the college that has had the good sense to bring us here today. Such absences create a real problem in the small secondary school and we get increasing complaints from teachers who are losing "free" periods during the summer term. Some people seem to imagine that Friday is the day when the secondary school is not doing very much. Now while we would certainly promote attendance at in-service courses, I think we've got to find a way of getting round this problem, perhaps by extending the vacation period.

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Another problem of size is that the smaller department in the secondary school can be very easily thrown off course by the adoption of half-baked theories picked up by the principal teacher. I have a feeling that the more monolithic structure of the urban school provides a better balance against this kind of situation.
My own school is generally well staffed, occasionally to the point of making the Red Book blush. But on the other hand we walk a tightrope. We're either well staffed or very badly staffed. If for example we lose our one Music teacher we can be a whole session without any music at all in the school. And of course in the remoter parts parents, conscious of these staff problems, will choose to send their offspring elsewhere - thus making the school itself less viable, producing a further exodus of staff and people from the community. These are often the very people who had a great belief in that particular school.

On the positive side, the favourable teaching conditions that characterise many rural secondary schools make them also good places to introduce new schemes of work and experimental approaches.

But be warned about change. I am sure you are all familiar with the "Future Shock" ideas of Alvin Toffler who warns us about the dreadful effects of pace of change in the future. According to Toffler we are going to have to alter our whole attitude, our whole character, to become immune to the effects of change. It seems to me that this gentleman has never been far north of Perth - a great limitation in his education some of us might say. In fact generally I think he over-estimates the novelty of the changing situation as he sees it today. That digression simply means that in operating a modern school in a rural area and leaving it open to all sorts of curricular influences, and against a background where the only possible Shock is the prospect of change, I think public relations are vital, especially since the schools wish to reinforce many of the traditional values of the community. Regular links with the community through social events and co-operative ventures are a feature of my own school in such things as social service, work experience, arts club functions, school social functions etc. Schools in other parts of the Highlands have succeeded in bigger projects such as Folk Museums and Highland Village Schemes. We must educate in and through the community.

The setting up of school councils gives a great opportunity to both communicate and harness community interest in the local school. The councils should be regarded as a most important democratic link and it is terribly important at this stage that we don't think of them simply as a continuation of the old education district sub-committee. They should be strong in the sense that they represent the widest possible view locally for the rural secondary school and its primary feeders. They must not be allowed to interfere with the schools' management and should be considered as pressure groups rather than as boards of management. It is interesting to see throughout the Highland area the work that has been done in developing community amenities through village councils and community associations. If you compare the effect of those with town councils with limited rateable powers, you find that the village councils have very often achieved better results at the end of the day simply because they have acted as pressure groups on the councillors who are able to obtain results. And you have got to remember - I'm sure this was discussed in all working groups yesterday - that there is a tremendous gap geographically between the village community and the regional education office which will probably be in Inverness. Pupil variety I think is important too; varieties in character and variety in needs according to the background. I would think that the school council could reflect this characteristic need with its important local colour.
characterise many rural secondary schools make them also good places to introduce new schemes of work and experimental approaches.

But be warned about change. I am sure you are all familiar with the "Future Shock" ideas of Alvin Toffler who warns us about the dreadful effects of pace of change in the future. According to Toffler we are going to have to alter our whole attitude, our whole character, to become immune to the effects of change. It seems to me that this gentleman has never been far north of Perth - a great limitation in his education some of us might say. In fact generally I think he over-estimates the novelty of the changing situation as he sees it today. That digression simply means that in operating a modern school in a rural area and leaving it open to all sorts of curricular influences, and against a background where the only possible Shock is the prospect of change, I think public relations are vital, especially since the schools wish to reinforce many of the traditional values of the community. Regular links with the community through social events and co-operative ventures are a feature of my own school in such things as social service, work experience, arts club functions, school social functions etc. Schools in other parts of the Highlands have succeeded in bigger projects such as Folk Museums and Highland Village Schemes. We must educate in and through the community.

The setting up of school councils gives a great opportunity to both communicate and harness community interest in the local school. The councils should be regarded as a most important democratic link and it is terribly important at this stage that we don't think of them simply as a continuation of the old education district sub-committee. They should be strong in the sense that they represent the widest possible view locally for the rural secondary school and its primary feeders. They must not be allowed to interfere with the schools' management and should be considered as pressure groups rather than as boards of management. It is interesting to see throughout the Highland area the work that has been done in developing community amenities through village councils and community associations. If you compare the effect of these with town councils with limited rateable powers, you find that the village councils have very often achieved better results at the end of the day simply because they have acted as pressure groups on the councillors who are able to obtain results. And you have got to remember - I'm sure this was discussed in all working groups yesterday - that there is a tremendous gap geographically between the village community and the regional education office which will probably be in Inverness. Pupil variety I think is important too: varieties in character and variety in needs according to the background. I would think that the school council could reflect this characteristic need with its important local colour.

These then, are a few notes on the background of a typically rural secondary school and in this context I would like to look at its philosophy and practice.
First, with regard to the curriculum, I don't believe that we can always start with precise ends and then produce means. To give too much time to the separation of the Cognitive and the Affective is to lose sight of the whole complex that constitutes a child's development. Our philosopher-poet Burns, if I can be allowed to slightly misquote him, summed up one fashionable type of taxonomy when he said "You seize the Bloom, the flower is shed." The rural school is not presented with a select group of academic pupils, so we must begin by thinking of abilities rather than ability. The main task of the school is to organise itself in such a way that these abilities can be discovered and developed. It is interesting to notice too that the rural areas were first to recognise the importance of natural resources, or rather the lack of natural resources, and to make the most of them, including the human ones. I don't want to get involved in curriculum science for a variety of reasons but mainly because I know nothing about it. However, if we were to identify typical rural schools with any particular theory it would be that of the Open School as described by Bart and others and I don't think one always recognises an open school by the absence of walls, between classrooms I mean. Professor Skillebeck of Ulster put it thus: "An Open Education system in this context may be one which widens opportunity; not only opportunity of access but opportunity for experience of educational significance within the school."

There is then the openness in the common course in the first two years, leading to such flexible arrangements as bridging courses and a very wide range of 'O' grade options. One of the reasons for the permutations of 'O' grade is again the limited pool of ability. One big argument against the wee school is its restricted choice and I don't want to go into too much detail but since this is a supposed advantage of the big comprehensive, I'll give you an example of the restricted list in 4th year in one school: English, Maths, Arithmetic, French, German, Gaelic, Latin, Greek, Russian (this year); Modern Studies, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Anatomy, Physiology, Health, Agriculture, Science (next year). Art, Music, Food and Nutrition, Fabrics and Fashion, Economics, Accounting (next year), Secretarial Studies, Applied Mechanics, Engineering, Drawing, Metalwork, Woodwork. Something like 28 subjects. I know this is not the most economical approach to the problem but the mathematics of school efficiency is not a straightforward balancing of pupil/teacher ratios. There are, to go back to the list, obviously restrictions in grouping subjects which you will find in any size of school but with the timetable the small school is flexible enough to allow pupils to come into the classroom and sit at the back to study something like Greek or Russian without having a specific class at that time. And the private study involved in that kind of approach is no bad thing.

A word about the small two-year school in relation to the common course. Such schools as we know are often at the heart of the community and we come back here to the social argument. I think there is a strong case for having more of these in isolated areas to postpone the extraction of the young. Does every school require a specialist in French and Latin? Bearing in mind the kind of approach to these subjects today. In any case is it vital to the comprehensive principle that there is a universal teaching of these subjects throughout the country in the first two years? I just wonder.

If I have stressed the certificate side of the school, it is simply because it is the "bread and butter" work of the school, in the eyes of
importance of natural resources, or rather the lack of natural resources, and to make the most of them, including the human ones. I don't want to get involved in curriculum science for a variety of reasons but mainly because I know nothing about it. However, if we were to identify typical rural schools with any particular theory it would be that of the Open School as described by Bart and others and I don't think one always recognises an open school by the absence of walls, between classrooms I mean. Professor Skilbeck of Ulster put it thus: "An Open Education system in this context may be one which widens opportunity, not only opportunity of access but opportunity for experience of educational significance within the school.”

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If I have stressed the certificate side of the school, it is simply because it is the "bread and butter" work of the school, in the eyes of the community. The proportion of pupils voluntarily staying on for 'O' grades, that is before the raising of the school leaving age, was much higher/
higher in the North. RSLA has increased the certificate numbers so that you've got, in my own school now, 88% of the comprehensive age group attempting some kind of 'O' grade presentation. 29% of these are in a bridging course, that is with a restricted 'O' grade presentation. Now it seems to me that this kind of arrangement provides a greater sense of purpose for the majority of pupils while still offering an attractive element of vocational education, including such things as work experience, for smaller and therefore more manageable groups of pupils of lesser academic ability.

A brief note on the two extremes of the spectrum. Primary feeder schools in our area send up very few pupils with serious reading difficulty but the problem exists and I think we would like to be able to provide more remedial work in the form of small doses by extracting pupils from classes and not by forming separate sections. At the top end - something that has been already raised by Dr. Stewart - I feel that in providing something for everyone, a school like my own sometimes fails to develop fully the brightest youngsters. Would they get more out of a grammar school education? Would we be better to expose them to the competition of a sixth-form college because sixth-year studies in the small school lacks the stimulus of the bigger centre? How many of our able pupils become real students, valuing knowledge for its own sake and not just as subject dressing to be poured out in an examination? Whatever the answer is, it is clear that the social mixture of the smaller school and the help that these very able pupils give to the weaker brethren is something that produces a more caring human being at the end of the day.

Well, turning away from Scottish Certificate of Education and related matters, we can perhaps pursue the open-ended idea into other aspects of school life. Schools of course are much more than factories with ruthless production lines geared to the commercially orientated society in which we live. School, as we well know, is concerned with total individual development, and if this is not too conceited, we may even play a part in "inventing the future" through the development of the individual. At which point there well may be a clash between the school and current fashion. The smaller school, a very sensitive organism, in touch with the background and cultural heritage of its pupils, seems to me very well placed to fulfil this function.

I would like to identify three elements in the field of what is generally known as character development. First, the Traditional Environment element. It is increasingly important to give your pupils a sense of history and an awareness of their cultural heritage in its various forms. We come back to the question of roots. The educational task on Gaelic in the post century was an application of this principle in reverse - in other words the severing of cultural roots for political ends. In my own school we do attempt something along these lines and a great deal more I am sure could be done throughout the Highland Region. For example in the last five years schools in the Badenoch area have re-introduced Gaelic and we have in the secondary school in addition to Gaelic such things as Celtic Studies. I would add also that we have Classical Studies. When I go home from this conference I will probably introduce Scandinavian studies! In other words we try generally to establish a permanent association between the learning and the environment in which children have the very real fortune to be growing up. It also comes through such things as Geography, Field Studies, Biological Studies, Industrial Visits, even Religious Education Field Studies, projects - for example a recent primary one - "The Drove Routes of Badenoch".
The second thing in establishing what you might call personal identity is the Critical Element. As we've been saying for a number of years now, youngsters must be encouraged to think and find out for themselves and new syllabuses are geared to the heuristic approach. Stress is laid on debate and discussion. Another balancing factor in this process for the rural pupil is the opportunity for contact with the outside world and cultural comparisons, if that's not too high-flown a phrase. My experience is that, further North and West, for example in the County of Sutherland, pupils are much readier to move further South and to visit other parts of the world. Maybe because the prospect of the sea immediately widens their horizons. In my own valley we have a drove route situation, in other words the world came to us, so there's no need for us to go out and see what it's all about. It may be that Badenoch youngsters are more difficult to move, but we bring in visiting lecturers, orchestras, art exhibitions, films, and we have been doing an increasing number of excursions. Small groups have now been from my own school to Russia and America so maybe at last the Kissinger bug has reached us. Fundamental to this critical element is what was once called the beautiful and the good in education - what we would talk of today as social, moral and aesthetic. It seems to me that the closer personal relationships in the rural school make these things much easier to do. When children do go off the rails it's very much easier for the school to maintain a relationship with the social worker, who is probably carrying a smaller case-load than his urban colleague. In the aesthetic field I believe the rural school has something very special to contribute if ways can be found to trigger off the imagination. Drama flourishes in many Highland schools despite the popular notion about the reticence of the Highland child which of course has to be overcome. Some Highland secondary schools, this one we are in today for example, have produced first rate artists over the years.

The third element is what is often called Preparation for Leisure. I don't particularly like this expression myself because it tends to perpetuate that artificial distinction between Work and Leisure that arose in an industrialised 19th century society. In the country we would tend literally to make hay while the sun shines - and then go fishing when it's wet. Many rural schools now have an activities afternoon. In my own school in addition to that we have a one-week outdoor activities course for almost all pupils. We do also have a great variety of extra curricular pursuits at lunchtime, Saturday morning and after 4 o'clock. Through the courtesy of Sutherland Education Committee I was permitted to visit some American High Schools in 1968 - schools with a roll of about 2,500, which is the general pattern in some states. Now one of the things that struck me was the apparent waste of talent in this field of extra curricular activities - even although things were covered in the curriculum that we might well have had outwith the school-day, and if you come to the other end of the scale the smaller rural school has obviously a greater opportunity to fulfill this basic role in talent discovery. The school we are in today for example, has produced one or two international school fencers and we don't fare too badly in some other things. This is through the dedication and interest of a few teachers.

A brief word about the outdoor activities programme mentioned above. We are not out to produce "stars" but to give every pupil a taste of a number of sports indigenous to the area, such as sailing, canoeing, rock climbing, hill walking, orienteering and skiing, according to the season...
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A brief word about the outdoor activities programme mentioned above. We are not out to produce "stars" but to give every pupil a taste of a number of sports indigenous to the area, such as sailing, canoeing, rock climbing, hill walking, orienteering and ski-ing, according to the season of the year. This works by extracting from normal timetable, for four or five Tuesdays, a whole class. They are given a short course of instruction, working in ability groups, particularly when you come to the high-risk sports/
sports like water sports and rock-climbing - (reserved for a few). As a pupil moves up through the school he is thus introduced to a variety of outdoor interests and can further develop his taste through the extra curricular side. It seems indeed odd if rural schools don't do something like this. We've got such marvellous natural assets that it seems ridiculous not to use them. So it's very easy for the rural secondary school to adopt an "open" approach to the environment.

Of course you have to overcome the problem of distance and a travelling school population. One of our own answers has been the provision of a transport system; the main feature of this being one ex-army very ancient 40-seater bus now recently replaced by a slightly more modern one. Just as a note I would add that the school, through the support of the community, purchased these buses. We have purchased the big bus and the mini-bus within the last two years - that's with a secondary roll of 360. We have in addition been very well supported in the running of these vehicles by the Education Authority.

I trust that the survey I have given may suggest in outline how the curriculum and aims of the school are related to its roots in the community. The small secondary school possesses inestimable advantages.

I'll come back to the "Red Book" again if I may. The "Red Book" puts the case very coldly after my more romantic approach to the business. To quote "Over 90% of all Education Authority pupils are likely to be in comprehensive-junior high or senior high schools. Less than 10% of pupils will be in schools with rolls of less than 600, while nearly one in four will be in schools of 1500 and above." It is difficult, the next paragraph states, to make accurate estimates of these numbers and types of secondary schools after 1974 but it seems likely that:-

1. The trend towards merging the small secondary schools or departments will continue. Schools of the junior secondary type i.e. those providing wholly non-certificate courses only, will largely disappear, except in isolated rural areas.

2. Several schemes of reorganisation, mainly on the comprehensive principle, which are at present being planned, will come to fruition after 1973/74.

3. Having regard to 1 and 2 the number of schools will decline to around 400.

4. With the increase in the number of secondary pupils the average roll will grow to around 1,000".

A grim prospect, with the Apocalypse added to Jonah.

I feel very privileged to have been able to put to you the case for the rural secondary school. I would hope that out of this conference, where we are discussing many mutual problems will come a consensus of opinion; and I would like to think that from this conference will go very positive ideas about the continuation and the progressive development of the rural secondary school.
When I talk about the problems of the small rural school I am talking particularly about my own situation, I'll presume that a lot of what I say will in fact be relevant to other situations. In the school I have 16 children but it is a varying roll - it has been over 20 and it is likely to be over 20 this next term. Now as I see it in the rural situation we are up against problems for the pupil and the teacher which are in fact overlapping but at the moment I'll try to separate them but you will see as I go along that it is quite difficult to separate those problems out.

FOR THE CHILD

1. First for the child there's isolation. Sometimes in the small school there is just no other child the same age. Now even if there are three or four of the same age it does not really give any choice for a really compatible friendship, but very often there is no other child of the same age at all. Now to many people this might not seem a big problem - to me it is quite important. In the urban set-up there's the danger of the child being lost in numbers. Family grouping - the breaking up of the single age groups into groups of varying ages has tried to compensate in some way for this. But the child in the rural setting has more chance to be an individual - in fact there's the distinct danger of him being quite alone. In my particular set-up there is one child suffering from this just now. This is an eight-year-old who is going through the stage where he is living in a world in which reality and fantasy are very much confused - he has just no one to share this situation, this world of fantasy, and he tells us the greatest whoppers as news, they really are quite fantastic and the older children make the most of this by coaxing him to tell his stories so they can have a laugh. I feel that one ally at this stage of his development would help him to enjoy it and to pass through it more easily.

2. The second problem - lack of educational aids and resources. Now by resources I mean libraries, museums, art galleries, concerts, festivals, theatres, etc. In our rural corner of course we have none of those. We have a library, we have a library van which visits us once a month, but this doesn't cope with spur-of-the-moment enthusiasms that do occur between visits and of course there is no reference section. The small school cannot expect to have all the equipment that a large school has, though I try pretty hard to get a lot of the things we need. We have the ability, or I like to think we have the ability, to use the full range and make as good a finished article as the large school. I feel that we need those aids; we want to make a good tape-recording; we want to make a good film; the children are quite able to but we are at a disadvantage as far as aids are concerned. (Now at this stage I feel I overlap into the teacher's needs rather than the children.) We hope to make a film sometime next term. We haven't got the equipment and we haven't got technicians. The children are quite as capable as those in larger schools of doing those things well, but it's this lack of equipment that makes a big difference in what we finally produce. I feel also that the rural school the small rural school is just as much entitled to those kinds of aids as any school in the country.
be over so this next term. Now as I see it in the rural situation we are up against problems for the pupil and the teacher which are in fact overlapping but at the moment I'll try to separate them but you will see as I go along that it is quite difficult to separate those problems out.

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I heard of one on our county that lies idling in a small school. It was given and wasn't asked for, so I feel that I must do something in order to get this because we can use one. Pre-recorded tapes of course could be supplied by the Centre and used in this way. Also I feel that where there is a lot of equipment not used in big schools, and big centres - or in small schools like the one with the unused VTR - there should be some kind of log kept so that the amount that equipment is used is possible to check on so that unused equipment can be sent off to an area where use will be made of it. I was very glad to hear Dr. Stewart say that he felt the hardware was essential for the rural school - I hope other Directors of Education support this. Children of different ages in one class require different responses from the teacher. The small child needs a lot of repetition and the rural teacher just hasn't got the time for this. This is where the hardware can be used - a small cassette recorder can be used to save the teacher's time for any reading in a small group, either pre-recorded story or a reading session taken earlier used again for repetition. And for more ambitious recording, even children from our small school, require a bigger tape recorder for editing, so there we are, already asking for a video tape machine and at least one cassette and a larger tape recorder. We are coming into the realms of the larger school demands.

There is a big lack of specialist equipment all round. No small school can really afford the expense of the storage space for any art equipment like the potters wheel and the kiln. I have tried to get them but so far I haven't succeeded, or for science equipment or large gymnastic equipment. Purpose-built rooms are obviously lacking. When we tried to record a play in a corner of a very high-ceilinged room with a curtain draped over us, and with younger children on the loose outside, the advantage of working in a purpose-built room becomes quite obvious. Then leading on from this lack of equipment is lack of sporting facilities. The world of sport is very important to the adult and so it is to the child. Just how important it is to the adult we've known over the last few weeks by the amount of TV and radio coverage given to the World Cup. Now the rural school child is definitely at a disadvantage in this sense in athletics. He may be as good and as able as a child from the urban set-up but lack of gym facilities obviously is going to make a difference when it comes to competing with the urban child. And in our situation we can train for a length of 30 to 40 metres because that's the length of the largest flat area in our district and even that is covered with rushes so it's more like hurdles. And there's a danger of the rural child always being an individual. It is important, therefore, that he has the experience of being part of a team. Because of the isolation this is one facility, one important part of his training that he might well miss.

3. The third thing for the child is that he has the same teacher year in year out. Personalities clash. In the rural school a child has more chance to be a personality. When this clash occurs in an ordinary school it is a relief for both the pupil and the teacher when the year ends and the pupil passes on to another teacher. In rural school the relief doesn't come - it's the same teacher on and on. We don't need to be up in the latest educational research to know that familiarity breeds contempt. A certain amount of the unfamiliar - of the surprise element is required in the learning situation to give the stimulus that we need. This is obviously more difficult to achieve when it is the same person who is controlling the learning situation year after year. Each teacher, no matter how enlightened or how broad minded, has her own particular blind spot. There are certain tracks she always trods - she may not be aware of the blinkers she wears but they will certainly leave quite an impression on the children in her care.
At that point I leave the children's disadvantages and come to the teacher's lacks.

FOR TEACHERS

1. There is a lack of professional contact. Teachers confined within the four walls can become autocrats. The effect of removing those four walls, say within the open plan schools, has meant a lot of readjustment for teachers but there is no doubt that this has had a stimulating effect. Even when they are not working within the close contact of team-teaching there is a cross-fertilisation of ideas which brings a new breath of life into the teaching situation. It may be to a certain extent just keeping up with the Jones's but at best it can be a constant flow of ideas which means that the teacher is stimulated, she has got to evaluate what's happening and choose - accept and reject ideas. The rural situation obviously lacks this. The mind as well as the body sags without exercise - the teacher without this stimulus tends to get into a rut and the teacher in a small community not only lacks the stimulus from fellow teachers but very often lacks any intellectual stimulus. The situation can easily develop in which the teacher stands still in the learning situation and the classroom situation is in danger. So there is a real need for professional refreshment of teachers in this situation by way of secondment.

2. Point number two for the teacher is lack of support structures. Now by that I mean Teachers' Centres, Colleges, Universities, Research or Innovation Groups, even the office is remote and the Advisor very difficult to get at at times. Much research and innovation is going on in the urban areas with the accompanying financial and professional back-up. The teachers with their problems in those areas usually have somebody fairly quickly available for reference - it may be just to put a problem in perspective for them or it may be a case of needing further information, or illustrative material or something just duplicated or just reassurance, it's all near and to hand. If the teacher in the urban set-up feels the need for a further course to improve her professional ability then the opportunity is available part-time at college or university - this is obviously lacking in the rural situation, even the advisor becomes a remote structure - the teacher is in complete isolation. Decisions have to be taken very often without reference to anybody. When children travel for a long distance this too puts more responsibility on the teacher and if the child is not feeling well he cannot easily be sent home because it means using a school taxi at vast expense - or does the teacher call in a doctor from a distance of several miles? Even longer term decisions - perhaps for the following week - are quite difficult to get advice on. Difficulty of contacting the right person at the right time. It is sometimes unbelievable how difficult it is on the telephone - "Oh, he's not in" or "he's on the telephone" or for the third or fourth time you've got the wrong extension. I can foresee with regionalisation that this will become even more so - there will be far more extension numbers. Also a return phone call is difficult if the phone is in the schoolhouse and the teacher is working in the school all day.

3. For the teacher the third problem I see is the few specialists in the area - the very isolation of the area means that there are few specialists. There may be someone with special skills in the area but it is unlikely that they also have teaching qualifications and this certainly prevents them from being paid for their use, so this is likely to mean loss use is made of them. So the teacher is in fact being asked, as
of life into the teaching situation. It may be to a certain extent just keeping up with the Jones's but at best it can be a constant flow of ideas which means that the teacher is stimulated, she has got to evaluate what's happening and choose - accept and reject ideas. The rural situation obviously lacks this. The mind as well as the body sags without exercise - the teacher without this stimulus tends to get into a rut and the teacher in a small community not only lacks the stimulus from fellow teachers but very often lacks any intellectual stimulus. The situation can easily develop in which the teacher stands still in the learning situation and the classroom situation is in danger. So there is a real need for professional refreshment of teachers in this situation by way of secondment.

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Education Authority asks or expects the teacher to be master of all trades but the parents do and they should do because their children have as much right to be educated in a certain standard as the children in an urban set-up. I as a parent want my children to have as much opportunity in every subject, and if the teacher is concerned sufficiently for the education, the whole education, of the children in her care she will be very concerned about this problem. So this puts very severe strain on the teacher, together with the various other problems mentioned this makes high professional demands on the teacher. Now with all these problems in mind I suggest the following:

1. That we set up rural workshops. This is to try to get around many of the problems mentioned just now. Those workshops might be set up in areas of a radius of 10-15 miles. Teachers could get together to sort out the particular specialist subjects they could offer and then they act as host, say once in a month, to the school or schools within that area and arrange a day-workshop for all the children in those schools. Then by return the other teacher or teachers will offer another subject and give their day-workshop in that other subject. Specialist equipment could be allocated to the school - it means that each school is going to be rather biased in one subject, but it would mean that specialist equipment would be available in that area - perhaps even to the extent of playing fields and sporting facilities. There are obviously many problems involved in such a venture, and travelling would be costly in time and money. The stimulus of the new situation may add to the learning situation but we've got to balance this against extra fatigue in the children.

2. I don't know how difficult this is but the finance for this I suggest could be supplied by salaries not used by specialists. Whether workshops are workable I'm not sure. That is going to depend very much on the teachers in the area and on what they can offer subject wise and how much they're prepared to work together as a sort of team teaching at a distance.

Failing that I suggest that some kind of funds be available from the same source to supply auxiliary staff or aids of some sort, by making use of craftsmen or specialists of any sort in the area without the teaching qualifications. It would be possible then to have a regular timetable and know that so and so will come in at a certain time because they're paid for it.

3. I suggest that more encouragement be given to teachers to take time off in secondment to refresh themselves professionally and add to their further qualifications so that they can tackle this difficult job more ably.

The small school has played a vital role in the past. Even in this age of centralization this small flexible educational unit can become the ideal learning situation if somehow these various problems can be overcome.
Q.1. Liaison between a secondary school and its feeder primary schools

Good links between secondary and primary departments are of great advantage to primary pupils, staff, and even parents as well as to secondary school staff.

It would be worth examining how satisfactory liaison might be achieved where the secondary catchment area may extend over hundreds of square miles and may include up to 20 primary schools, some of which may even be situated on islands.

Q.2. Pre-service training of teachers for work in small, isolated primary schools

Teachers in such schools experience considerable professional and some social isolation compared with their counterparts in town schools.

It would appear that teachers should be prepared to meet the special problems of such posts, e.g. their 'exposed' position in relation to parents and the local community in general; the need to take the initiative in dealing with minor emergencies, e.g. reorganisation of school conveyance in the face of bad weather conditions etc., without recourse to the advice of colleagues.

Q.3. How does the small school tackle the impact on its traditions and values of alien ways of life, e.g. Aviemore centre.

Q.4. How far are the personal lives of staff in small communities to be restricted to conform to the local norms?

Q.5. Should an attempt be made where possible to organize day workshops for 2 or more rural schools within an area of say 10-15 miles. (The teacher of the host school could offer one subject and prepare a whole day session on say Science, Art, English, Drama, etc. Then the other school (or schools) act as host for the next session in another subject.)

Would weekly or fortnightly workshops with other schools be likely to alleviate rural isolation?

Q.6. How much of a disadvantage is it for a child not to have a child or children of his own age at school?

Q.7. Provision of In-service training

In-service training tends to be provided by attendance at fairly infrequent conferences and courses covering a number of schools and therefore a large geographical area. While it is important that teachers in rural areas should meet together for discussion and exchange of ideas the problem of effective 'follow-up' of courses is large.

Frequent visits by advisory staff to provide in-service 'on-the-job' as it were is often impracticable and the provision of teacher/tutors allocated to fairly small numbers of schools might be worth consideration.
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Since the establishment of Teachers/Resource Centres as in urban areas is impracticable, the provision of advice and material support, by mail, from central Advisers/Resource Distribution Centres is another possibility.
Q.8. Scheme of provision of secondary education in rural areas

In view of the problems associated with provision of secondary education in very small units and the strong possibility that many rural children will, of necessity, have to live and work in urban areas as adults, the following points might bear discussion:

(i) Should all children transfer to a distant and relatively large secondary department on completing their primary education where they may gain considerable educational advantage and experience living with others in a hostel?

(ii) Should secondary provision be made in small, local departments so that the child may have the advantages of growing up in the security of his family and within a community in which he has a definable place?

(iii) Should the compromise be that children who will proceed to full-time tertiary education transfer from a small, local secondary school to a larger, distant school at the latest practicable point in their school careers? In Scotland this would amount to transfer to a 6 year school at the end of S4.

Q.9. How far should the school provide what the community immediately expects and how far is it to be a vehicle for social change?

Q.10. It has been stated as a fact by educationists that no secondary school with a roll of less than five hundred is efficient. Just how inefficient is the smaller school?

Q.11. In what ways can parents play a part in the life of the remote rural school?

Q.12. Since specialist teachers are few in the remote school, how can local experts without the necessary teaching qualifications be involved in school work?
GROUP DISCUSSIONS

QUESTION 1.

Working: Party 2. It was felt that the Swedish pattern is good viz. pupils entering secondary school have a fortnight's "settling-in" period where no formal lessons are taken - instead courses etc. are discussed with the new pupils.

Also in Sweden and Norway, many of the secondary teachers have primary experience - they know something of the methods by which primary children are taught.

It was felt that this one-day "familiarization" visit in Scotland by 1st children to the secondary school is of little value.

Once again it was felt that meetings of different kinds could be organized by the school councils to increase contact between primary and secondary.

Working: Party 3. There was a general agreement that rural schools had a great deal to offer with regard to character development and education. Problems of liaison between rural secondary schools and their feeder schools was considered. The Norwegian delegate recalled the long tradition of children of secondary school age being educated away from the family in Government built hostels - children were away for 37 weeks of the year, returning home for vacations. The Swedish member stated that his own area had long accepted the need for closer contacts between primary and secondary schools. A system of regular visitation had grown up - schools were expected to have a statement of policy which could be made available to others.

It was agreed that there was a long term problem of trying to bring together two divergent philosophies - one based on primary educational theories, the other on secondary educational theories - and there was a short term problem which appeared to be more capable of solution. It was felt that each school should concentrate on improving communication - by drawing up and publishing clear cut aims and objectives - by setting up working parties - by initiating a system of visitations. The general aim should be to allow the children to make a smooth transition by developing improved initiation procedures, by adjusting to the children at their stage of development and by working to dispel the fears and apprehensions of both the children and their parents.

Methods of carrying through these policies were discussed. These included possibility of 1st pupils visiting the receiving school - alternatively or concurrently deletion of secondary I pupils returning to the feeder school to report back. Publication of information bulletins, news sheets, films and film strip etc. One delegate drew attention to the methods of the Open University which included the establishment of clearcut aims, setting up of working parties, establishment of Summer (or preferably) Easter schools.

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**QUESTION 2.**

**Working Party 1.** Whereas it was assumed that there would exist identical components in all pre-service training courses, it was generally agreed that every course where possible should offer elements specifically relating to life and work in rural schools. It was recognised however that/
that the work of rural school teachers, particularly that of sole teachers, could be sub-divided into teaching and administration, and because of this there ought to be two separate although not compulsory components relating to rural education in any pre-service course.

Where a student chose rural education options he would also be involved in rural teaching practice, and attention given on the course to aspects of individualised learning covering the ability range of say minus 70 to 130 plus.

It was thought desirable that those tutors who participated in rural education courses should have recent and substantial experience in this aspect of education. The concept of a teacher/tutor scheme where teachers and college tutors would exchange with one another would be worthy of further exploration; such factors as salary differentials would be difficult although not insurmountable.

With regard to the administrative aspects of rural education it was suggested that apart from introductory cover in a pre-service course, a manual of administrative guidance be compiled, similar to those existing in Scandinavia.

The Norwegian delegate suggested that an international working party be formed to initiate the construction of a set of packages of materials on aspects relating to rural education for persons in either the pre-service or in-service situation; the material to be evaluated and developed at the next conference of Interskola. The Education Administrator of the University of Stirling suggested that the resources of the Department of Education at Stirling would be available for such developmental work. Initially such work would involve the construction of questionnaires to discover what the teachers in sparsely populated areas wanted and required.

Working Party 3. The question of the pre-service training of teachers for work in small isolated schools was discussed. A Scottish member outlined the present method in Aberdeen where students opt in their 3rd year to teach in a rural area and they were given special help. Later they do a special teaching practice in a school of their own choice, where they are visited by a tutor, who specialises in rural schools. They are allowed continuous teaching and they are given advice, but they are not assessed, on this occasion. It was agreed that this policy had merit but some members felt that the teachers need could best be served by an in-service course. Experiencing the long term problem of remoteness could make the teacher more receptive. The group felt that there could be advantages in sending a competent rural teacher to a College of Education for a short period of time. This could solve two problems - it would make the potential rural teacher's training more vocational and it would help to alleviate the psychological and intellectual isolation of the rural teacher in a remote area. The teacher could be replaced by a tutor, or advisor, or a volunteer student of proved ability, provided that this could be cleared by the student unions and the General Teaching Council.

Delegates favoured the idea of organizing day workshops for 2 or more rural schools within an area of 15 miles. It was felt that the opportunities of experience exchange and host and hostess duties could have nothing but beneficial effects for the children as well as the teachers.
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Where a College of Education is close to the area, tutors and final year students could be used to advantage to help alleviate professional and social isolation. This has been done in Norway with marked success.
The group discussed briefly the problems in a single teacher school of a child not having another child of the same age as a companion. The group felt that this was a regrettable disadvantage but little could be done about it unless the single teacher school was replaced by a more viable unit - opinions were divided on this issue.

It was considered essential that community links should be fostered to combat the real and psychological remoteness between the parents and the education office of the larger area. What action should be taken to create administrative accessibility - not only for parents - but for those who work under the administration?

Delegates felt that this should be considered at all levels - more parental involvement in schools was necessary in Scotland. Parents should feel free to play a part in school life. Some reservations were expressed, however, as to how this should be done. While it was true that in some countries parental involvement spilled over into teaching activities, in Scotland this was not possible nor desirable under the General Teaching Council Regulations for the certification of Teachers. The movement towards community schools was welcomed but again group members expressed reservations about how far this should be carried - a few delegates were worried about the degree to which a parent should be allowed to influence the day to day running of the school or the curriculum and the methodology.

The group welcomed the approach to whole child philosophy and the movement towards the individualisation of teaching but some were worried about the effect on the classroom teacher. The delegates agreed that an accurate knowledge of each child's home circumstances was essential for effective teaching but some of the group expressed the view that the teacher should not be expected to play the part of a professional social worker. This led to the general conclusion that the teacher was suffering from role conflict. Society was demanding too much from the teacher.

The Scandinavian delegates explained that the school year had been cut down to allow teachers time to get to know other teachers and administrators - special days have been set aside for parents to contact teachers (5 days a year). Teachers need time to consult school nurses, social workers, psychologists and specialists.

One delegate explained that his authority was helping parents to solve the problem of administrative accessibility by pursing the "one touch" policy. This meant that the parent with social, medical and housing problems could have them dealt with by approaching one agency. Parents, as rate payers, had a right to administrative accessibility and administrators had a duty to be publicly accountable for the execution of agreed policies. It was suggested that the practice of holding 'clinics' should be extended. Councillors, advisors and directors of Education would themselves benefit from such practices. Face to face contact with parents, teachers, parents, parents etc. would improve communications, reduce psychological remoteness and encourage realistic educational policies.

One delegate suggested that psychological remoteness was not solely concerned with sparsely populated rural areas. It would occur irrespective of distance from the administration - where parents are asked to enforce policies which have been formulated without proper consultation. This again points to the necessity for meaningful consultation.
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One delegate suggested that psychological remoteness was not solely concerned with sparsely populated rural areas. It could occur irrespective of distance from the administration - where parents are asked to endorse policies which have been formulated without proper consultation. This again points to the necessity for properly constituted school councils with powers to influence the regional and district administrations.
QUESTION 3.

Working Party 2. This question reflects the wider problem that schools have tended to be weak in getting across even to local children the cultural factors near at hand. When strangers come they are not made aware of these either.

It was strongly felt that all schools should be more concerned with local matters (history, geography etc.) as reflected in Environmental Studies etc. thus they would be more prepared to tackle the problem of pupils coming from another culture.

Where the number of pupils is small and they intend to remain in the area, they should be helped to become aware of the place. Where the number of incomers was large and not intending to stay (e.g. Army children in Uist) the schools should be organised so that for part of the time the local children should be in groups separate from the Army children. They could be to other for other topics e.g. history. With such grouping, subjects such as Gaelic themes would have its proper place in the curriculum for the local children.

Working Party 3. The group discussed the question of how the small school tackles the impact on its traditions and values of alien ways of life. This is a very relevant question at a time when great changes are taking place, e.g. the building of sports complexes and oil development.

The group felt that the Local Education Authority had a clear duty to see that buildings staff and new finance were made available to the schools before the development and not after. While delegates expressed sympathy they concluded that change is a fact of life and the schools first need is to accept the challenge rather than resist change. The schools main duty is to prepare the pupils to cope with the rapidly changing conditions by improving the curriculum and taking advantage of the new developments in the area. The schools main duty is to analyse the traditions and values it wishes to preserve and to ally its pupils, staff and parents with sympathetic and influential members of the community and schools council who can bring pressure to bear on those responsible for development and conservation.

There are limits to what a school can do – but it can help to act as a community agency or a central co-ordinating agency by engaging in proper work of social significance. Links can be established with the Saltire Society, the Civic Trust, the Scottish Rights of Way Society, the local preservation society, the countryside commission, the anti-litter society, local branch of the National Trust or Nature Conservancy Council or Forestry Commission.

QUESTION 4.

Working Party 1. It is important for staff taking up posts in rural areas to realise that they may be taking up jobs ‘extra’ to the one to which they had been appointed, and it was seen as essential that newly appointed staff should exercise reasonable care in appointment that they did not overcommit themselves in the community. On the other hand, it was noted that it did appear that employing authorities too little
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It/
It is a case of achieving reasonable balance, and all members were agreed that teachers should conform to local norms for reasons of social harmony.

The fact was underlined that an absence of conformity over a wide range of social dimensions might well have a significant effect on future professional prospects.

Working Party 3. The group discussed how far the personal lives of staff in small communities can be restricted to conform to local norms. This is a most difficult area - understanding and tolerance is needed on both sides if the problem is not to become acute. Communities are often intolerant of alien codes of behaviour and they often demand a higher standard of conduct from teachers and Headmasters. It has proved most difficult in the past to get any form of professional code of conduct accepted by groups of teachers - it would therefore be impossible to get agreement on a personal code of conduct outwith the school hours. All that can be expected of teachers is that they be diplomatic and circumspect, observing the common courtesies and respecting public feelings, even if they do not always sympathise with them.

QUESTION 5.

Working Party 1. The proposal was welcomed for interschool visits and the following were seen as objectives:

(a) to view other schools with their resources and apparatus;
(b) to increase motivation at the preparation and follow-up stage;
(c) to create a genuine educational experience which could be justified on the grounds of social/educational interaction.

It was agreed that the experiment be fully tested, measured and documented. The possibility of extending such a scheme to include residence in the homes of host pupils might also be examined, and it was seen that such a scheme might hold value in the fact that it would be a preparatory experience for those pupils who would have to leave home for their secondary education in any case.

The Norwegian representatives agreed that such schemes as outlined although not commonplace in Scandinavia, hold intrinsic educational and social value and ought to be explored further.

Working Party 2. It was felt that teachers could exchange schools. This would be cheaper and less costly than transporting the whole school population.

One scheme would be for children from one school to live with those in another school for a week or so, and vice versa. Both teachers and both sets of children working on certain themes in one school.

It was felt that children from small schools should meet other children during the normal course of the school term and not just for a pad or football match "when the weather was out of the way".
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(a) to view other schools with their resources and apparatus;
(b) to increase motivation at the preparation and follow-up stage;
(c) to create a genuine educational experience which could be justified on the grounds of social/educational interaction.

It was agreed that the experiment be fully tested, measured and documented. The possibility of extending such a scheme to include residence in the homes of host pupils might also be examined, and it was seen that such a scheme might hold value in the fact that it would be a preparatory experience for those pupils who would have to leave home for their secondary education in any case.

The Norwegian representatives agreed that such schemes as outlined although not commonplace in Scandinavia, held intrinsic educational and social value and ought to be explored further.

Working Party 2. It was felt that teachers could exchange schools. This would be cheaper and less costly than transporting the whole school population.

One scheme would be for children from one school to live with those in another school for a week or so, and vice versa. Both teachers and both sets of children working on certain themes in one school.

It was felt that children from small schools should meet other children during the normal course of the school term and not just for a mod or football match "when the year's work is out of the way".
QUESTION 7.

Working Party 5. This question is dealt with elsewhere in discussion but the following points need bearing in mind:

1. Emphasis should be on the quality of the course and frequency depends on pace of change.

2. Adequate expenses should be paid to teachers, and they should not be out of pocket.

3. Follow-up depends on availability of In-service staff. We recommend Teacher-tutors, deployed by the Advisory staff.

4. There should be a sharing of specialist teachers from Secondary schools as far as possible.

5. Resource centre advice per mail is impractical and would probably be as ineffective as most correspondence courses.

Working Party 6. Provision of In-Service Training:

(a) Credibility - teachers appointed as staff tutors must be seen to have an acceptable image by their fellow teachers in order to give credibility to their advice and help.

(b) Support of Head Teacher - the active support of Head Teachers is vital for innovation to be developed after In-Service. His/her active involvement is vital for curriculum development to take place.

(c) Provision of necessary materials: there is no point in initiating work on In-service courses, if the necessary materials are not available when the teacher returns to school and wishes to apply techniques etc. acquired during training.

(d) Resource Centre: following from (c) above, any Resource Centre must be staffed by people sympathetic to the needs of teachers.

(e) We recommend meetings between teachers from a region who have been on the same course.

QUESTION 8.

Working Party 6. A desirable size of school was thought to be about 1000 in pupil terms and it was thought that this could support desirable levels of staff, curriculum, audio visual aids and other facilities but of course in sparsely populated areas with scattered populations this might lead to the provision of hostel accommodation. It was thought in this respect that children looked forward to transferring to larger population centres or towns and that the main opposition came from parents. In some counties there were 'familiarisation visits' to secondary schools by primary children, during the summer months and this led them to anticipate
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It was suggested that the initial excitement of transfer to secondary education might soon be dissipated but in response to this it was noted that only one or two pupils become really homesick.

But of course there was still the problem of taking into account parents' wishes. A problem here was the changing nature of the rural population. In any case larger schools might suffer problems with regard to staffing. In Norway this problem was lessened since teachers did not specialise in just one subject. This led to a multiplicity of courses with a minimum of staff. The maintenance of the provision of staff then was always a problem in Scotland.

The meeting discussed the question of discipline in large schools though this was felt to be a question of location, e.g., heavily urbanised areas experiencing particular problems. But as a general rule discipline was not found to be a problem in rural areas. But in regard to the problem it was felt that constant changes in staff and the absolute size of a school were contributory factors. But with respect to the question of the size of a school doubts were expressed as to any policy which sought to change the size of a school where a 'good' school already existed. But once a policy with regard to size had been implemented one got the acceptance of the position.

The question of hostel provision was then discussed. How good this was, was thought to depend upon the question of the staff's jurisdiction over the school hostels. The headmaster was not always in control. But the warden was in loco parentis, often in opposition in his policies to the school. Usually an assistant headteacher was adopted for liaison work. The atmosphere of the hostels was felt to be of great educational value, particularly with respect to poorer children in contact with their peers. In fact for some children it was thought that it might be a positive advantage to live away from home.

**Working Party 5.**

**Part 1** - Hostels providing for an age range from 12 to 18 are unsuitable for 17-18 year olds, who need more adult treatment and greater freedom than the younger children. Hence many of the advantages postulated for hostel residence are not realised. Children should remain at home as long as possible.

**Part 2** - School closure may lead to rural depopulation, and this has to be balanced against advantages of the bigger school. Very small secondary schools not desirable. (Norway has centralisation for age 16-19.)

**Part 3** - By and large transfer at the end of S.4 is favoured, but consideration should be given to the middle-school system, with a time limit of 45 minutes each way set on daily travel. Generally the form of secondary organisation should be more flexible and more imaginative than it is at present throughout the Highlands and Islands, since the constraints vary from area to area, depending on economic factors and on demographic and geographic conditions.
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We find nothing fundamentally wrong with the concept of a 2-year secondary school which allows children to stay at home for an extra two years, provided that:

(a) staffing is available (staff could be encouraged to come to such schools by offering salary inducements and housing);

(b) the common course provided is comparable to that of the 6-year school;

(c) there is close liaison with the 6-year school (e.g., Head of Department in 6-year schools having oversight of same department in 2-year school without eroding the power of the headteacher of the 2-year school).

**QUESTION 9.**

Working Party 4. The group considered question No. 9. Discussion started by asking the question of who are the consumers of education, pupils or parents, and whose desires, needs and aspirations should be given preference? How could conflicting needs be reconciled? And even more basic a question was then asked That is, should local education be geared to conformity or change? Related to this was the whole question of the meaning and attainment of equality of educational opportunity. In inward looking communities there was an obvious conflict of objectives.

But it was thought that if in this framework of choice we were to include cultural values then we had to consider what we meant by culture. Norway was more concerned it seemed with a national value while it was suggested that in Scotland the media were powerful moulders of attitudes which should perhaps be counteracted in its influence by the schools. An aspect of the latter’s influence however was felt to be its generally middle class outlook.

In response to the questioning of the definition of culture it was felt that there was indeed such a thing as a local culture and that this was apparent in the teaching programmes of schools although the impact of this was uncertain. Norway was seen to be researching into the possibility of developing a balanced local, regional and national, curriculum. But in Scotland it was noted that teachers were very independent and education committees kept out of curriculum affairs. A local culture could not be dismissed however and the local emphasis upon history should be noted. The Highland clearances are well remembered. Change however was physically visible in some areas. For example, there was the question of the general programme of growth as for instance in Huns-shire. The discovery of North Sea Oil had brought about large housing developments which required in turn large school building programmes. It was thought that there was some resentment of change. But many of the people who object tend to be retired people, with local people favouring better employment prospects.

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Working Party 5. This raises big philosophical questions, but we believe the school should not challenge dominant social values. The evidence is that the school tends to reflect the ethos of an age rather than be a precursor or cause of change. Hence it should not be used for social engineering, though it does have a part to play in mediating certain values to the community, and can be very effective in the village school situation.
1. How do we define "efficiency"? Is it to be related to academic excellence or defined in terms of economy? We think, however, that a school of 500 can be efficient; Norway for instance now puts an upper limit of 600 on its schools.

2. Research is needed on question of size of school i.e. size below which a Secondary school would not want to fall and maximum size to which it should grow.

3. A range of options is vital to pupils, a reasonable variety of specialist staff and a reasonable range of equipment.

4. Cold economic efficiency has to be balanced against the 'caring community', and the sense of belonging which the small schools provide so much better. Briefly, the smaller school is preferable to the very big (1200 and over).

**Working Party 6. Efficiency of smaller schools**

(a) There is a figure below which a 6-year school is inefficient, but that that figure is lower than 500.

(b) A school can still be reasonably efficient with a roll of 300+.

**Below 300 pupils:**

1. Some teachers would be underemployed;
2. Implication for promoted posts must be considered;
3. A teacher's absence could eliminate a whole subject;
4. There would be inefficient return on capital expenditure;
5. There would be reduction of subject choice;
6. The 6th year would be too small and lacking in stimulation;
7. Transfer of pupils to university would not be so successful as students have been too sheltered.

(c) Many current troubles in large secondary schools are engendered by that very size.

**QUESTION 11.**

**Working Party 4.** It was pointed out that in Norway parents were actually allowed to teach in the schools. This would be illegal in Scotland but parents could be allowed to visit the school during the day. In this respect community relations were very important though the most important factor was the personality and discretion of the teacher.

This question of community relations must also be influenced by the rate of teacher turnover. Sutherland does not have a large teacher
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This question of community relations must also be influenced by the rate of teacher turnover. Sutherland does not have a large teacher turnover as a lot of teachers are local in origin. Isolated communities, however, are not always attractive to some teachers. Norway has had a problem with this and has used inducement allowances.
Referring again to community relations, it was suggested that parents can become too involved. While interested parents can advantageously affect academic performance this interest should be distinguished from the sheer presence of a parent in the classroom which might adversely affect a child's behaviour.

Parents it was decided cannot help but be involved with the school. But the major question was how involved? Parents could help with such activities as nature trails and auxiliary work. In all schools parents could help with fund raising, say for additional facilities and equipment though this was not considered an integral part of the educational progress.

The conclusion of the working party was that the school had a socially central role to play but that many hazards were apparent in educational involvement. This was the view of the professional. One should enlist the cooperation of parents although it was wondered how far the absence of involvement might be taken as being approval of the work of a local school.

Working Party 5. Parental involvement is important and may be encouraged in various ways:

1. Co-operation generally and showing interest in school activities.

2. By developing the school as the social centre of community.

3. Teachers should take initiative in the P.T.A.'s and in using voluntary help of craftsmen etc. in the area, and auxiliary help in class and outings.

4. In fund raising, sports, dramatic work, parents would be valuable.

In general we felt that the teacher must take the lead in encouraging parents to play their part, in breaking down any barriers and in creating a situation where two-way communication becomes easy and natural.

QUESTION 12

Working Party 4. The working party concentrated upon question No. 12, involving the use of local experts in teaching work. This it was felt had been partly answered earlier. Mrs. Boll's paper suggested how the efforts of local craftsmen and artists could be utilised. Immigration into an area often brought such people capable of offering assistance. This would be acceptable to the teaching unions just so long as no payment was involved. In Norway staff shortages have led to the use of students. Equally there has been an importing of foreign teachers; for example Swedish teachers have been employed in Norway.

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1. GTC requirements are a Scottish problem but the use of local experts under control of class teachers is possible.
2. There are often craftsmen of various kinds available as well as people willing to help in sports. The nurse and the doctor might also be available for health education and parents, on a rota basis, could be used as "auxiliaries" to do routine jobs.
An examination of census returns over the last twenty years is sufficient to indicate why policy makers, planners, educationalists and social scientists are interested in the relationship between education and rural depopulation in the Highlands and Islands region. If we examine the population figures of the Seven Crofting Counties (1) over the period 1951 to 1971 we find that by 1971 the total population was 96.3% of the 1951 level (a drop from 233,786 to 276,780). The last decade from 1961 to 1971 saw a slight rise in population. Different age groups within the population behave differently - an unmarried person who has recently entered the labour market could be expected to be more likely to move than a married couple with a home, a family and the husband having a steady job. Over the twenty year period we can identify two five-year age groups, the members of which in 1951 had not started their secondary education but by 1971 had entered the labour market. In 1971 the number of people aged 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 were respectively 76.8% and 76.4% of those aged 0 - 4 and 5 - 9 twenty years earlier (2). For the Seven Crofting Counties as a whole net population loss has to an extent been stabilised but among those making the critical transition from young children to young workers and young adults there is a disproportionately high net population loss.

The Seven Crofting Counties do not constitute economically or socially a simple homogeneous region. Economic development within the region has been very largely limited to the three main growth areas of the Moray Firth coast, the Wick - Thurso axis in Caithness and around Fort William in Inverness-shire. The creation of new industries and new job opportunities could reasonably be expected to result in those areas being more successful in retaining and attracting population, than areas where there has been little or no development. It is possible to identify a number of peripheral areas from which it is not possible for local residents to travel daily into the new growth areas and benefit from the new job opportunities. The west coast of the mainland from Durness to Kyle of Lochalsh and including the Isle of Skye, the whole of the Western Isles and the Orkney Islands constitute such a peripheral area. In this area total population loss over the period 1951-1971 has been much greater than for the Crofting Counties as a whole. The 1971 population of the peripheral area was 84.3% of that in 1951 compared with 96.3% for the Seven Crofting Counties. However, in the critical age groups population loss was even heavier. The 20 - 24 and 25 - 29 age groups in 1971 were only 53.7% and 56.5% of the level of the 0 - 4 and 5 - 9 age groups in 1951. In the peripheral area not only is total population loss higher but a disproportionately greater number of potential young workers and young adults are also being lost.

The net out-migration of young workers constitutes a major component of the total net population decline. On the Isle of Lewis the population of our critical age groups fell from 3,877 in 1951 to 1,830 in 1971 - a net population decrease of 2,047. Over the same period the total population of Lewis fell by 3,406, so that 59.5% of the net population loss of the island was accounted for by the net loss from our ten-year age group.
A high degree of population loss within a particular age group significantly affects the age structure of the local population. In the peripheral area we find that the 15-34 age group constitutes a much smaller proportion of the population than is the case in the Seven Crofting Counties in Scotland as a whole. Thus 21.3% of the population in the peripheral area are aged 15-34 years but in the Seven Crofting Counties it is 24.4% and in Scotland as a whole it is 26.7%. In a situation where the population is declining it is not unusual for a smaller proportion of potential parents to be relatively successful in maintaining the proportion of young children in the population. This is the case in the peripheral areas where the under 15 age-group constitutes 27.6% of the population, compared with 24.8% for the Crofting Counties and 26.3% for Scotland. A history of out-migration among young adults together with the popularity of the Highlands and Islands as retirement areas both for returning exiles and others has the effect of increasing the 65 years old and over age group. In the peripheral areas this age group constitutes 18.4% of the total population, in the Seven Crofting Counties it is 15.6% and 12.0% in Scotland. A feature of the age distribution of the population is that the dependent population (those aged under 15 and those aged 65 and over) represent a higher proportion of the total population (42.6%) in the peripheral areas, than in the Crofting Counties (40.4%) or in Scotland (37.5%). To complete the gloom it need only be added that male incomes in the Seven Crofting Counties are about 93% of the Scottish level and 85% of the level in Great Britain (3).

It is not surprising that faced with particularly high out-migration among those who have recently entered the labour market, there should be concern that the educational system itself might be making a direct contribution to rural depopulation. Before looking in detail at the situation in the Highlands and Islands, it is appropriate to remind ourselves that in different places and at different times the responsibility for rural depopulation has been laid firmly at the door of education. The claim that education, certainly beyond a very elementary level, increases rural migration by changing job aspirations and social values is not new. The disservice that education has done to the rural community or more accurately to dominant rural interests has been attested to since the early days of compulsory education. Armitage quotes an observation in 1898 by Sir John Gorst, M.P., who was Vice-President of the Committee of Council in Education that,

"The farmer and the squire are no friends to elementary education. They associate agricultural depression and high rents with compulsory education, and they grudge to pay for that teaching which deprives them of servants and furnishes their labourers with wings to fly from the parish." (4)

In two reports issued in the first quarter of the present century and dealing with rural depopulation, much of the blame was laid at the door of 'modern' education. In the Report on the Decline in the Agricultural Population of Great Britain, 1881-1906, the Forfar correspondent writes,

"Modern education has the inevitable tendency of leading the rural population to be discontented with the monotony of country life, and the cities with their numerous amusements and bustle will have an ever-
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"Modern education has the inevitable tendency of leading the rural population to be discontented with the monotony of country life, and the cities with their numerous amusements and bustle will have an ever-increasing charm for the better educated of the rural dwellers." (5)
Another correspondent from a rural area observed,

"The present system of education in rural schools is unsuited to what must be the future position and career of the great majority of the children attending them, who must earn their living by manual labour. At fourteen they leave school with exalted ideas and a distaste for farm or domestic work." (6)

The same thing is taken up by the 1920 Report of the Committee on Women in Agriculture where there is general agreement among witnesses that the education given in rural schools did not promote an interest in country life and work. One headmaster is reported as saying, "The more schooling young people get the less interested they are in country life." Another remarked, "At present, education itself has the tendency to send young people to town, as there is little social life in rural districts, and nothing at all to attract anyone of ambition to remain on the land." (7)

Finally, Joc Williams has observed in his account of social change in a Welsh rural village during the period 1920-50 how the widening of educational opportunities may provide a means for individual social mobility but at a social cost to the local community.

"The pattern of education that has developed during the present century has enabled them to 'get on' and 'getting on' inevitably meant 'getting out'. Individual members of the community profited from the educational opportunities that had become available for all in accordance with their abilities and aptitudes, but the community as a whole had been impoverished by the steady drain of talent and potential leadership from it into England's urban and industrial areas." (8)

The movement of young workers from the countryside to the towns is certainly not a purely Scottish or British phenomenon. This type of migration is apparent in some third world countries where the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation are leading to rural youth deserting the country-side. Abornathy describes the relationship that exists between education and rural migration in Southern Nigeria in a way which many would claim to be directly relevant to the situation in peripheral Scotland,

"In addition to raising the vocational aspirations of the young, education has increased their desire to live in the city. The elements of this desire are well known; the excitement and variety of the city, the opportunity for more interesting and higher-paying work, the freedom from parental and small-community pressures." (9)

In many parts of the Highlands and Islands it has for a long time been a necessity for academically ambitious pupils to live away from home for at least part of their secondary education. Marjorie Cruickshank has indicated how a pattern of secondary education provision that requires of pupils following academic courses that they live away from home might not only lower educational levels but also act as a migratory push.
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In many parts of the Highlands and Islands it has for a long time been a necessity for academically ambitious pupils to live away from home for at least part of their secondary education. Marjorie Cruickshank has indicated how a pattern of secondary education provision that requires of pupils following academic courses that they live away from home might not only lower educational levels but also act as a migratory push.

"The need to board away from home deters many parents from sending their children to selective secondary schools. Other parents, anxious to avoid the disruption of family life and the educational deprivation of their children uproot themselves and move elsewhere." (10)
It could be thought that a pattern of secondary education provision based on centralised schools, with the need for pupils from remote areas to stay in hostels or lodgings could lead to greater depopulation in two ways. Firstly, not all parents living in the remote areas would tolerate the separation and disruption to family life that the transition from a local primary school to a distant secondary school entails. Secondly, taking pupils out of their home social environment would increase their dissatisfaction with the rural way of life and encourage them to look towards the bright lights and better paid jobs of the towns and cities. These are certainly points that have been made in the ongoing debate about the pattern of secondary education provision in the Seven Crofting Counties. (11)

The intention of the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act was the provision of 'secondary education for all'. In many of the remote parts of the Seven Crofting Counties those pupils who at the end of their primary education were selected as being capable of benefiting from an 'academic course' were required to live away from home and attend a distant school in order to follow courses leading to the higher grade examinations of the Scottish Certificate of Education and eventual entry into higher education. Pupils who were judged to be 'non-academic' were able to receive their secondary education in their own home areas but attended a Junior Secondary School which would only offer non-certificate courses and all pupils left at the earliest statutory leaving age of 15 with no formal educational qualifications. In some of the remotest and most sparsely populated areas the number of local pupils of secondary age was so limited that they formed a small secondary department at the top of a one or two-teacher primary school. These small departments had none of the facilities necessary in order to provide an adequate level of secondary education and were strongly condemned in 1947 by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland which concluded that "in effect these children are being denied secondary education." (12)

The initial response to the 1945 Act was the setting-up of a large number of small secondary departments in rural areas that in many cases were only able to provide a very restricted form of secondary education. Much of the subsequent history of secondary education in the Seven Crofting Counties has been dominated by the closure of small secondary departments and the consequent outcries against the evils of increased centralisation.

The traditional split between 'academic' or 'certificate pupils' and 'non-academic' or 'non-certificate' pupils to a large extent has been eroded by the introduction of 'O' grade examinations in 1962 and the issuing by the Scottish Education Department of Circular 600 in 1966 that required all local education authorities in Scotland to submit plans to the Scottish Education Department for the reorganisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines. Circular 600 provides an administratively neat date from which the demise of the Junior Secondary School can be marked, but it was the introduction of 'O' grades that was perhaps more significant. The advent of 'O' grades meant that a convenient qualification became available to employers when selecting employees. As entry into an increasing number of skilled manual and clerical occupations became dependent upon the possession of the right number and type of 'O' grades, an increasingly wide ability range of pupils (and their parents) wished to have the opportunity of possessing a qualification which was pre-eminently useful in that it was 'cashable in the labour market. Shortages of staff and resources meant that the small junior
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the gradual disappearance of the non-certificate Junior Secondary School but the process was accelerated by the publication of Circular 600 in 1966.

Despite requiring education authorities to submit plans for the comprehensive re-organization of secondary education, Circular 600 recognised that the sparseness of population in the Highland region constituted a legitimate reason why a fully comprehensive pattern of secondary education could not be implemented.

"In some areas where the population is more scattered and where communications are most difficult, it may be impractical to provide in one school a range of courses suitable for all pupils in the area, even during the first two years of the secondary courses without a measure of centralisation which would be quite unacceptable to parents." (13)

Over the next few years as education committees produced their schemes for comprehensive reorganisation, the debate widened and just about every pressure group in the Highlands expressed an opinion on the issues raised by Circular 600. On the Island of Lewis the Western Isles Crofters' Union submitted a memorandum to the Scottish Education Department and the Ross and Cromarty Education Authority maintaining that a policy of reorganisation that resulted in all secondary pupils on Lewis receiving their secondary education in a single centralised school would have dangerous educational and social consequences.

"Thus, unless the trend will be modified, no child over twelve will, in the future thereafter, be educated anywhere in rural Lewis ......... It is legitimate, therefore to argue against massive centralisation on the grounds of the disastrous effects, socially and psychologically of the removal of the young from rural Lewis ......... Present policy will seriously jeopardise rural employment, social life and thereby population retention, besides disrupting family life and killing a valuable culture." (14)

As the debate developed the Secretary of State for Scotland asked the Highlands and Islands Development Board to advise on how the principle of comprehensive education should be applied to the rural areas of the Highlands and Islands. The H.I.D.B. recognised that,

"Most academic pupils in the Highlands already go away from home for their education. This has drained the brighter pupils from the rural areas and only a few have the opportunity of coming back. If the all-through comprehensive school is adopted everywhere this will now happen to all young people." (15)

However, and perhaps judiciously, the H.I.D.B. report accepted the principle of comprehensive secondary education but strongly recommended that Junior High Schools should be established where possible so that pupils could remain at home at least for the first two years of secondary education.
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The most remarkable thing about the schemes produced by the Highland education authorities in response to Circular 600 is their variety. The fundamental/
fundamental problem facing educational decision makers has been to devise a scheme - within acceptable cost limits - which enables the objective of comprehensive secondary education and the objective of allowing pupils to be educated within their home areas for as long as possible to be realised. In a number of situations these two objectives have proved incompatible and different education authorities have made different compromises. Within that area of the seven crofting counties which we have already identified as being peripheral, a number of different solutions have been attempted. In the Orkneys there are two six-year secondary schools at Kirkwall and Stromness. Pupils living on the larger of the other islands that make up the Orkneys are able to attend a local island Junior High School for at least the first two years of secondary education. Despite the small numbers involved, Pierowall Junior High School on the island of Westray has only 32 pupils in S.1, a common course is provided in the first two years of secondary education so that during the first two years there is direct compatibility between the course provided in the small Junior High Schools and the course provided in Kirkwall Grammar School and Stromness Academy. This provision is only made possible by the use of a group of peripatetic teachers of specialist subjects who fly from one island Junior High School to the next. Pupils living within the catchment areas of the Junior High Schools are allowed to transfer to Kirkwall Grammar School at any stage in their secondary career but are encouraged to do so at the end of the second year. For those pupils who remain at the local Junior High School beyond S.2, limited sixth-grade provision is made until the end of S.4. In some of the outlying islands like Foula and Papa Westray that have very small populations no local secondary provision is possible. In some cases pupils can travel by boat daily to a Junior Secondary School on a neighbouring island or transfer to Kirkwall or Stromness from the beginning of their secondary education. Inter-island travel by boat is dependent upon the weather and is therefore not very dependable. Pupils from Papa Westray who depend upon a daily boat journey to Pierowall School often find during the winter months that bad weather makes the trip impossible, in which case there is no alternative but to attend the primary school on Papa Westray until the weather improves. Similarly, bad weather during the winter months makes frequent journeys home to the outer islands from Kirkwall and Stromness very difficult.

Down the whole of the west coast of Sutherland from Durness to the border with Ross-shire the population is sparsely distributed and all pupils from the very beginning of their secondary education are required to attend a centralised secondary school on the east coast at Golspie. Relatively good communications enable frequent home visits to be made and most pupils return home every second or third weekend. Down the west coast of Ross-shire two-year junior comprehensive schools have been established at Ullapool and Gairloch which serve an immediate daily travelling catchment area. All pupils living in the catchment areas of these two junior comprehensive schools are required to attend them for two years after which all pupils transfer to Dingwall Academy on the east coast of Ross-shire. Pupils resident in the northern part of Wester Ross but living outwith the catchment areas of Gairloch or Ullapool transfer to Dingwall Academy at the beginning of their secondary education. Further down the Wester Ross coast at Plockton there is the most northerly six-year school on the west coast. As well as serving its immediate catchment area around Kyle of Lochalsh it is the secondary school for pupils from the Shieling, Applecross and Loch Carron areas of whom live in the hostel at Plockton during the week. The significant
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Further down the Wester Ross coast at Plockton there is the most
northerly six-year school on the west coast. As well as serving its
immediate catchment area around Kyle of Lochalsh it is the secondary
school for pupils from the Shieldaig, Applecross and Loch Carron areas all
of whom live in the hostel at Plockton during the week. The significant
characteristic of Plockton High School is that it enables pupils from the
west coast to receive the whole of their secondary education within their
own cultural area and they are not required to cross the cultural boundary
between the west and east coasts. The peripheral area can be extended
southwards/
southwards to include two areas on the west coast of Inverness-shire—
Glenelg and Mallaig. Glenelg is a sparsely populated area and all pupils
are required to transfer to a secondary school in the east coast town of
Inverness when making the transition from primary to secondary. Mallaig
is in Highland terms a centre of population being a fishing port at the
end of the railway line. The type of secondary education that a child in
Mallaig obtains is dependent upon whether he is selected for a certificate
or non-certificate course at the end of the second year of secondary
education. Mallaig is an example of one of the few areas on the mainland
of Highland Scotland where selection is still in operation. All pupils
attend the Mallaig School for the first two secondary years after which
those selected for academic courses transfer to Lochaber High School at
Fort William which is still on the west coast. Those judged to be non-
academic remain in the Mallaig School for the two remaining years of
secondary education.

On the island of Skye, which comes under the control of the Inverness-
shire education committee, the pattern of secondary provision is still in
a state of transition. In response to Circular 660, the education
authority argued that Portree High School should become a 6-year com-
prehensive school but that because further centralisation would be unac-
ceptable to parents, three 'non-certificate' Junior Secondary Schools at
Broadford, Dunvegan and Staffin should be retained. Those pupils living
in the catchment areas of the Junior Secondary schools who were selected
for certificate courses transferred at the age of 12 to Portree High
School. In recent years an increasing number of parents whose children
had not been selected for transfer to certificate courses have nevertheless
requested that they be allowed to attend Portree High School in preference
to the local Junior Secondary school. About two years ago parents living
in the catchment areas of the Junior Secondary school requested that in
future all local pupils should receive their secondary education at
Portree and, if necessary, live in hostels. Apparently this request was
accepted by the education committee but no date was fixed for the closure
of the Junior Secondary schools and no decision was taken about providing
increased hostel accommodation.

Until the reorganisation of local government comes into effect in
1975 and establishes a Western Isles education authority, the Outer
Hebrides will continue to be administered by two county education
authorities. Lewis has been administratively part of Ross and Cromarty
while Harris, North and South Uist, Benbecula and Barra have been part of
Inverness-shire. On Lewis the degree of centralisation feared by the
Western Isles Crofters' Union has not come about. The Nicholson Institute
in Stornoway acts as the only 6-year comprehensive school for Lewis but in
the rural parts of the island existing Junior Secondary schools have been
up-graded to two-year comprehensive schools. All pupils living in the
catchment areas of the local comprehensive schools attend them for the
first two years of secondary education after which all pupils transfer to
the Nicholson Institute. At this stage many of the pupils transferring
from the two comprehensives have to live away from home in school hostels.
Pupils from particularly isolated and sparsely populated areas of Lewis
transfer to the Nicholson Institute at the beginning of secondary education
and live in hostels.

Secondary provision in the southern part of the Western Isles that
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On the island of Skye, which comes under the control of the Inverness-shire education committee, the pattern of secondary provision is still in a state of transition. In response to Circular 600, the education authority argued that Portree High School should become a 6-year comprehensive school but that because further centralisation would be unacceptable to parents, three ‘non-certificate’ Junior Secondary Schools at Broadford, Dunvegan and Staffin should be retained. Those pupils living in the catchment areas of the Junior Secondary schools who were selected for certificate courses transferred at the age of 12 to Portree High School. In recent years an increasing number of parents whose children had not been selected for transfer to certificate courses have nevertheless requested that they be allowed to attend Portree High School in preference to the local Junior Secondary school. About two years ago parents living in the catchment areas of the Junior Secondary school requested that in future all local pupils should receive their secondary education at Portree and, if necessary, live in hostels. Apparently this request was accepted by the education committee but no date was fixed for the closure of the Junior Secondary schools and no decision was taken about providing increased hostel accommodation.

Until the reorganisation of local government comes into effect in 1975 and establishes a Western Isles education authority, the Outer Hebrides will continue to be administered by two county education authorities. Lewis has been administratively part of Ross and Cromarty while Harris, North and South Uist, Benbecula and Barra have been part of Inverness-shire. On Lewis the degree of centralisation feared by the Western Isles Crofters' Union has not come about. The Nicholson Institute in Stornoway acts as the only 6-year comprehensive school for Lewis but in the rural parts of the island existing Junior Secondary schools have been up-graded to two-year comprehensive schools. All pupils living in the catchment areas of the local comprehensive schools attend them for the first two years of secondary education after which all pupils transfer to the Nicholson Institute. At this stage many of the pupils transferring from the two comprehensives have to live away from home in school hostels. Pupils from particularly isolated and sparsely populated areas of Lewis transfer to the Nicholson Institute at the beginning of secondary education and live in hostels.

Secondary provision in the southern part of the Western Isles that comes under the authority of the Inverness-shire education committee is complicated. The most distinctive feature is that the area does not possess a full 6-year secondary school although the new Western Isles authority can be expected to give the establishing of such a school high priority. The present secondary provision is based on a combination of 4-year comprehensive schools offering certificate courses up to 'O' grade, but/
but with older pupils transferring to a far distant school at the end of the second year, and 4-year Junior Secondary schools offering only 'non-certificate' courses. Pupils wishing to take Higher have to live away from home and except for some pupils from Harris who can attend the Nicholson Institute, the decision to follow a Higher certificate course will require transferring to a school on the mainland or the Isle of Skye. With one set of schools providing certificate courses while only non-certificate courses are available at other schools, the system is heavily dependent upon selection at the age of 12 and also at 14. There has recently been pressure from the parents of children who have been allocated to 'non-certificate' schools for a change in policy which would enable pupils from these schools to sit 'O' grade examinations. The lack of 'O' grade courses at Castlebay Junior Secondary School on the island of Barra has been a cause of dissatisfaction among local parents and after heated representations the education authority has agreed to very limited 'O' grade provision being made available. 

Throughout most of the peripheral area comprehensive secondary education has been introduced which at the same time enables a relatively decentralised pattern of provision to be established for the first two years of secondary education. Under a selective system of secondary education like that operating in parts of Inverness-shire, non-academic pupils are able to receive the whole of their education in their home areas but at the cost of limiting their chances of obtaining formal academic qualifications. Under selective schemes the 'academic' pupil has often to live away from home from the very beginning of secondary school. A scheme based on the local two-year comprehensive as operated by Ross and Cromarty education committee enables all pupils to remain in their home localities for the first two secondary years but in order to retain the comprehensive principle it also requires that from the beginning of the third year all pupils transfer to a distant secondary school which will involve living away from home. It has to be recognised that in some areas the sparseness of the population makes it inevitable that pupils will have to start living away from home as soon as they make the transition from the local primary school.

In this part of the paper I want to outline the project on the centralisation of secondary education that we have been conducting from Aberdeen and relate this to the general problem of education and rural depopulation. In our study we have been looking at three groups:

(1) Parents who had children in primary or secondary schools during Session 1971/72.

(2) Pupils who were in S.1 and S.4 during Session 1973/74.

(3) Those who left school at the end of Session 1971/72.

The study of S.1 and S.4 pupils and the 1971/72 school leavers covers all those whose home addresses were in the area we have defined as part of peripheral Scotland - that is the Orkney Islands, the west coast of the mainland from Durness to Mull including the Island of Skye and the Inverness-shire small islands and the whole of the Western Isles. For the study of the parents we selected nine locations within the peripheral area but which differed according to their economic base and their pattern of secondary provision.

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The nine areas were:-

(1) The west coast of Sutherland where all pupils from the beginning of their secondary education move to the east coast and are required to live away from home.
(2) The Cress district of Lewis where for the first two years of secondary education, the pupils attend a local two-year comprehensive school, after which all pupils transfer to the Nicholson Institute in Stornoway and live away from home.

(3) The Uig district of Lewis where all pupils attend the Nicholson Institute from the beginning of their secondary education and are required to live away from home.

(4) The Island of Barra where selection takes place at the beginning of the secondary stage and pupils selected for 'certificate' courses transfer to mainland schools while 'non-certificate' pupils remain at Castlebay Junior Secondary School. The pupils who transfer to a mainland school can usually only return home for major school holidays.

(5) The Island of Sanday in the Orkney group where most pupils remain in a local school for the first two years of secondary education and live away from home. However, it is possible to transfer to Kirkwall at the beginning of secondary or alternatively to remain at the Sanday school for four years and take 'O' grades.

(6) The Islands of Rousay, Egilsay and Wyre in the Orkney group - there is no secondary provision on these islands and pupils go to Kirkwall or Stromness from the beginning of their secondary education and have to live away from home.

(7) South West Ross - the area within South West Ross that we selected is that part of the catchment area of Plockton High School that is outwith daily travelling distance. Pupils from this part of the catchment area attend Plockton High School for the whole of their secondary education and are required to live away from home.

(8) Mallaig is another area within which selection takes place but this time at the end of the second secondary year. All pupils attend the local secondary school in Mallaig for the first two years of secondary education after which 'certificate pupils' transfer to Lochaber High School and live away from home. Non-certificate pupils remain at Mallaig for another two years where limited 'O' grade provision has recently been made.

(9) Ullapool - where all pupils attend a local comprehensive school for the first two years after which all pupils transfer to Dingwall Academy and live away from home.

As well as representing the main patterns of secondary provision found in the Highland and Island region, the nine areas also represent different types of centralisation. In south-west Ross the centralisation is within a culturally and socially homogeneous area, but for pupils whose homes are in Uig, the move to Stornoway represents a change from a rural to an urban environment. As primary and secondary pupils on the west coast of
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As well as representing the main patterns of secondary provision found in the Highland and Island region, the nine areas also represent different types of centralisation. In south-west Ross the centralisation is within a culturally and socially homogeneous area, but for pupils whose homes are in Uig, the move to Stornoway represents a change from a rural to an urban environment, and secondary pupils on the west coast of Sutherland cross the cultural divide to the east coast. Certificate pupils on Barra make the change from an island to the mainland while Rousay pupils are centralised within an island group.
In our survey of parents we have been concerned with four main points:

(a) The migration intentions of parents and their attachment to their present home district.

(b) The level of parental satisfaction with the local pattern of secondary provision and the reasons given for any dissatisfaction.

(c) The demands that parents make of the educational system and, in particular, the attitudes of parents towards school courses that are oriented towards preparing pupils for specifically local jobs.

(d) The migration and job expectations that parents have about their own children.

In addition, we asked questions about the general social and economic background of the family and also the place of residence and occupations of sons and daughters who had completed their education.

We are still processing about 2,000 questionnaires that have been completed by S.1 and S.4 pupils. Here again we have been particularly concerned with their job and migration expectations and also their attitudes towards rural and urban ways of life. Hopefully, the inclusion of S.1, as well as S.4 pupils, will help us to understand the development of expectations and attitudes and also leave open the possibility of investigating the relationship between different patterns of secondary provision and the development of expectations and attitudes. The study of those who left school in 1971/72 is an attempt to trace the early employment histories of school leavers together with any changes in their places of residence. We hope to identify which type of school leaver moves away and which type stays and the reasons that different groups give for their decisions.

For the rest of this paper I will be drawing heavily on the findings that have emerged from our survey of some 500 parents. Firstly, we investigated the whole aspect of individual attachment to the present home district and attitudes towards migration. To identify a group of parents who have a high expectation of migration in the near future we asked the question - "Do you expect to stay in this district over the next five years or so?" In all nine areas the proportion who did not expect to stay was very low. The area with the highest proportion who did not expect to stay was west Sutherland where it was still only 7%. This sort of figure should not be seen as having any predictive value because there is a big jump from an expectation to actual behaviour. Nevertheless, this finding supports the general picture that emerges from a study of the census data that net out-migration among families where the parents are old enough to have children of school age is relatively low. The small numbers and small percentages make it impossible to say anything about the importance of various factors affecting migration and expectations. The decision to migrate is itself the result of a complex and complicated process and it is unlikely that any one factor could be identified as the sole reason for a decision to move. Although we have no evidence to suggest that a pattern of secondary provision that requires pupils to live away from home contributes significantly to out-migration from the peripheral area, there is a recognition among parents that separation from
school courses that are oriented towards preparing pupils for specifically local jobs.

(d) The migration and job expectations that parents have about their own children.

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All questions about migration intentions were asked well before any reference was made in the interview to the pattern of secondary provision. When parents were asked whether they were generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the pattern of secondary provision, wide differences emerged between areas that had different patterns of provision and also between areas that at least formally had a similar pattern. Thus the area that had the highest percentage of satisfied parents (South-West Ross) and the area with the lowest percentage of satisfied parents (the Island of Rousay), are both areas where pupils have to live away from home from the very beginning of their secondary education. However, this one formal similarity hides a number of important differences. The transfer from Rousay to Kirkwall is from one island to another; it is from a rural area to a relatively urban area and during winter months home visits are likely to be difficult and infrequent. In South-West Ross the transfer from primary to secondary involves living away from home, but Plockton High School is situated in an area very similar to that from which the pupils come, the centralisation is within the same cultural area and good communications enable the pupils to go home every weekend. For South-West Ross pupils who live away from home, the avoidance of a west-coast/east-coast move and the avoidance of centralisation involving a rural/urban or island/mainland change means that there is a sense in which the pupils can be regarded as still living in their own home areas while attending school. In considering the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with an existing pattern of provision, it is important to recognise what parents consider to be the likely alternative. In other words, with what pattern of provision are the parents comparing their own situation? In the cases of Rousay and South-West Ross the comparisons that were readily available further reduced the attractiveness of the present situation for Rousay parents while the comparison available to the parents of South-West Ross had the opposite effect. The Rousay parents were able to compare their own situation with that of people living on the neighbouring Island of Sanday where all pupils could attend a local secondary school for the first two years. The minimum demand of the Rousay parents was that they should have the same provision of secondary education as that which was available on Sanday. The comparison that dominated the minds of South-West Ross parents was the alternative of sending their children to Dingwall Academy on the east coast which would not only have involved a greater travelling distance but would also have removed the children from a west-coast locality.

Despite the need to examine the factors affecting the specific circumstance of every locality, it is nevertheless possible to make some general comments on parental satisfaction with different types of provision. A higher percentage of parents tended to be satisfied with the pattern of provision where transfer to a distant secondary school took place at the end of the second year of secondary education. Dissatisfaction was higher in those areas where the transfer was made at the very beginning of secondary education. Thus Ullapool, Mullagh, Sanday and Cross all had a higher percentage of satisfied parents than Rousay, Uig and West Sutherland. The Barra situation deserves special mention in that during the debate about secondary re-organisation in the Highlands and Islands it has been claimed that the system most appropriate to the special circumstances of the region is one where 'non-certificate' pupils remain in a local Junior Secondary school while the few selected for certificate courses make the transfer to a distant centralised school. This type of situation exists on Barra but has little support among parents. The lack of parental support is evidenced by the fact that only 24% of parents were satisfied with the existing situation while 62% were dissatisfied.
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solution, the Barra situation results in the worst of all worlds.

From time to time, the claim is made that the actual content of secondary education is unsuitable for pupils living in the remoter areas of the highlands and islands. Pupils should not only have a secondary education that is related to their local environment but the content of courses should be deliberately aimed at preparing pupils to stay and work in their home district. This raises the issue of the extent to which the schools are capable of being used to carry out such a major piece of social engineering, but before such a policy is attempted, attention must be given to the wishes of parents. In the questionnaire, we asked a series of questions that were aimed at ascertaining whether parents thought the purpose of the school was to prepare pupils to move away from their home districts and get jobs elsewhere or stay and work in their home localities. In all areas, except Cross, a majority of the parents believed that the school should prepare pupils to move away. In Cross, 45% believed that the school should prepare pupils to live and work locally. The area with the next highest percentage was Barra with a much lower 20%. It appears that in areas where job opportunities are very limited, parents expect the school to be an institution that will enable their children to compete successfully with other pupils in the wider labour market. The rejection of locally oriented education became further apparent when parents were asked if they wanted schools to provide vocational courses that would enable pupils to obtain local employment and whether they wished their own children to follow such a course. Cross again proved the exception with 75% in favour of their children following a vocational course that was aimed at opportunities in the local job market. Elsewhere the response was markedly unenthusiastic with 25% in Uig, South-West Ross and Ullapool taking up a similar position, while apart from Cross, the next highest was Sunday's 17%. In general, parents demanded that the schools should provide the opportunity for upward social mobility and recognised that this involved geographical mobility. An attempt to provide courses specifically oriented to local job opportunities - even for so-called 'non-certificate' pupils - is likely to be resisted by parents particularly if such provision is made at the cost of providing courses in skills that have a more general application. When these questions were asked in areas like Uig, South-West Ross and Sutherland, one of the most common reactions of respondents was a slightly bemused look followed by a statement gently pointing out to the naive questioner that there were no local jobs worth speaking about. The Cross exception is relatively easy to explain as the urban area of Torney which offers a wider range of job opportunities within daily travelling distance, and with the greater variety of job opportunities, parents are more prepared to welcome locally oriented vocational courses.

In investigating the expectations that parents had about their own children, we asked parents whether they thought that their oldest son and/or daughter would still be living in the present home district by the time they had reached 25 years of age. The overwhelming response in all areas was that most parents expected their children to migrate. In all the areas with the exception of Ullapool and Cross, less than 10% of parents with a daughter of school age expected the daughter to remain in the home district until she was 25. Among sons, the picture was different with 50% of parents in Ullapool expecting the son to remain. In Skye, Raasay, Cross and West Sutherland the percentage of parents who expected the oldest school-aged son to remain in the home district was between 20-24%, in Uig 12% and in Ullapool, South-West Ross and Barra it was under 10%. This shows that only a very few parents in these areas
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homes and raise their families in the districts in which they were brought up. The expectation that daughters are less likely to stay than sons is compatible with Hanner's findings in rural Ireland where he shows that cut-migration from rural areas is higher among girls than among boys during their early years on the labour market. (16)

The underlying belief that was continually expressed during the interviews was that parents either did not think that local jobs were available for their children once they left school, or that if jobs were available, parents did not consider them suitable for their own children. Parents had aspirations and expectations for their children which they considered would not be capable of being realised locally. In many rural areas and small towns there is an acceptance, with the possible exception of teaching, that the desire for a middle class occupation involves accepting the inevitability of migration. In the study areas, migration has to be accepted as a very real possibility even if the aspiration is no higher than a desire for a skilled manual occupation. As one mother in West Sutherland said, "You have to go to the east coast even to be a joiner."

In this last section I shall attempt to bring the discussion together and see to what extent it is possible to say something at a general level about the relationship between education and rural depopulation in the context of the Scottish Highlands and Islands. The first thing that can be said is that there is no evidence that dissatisfaction by parents with a pattern of secondary provision that involves pupils living away from home is in itself a significant factor behind the movement of population from the areas. The core potential population in terms of providing potential migrants is the pupil population. One accusation made against the education system is that the schools encourage the development of aspirations and values among pupils that result in their becoming dissatisfied with the way of life in their home areas, this consequently leads to a rejection of their home areas and finally culminates in a decision to migrate. The school is identified as the most important social institution responsible for indoctrinating the rural child with the values of the cities and towns. Schwarzweller and Brown refer to the way the school acts as a cultural bridge between the eastern mountain region of Kentucky and the wider society of the United States. A cultural bridge is defined by them as an "Institutional complex which, through communication, linkage and cultural diffusion spans the gap between cultural systems." And thus, "The school by teaching the normative patterns of the Great Society inculcates the youngster with the culture of the Great Society and through the process of assimilation and substitution, furnishes him with a cultural link with the Great Society, allowing him to become an agent of change in the rural community or to make an easier adjustment to urban life if he migrates." (17)

This model is concerned with explaining the process of how rural and urban cultures are blended and integrated. Schwarzweller and Brown concentrate on the function of education in bringing about the integration of a rural subculture with the predominantly urban culture of the United States. It is not a matter of the schools making successive generations of rural children dissatisfied with rural life and virtually making them choose between frustration or migration. The relationship is more dynamic in that the values of the wider society are introduced into the rural subculture through the school, but this introduction brings about change within the rural subculture. A process devolves where the two
areas and small towns there is an acceptance, with the possible exception of teaching, that the desire for a middle class occupation involves accepting the inevitability of migration. In the study areas, migration has to be accepted as a very real possibility even if the aspiration is no higher than a desire for a skilled manual occupation. As one mother in West Sutherland said, "You have to go to the east coast even to be a joiner."

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In the context of the peripheral areas in the Highlands and Islands it is reasonable to doubt the pre-eminent position occupied by the school as an agent of cultural change. The means by which the values of the wider society are introduced into the peripheral areas are numerous. Perhaps the most important agent is the family itself and perhaps the most visible is the media. The school pupil is likely to have members of his own close family who have direct experience of an urban way of life. His parents may have lived for a period in a town or city, older brothers or sisters may have moved away to employment in the towns and by the time school leaving age is reached, close contemporaries are likely to have travelled a similar path. A prolonged history of migration from the peripheral areas to the towns and cities and, in particular, the industrial central belt of Scotland, has led to a very strong and well developed pattern of communication that links the rural and urban cultures. In many areas of life it is not possible to maintain that an opposition exists between the values of the rural subculture and those of the wider society. One area of life where the similarity between rural and urban values is particularly strong is that concerned with ideas of achievement and individual success. The parent of the rural child is just as concerned as the parent of the urban child to ensure that their child obtains a 'good job' and they could very largely agree on what they mean by a good job. The parents in the survey not only expected their children to move away in order to find employment, but very largely rejected as unsuitable, the type of job opportunities that the local economy was capable of producing. The dominant theme is that individual success is seen as being dependent upon migrating and competing successfully in the wider labour market. The pupil from the peripheral areas is growing up in what can be called a migratory milieu. Throughout his early life there is the strong likelihood that he will be growing up in an environment where the expectation and, indeed, the desire of his parents will be for him to move away and be successful in finding a good job. Not surprisingly, parents see the job of the school as being to provide the pupil with the training and qualifications that will enable him to compete at least on equal terms with pupils from the city. If job considerations are predominant then factors such as a preference for the way of life of the country or the town are likely to be of secondary importance.

Confronted by the heavy out-migration of young workers from rural areas one response is to attempt to reverse or slow down the process by concentrating on the schools. However, it would be arrogant as educators and educationalists to think that a complex problem can be solved by getting the educational mix right. For the schools to be successful in retaining a much higher proportion of young people in the peripheral areas, it would clearly not be sufficient to convince school leavers that the quality of life in the area was superior to that found in the towns. It would be necessary to convince pupils that they would prefer relatively unskilled and low paid work at home in preference to the opportunities provided in the towns and cities. If such a policy was contemplated it would lead to the values of the middle class institution of the school being in direct conflict with those of the home. The most recent issue of the World Year Book of Education deals exclusively with the relationship between education and rural development surveying the attempts that have been made to retain population in rural areas by providing a specifically rurally oriented education. Foster and Sheffield conclude:-

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central belt of Scotland, has led to a very strong and well-developed pattern of communication that links the rural and urban cultures. In many areas of life it is not possible to maintain that an opposition exists between the values of the rural subculture and those of the wider society. One area of life where the similarity between rural and urban values is particularly strong is that concerned with ideas of achievement and individual success. The parent of the rural child is just as concerned as the parent of the urban child to ensure that their child obtains a 'good job' and they could very largely agree on what they mean by a good job. The parents in the survey not only expected their children to move away in order to find employment, but very largely rejected as unsuitable, the type of job opportunities that the local economy was capable of producing. The dominant theme is that individual success is seen as being dependent upon migrating and competing successfully in the wider labour market. The pupil from the peripheral areas is growing-up in what can be called a migratory milieu. Throughout his early life there is the strong likelihood that he will be growing-up in an environment where the expectation and, indeed, the desire of his parents will be for him to move away and be successful in finding a good job. Not surprisingly, parents see the job of the school as being to provide the pupil with the training and qualifications that will enable him to compete at least on equal terms with pupils from the city. If job considerations are predominant then factors such as a preference for the way of life of the country or the town are likely to be of secondary importance.

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"Historically, there can be little doubt that rural population have resisted attempts to provide specifically rural or agricultural curricula in the schools. With much justification they have recognised that to accept such a situation would condemn them to a relatively/
relatively disadvantaged position vis-a-vis urban populations in terms of opportunities for geographical, social and economic mobility. Quite simply, 'separate is not equal' and rural dwellers have long known it. No amount of juggling with the curriculum of the schools for example is likely to alter the legitimate aspirations of rural children and their parents or in some way tie them to the land." (18)

If attempts are made to introduce specifically rural oriented courses within the schools with the hope that this will result in a decrease of out-migration among young workers, then not only would such a policy be doomed to failure but its ultimate effect would only be to place the rural school leaver at a disadvantage when he eventually moves and has to compete in the urban labour market with the products of the wider society. The possession of the number and type of 'O' levels that are required for entry into skilled manual occupations is as important for the pupil from rural Lewis or the west coast of Sutherland as it is for the city-bred pupil. If school leavers and young workers are going to be retained in the peripheral areas, it will be through providing many more job opportunities at the skilled manual and non-manual levels, and in the attempt to retain young people in peripheral areas it is unlikely that the schools will be able to make any significant contribution.

Notes and Reference

The present paper is based on research being carried out at Aberdeen University on aspects of the centralisation of secondary education in the Highlands and Islands. The project is funded by the Highlands and Islands Development Board. None of the research would have been possible without the active help of the Directors of Education in the Seven Crofting Counties and primary and secondary headteachers in the research area who have not only allowed me access to their records, but in many cases, have spent a considerable amount of time abstracting information from their registers. A special debt of gratitude is owed to those parents and pupils who consented to be interviewed or completed the self-administered questionnaires.

(1) The Seven Crofting Counties are Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Zetland. The total area is popularly known as the Highlands and Islands despite the fact that the areas of major population concentration (around the shores of the Moray Firth and along the Wick-Thurso axis in Caithness) are neither highland nor island.

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(3) Economic Statistics Table D-1, H.M.S.O. February 1972.


(6) op. cit. Page 61.

(7)


(13) Scottish Education Department, Circular 600, 1966.

(14) Memorandum submitted by the Western Isles Crofters' Union to the Scottish Education Department and Ross and Cromarty Education Authority 1969. See Papers prepared by H.I.D.B. for 1970 Conference on Centralisation of Secondary Education.


(17) Schwarzweller, H.K. and Brown, J.S. 'Education as a Cultural Bridge between East Kentucky and the Great Society,' In Rural Sociology, Vol. 27, No. 4.

The Swedish Educational System

Equal opportunities

A basic principle of the Swedish educational system is to give all children and young people a chance of obtaining the education for which they are suited. Attempt has been made to eliminate geographical, economic, cultural, or social obstacles, and discrimination between the sexes. All school and university teaching is free of charge. Children under sixteen receive children's allowances paid to the family, and students over sixteen receive study allowances. A special system of study grants exists for the purpose of higher education.

The school system is highly centralized. For each school form there is just one curriculum, issued by the National Board of Education, stating the same objectives for all students in a subject in a certain grade. The same organization as to optional courses and subjects is used in all school districts. There is, however, a considerable freedom for the local boards of education and for the single teacher to choose textbooks, sequence the contents and also to choose methodology of teaching and working forms for the pupils.

Upbringing

Another principle is that children should be brought up in a democratic spirit. The previous division into different types of school, and different lines, has been abolished. Specialization has been reduced.

From 1950 the old European parallel school system has been integrated into a comprehensive school, starting at the age of 7 and lasting for 9 years. Then there is a three-year senior high school before the university level.

After compulsory school, it is intended that at least 90% of students should choose to continue their studies in the integrated upper secondary school. This school was introduced on 1 July, 1971, when three previously separate schools, the gymnasium, the continuation school and the vocational school were integrated into "gymnasiesskolor", comprising 22 lines.

Flexibility

Admission to an institute of higher education usually presupposes completion of a three-year line of the upper secondary school. In spring 1972 the parliament decided that students having fulfilled their studies on the two-year lines in the upper secondary school are in general qualified to enter the post-gymnasium education from the middle of the 1970's. This is tied up with a third important principle of Swedish educational policy, namely that the educational system must be flexible. Those still at school must be able to change the direction of their studies without major
A basic principle of the Swedish educational system is to give all children and young people a chance of obtaining the education for which they are suited. Attempt has been made to eliminate geographical, economic, cultural, or social obstacles, and discrimination between the sexes. All school and university teaching is free of charge. Children under sixteen receive children's allowances paid to the family, and students over sixteen receive study allowances. A special system of study grants exists for the purpose of higher education.

The school system is highly centralized. For each school form there is just one curriculum, issued by the National Board of Education, stating the same objectives for all students in a subject in a certain grade. The same organization as to optional courses and subjects is used in all school districts. There is, however, considerable freedom for the local boards of education and for the single teacher to choose textbooks, sequence the contents and also to choose methodology of teaching and working forms for the pupils.

Upbringing

Another principle is that children should be brought up in a democratic spirit. The previous division into different types of school, and different lines, has been abolished. Specialisation has been reduced.

From 1950 the old European parallel school system has been integrated into a comprehensive school, starting at the age of 7 and lasting for 9 years. Then there is a three-year senior high school before the university level.

After compulsory school, it is intended that at least 90% of students should choose to continue their studies in the integrated upper secondary school. This school was introduced on 1 July, 1971, when three previously separate schools, the gymnasium, the continuation school and the vocational school were integrated into "gymnasieskolan", comprising 22 lines.

Flexibility

Admission to an institute of higher education usually presupposes completion of a three-year line of the upper secondary school. In spring 1972 the parliament decided that students having fulfilled their studies on the two-year lines in the upper secondary school are in general qualified to enter the post-gymnasium education from the middle of the 1970's. This is tied up with a third important principle of Swedish educational policy, namely that the educational system must be flexible. Those still at school must be able to change the direction of their studies without major difficulty. Anyone must be able to improve and supplement his knowledge, subsequent to his initial education. No one must risk being excluded for ever from the possibility of further education.
In June 1969 the Government decided that adults, i.e., persons older than 25 years, who have worked 5 years can take certain courses at the universities if they fulfill the special requirements for the course concerned.

Universities and university level colleges

Post-gymnasium education is given mainly by universities and university-level colleges. In the academic year 1970/71 the number of students enrolled at such institutions amounted to approx. 120,000. The period of education varies widely between different types of study.

Open and restricted admission

The faculties of theology, law and arts and sciences of Swedish universities, the "free faculties", are open in principle (with the exception of certain laboratory subjects) to all those who have completed their gymnasium studies or received a corresponding education. Admission to certain other types of education, including medicine and technology, is restricted. Every year, applications are far in excess of the places available.

The comprehensive school was to a large extent introduced in order to promote social equality. Its curriculum philosophy is quite progressivistic with great stress on development of the whole child, cooperation and group work as well as on the unselected heterogeneous class as the best environment for the fulfillment of these ends. The reform called for a radical change of teaching methods from traditional classroom instruction to a great deal of individualization within the comprehensive class. (Husén & Honrysson 1959, Paulston 1968, Marklund & Söderberg 1968, Beauchamp & Beauchamp 1972). The senior level was built up as a school with successive choice of optional subjects. In order to be able to organize these different subjects a minimum number of pupils was needed for making a group - a problem for the small school.

The committees preparing the reform drew considerably on educational and sociological research in their planning. One of the most important fields of research and argumentation was the influence of social background factors on the enrollment to higher studies and success at school. Here, early studies by Boalt (1947) and Husén (1948) played an important role. This theme has been followed up in a number of later studies by Husén, who became one of the most prominent spokesmen for the reform. (See Husén & Boalt for further references 1968). Among the research studies ought also to be mentioned a series of investigations by Härnqvist (1958, 1960, 1965, cf. also Härnqvist & Bengtsson 1972) on the reserve of talent, inter- and intraindividual differences in relation to the problems of differentiation etc.

The only study about the effectiveness of different kinds of school organization that existed before the final decision on the Swedish comprehensive school, made a comparison between the old selective system and the experimental comprehensive system that were running parallel to each other in different parts of the city of Stockholm (Svensson 1962). When keeping initial ability and social background constant, no differences were (as usual) found between classes belonging to the selective and comprehensive system.
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A re-analysis some years later (Dahlöf 1967, 1971) did, however, show that there was a difference between the grouping systems, but it did not appear as a difference in the level of performance in the standardized tests. Instead the difference came out in terms of time in/
in a ratio as big as 1:5 for an equal level of attainment in basic curriculum units - and in terms of time as well as level of performance in advanced units.

From a practical and political point of view this outcome will of course mean some frustration to those who had drawn too simple and far-reaching conclusions that ability grouping does not have any influence at all.

From a theoretical point of view the inclusion of process data gives rise to a systematic model about the relationship between objectives, environmental conditions, teaching method, teaching time and level of attainment of the students. The details of the model have been presented by Dahlström (1967, 1971 a).

The teaching situation consists of conditions that in principle are under control of the system. Some of these are: Physical characteristics of the school: Size and structure of school buildings, distance between school and home, supply of teaching aids etc. Administrative factors or rules of organization: principles for class-size and grouping of students; length of school-year and school-day, number of lessons a week in a given subject and so on. Characteristics of the teacher with regard to his repertoire of teaching patterns which he has been trained to use.

The main point is that these frame factors may be regarded as the firsthand expression of the very fundamental fact that schools are operating with limited resources. The frame factors thus restrict the time and space for the different types of teaching activities, which means that certain psychological and/or physical barriers are being developed from the point of view of the teacher in his role as an administrator, and coordinator of the learning activities of the students. The frames for the teaching situation are quite different in a class-oriented teaching situation and in one built up from individualized instruction.

In Sweden the process of urbanization during the last decade has shown a decrease of the rural population and the population in the small communities, and a corresponding increase of population in the big cities and their suburbs. The reasons are to be found in the structural changes of the economy which consist of considerable rationalizations resulting in a decrease of employment in the actual trades, agriculture and forestry, and an expansion of the urban trades, industry and service. These changes have had a particularly great effect in certain regions of the country, e.g. the depopulation in the inland parts of Norrland (the northern part of Sweden) and people moving into the Stockholm area (the capital).

Table 1
Table 1  Distribution and trends in the population of Sweden in the years 1930, 1950 and 1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population, total, end of year 1000</td>
<td>6.140</td>
<td>7.045</td>
<td>8.129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which urban population 1000</td>
<td>1.995</td>
<td>3.285</td>
<td>5.700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population density, inhab. per sq. mile</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gainfully occupied, 1000</td>
<td>2.876</td>
<td>3.105</td>
<td>3.865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage distributed by sectors:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture ...</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mining, manufacturing and construction ...</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trade transport and communications ...</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general administration and professions ...</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others ...</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Estimate

1 The density of the county of Stockholm is 229 inhab. per sq. mile, of the county of Göteborg 141, of Värmland 16, while Jämtland and the most northern counties are 3,4 and 3 inhab. per sq. mile.

The problems of the rural areas are first and foremost a consequence of the dispersed settlements. The population basis for different collective activities are therefore weak and the distances to different institutions are great for a substantial part of the population. Great distances to services, place of work and social contacts are endemic features of the rural areas.

The aim of the Swedish regional policy has been stated to be to create more equality in the economic, social and cultural fields between people in different areas, i.e. to guarantee good living conditions in all parts of the country. Fundamental aims of the care of the society in different domains are the security of the individual and freedom of choice in different respects.

In these circumstances one has more and more concentrated on the question of access to certain basic service activities concerning goods as well as services, (health service and other social welfare provisions), basic education, and questions concerning employment in the rural areas.
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</tr>
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Concerning the service of basic education, the Local as well as the Regional Boards of Education have to plan for the localization of education according to general rules for supply of pupils on different school/
school levels. Those rules are prescribed by government decision, very often in connection with reforms some years ago and sometimes on conditions which no longer are actual and by now must be questioned.

When the supply of children in sparsely populated areas has diminished to the minimal account, the alternative has been to close down the school according to the rules. From the beginning the rules and regulations have not taken into consideration the speed of depopulation in certain areas and its consequence for the local educational possibilities. In some districts the conflict has become optimal to such an extent that parents have gone on strike in order to keep the local school. The alternatives offered are long rides between home and school or to board and lodge in the main town with time-consuming home journeys at the week-ends. Conflicts of this kind are primarily examples of their feeling of importance of the school for the life of the local district. It is also an example of their lack of confidence. Every additional closing down of schools is supposed to speed up the depopulation process of the rural areas which has already gone far enough, and people distrust the will and capacity of the authorities to break the tendency.

You could get the impression from the discussions that the authorities are indifferent and the scientists passive. This is wrong, however. In reality both the decentralized school authorities and the Board of Education have been very attentive to local initiatives and helped in realizing constructive proposals into practical experiments. Let us take an example:

In 1969 the question was put forward by a smaller school in the middle of Sweden to have the permission to administer a non-graded system within their upper department of secondary school, their supply of pupils being less than 60 pupils. Knowing the problem of the increasing number of these small schools from 66 in 1971 to 90 in 1980 (less than 30 in 40 schools) according to National Statistics, this school was permitted to start the experiment, followed up by the PANG-project (= Process Analysis of Non-Grading) at the University of Göteborg (Andræ & Dahlöff 1973).

Thus steps were taken to get more knowledge and information about how to handle the approaching situation. The main problems were how to organize the small school and how to handle the teaching situation and process.

Preliminary results gave rise to interesting questions and lead to the incorporation of more experimental schools, broadening knowledge and giving more generalizable information.

The experiment is not yet evaluated but gives already interesting opportunities for individualization, which have been tried in certain American schools for quite a long time already, but seldom under such conditions that would allow us to take over the model or the results to Swedish conditions. There are other more complex organizational and administrative demands than in traditional classroom teaching: demands on the time-schedule, the study material, demands on the teacher's planning and tuition, demands on group-work and individualization on the part of the pupils.

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Since the steps taken in 1969, the policy towards small schools has been to try to have as many as possible left. In 1971 the National Board of Education settled that a small school (upper dep. of sec. school less than 60) would not be closed if the distance to the nearest upper dep. of secondary school is not more than 24-27 miles (4 - 4.5 Sw. mil) and if those having longer distance are not more than 12-13%./
According to this, however, a certain number of schools would be closed during the 70's. The intention was to have as few of them as possible.

The Commission of the sparsely Populated Areas made a statement in 1972 (SOU 1972:56). Now, the upper dep. of secondary school was considered a very important service and ought to be represented in every community. The essential purpose should be, however, to retain those already existing, not to find new ones. The education should be organized to work satisfactorily under varying conditions in different parts of the country, they stated. At every close down, the economic aspect should be looked upon as second hand. Still 45 minutes are regarded as maximum and lodging in the last resort. Results from long ride or lodging experiments are not available but under way in the above mentioned project.

At present small schools are closed down only in exceptional cases, awaiting results from research going on and a preliminary time-table of small schools' upper sec. is suggested by the National Board of Education (1974-03-25) and special rules for the amount of pay.

However, when conflicts are brought to a critical stage, every administrative decision may form a precedence. As often happens, the final position is a question of political objectives as well as need for knowledge and information. The latter concerning the importance of different factors for the development of the whole pupil and the consequences of different solutions for man as well as society. This is an important task for different kinds of research.

With means granted by the Board of Education for research, the follow-up study of discussions is now being carried out at the Institute of Education at the University of Göteborg. The aim is to try to find a non-grading system for the upper dep. of secondary education to get a sufficient supply of children.

Objectives

1. To try out a suitable strategy for studying the teaching process within a non-graded school system and to examine its results with regard to the pupils' knowledge and the social effects.

2. To evaluate the effects of restructuring a conventionally graded school system along non-graded lines concerning primarily
   (a) the teaching process and its results in terms of
   (b) achievement and
   (c) social effects

3. To study the above alternative learning contexts in relation to a social anthropological general picture considering local as well as regional variables. The main concern then will be to throw light upon the importance of the school as a factor for localization and local effects from the localization of educational opportunities within a community.

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Hopefully the follow-up will give such information about the actual functioning of the non-graded system contrasted with other alternatives of action that might be taken, that is to say long rides or lodging for the pupils, that it becomes possible, to a certain extent, to gain insights into its effectiveness regarding academic achievement and aspects of personality development. Such insights will only be valid when the context is clarified and the connection between school, home and community situations seen in focus.
Adoption of an overall view should also lead to a more thorough penetration of what a well of the upper grades would mean not only to the pupils themselves, but also for homes, friends, teachers and community.

To let the young people get their education within a reasonable distance from home would be a minimal goal. In 1967, Harmsenborg and Olsson (1971) showed that half of the pupils in a northern community went by school bus and in grade 1-2 were away from home about 40 hours/week, in grade 3-6 about 50. Even if there are organized rides to school, however, the pupils not only live at home but also function as a member of the local society. In Norway, Brox (1972) has stressed the importance of this factor and within the Lofot-project Høgmo and Solstad (1974) make a practical contribution to solve this problem within the educational system. I will point to some facts in their work later on.

From a local and regional point of view the preservation of a school that should be closed down means a contribution to slow down the depopulation process in the rural areas regarding teachers and school administrators.

Among the few studies of this problem the results tend to show, however, that the localization of a school does not turn but helps to slow down a negative development (Bjørgesen, B. among others 1970). More knowledge is needed, however, about these problems. Rydberg (1971) and ERU (1972) showed that especially families with teenage children prefer to move instead of letting the children become boarders.

This argument does not say anything, however, about what you expect of these young people after they have passed compulsory school, the 9th grade. What is the further goal of the school policy in the rural areas? Gavelin and Ericsson (1970) studied some pupils in a smaller community after their compulsory school education in 1965-1969. More pupils from the villages than from the towns moved away and the reason mostly was shortage of jobs or need of further education. More women than men continued their education. Men more often wanted to get a job. Those moving away had more brothers and sisters and those from villages more often made a vocational choice of further education. Pupils from more densely populated areas tended to settle down elsewhere more easily. Most of the pupils had a positive attitude towards their community and wanted to stay. However, they did not think there was any possibility because of lack of jobs. They feared a continuous depopulation.

A more detailed examination of the Swedish policy with regard to rural areas and the localization of schools will be done within the RANG project. This should be regarded as important, especially considering what has been done in the social-anthropological field with a high degree of relevance concerning these problems.

Andersson, L. (1970) showed that the localization of educational possibilities (compulsory as well as other) had a positive regional effect - not only educational but also a positive relation to other services. Dahlcron (1972) points to the importance of working at education in a system analytical way, the importance of not taking into account the economical factors too much and to meet the risk of nowadays's education being a migration factor. Today's education is more differentiated than work supply.
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A further distribution of education could increase depopulation he thinks. The problem could be solved if local education could take the job structure of the region into consideration. There is also supposed to be greater marginal effects in connection with localization of schools in/
in smaller communities than in cities. Some empirical findings have
given support to this. He also underlines that social as well as
cultural effects should be looked upon in this context.

We intend to look upon these factors in more detail within the above
mentioned PÅNG-project. This work will be done in collaboration with
the Institute of Geography in Umeå. Last year we made a basic study of
the local situation in the different school districts, and next year we
will study the local situation and the educational possibilities will be
studied in relation to other factors. The depopulation variable will be
studied as one of them as well as the different social situations for
children bussed, lodged or going to school in their home-village. Within
these areas some pilot-studies were made in May this year. Parental
attitudes were expressed through interviews and pupils in compulsory
school were asked about their future plans for studies, work and settle-
ment. The results are being analyzed during this summer and the problem
will be further analyzed next year. The teaching situation will be
further studied during 1975/76 and analyzed in connection with the above
mentioned community study.

During the late 60's the organization of higher education has been
taken under consideration in Sweden. Some of the great points for dis-
cussion have been the questions of decentralization and level of
decision. Some proposals have been made by an official report U68 and
things are now under debate. The decision will be taken within half a
year.

During the 70's some experiments have also been done in order to
find a way of distributing upper secondary and university education even
to sparsely populated areas. These studies have been built upon
different kinds of correspondence instruction, self-instructional
material and methods, independent work, concentrated studies etc. The
experiments will be evaluated by the National Board of Education as to
the secondary level. (SSE = Särskild Samordnad Gymnasieskola, Prop.
1973:77, Jacobsson 1974) and by the Distance Teaching Project at the
University of Umeå (Willén 1974).

In Norway the question has been put too: What will be the con-
sequences of a school built up on the norms of the cities and towns? It
is questionable if it will lead to maintain the settlement of to-day. Pupils
probably are oriented towards a form of living very close to the
cities and a career which is supposed to be difficult to combine with
living in the countryside. However, it will be easier for those more
migration oriented to change living place and work. The risk is not
only an increase of migration but also that there will be a selection of
pupils moving away. Even if it is not easy to point to this function
of the school, it is important to keep in mind that perhaps education is
active in a direction of development, which is not wanted. Solstad
(1968) as well as Brox (1966) have pointed to the positive selection on
the migration structure and Knutson (1972) found the parental attitude,
that education probably will increase migration. But there is also
space for other factors of importance.

Høgne and Solstad (1974) have a project called the Lofot-project.
The base for this is to increase the development towards a compulsory
school more consciously and systematically, taking into account local
conditions, more than is the policy of today. This is important, both
to increase pupils' knowledge and insight into their situation and to
those areas some pilot-studies were made in May this year. Parental
delattitudes were expressed through interviews and pupils in compulsory
school were asked about their future plans for studies, work and settle-
ment. The results are being analyzed during this summer and the problem
will be further analyzed next year. The teaching situation will be
further studied during 1975/76 and analyzed in connection with the above
mentioned community study.

During the late 60's the organization of higher education has been
taken under consideration in Sweden. Some of the great points for dis-
cussion have been the questions of decentralization and level of
decision. Some proposals have been made by an official report U68 and
things are now under debate. The decision will be taken within half a
year.

During the 70's some experiments have also been done in order to
find a way of distributing upper secondary and university education even
to sparsely populated areas. These studies have been built upon
different kinds of correspondence instruction, self-instructional
material and methods, independent work, concentrated studies etc. The
experiments will be evaluated by the National Board of Education as to
the secondary level. (SSG = Särskild Samordnad Gymnasieskola, Prop.
1973:77, Jacobsson 1974) and by the Distance Teaching Project at the
University of Umeå (Willing 1974).

In Norway the question has been put too: What will be the con-
sequences of a school built up on the norms of the cities and towns? It
is questionable if it will lead to maintain the settlement of to-day.
Pupils probably are oriented towards a form of living very close to the
cities and a career which is supposed to be difficult to combine with
living in the countryside. However, it will be easier for those more
migration oriented to change living place and work. The risk is not
only an increase of migration but also that there will be a selection of
pupils moving away. Even if it is not easy to point to this function
of the school, it is important to keep in mind that perhaps education is
active in a direction of development, which is not wanted. Solstad
(1968) as well as Brox (1966) have pointed to the positive selection on
the migration structure and Knutson (1972) found the parental attitude,
that education probably will increase migration. But there is also
space for other factors of importance.

Högmo and Solstad (1974) have a project called the Lofot-project.
The base for this is to increase the development towards a compulsory
school more consciously and systematically, taking into account local
conditions, more than is the policy of today. This is important, both
to increase pupils' knowledge and insight into their situation and to
develop interest in and motivation for work even within the local
district, which is the living place of the child.
This objective will be met in two ways:

1. Giving pupils in compulsory school the possibility to take part in the local job activities, when there are most of them (in Lofoten during fishing-season).

2. Making teaching and subject contents more fit to local conditions.

Thoughts and thinking in those matters are very much built upon that which Kitchon (1967) has discussed from his knowledge from a Canadian sparsely populated area:

"The educational diet of a particular child should consist of three elements combined in unique proportions: the basic uniformity that is necessary for him taking into account his probable mobility and exposure to convergence, the culture including the value orientation of the societal groups to which he belongs, and elements unique to him."

Those different objectives thus must not be looked upon as alternatives but as complementary: If education is successful on the part of local criterias it will also probably be successful on the part of national ones.

The project is working within the frames of the Mönsterplanen (National Rules for Education). Mönsterplanen says that school ought to establish an active contact with the local society and that an orientation to the local situation areas is contributing more reality into the teaching - teaching situation thus following the principle of going from the unknown to the known.

The Norwegian research is followed up in collaboration with the Swedish research. The problem situation is parallel as well as some evaluation questions. When it comes to analyze the results many interesting comparisons will be possible and thus give a wider information and knowledge of these problems. The parallel to Scottish research is also evident and an obvious point of comparison and gives another possibility to make us understand this problem area.

REFERENCES


Bealt, G. 1947: Skolutbildning och skolresultat för barn ur olika...
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Kitchen, H.W./


Dr. Finlay MacLeod,
Gaelic and Primary Adviser,
Western Isles.

GAEIC IN SCOTTISH SCHOOLS

Since Gaelic is used widely in the community throughout the Western Isles Islands Area it may be useful to begin by focusing on this region so as to assess how the language is being used in the schools.

There are 60 primary schools in the Western Isles with a population of nearly four thousand children. Fifty-six of these schools are in the Gaelic rural areas and of their population of 2687 children 88% have some knowledge of Gaelic. Sixty-eight percent are fluent Gaelic speakers. Twelve percent have no Gaelic. The other four schools are situated in linguistically mixed areas - Stornoway and Balivanich. There are 1177 children in these four anglicized schools of which 68% have no knowledge of Gaelic. Only 7% are fluent Gaelic speakers.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Total in Class</th>
<th>% Fluent</th>
<th>% Moderately Fluent</th>
<th>% No Gaelic</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P 1</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>P 6</td>
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<td>71</td>
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</tr>
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Table 1 gives a breakdown of the data from primary 1 to primary 7 in the 56 rural schools. The figures show that the older the child the more likely he is to have some knowledge of Gaelic. This trend may be due to the positive effect of Gaelic teaching in the school showing itself in the older classes, or it may be the result of the continuing decline of Gaelic in the community showing itself in the younger classes. It is likely that both factors are having an effect.
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Percentages of children speaking Gaelic in rural primary schools in the Western Isles

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**TABLE 2**

1 These data are taken from a survey of Western Isles schools carried out by the author in April 1974.
The data from the four anglicized schools given in Table 2 show a rise with age in the number of children who have some knowledge of Gaelic. This would seem to be the result of some teaching of Gaelic as a second language in one or two of the schools, particularly with children who are now in primaries 5 and 6. In order to get a full picture of the language situation in the schools one has to consider the teachers’ proficiency in Gaelic as well as that of the pupils. Of the 200 teachers in primary schools in the Western Isles 158 are fluent Gaelic speakers; another 14 have a moderate knowledge of the language, and 28 have no Gaelic. Figures 1 and 2 (see pp. 86 & 87) show the relationship between the figures for teachers and pupils in the two sets of schools.

It is interesting to note that while there is a high pupil/teacher correlation in the rural schools, this tendency is changed in the anglicized schools. Figure 2 shows that while the majority of teachers (62%) in these four schools are fluent Gaelic speakers most of the children (68%) have not learnt any Gaelic.

In considering the place of Gaelic in the curriculum a clear distinction must be made between two models:

1) the study of Gaelic as a subject.
2) the use of Gaelic as a vehicle for the child’s experiences and activities.

Model 1 leads to the teaching of Gaelic as a second language, while Model 2 can lead to bilingual schooling. A bilingual school is one which makes equal use of the two languages of the community, and of the two cultural backgrounds to which these languages are attached.
Excluding Special Classes

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The role of Gaelic in education, from primary school to university, has been confined almost exclusively to Model 1. This has been the case whether pupils and students are native speakers or learners.
THE RELATIVE FLUENCY IN GAELIC OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS IN RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE WESTERN ISLES
Figure 2

The relative fluency in Gaelic of teachers and pupils in four anglicised primary schools in the Western Isles.
It may help one to understand how this situation has arisen if one considers the limited place that Gaelic has had in the State school system from the beginning. Towards the end of the last century the State school was introduced into the Gaelic areas of Scotland and the use of Gaelic in these schools was forbidden. The school in the Gaelic area was an anglicized institution from the beginning and it has remained so to a large extent to the present day. Gaelic was introduced many years ago as a subject, often taught through the medium of English, and it has remained so to a large extent. The language through which the institution is run has been the same from the beginning and individuals who enter it (children and adults alike) tend to be conditioned by the existing organisation and subsequently help to perpetuate its aims and methods. In this way English is the language almost always used by teachers both in formal classroom work and in informal encounters with children in corridors, playground or school canteen. At present it is not unusual for Gaelic-speaking teachers to teach Gaelic as a subject to Gaelic-speaking children through the medium of English. This is also the norm in university Celtic departments. Such linguistically anomalous situations have arisen in different parts of the world where members of the indigenous population have taken over the running of alien institutions in their midst but who perpetuate the institutions' original mode of functioning, as if they continued to be run by members of the alien group.

Within such a framework it is not surprising that Gaelic was introduced merely as a subject and that the main concern was with grammar and spelling rather than with the child's intuitive use of his native language. Children's experience of Gaelic in school is being confined to Model 1. Of course, this method of working with a language reflects teachers' comprehension of the nature of language itself. It has been taken for granted that language work in school - whatever the language - should consist of a formal conscious description of the structure of that language. Model 1 has been taken for granted as being the only model.

In recent years the work of specialists in the Social Sciences such as Developmental Psychology, Linguistics and Sociolinguistics has radically altered our conception of the nature of language and its relationship to the development of the child. It is now realised that the child's work with language in school should be concerned with his using his language(s) so as to make sense of his everyday life, rather than its being confined to the study of the intricate patterns of the language itself. It may not be easy for many teachers to realise that it may be more valuable and relevant to the child to know something of the social aspects of his language(s) rather than striving for conscious knowledge of the complex structure of his language(s).

With Gaelic being treated within Model 1 (even with fluent, native speaking children) it is not surprising that the amount of time given to it within the school day was tended to be very limited. When treated merely as a subject rather than as a means of tackling all sorts of other subjects it is usually restricted to one lesson each day. In the not too distant past it was confined to one or two lessons each week. It is not unusual for a class of bilingual children to be engaged in an extensive 'centre of interest' through English while their Gaelic work consists entirely of working their way, page by page, through a Gaelic class reader. Model 2 for the former, Model 1 for the latter. Not infrequently one hears, "I just don't know why I've never tried a project in Gaelic" or "No, I've never made an assignment card for Gaelic."
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One characteristic of Model I has been a strong dependence on the written word, and an underlying distrust of the ultimate value of oral work. Reorganising a classroom so that the spoken word is given prominence is not an easy transition for many. With the decline in the use of Gaelic by children when they are outside the classroom it falls on the class teacher as never before to create in her classroom a language situation where, for a significant part of the day, the children are encouraged to use Gaelic freely, particularly in oral expression. This is not always an easy thing to do. In fact, where children are becoming progressively more accustomed to using English in many domains, it requires considerable skill to devise classroom situations which lead the children naturally into a Gaelic set of performance. This is indeed the case whether we are dealing with children whose first language is Gaelic but who have tended not to use it this way, or with children who are learning it as a second language. "Children successfully learn a second language in the spontaneous conversations of everyday life outside the school, but deliberate attempts to teach a second language in school are much less successful. We have not learned how to reproduce in school the critical ingredients of a successful language-learning environment" (Cazden 1972, p.2). One need hardly add that the aim should be to have the bilingual classroom organised in such a way as to be conducive to the development of communicative competence in both the children's languages.

Some of the most interesting bilingual education experiments are being done in Wales at the present time, largely as a result of the Gittins Report (1967), but made possible only by the large sums of money given to the Welsh for such experiments by the Schools Council. With reference to the Welsh-speaking areas the Gittins Report says, "Welsh is taught as a first language and used as a medium of instructions in the majority of schools in the Welsh-speaking areas". (p.219). Referring to the methods by which the children are encouraged to use Welsh in these schools the Report makes certain observations which are not without relevance for us in Scotland. "Welsh-medium primary schools have, on the whole, been slow to develop their own materials in the way that infants and progressive junior schools have done in England and in parts of anglicised Wales during a period of educational ferment and advance. Traditional approaches to teaching and learning have not encouraged experiments, and the educational problems of adapting Welsh to modern teaching approaches have been solved ... This may well be because of the geographical and professional isolation of teachers in the Welsh-speaking areas. It is also probably true that there is a tradition in Wales of viewing education as essentially a matter of book learning and classroom teaching and as a channel of economic advancement. There can be no doubt that sound formal teaching in the three R's remains dominant. There is a real danger that, unless the Welsh-medium schools adapt themselves to new ideas and techniques, they will be increasingly left behind and the language itself may be undermined if educational progress is associated with English and things English." (p.220).

In 1973 the Schools Council gave a grant of £45,000 for a project dealing with the teaching of Welsh as a first language in primary schools. In the same year the Schools Council gave a grant of similar proportions for a project for the development of a full reading scheme in Welsh.

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programme of bilingual education. Help is required in the form of full-time workers, with strong financial backing, who will provide guidelines and create materials for such a programme. In-service training is particularly crucial as many of the young teachers have had no teacher-training as far as Gaelic is concerned – Aberdeen College of Education trains many of the teachers who return to the Gaelic area and there are no lecturers there who are concerned with Gaelic. Since more Gaelic tends to be used in the infant class than at later stages it is not surprising that some of the more interesting innovations have been done at this level. One such innovation was to introduce in six schools the use of a Gaelic version of 'Breakthrough of Literacy' alongside the English version. This pilot study has proved successful and it is hoped to extend it to other schools.

The attitudes in the community are of crucial importance. One of the most important aspects of a well-publicised experimental project, well-staffed and well-financed, is that it increases awareness and discussion of the issues involved, among both children and adults. It helps overcome what Morgan (1970) calls the lack of cultural awareness. "Cultural awareness is a quality found in only a fraction of the population, and it is only in this fraction that one should reasonably expect a sense of concern for the fate of the language and its culture" (p.47).

In referring to Gaelic, this is what Nisbet (1963) calls its 'public image'. "Is it regarded with affection and respect by the people who speak it, and especially by the young with whom its future rests? Or is it associated in their minds with ideas of a bleak unadventurous way of life, as having inferior status, as being old-fashioned and out of touch with modern developments? Such attitudes are important, and may be conveyed in subtle ways. The practice of teaching reading in English before Gaelic, the use of a bright modern text for English and old copies for Gaelic, formal methods of teaching Gaelic and preoccupation with the intricacies of its spelling – these are all effective means of forming the attitude that the language is second-rate, parochial and obsolescent. There are other ways of killing a language than by forbidding its use" (p.49).

Numerous studies have shown that the pupil's attitude towards a language, and the culture of which it is a vehicle, affects his level of attainment in that language (e.g. Gardner & Lambert 1959).

If we are to accept current findings on the biological bases of language, it is imperative that we introduce children to languages while they are still in the primary school if they are to learn them naturally and without conscious effort. "Automatic acquisition from mere exposure to a language seems to disappear at this age (puberty), and foreign languages have to be taught and learned through a conscious and laboured effort. Foreign accents cannot be overcome easily after puberty" (Lenneberg 1967, p.176). Educationalists such as Castillejo (1933) believed that the adolescent in secondary school is at the worst stage of development for learning a second language; that he is too old to learn it intuitively and too young to be seriously motivated to learn it effectively by conscious and sustained study of its structure. It is therefore at the primary stage that we should devise the 'critical ingredients' of which Cazden (1972) spoke. In the Gaelic areas we have a unique opportunity to devise those for there is an adequate supply of bilingual teachers and a community which still makes considerable use of the language with which the school has not yet come to terms.
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It was mentioned earlier that the Welsh curricular development programmes in bilingual education are of particular interest to us in Scotland. They/
They incorporate what is best in current educational theory and practice and they show an awareness of contemporary thinking on bilingualism in general. Where they may frustrate us is in realising that while such large sums are being spent on Welsh bilingual education nothing is being spent at present on experimental projects of Gaelic education.

In addition to the two Schools Council projects already referred to, the following have also been given grants by the Schools Council:

1. Research and Development Project in Bilingual Education in Primary Schools in the Anglicized Areas of Wales (1968).
4. Research and Development Project on Teaching and Learning English in Wales, 8-13.
5. Schools Council Project on Attitudes to and Motivation for Learning and English in Schools in Wales.

In none of these seven areas has any research and development work been done in Gaelic/English bilingual education.

The School Council's brief does not include Scotland, and the Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum have not clearly outlined the place of Gaelic in Scottish education. Had the C.C.C. been presented with project proposals by local authorities, colleges or universities it may have had reason to consider Gaelic, but those were not formulated.

At a time when bilingual education is considered to be an exciting area of development in many countries, including the U.S.A., books on current and future trends in Scottish education by Scottish professors and lecturers frequently omit any mention of Gaelic. The phenomenon is referred to as 'the problem of Gaelic' rather than its being regarded as an opportunity to develop within Scotland, to an extent that we should not attempt to predict at present, a positive and interesting area of educational breakthrough. Joshua Fishman, one of the world's best known sociolinguists writes, "The day is coming when more and more genuine bilingual education for all who want it, regardless of income, mother tongue or language dominance, will be part of the variegated picture of American education" (1970, p.53). What we have to consider is whether we have fallen so far behind in Scottish education that we cannot offer such facilities to our children.

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(2) Research and Development Project on Welsh as a Second Language in the Secondary School (Continuation of Project in Bilingual Education). Schools Council grant of £57,000 (1974).

(3) Research and Development Project on Welsh as a First Language in the Secondary School.

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1. CASTILLEJO, J., 1933, Modern Languages in an international school. Now Era, 14, 7-10.


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John Rushe,
Chief Executive Officer, County of Limerick, Eire.

(Note: In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Seamus O. Buachalla, Lecturer in Education, Trinity College, Dublin, Mr. Rushe prepared the following address.)

THE POSITION OF IRISH (GAELIC) IN IRELAND

In 1921, after 750 years of domination, Ireland won its independence from England. Almost immediately the Government set about reviving the Irish language which had been systematically stamped out save for some regions mainly along the Western coast, known as the Gaeltacht. The stamping out of a native language is, of course, a well-tried plan of a colonial power. Deprived of their own language a people, especially when uneducated, feel more dependent on the colonial power and are more likely to become its obedient citizens. But as far as England and Ireland were concerned, it just didn't work out that way.

Many had expressed in various ways the yearnings of the Irish people for their independence and their own language, but the motto which seems to appeal most was that of the patriot, poet and teacher, Padraig Pearse, who gave his life for his beliefs in 1916:--

"An Ireland not only FREE but GAELIC as well".

Thus, in 1922, an infant Irish Government began the slow uphill process of undoing the doings of seven centuries, i.e. the restoration of Irish which was regarded as the main badge of nationhood.

But before 1922 the seeds of revival had been sown through the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893 by Dr. Douglas Hyde (later to become first President of Ireland) and others - "to preserve Irish as the national language of Ireland and to spread its use as a spoken language." The founders of the Gaelic League were distinguished Irish scholars who loved the language and realised its cultural value. They were not militant revolutionaries.

So earnest were the endeavours of the League that by the early years of the present century, through the work of its organisers and travelling teachers, it had six hundred branches scattered in all parts of the country, where thousands studied the rudiments of the language and learned the history, songs and dances of Ireland. A chain of Irish Summer Colleges was established in the Gaeltacht where teachers and pupils improved their knowledge by contact with the living speech. Feiseanna had become a popular feature of the Summer months and the Oireachtas had been inaugurated as an annual Gaelic festival.

Side by side with this educational machinery of its own, the Gaelic League organised public opinion to demand a more exalted place for the Irish language in the State educational programme. In the Intermediate (post-primary) System the language, under the name Celtic, had secured a footing since the foundation of the System in 1872 but only 4-7% of the pupils presented it for examinations. Largely due to the exertions of Dr. Hyde before the Royal Commission of 1899, Irish was given improved status in the programme. When the document, which eventually was confirmed by the Very Rev. Dr. Keating, Archbishop of Cashel, was published, the percentage of pupils presenting it increased to 6-9%.
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hours. By 1921-22 the number of primary schools in which Irish was taught had risen to a quarter of the total.

It was not until 1906-7, however, that the use of Irish as a teaching medium was permitted in the Gaeltacht and, by 1921-22 over half the schools there were so employing it. Furthermore, the inclusion of the language among the subjects necessary for matriculation in the new National University set the seal on its higher status in the educational life of the country and led to a steep increase in the number of students taking it to Secondary-School level in the decade between the founding of the University and the setting up of the State.

Parallel with the advances made on the educational front, the impetus given by the work of the Gaelic League was channelled into a wide field of linguistic and national activity. For example, it advanced the cause of Irish writing by the publication of a literary journal and a weekly newspaper, both partly in Irish; it undertook the editing of earlier Irish literature still surviving in manuscript and the creation of a new literature in prose and verse. Among the masses of the people it pleaded for support for Irish products, inculcated a virile doctrine of self-reliance and proclaimed the necessity for advancing to independence in the cultural and economic as well as the political sphere. Indeed, it may well be that the great contribution of the Gaelic League to Irish history in those years is to be measured, not by the number of fluent Irish speakers which it turned out (which was probably small), but by the fact that it altered radically the attitude of the masses of the people towards the language. From an attitude of contempt and rejection it brought them to one of pride in the few phrases of the language that they knew and a general desire to work for its restoration. This view permeated the whole national movement and the crusade to restore the language went hand in hand with the struggle for political independence.

**STATE POLICY SINCE 1922**

With the establishment of our own Government the Irish language acquired official status. In its new constitutional position as National language (1922) and first official language (1937), it was given a place in the government and law of the State and some knowledge of it was henceforth expected from state servants. Its revival as a spoken tongue throughout the country became State policy and various efforts were made to this end.

For example, the Government regulated that Irish should be included among the subjects taught in all primary schools and that other subjects, where practicable, should be taught through the medium of Irish as well. To provide a body of teachers qualified to carry out the new programme, courses were organised with State aid in the years 1922-26, while six residential Teacher Preparatory Colleges were established. Most Secondary Schools adopted Irish, since it was necessary for Matriculation in the National University, and the language was and is taught in all Vocational and Technical Schools. In regard to University Education, the principal change since 1921 has been the introduction of lectures through Irish in several faculties in University College, Galway, and, encouraged by scholarship schemes, thousands of graduates have pursued their studies through secondary schools and universities through Irish.
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their studies to degree level and beyond, through Irish.

For the Gaeltacht itself the Government introduced widespread
improvements in the education facilities, administration, social and
economic/
economic conditions. Since 1956 there is a Department (and Minister) of the Gaeltacht. In 1958 Gaeltarra Eireann took over the administration and expansion of rural industries in the Gaeltacht, while in 1972 President Eamon de Valera (an ardent supporter and constant speaker of the language) gave the first broadcast over Radio na Gaeltachta, an all Irish station (which Interskola members visited in Galway in 1972).

And all along, parallel with, and in co-operation with Educational and Cultural endeavours, other State Departments, e.g., Agriculture, Lands, etc., and Semi-State bodies, e.g., Bord Iascaigh Mhara (Sea Fisheries Board), have been playing the Gaeltacht regions with generous schemes, involving expert assistance, grants and loans.

Now, to summarise, I will try to recall some of the results that the Gaeltacht regions have received from State (and voluntary) policy towards the Irish language. In the last census (1971) over a million people were recorded as being able to speak, to understand Irish. I have not the breakdown of these figures as Dr. McLeod had for Scotland but the number - one million - is considerable.

Perhaps one could say that - outside the Gaeltacht - those who finished school before 1922 (the oldest generation in our island) would have very little Irish; those who attended Primary school since 1922 would have some Irish at least, while those who attended post-primary school since 1922 would certainly be able to read Irish and take part in adequate conversation. Many important public and professional figures - churchmen, politicians, actors, professors, journalists - can now speak it fluently and do so frequently.

As for the native speakers themselves - certainly since the early 1920's their numbers have declined, largely through emigration. The number in 1971 who used Irish as the main language in the home was over three years of age, 56,000. Now that the economic tide is turning in Ireland's and the Gaeltacht's favour the decline in native speakers may be arrested.

It is fair to say that in the 50 years or so of native Government much has been done, even if some hopes have been shattered and dreams unfulfilled. Pearse's vision of an "Ireland not only free but Gaelic as well" has not materialised. That vision - even if at the time understandable - was too idealistic, far too idealistic for the modern world of business and finance. But in the mentality of the Irish people a change is certainly in evidence: where formerly many despised the language there is now respect; where formerly there was open hostility there is now goodwill.

It can be said in truth that Irish in Ireland has been redeemed from being the badge of slavery to a respected and important role in the Irish educational scene and, indeed, in the Irish way of life in general. And, by all appearances, it bids fair to maintain that respected position for many generations to come.
QUESTIONS FOR WORKING PARTY DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Theme 4: Language and Culture Problems in the Schools

Participants could outline the language situation as it exists in their own countries.

Area 1

The Community

(a) It may be claimed that the Gael's sense of identity is not political or institutional but rather linguistic, literary and religious. Which aspects of your culture are being carried by which language? This touches on the whole question of the relationship between language and culture.

(b) Discussion could focus on the sociolinguistic situation in the different cultures. The basic question here is, who speaks what language, to whom and when? In other words, which domains of culture tend to use one language rather than another? Is one language of a higher status than another? etc.

Area 2

Bilingual Schooling

The bilingual school is defined as one which makes equal use not only of the community's two languages, but also of the two cultural backgrounds to which the languages are attached. Such schools are bilingual and multicultural.

(a) In your own country are such schools to be found at the different stages of education, e.g. pre-school, primary school, etc.? If not, what other kind of bilingual/bicultural pattern of schooling has been devised?

(b) By whom has your present policy of bilingual/bicultural education been devised?

(c) Outline the facilities that are available for the training of teachers for working in such schools and discuss how such facilities could be improved.

Area 3

Parents

The attitudes of parents towards the languages in their community can be affected by many factors. Discuss some of these factors and outline how they affect parents in your own country.

Should the school be concerned with changing pupils' attitudes towards their culture and language?

To what extent can the school hope to change attitudes that exist in the community?
Bilingual/bicultural curriculum development programmes

Although participants could be invited to outline any such programmes in their own countries, this final section could deal in more detail with the Gaelic/English situation in Scotland and attempts could be made to formulate outlines for certain development programmes.

(a) Who should be responsible for formulating such programmes?
(b) Who should finance such programmes?
(c) Given the finance, materials and staff, how extensively do you think Gaelic should be taught as a second language in Scottish primary and secondary schools? What would be the main benefits for Scottish children? Outline some of the problems.
GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Discussion Reports have not - as with Thames 1 and 2 - been organised under the heading of each question, since Working Parties in this case were given freedom to choose the areas they preferred to emphasise. The Reports are therefore given consecutively according to the Working Party numerical sequence.

WORKING PARTY 1

Area 1

The Community

(a) The conclusion reached after considerable discussion was that as a viable second language Gaelic could carry any aspect of culture or of social and economic intercourse and that every effort should be made to increase its status in Gaelic speaking areas so that it should stand as a communication medium equal to English. To do this the community must be made to see not only the relevance of Gaelic for its own sake but also the fact that bilingualism brings social and economic advantage denied to people professing one language only.

(b) It was agreed that any area where the language was a living one must be used as a springboard for expansion so that questions of status might be eliminated, and that in the long term the second language might be so strengthened that the culture associated with it might benefit also. Basically this required the closest possible communication between the school and home so that the advantages of bilingualism were publicised to the extent of providing real incentives to the study and everyday use of the second language.

Area 4

Bilingual/bicultural curriculum development programmes

The working party derived much comfort from hearing of the Lapp Institute set up in Norway at Kautokeino to attempt to find unified solutions, among the Scandinavian nations, to the minority cultural and language problems related to the Lapps. Such an institute related to the Celtic cultures and language could be of immense benefit in Britain. The group were agreed that the ultimate solution lay in getting national recognition at Government level, and that such problems were worthy of national investment in terms of finance and energy. To convince a government, it would be necessary first to convince regional councils, and this in turn would depend upon convincing parents of the advantages of bilingualism. Consequently propaganda which highlights the research supporting (as it would seem to do) the value of bilingualism is necessary. This might make use of the lines of communication that the schools can establish with the parents.

Various agencies were quoted as being able to help with finance and research. These include Central Government, Local Government, Educational Trusts, the Scottish Council for Research in Education.
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Various agencies were quoted as being able to help with finance and research. These include Central Government, Local Government, Educational Trusts, the Scottish Council for Research in Education and the organisation by these or any other agencies of competitions highlighting a) minority cultures, and b) particular arts and crafts.
Lappish programmes are developing in Norway and Sweden. The clear impression is that in both of these cases more progress has been made in recent years than has been in the case of Gaelic.

Area 3
Parents

This problem linked with the idea of a local-based curriculum which has been mentioned on previous days (Lofoten project). Will parents prefer a local-based education or a national one for all?

Regarding Lappish parents, it seems that in Norway they prefer Lappish education for their children, but in Sweden the Lappish parents want their children to have the Swedish pattern so that their children can compete with others in the labour market. Scottish parents have tended to have an outlook similar to that of the Swedish Lapps.

It was stressed that the schools, through school councils etc., have a great responsibility to communicate to the parents the ideas underlying any significant changes in the school. Otherwise the parents are likely to oppose such changes.

Area 4
Bilingual/Bicultural Curriculum Development Programs

It was felt that the SED should be made aware of the position of Gaelic in comparison with Lappish, Welsh etc.

It was felt that the SED should be asked to set up programmes for teaching Gaelic as a first language in the Highlands and Islands, and as a second language in areas where Gaelic was not so strong.

The Modern Languages Unit at Aberdeen could have its opposite in the Highlands devising materials and methods to make the inclusion of Gaelic in the curriculum interesting and inviting.

As well as setting up such curricular development projects, the SED should set up a working party to look into the place of Gaelic in Education and that this could lead to a Curriculum Paper on the topic.

The Western Isles Council has a very special responsibility to define the place of Gaelic in its schools. Lack of definition in the past (on a national basis and on a local authority basis) has led to the present situation where people generally are not aware or not too concerned with the issue of Gaelic/English bilingualism in Scotland.

Aberdeen College of Education should appoint a lecturer in Gaelic as soon as possible. He could deal with -

(1) Gaelic as a first language to graduates and non-graduates.
(2) Gaelic as a second language to graduates and non-graduates.
(3) Gaelic culture and language to non-Gaelics. This could be called Gaelic Studies.

This could be a full-time job. In the past the college has advertised for a lecturer in Gaelic/something else.

The HIDB should be asked to finance a well-publicized conference...
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The HIBD should be asked to finance a well-publicized conference (along the format of Interskola, e.g. lectures, panels, groups) on Gaelic in Education and in Everyday Life. Lecturers could come from Wales, Norway etc.
Delegates discussed Language and Culture problems in schools. This proved to be a most acceptable subject and a high level of agreement was reached within the group. Delegates outlined the language and minority language situation as it existed in their own countries and concluded that the preservation of a culture and minority language is a necessary and vital part of a country's educational heritage. Children need to take a pride in their own language and to use it in their work and play.

It was agreed that a minority language problem could not be solved locally. It was a national responsibility - delegates from Norway and Eire pointed out the tremendous progress towards these ends that had been made after these countries had received independent status. Many of the group expressed a desire to see some form of Scottish assembly with control of both primary and secondary education as a first step.

Group admiration was expressed for the energetic approaches to the problem of minority language in Wales, following on the Gittins Report. Some members felt that a similar approach would be acceptable for Scotland - but there was discussion with regard to the most effective body to carry out the investigation.

It was suggested that the Scottish Highlands and Islands Development Board, while efficient in pursuing industrial and economic development, was too closely tied in with these important aspects of Scottish life to deal adequately with specific educational and language problems. It was also suggested that the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum had to date failed to tackle the problem of the extension of Gaelic Studies in Scotland. Many delegates expressed the view that a strong influential body such as the Schools Council, based on the English model, should be set up with a specific remit. This would ensure adequate research facilities, with financial provision for pilot experiments.

A few members of the group suggested that effective Gaelic Departments should be set up in Scottish Universities and Colleges of Education to educate and train the teachers to fill the school vacancies. It appeared ironic to the group that Gaelic scholars were having to go abroad while non-Gaelic teachers were being appointed to schools in Gaelic speaking areas. The delegates were in favour of Gaelic centres being set up in growth areas but they were doubtful of their success in areas which were hostile to them. This led to a discussion of parental attitudes towards the Gaelic in Gaelic speaking areas. This appeared to be central to the whole problem. Language is rooted in the home and the survival of Gaelic depends largely on the willingness of parents to speak it regularly and allow the children to speak it regularly. A delegate from the Islands stated that depopulation, loss of morale and the desire of the parent to 'do his best for his children' caused parents to discourage Gaelic speaking. She pointed out that parents need much convincing. They feel that it is in their children's best interest to encourage a higher standard of English because they believe that their children's future depends on their expertise in the use of English. The group concluded that Gaelic appears to be linked very closely with the image of a 'peasant culture' and deprivation while English language is linked in parents' minds with job opportunity and an expanding economy. It would be interesting to see the effect on parental attitudes with economic expansion in the Highlands and Islands.

The question of the role of the Education Authority was raised. A delegate from Western Isles mentioned that education was now seen by the people as being much more than a form of training for employment.
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The question of the role of the Education Authority was raised. A delegate stated that many parents admit that Gaelic speaking is fine if it does not interfere with other aspects of the curriculum. It is therefore difficult for an authority to act against the expressed wishes of parents. It/
It may also be difficult to find Gaelic speaking teachers to staff the smaller isolated schools. However, the group felt that the authority had to continue to take a lead - first, by encouraging Scottish Studies, by running pilot schemes, by setting up Nursery classes, with Gaelic as the local language. This is in line with modern developments in primary education - viz. the language experience approach in America, and the work done with deprived children - and Maori children.

Delegates considered the question - Given adequate finance materials and staff, how extensively should Gaelic be taught in Scottish Primary and Secondary schools? Members of the group felt difficulty in answering this question. While there was general agreement that Gaelic Studies should be extended, it was recognised that it would be undesirable to carry out similar programmes in different areas of Scotland. Delegates noted that schools in Lewis had different problems from say, a school in Tongue (Sutherland).

The answer to this question depends on the answer to other questions. What do we expect from education? What is the role of the school? What are we educating for? Should education be aimed at the survival of culture and language of the islands or is it education to fit children for work in an alien community elsewhere? The group felt that there should be some form of Local Studies, including local language, taught in most primary and secondary schools in Scotland. But to what degree and to what purpose was not clear.

A delegate suggested that schools in non-Gaelic areas needed to cope with other aspects of local language and culture. Should the Buchan dialect be preserved in that area? What about Lowland Scots or Lallans in the Central Industrial belt of Scotland? What about the Language of Burns in the Ayrshire village? Some delegates felt that Scottish Studies should be encouraged but areas should be left with a degree of freedom to select which aspects of language they wish to develop. Relevance should be the criterion and appropriateness the guideline.

Finally, the group findings again stressed the need for a strong National Council with adequate financial resources to carry out pilot experiments and research in growth areas and the need for child centred materials that have an appeal.

WORKING PARTY 4

Area 3

Parental attitudes to minority languages

In Norway it was thought that Lapps wanted to preserve both culture and language. But this had not always been so. The Lappish way of life is distinctly different from the Norwegiain culture. A difference however was noted between nomadic and more settled Lapp peoples. The main impetus was from the educated Lapps who would return to their people to teach the Lapp language. Until about ten years ago Lappish children had to learn Norwegian because there were then no teachers to teach Lappish.

It was asked if in any sense the Lapps were underprivileged with respect to educational opportunity. This was formed in terms of current western material standards. It was thought that if he so desired to attain it the Lapp could achieve material success with
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It was asked if in any sense the Lapps were underprivileged with respect to educational opportunity. This was framed in terms of current western material standards. It was thought that if he so desired to attain it the Lapp could achieve material success with equal facility. But Lapps tended to have less achievement in schools.

It was thought that despite the idealism some Gaelic parents would not be enthusiastic about their children concentrating upon the Gaelic/
The Gaelic language. There were few or cultural competitions but these were not deeply rooted in the Gaelic language issue.

Variations in the Gaelic language were seen to be prevalent. One teacher thought that there was little interest from the community and that it is the grandparents who have the greater knowledge and interest. It was thought that attitudes therefore are important and that an option in the language should not just be offered but in fact 'sold to the community. In this endeavour Gaelic should be an end in itself and not as a means of employment or as a commercial proposition. The distinction was made between a language as an expression of culture and its use as a political tool. Nationalism was seen to be important in Wales where, while Welsh was still a minority language it was very well established in everyday life in Wales. The language problem could become another argument in the claim for economic independence where there is overall competition for resources and wealth yet with Gaelic it was seen as an extremely small minority language and it was difficult to discern the interest. It had been argued that the provision of Gaelic inspired some interest, particularly if it was taught well where a feedback could occur. It was thought that in general there was greater parental interest in primary education.

There were two questions, it was observed, one of reviving the language and the other of developing it. Should resources be directed towards the latter? This was thought to be a question of parental demand although there was the other educational question of giving children a knowledge of their culture. An aspect of positive economic discrimination might be involved and to this end objectives must be clearly stated. It was noted that these ends were often vaguely stated.

It was considered difficult to define cultural identity but this was not just a question of language. There were however few political questions involved in the Gaelic issue. The point was raised that one dimensional culture might be superseded by a more effective pluralistic culture. This was thought to be a good conclusion to the group's consideration of this question and Gaelic could be a means of identifying a local culture.

Scotland did not appear to have spent anything like Wales upon the development of its minority language. Some funds had been granted in Norway and schools had been built, teachers trained for teaching Lappish and Lapp studies departments had been established in colleges. It was feared that this programme might be just perpetuating the idea that the Lappish culture was in some way inferior.

Economics was thought to be an important role in that resources are scarce. Someone had to make a decision. Investment in minority languages it was thought might bring an economic return though it was pointed out that it was not made to spend on something valued by the community, given also that resources were scarce and alternative expenditure should be considered.

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The question was raised as to who should formulate programmes and the curriculum. This was a question of central government or local government control or perhaps the research interest of universities and research councils. It was generally agreed that all such levels of government and interested bodies should be concerned.
Central government often examined issues and published papers produced by bodies of experts to assist local authorities in solving their problems and improving their services, e.g. Health Education. It was then up to the local authorities to implement those conclusions which it thought relevant. It had been argued that there had been no such real consideration of the Gaelic problem.

The possibility was raised of a Highland university. A similar concept had been applied in Norway where a university in a remote area was involved in local problems. Some members thought that a Highland university could attract students. But it was noted that a research institute could well be established, say in Inverness. This had also been done in Norway. Sufficiently interested people could be found.

**WORKING PARTY 5**

1. **The Community**

(a) Some comparison with Norway highlights its special language problem involving two written languages. Children in Norway can choose, so that books are provided in both dialects. A definition of culture was attempted, discussion revolving around way of life, social relationships and social structure. The question - is the Gaelic way of life different? - was raised. Social customs, the group thought, are becoming so diffused that the life style now in Gaeldom is not as distinct, but its rhythm-of-life style has survived. The identifying feature left is the language. Where language disappears culture will eventually disappear as it carries all the experience of the race. Growth of the economic structure in an area on a large industrial scale could destroy culture finally.

2. **Bilingual Schooling**

Some Norwegian perspectives again emerged:

(a) No school exists with two languages on equal footing. Norwegian is the language of instruction. In Lappland, both languages are used, but most lessons are in Norwegian. (History can be in Lappish).

(b) Local government decides the policy in Norway.

(c) There is a general shortage of teachers and particular shortage of Lappish teachers. The position may improve as Lapps now go for higher education. Some places at university are held exclusively for Lapps and there is special financial assistance. But individual social mobility is such that shortage of teachers in the north still prevails and is likely to continue, largely because climatic conditions are so severe.

3. **Parents**

They have a tendency to think that teaching the minority language handicaps children in the 'rat race'. Minority language is often regarded by parents as an indicator of inferiority and poverty, and is considered to lack commercial value.

Now...
Now that the climate of opinion has changed towards Gaelic, school should be used to encourage the language and to highlight the value of bilingualism. In particular, achievement must be linked to desirable means of bringing about the change, so that bilingual pupils can cope confidently with others in the labour market.

School cannot avoid affecting attitudes but it is only one agency. It must, however, be aware of the fact that by not teaching Gaelic it is taking an attitude.

In areas of dispersed population, school holds a particularly vital position in moulding attitudes (e.g. until schools started holding Xmas parties, the celebration was not held in certain areas). Parents, as well as pupils, require to be educated.

4. Bilingual/Bicultural curriculum development programmes

(a) Curriculum development was generally thought to be vital on a variety of levels:

(i) The teacher operating in isolation could achieve it. Better still, groups of teachers. But the best prospect is compulsory In-service provision.

(ii) The responsibility of the advisory staff is crucial.

(iii) Local authorities must take strong initiative.

(iv) The appointment of a Gaelic Lecturer at Aberdeen College of Education seems an obvious development.

(v) The SED and the Inspectorate have a clear burden of responsibility. (The 1872 Act made no reference to Gaelic. If this had not been so, schools might now be bilingual.) Progress is not likely to be made unless curriculum development is launched locally, then given SED blessing. A sympathetic Director of Education absolutely necessary.

(b) Financing of programmes: This is almost certainly a Local authority task. Programmes could also qualify for pooled finances (Colleges of Education Liaison with SED). A Schools Council situation should be developed for pilot programmes, based on current English and Welsh models.

(c) Children should be encouraged to be bilingual from Primary 1. The main benefit would be to link them with their cultural and historical heritage and provide them with a key to understanding their environment. Ever understanding of place names makes Gaelic necessary and desirable. A survey of parental opinion was thought to be desirable. Given enough teachers and liveliness of approach, no basic problems were foreseen, though some teachers warned against cultural chauvinism.

The language should be taught in all areas where an agreed percentage of the population speaks it.
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WORKING PARTY 6
Area 3

Parents:

(a) Should the school not attempt to reflect the attitudes of the community it serves rather than attempt to change these attitudes?

(b) With the development of Advisory Education we feel there is an opportunity to effect a change in attitudes both on the part of parents and of teachers towards parents being involved in the work and life of the school.

Area 4

Bilingual/bicultural curriculum development programmes:

The 'Working Party' scheme has been reasonably successful, but there is no finance. From where would finance come - SED? Regional Authority? HIDB?
Two of these were organised, the main objective in both cases being to enable members, especially those from visiting countries, to balance formal lecture and discussion sessions with an examination of schools in the Highland area. This kind of 'ingredient' has been a useful feature of the conference for some years.

The first of these, the major of the two provided, ranged across the breadth of the Highlands from Golspie to Portree, Isle of Skye, and back. In the course of this, two groups visited predominantly primary or secondary centres according to professional preference. Firstly the whole party spent some time in Dingwall Academy, introductory lectures being given by Mr. Ferguson, the Rector and by Mr. McNab, Director of Education for Ross/Cromarty. These initial presentations laid a basis for a subsequent free-ranging visit to the school.

The group then divided, one party visiting Shieldaig Primary School, Wester Ross, and the other Plockton Secondary School. Both of these visits provided useful and illustrative background on the West Highland situation, and in the case of the smaller school some contact with the local children also. Thanks are due to Mrs. Ball and Mr. Burr for their kindness in being available and their readiness to receive the Interskola group.

The visit reached its culmination academically speaking, in the time spent by the whole group in Portree High School. A special word of thanks is due to the Deputy Rector, Mr. Ross, and his colleagues who provided a most detailed and well planned coverage of the school - on a Saturday morning - and of course to the Rector who originally accepted the possibility of an Interskola visit.

The second study, shorter in length of time but equal in value, provided for the conference visits to Kinbrace, Melvich, Bettyhill and Tongue schools. Thanks are gratefully expressed by the conference to Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Henderson (with Mr. Nicolson the headmaster), Mr. McGregor who led the presentation of their schools, and to their colleagues who assisted them. This study fulfilled a different function from the first in that it illustrated the integrated provision made by one authority for its children at primary and secondary level. The overall impression remaining was of a high level of facilities, equipment and educational provision generally.

It remains to comment that this form of visit has proved itself again to be a necessary integral part of such a conference. Without such a moving out from the conference base, the work of the group would be much more strictly academic. It is hoped that future organisers will retain such a feature.
MAIN DECISIONS TAKEN AT THE 1974 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING (AGM) OF INTERSKOLA

(a) That the 'timining format' of the conference (mid-week to mid-week) be retained for 1975.

(b) That the principle of the 'International Committee' for planning be retained, the members being:

- S. O'Donichalla (Eire)
- D. Loades (Wales)
- J. Alnes (Norway)
- H. Andre (Sweden)
- A. Rintamaki (Finland)*
- I. Findlay (Scotland)

* the Finnish representative's name has been added by the Committee since, although unavoidably absent, she would most certainly have been added to the Committee structure.

(c) That the International Committee be responsible for the broad policy of the Conference and for its publicity in member countries. It is perhaps fair comment that these functions should be added to by a responsibility to expand the number of member countries.

(d) Discussion of a possible location for the 1975 Conference caused two possibilities to emerge, Sweden and Wales. It was agreed that the Swedish representatives should consult with their home authorities as to the feasibility of their hosting InterSkola in 1975, and report positively or negatively by mid-September. If the answer be negative the Welsh alternative would then be explored.

Wales has since then been decided upon. The Conference dates are 3-16 July, 1975, and the venue Normal College, Bangor, North Wales.
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1. The Highlands and Islands consist of the seven counties of Zetland, Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyll in the North and West of Scotland. The region forms nearly one half of the total area of Scotland, and about one sixth of Great Britain but with a generally sparse population amounting in 1971 to 283,000 people, it has only 5% of the Scottish population. Until recently, the region could have been classified as a typical North Atlantic peripheral area where high unemployment and emigration were endemic, wage levels were depressed and the labour force had a very low proportion in the manufacturing sector. Similar regions are to be found in Norway, Ireland, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

2. Three distinct geographical zones can be identified within the region:

(i) the partly urbanised area around the Moray Firth, which continues in a narrowing belt of lowland-type farming up the East Coast to reappear in Caithness and Orkney. In many ways this is more similar to areas of the Central Lowlands than to other parts of the Highlands;

(ii) the West and North Coasts and Islands, including the Hebrides and Shetland, which are zones of dispersed communities containing the main crofting area, and on the Western Isles, the main Gaelic-speaking areas;

(iii) the generally mountainous and uninhabited interior, popular with climbers and outdoor enthusiasts.

3. Following the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745 and the break-up of the clan system, there were two hundred years of net emigration from the region as a whole. In the nineteenth century, 'clearances' of the peasantry from the glens in favour of more extensive land-based activities intensified many of the problems and depressed our already backward economy. Prices for the main products of the region tumbled, the only exception being wool. At the same time the Hebrides suffered from over-population while in other parts the demand for wool and, consequently, the needs of sheep took precedence over those of people, and the common answer continued to be found in emigration. As a result the collapse of Highland society in the nineteenth century was so serious and widespread that increasingly the Government of the day was called upon to take steps to prevent its complete disintegration. Gradually a number of measures designed to inject money into the economy were introduced, leading to the establishment of the Atomic Energy plant in Caithness in the 1950s and the construction of a pulp and paper mill in Fort William, and culminating in 1965 with the enactment of a Highlands and Islands Development (Scotland) Act setting up the first Regional Development Authority in Britain - the Highlands and Islands Development Board.
THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT BOARD

4. In terms of the Act which established the Board, the highlands and islands are currently the seven counties of Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Cranday, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, and Zetland. There is provision in the Act, however, for the Secretary of State, if required, to designate other areas in Scotland as coming within the scope of the Act having regard to their character and proximity. The present area comprises some nine million acres.

5. As a grant-aided body responsible to the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Board has two broad objectives:

   (i) to assist the people of the Highlands and Islands to improve their economic and social conditions;

   (ii) to enable the Highlands and Islands to play a more effective part in the economic and social development of the nation.

6. To this end the Board are to "have the general function of preparing, concurring, promoting, assisting and undertaking measures for the economic and social development of the Highlands and Islands and have such other functions in pursuance of that general function as are conferred on them by the Act."

7. The Highlands and Islands Development Consultative Council appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland, also within the terms of the Act, is required to advise the Board on the exercise and performance of their function.

8. To help them to realise their objectives, the Board have been given finance and a wide range of powers. Land can be acquired, factories can be built, equipment and services provided, and businesses set up. In 1968 an additional Act provided the power to take equity in companies, so adding to the range of financial incentives which the Board have to offer. This power allows the Board to enter into partnership with commercial and industrial concerns and to broaden the capital structure of a company. Equity may also be important in giving an extra lift to experimental projects, or those connected with new processes into which it might be unrealistic to put loan capital.

9. The Board have their own Grants and Loans Scheme, which was the first in the United Kingdom administered by a regional organisation. This financial assistance may be given at the Board's discretion to any activity which, in their opinion, will contribute to the economic or social development of the highlands and Islands. A range of advisory and other services - management, accountancy, production, plant layout, marketing and publicity - are available, and the Board also have positive powers to acquire land, erect buildings, carry on business and commission investigations and surveys.

RECENT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS

10. The distinctive features of the region's economy are heavy dependence on agriculture, a very small representation of manufacturers, and a large and growing service sector. Primary industries such as agriculture must employ fewer people in the future if incomes are to be...
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RECENT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS

10. The distinctive features of the region's economy are heavy dependence on agriculture, a very small representation of manufacturers, and a large and growing service sector. Primary industries such as agriculture must employ fewer people in the future if incomes are to be maintained and living standards improved, and they can no longer support, on their own, a self-sustaining social and economic life in communities which are small, ageing and isolated geographically. This is the basic Highlands and Islands problem.
11. The three geographical zones already mentioned produce three quite distinct economies. Firstly, the partly urbanised centrally-accessible lowland area around the Beauly and Cromarty Firths sustains some lowland-type farming and is increasingly sought by industry.

Second, the glens and straths of the eastern and southern Highlands is an area of upland farming and of a growing tourist and recreation industry based on small service terms, all a few hours' reach from central Scotland by train or car. The third is the western and northern periphery which includes the Hebrides and Shetland. This is basically a crofting economy, much of which can be described as remote by land and sea but well served by air. Indeed, various parts are within an hour or so of Glasgow and Aberdeen, while Mull, Skye and the Outer Hebrides are linked by vehicle ferry with the mainland.

12. Only in the last two years has the development of North Sea oil had any significant impact on the economy of the region. Probably the most spectacular effort so far has been the construction of facilities at Nigg and Andersson for building production platforms, but other important developments have also occurred in parts of the Moray Firth area, in Shetland, and at Argyne Point, Argyll. In addition, Caithness and Sutherland, and possibly the Western Islands and the West Coast, are likely to see oil-related developments. One of the first results has been a substantial reduction in the region's unemployment. In January 1973 there were 6,700 people unemployed, compared with 8,300 in January 1972. Scottish unemployment also declined during this period but in relative terms this decline was not so great. Platform construction and allied activities are, of course, amongst the most labour-intensive aspects of the tasks associated with offshore oil, and the routine servicing of the offshore work will give rise to a much more modest demand for labour.

13. The decennial population census was made in 1971 and the existence of accurate up-to-date figures makes possible an examination of the main population trends that have occurred recently in the region. There had been evidence that the total population had been increasing slowly, and the census confirmed this, showing that over the last decade the population had grown by nearly 6,000. This increase has taken place since 1966 and the significance becomes apparent when placed in historical perspective. The last decade during which the total population has increased was 1831 to 1841; the Board was established in 1965. The overall increase, however, is being achieved mainly by growth in the urban areas, while in many rural areas decline continues. Over the decade the only substantial population increases have been around the Moray Firth and Fort William - two of the areas which the Board have designated as capable of major growth. It is encouraging, however, that general population stability appears to have been reached in such diverse areas as Shetland, Caithness, Western Ross, Dunoon and Cowal.

14. In the eight years to 31 December 1973, approved Board investment amounted to £17.5m while the corresponding private contribution is estimated to be £22m. The 2,664 projects assisted by the Board cover a wide range of economic activity, including manufacturing and processing, tourism, fisheries, agriculture and commerce. It is estimated that the total number of full-time and part-time jobs created has been 9,475. Most of the projects range from small businesses, employing a few people, to factories employing up to 100
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15. In agriculture the Board will support projects of a quasi-experimental nature, or those which will intensify production and provide more jobs or preserve existing employment. In carrying out this specialised role, the Board undertakes major land-use surveys, promotes major development schemes and gives direct financial assistance to the industry. Major farming surveys have been commissioned in Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and the lowland Firth area, and there is involvement directly in marketing schemes and horticultural development. Forestry acreage has been extended more and more purposefully in its location relative to the transport and utilisation of timber, and more carefully in its effect on the appearance of the landscape. The Board has also given advice in the formation of Government national policy for forestry in the future.

16. Tourism development has made a rapid impact on the economy. In this the Board has four main objectives - the lengthening of the season, increasing the amount of accommodation and the knowledge of where it can be obtained, the improvement of hotel and catering standards, and the extension and publicising of facilities. Since its inception, Board assistance to tourism has been £5.3m.

17. The Board’s plans for the development of fisheries take special account of the geographical significance of certain island and maritime communities. Fishing is a traditional trade in these regions and is going through a period of expansion, with new opportunities becoming available in boat-building, fish-catching and processing. Investment in the industry since 1965 has been £3.5m, and with this help about 300 boats have been added to the fishing fleet, the number of jobs created or retained being just below 2,100. Approval was received last year for the Board’s fishery development scheme to be extended for a further period to 1977. A great deal of research is also being directed towards meeting a large part of the demand for fish-farming and, at present, there are eight such schemes at work in the Highland region, ranging from the rearing of mussels to the farming of rainbow trout.

18. A wide range of financial and other assistance is available from the Board to developers of industrial and commercial projects. Developers are normally expected to raise at least 50% of the total cost of establishing the project from their own resources, or by commercial borrowing. The Board can consider assistance by means of grant or loan for the erection of new buildings, the extension, adaptation and, exceptionally, the purchase of existing buildings, the purchase of plant and equipment, and the provision of working capital. The leasing of industrial buildings may be made available through the Board’s programme of “facade” or “hipskope” factories, the latter being built to suit the developer’s particular requirements at, whenever possible, a location of his choice. Leasing of plant and equipment is also possible, in circumstances where it is considered a project has special development value. In addition, advisory services to businesses are provided on production and plant engineering, management accounting, availability recruitment and training of manpower, and availability of industrial sites.

19. Board assistance to industrial and commercial enterprises has amounted to £5.5m to date for 536 projects, involving the creation
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19. Board assistance to industrial and commercial enterprises has amounted to £5.1m to date for 516 projects, involving the creation or maintenance of 4,673 jobs. These projects are of considerable variety, including both expansion and diversification of existing firms, as well as completely new ventures. It should be added, however, that oil-related projects do not, in general, receive grant assistance.
assistance from the Board on the basis that such developments are likely to go ahead whether or not such help is given.

20. The Board's development remit includes social as well as economic aspects, and on the social side the provision and standard of education has loomed large in its deliberations. In this respect advice has been given to the Secretary of State for Scotland regarding the reorganization of secondary education on comprehensive lines, while currently the Board is engaged with Aberdeen University in considering the impact which the centralization of secondary education has had on the depopulation of remote areas. Mr. John Sewell will deal with some aspects of this research in his paper to the Conference. Recently also, the Board has initiated a closer contact between educationists and industrialists with a view to creating a greater understanding of the needs of students of all ages within the region.

FUTURE PATTERNS OF REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

21. We can see therefore that the economic pattern of life in the Highlands and Islands is today undergoing far-reaching changes. Many of the manufacturing or processing firms outside the oil-related sector are small, so that individually they do not offer a large number of employment opportunities from year to year. On the other hand, most of them are entirely under local control, which means that they offer some opportunities for graduates or other qualified people to train as managers or executives. In contrast, most of the oil-related businesses are offshoots of larger organizations with headquarters elsewhere, so that their comparatively large scale is not always reflected in a commensurate demand for qualified staff. Their immediate need is usually for trainable production labour adaptable to new manual skills. But this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that such firms do have a need for a number of qualified people in the region, and will usually be only too happy to recruit people with local connections if they are available. In particular, the American companies, who are often responsible for introducing new forms of expertise into the region, are frequently seen to withdraw some of their own nationals as soon as these can be replaced with adequately qualified and trained British staff. This is an opportunity to be seized, if Scotland is to build up a capability for playing a leading role in the expanding field of ocean exploration in many different parts of the world.

22. In the sphere of oil-related industry, the formal training most frequently in demand seems likely to be in an appropriate type of engineering. But there are likely to be opportunities in both general and oil-related industry, for example in the following categories:

- General management
- Production management
- Financial management
- Office management
- Personnel management
- Marketing
- Organisation and methods
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General management
Production management
Financial management
Office management
Personnel management
Marketing
Organisation and methods

A fuller list of the disciplines and types of work which will be required is given in Appendix 1(D).
23. It must also be remembered that, behind the face of industry, there lies a substantial derived demand for professionally qualified people - including planners, accountants, architects, quantity surveyors - perhaps even ecologists and sociologists - as well as churchmen, doctors, lawyers and teachers. And this of course extends to trade jobs - plumbers, painters and - perhaps above all at the present time - bricklayers. This trend naturally increases as one extends the time-span and the geographical area concerned - for example, industrial development in the Cromarty Firth may increase the demand for professional services in Inverness.

24. No attempt is made here to offer estimates of the numbers required in the various skill categories. The main problem is not in "converting" estimates of industrial jobs into the equivalent number of derived jobs for teachers, etc., but in getting the estimates right for the industrial jobs. In such calculations of new job projections, errors in the original "basic" figures become compounded at the stage of "service" job estimates. But we can say that in the near future (say the next 10 years) the traditional Highland emigration picture will have changed radically so that it will no longer be "necessary" for the ambitious and intelligent to leave the region to find a job.

25. The probable rate of growth in employment and population during the next few years is necessarily speculative. But an assessment carried out by the Board in 1971 suggested that there could be a total of about 10,000 new jobs of all kinds created in the Inner Moray Firth area (from Nairn to Tain, in broad terms) by 1975 or 1976. This implied an increase in the sub-regional population from 90,000 to 100,000. As is well-known, serious bottlenecks have since appeared in the process of creating the associated infrastructure (partly housing) and further development at the speed of the Nigg and Invergordon operations may not be feasible in the near future. In July 1973 in the Highlands as a whole there were ten vacancies for bricklayers for every bricklayer unemployed.

26. Although the present situation is in a state of flux, some assessment can be made as regards future geographical patterns of development. Clearly the greatest development will be in the Moray Firth area. The advantages of this area include flat land, access to deep sea waters, immense fresh water reserves, good transport links to the industrial areas of Britain, urban infrastructure, and (by Highland standards) a substantial population base. Without oil, the Moray Firth would have prospered economically in any case, and with oil economic development is likely to be as rapid and substantial as the infrastructural and labour situations permit. The exercise carried out by the Board in 1971 suggested a total population figure for the sub-region of about 140,000 in 1991 - i.e., an increase of about 50,000 - and there seems no reason to change this assessment today. Lesser, but large scale development (by local standards) is likely in Caithness, Caithness and the West Coast, including Lewis. At present it does not seem that the very large individual projects, in terms of employment, will go to Shetland, but the total impact there is likely to be large enough to produce rather dramatic local economic changes. Some possible West Coast locations for large scale projects are Loch Carron (Drumbuie), Ullapool, and the East Coast of Lewis. As oil exploration progresses southwards,
24. No attempt is made here to offer estimates of the numbers required in the various skill categories. The main problem is not in "converting" estimates of industrial jobs into the equivalent number of derived jobs for teachers, etc., but in getting the estimates right for the industrial jobs. In such calculations of new job projections, errors in the original "base" figures become compounded at the stage of "service" job estimates. But we can say that in the near future (say the next 10 years) the traditional Highland emigration picture will have changed radically so that it will no longer be "necessary" for the ambitious and intelligent to leave the region to find a job.

25. The probable rate of growth in employment and population during the next few years is necessarily speculative. But an assessment carried out by the Board in 1971 suggested that there could be a total of about 10,000 new jobs of all kinds created in the Inner Moray Firth area (from Nairn to Inverness, in broad terms) by 1975 or 1976. This implied an increase in the sub-regional population from 90,000 to 110,000. As is well-known, serious bottlenecks have since appeared in the process of creating the associated infrastructure (particularly housing), and further development at the speed of the Nicolls and Ardersier operations may not be feasible in the near future. In July 1973 in the Highlands as a whole there were ten vacancies for bricklayers for every bricklayer unemployed.

26. Although the present situation is in a state of flux, some assessment can be made as regards future geographical patterns of development. Clearly the greatest development will be in the Moray Firth area. The advantages of this area include flat land, access to deep sea waters, immense fresh water reserves, good transport links to the industrial areas of Britain, urban infrastructure, and (by Highland standards) a substantial population base. Without oil, the Moray Firth would have prospered economically in any case, and with oil economic development is likely to be as rapid and substantial as the infrastructural and labour situations permit. The exercise carried out by the Board in 1971 suggested a total population figure for the sub-region of about 140,000 in 1990 - i.e., an increase of about 50,000 - and there seems no reason to change this assessment today. Lesser, but large scale development (by local standards) is likely in Caithness, Urrney and the West Coast, including Lewis. At present it does not seem that the very large individual projects, in terms of employment, will go to Shetland, but the total impact there is likely to be large enough to produce rather dramatic local economic changes. Some possible West Coast locations for large scale projects are Loch Carron (Durness), Ullapool, and the East Coast of Lewis. As oil exploration progresses southwards, substantial development in places like Skye or the Oban area may occur. There are of course major planning issues to be resolved, particularly in the West, but it is most unlikely that the Western Highlands will be entirely insulated against oil-related developments.
27. The ultimate duration of the oil-related jobs is also by no means clear, but certainly it will be long enough to justify school-leavers investing some years in acquiring specific skills for the oil industry. The major firms are already providing their own training programmes, and even if work in one job only lasts for a few years, other jobs will arise, possibly related to offshore oil exploitation elsewhere in the world. Manpower training forecasts stress more and more that people will have to acquire and re-acquire new skills during their working lives, even if this means three or four training stints when completely new skills are acquired.

28. It may be salutary, however, to sound a slightly cautious note. Jobs for the most outstanding of all the pupils, the cream of the region's exports, have not yet arrived in any quantity, and are not really likely to arrive. There are still not likely to be jobs in the Rossy Firth for international opera singers or experimental brain surgeons or top civil servants or international-class football players (even if Inverness gets a team in the First Division!). A university may come within the next fifteen years, or a technological institute of CalMac standard, and these might well be greater catalysts than all the oil development.

(Parquhart Macintosh)
The Royal High School, 
Edinburgh.

June 1974
Some Examples of the Range of Board Activities

**AGRICULTURE**
Financial assistance for co-operative livestock marketing; for poultry, pig and beef production; for land reclamation, horticulture and fruit growing; for agricultural and forestry machinery. Board-initiated projects include shrub, blueberry and bulb production. Research includes land use surveys, agricultural surveys and impact surveys.

**FISHERIES**
Financial assistance for new and second-hand boats; for fish processing; for fish and shellfish farming. Participation in schemes for training fishermen. Research includes resource and production surveys.

**MANUFACTURING**
Financial assistance for textiles, light engineering, electronics, food processing, sawmilling, boat building, printing, craft businesses etc. Factories and other industrial buildings have been built. Participation in industrial training schemes and in marketing and promotional work. Support activities for oil exploration and development. Research includes identification of production and marketing opportunities.

**TOURISM**
Financial assistance for hotels, restaurants, etc.; for recreation and sporting activities; for chalets, caravan parks, and guest houses. Board-initiated projects include hotels at specific places in the region, together with a network of information offices. Substantial winter and summer marketing campaigns are organized, and research includes the identification of further development opportunities and measurement of the effects of tourism investment.

**OTHER SERVICE INDUSTRIES**
Financial assistance for key improvements in wholesale and retail operations: for contractors, garages and plant hirers; for professional services (e.g., accountants, architects etc.)

**NON-ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE**
Financial assistance for community facilities (e.g., village halls, cable television); for community activities (e.g., drama festivals, piping); for community appeals (e.g., preservation of buildings).

**BOARD ACTIVITIES, LONG THROUGH STAFF TIME THAN BY FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE**
Provision of advice to the Secretary of State on regional transport priorities, collaboration with Central and Local Government on physical planning problems, submission to the Secretary of State of housing and forestry policies etc.; production of books, pamphlets and films on Highland topics; liaison with Central and Local Government on questions related to North Sea Oil.
## Table: Industrial Groups Employment in Highlands and Islands 1965 and 1971

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<td><strong>30595</strong></td>
<td><strong>84184</strong></td>
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1. The figures in this table are supplied by the Department of Employment. Self-employed are not included in the totals and the rest labour force is relatively greater for the Highlands than for Scotland as a whole. For the Highlands, trends in separate sectors reliable. Under-estimation is particularly important in agriculture. In 1966 the Census estimated that the male labour force of whereas the 1966-D.E.P. survey had a male total labour force of 52,278 with 11.0% in agriculture.

2. Figures for the Highlands and Islands were supplied on a confidential basis by the Department of Employment. The figures are also not as great as those for Scotland - but they are the best obtainable.

3. Insurance, banking, finance, business, professional and scientific services.

4. Figures in thousands.
-121-

APPENDIX B

HEALTH INDUSTRIAL GROUPS. EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED
ISLANDS AND SCOTLAND. 1965 AND 1971

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<th>Region</th>
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**Table**: Employment. Self-employed are not included in the totals and the resulting under-estimation of the size of the total island as a whole. For the Highlands, trends in separate sectors are valid, although absolute totals are not so sure. In 1966 the Census estimated that the male labour force of the region was 78,150, with 17.2% in agriculture, 22,276 with 11.0% in agriculture.

**Departmental basis by the Department of Employment.** The figures are classified as 'restricted' because their accuracy is liable.

**Services.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Sub-Area</th>
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<th>%</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>21421</td>
<td>1.20</td>
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**Source:**
1. 1921 to 1961 - Census Enumerated Population.
2. 1966 - Registrar General annual estimates which incorporate the
   Provisional Resident Population.
3. 1971 - Census - 'Provisional Resident Population.'
### Appendix C

#### Census Population, 1921-1971 and Population as % of 1961 Total

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### Population

Annual estimates which incorporate the results of the 1966 Sample Census.

Provisional Resident Population.
NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE TD 1970s

- Mechanical and fabrication engineers
- Production engineers
- Development engineers
- Civil engineers
- Electrical engineers
- Mining engineers
- Petroleum engineers
- Mud engineers
- Drilling engineers
- Work study and method engineers
- Technicians in most branches of engineering
- Land and marine surveyors
- Cartographers and draughtsmen
- Fitters
- Machinists
- Mechanics
- Assemblers
- Marketing executives
- Accountants and financial managers
- Personnel and training managers
- Professional and office administrators
- Secretaries and typists
- Clerks
- Computer operators
- Nurses
- Caterers
- Drivers
- Construction tradesmen
- Motor mechanics
- Roughnecks
- Roustabouts
- Drillers
1) Education as a Personal Social Service

(a) The maximum possible devolution in rural educational administration is vitally necessary. In particular, area or district education offices are essential in such areas.

(b) There should be a division of functions between Regional and District education offices (the former being concerned more with matters of broad policy such as in-service training, technology and finance, the latter with more local issues).

(c) Clear lines of communication must be established between schools and centres of administration, particularly through the regular visitation of schools by administrators and the development of 'policy newsletters' as opposed to purely information circulars.

(d) Parents must be involved more in the life of the school and in the work of the School Council.

2) Councils and Councillors

(a) Quarterly or monthly bulletins should be issued by Education Offices to keep Regional and District Councillors informed of educational trends.

(b) School Councils should submit reports regularly to their appropriate Councillors to maintain informational contact.

(c) Councillors involved in educational matters should be seconded to Colleges of Education for in-service courses on educational policy. Regional Authorities should also contribute.

(d) Councillors involved in educational matters should have a reduced workload in other areas to enable them to fulfill their responsibilities of maintaining wide contacts.

(e) Councillors should hold regular 'clinics' for consultation on educational matters with the electorate.

(f) Regional and District Councillors should be members of the new School Councils, which in turn must be properly constituted as bodies with status, influence and a fair degree of autonomy in educational matters.

(g) Schools Councils should have a clearly delineated responsibility to advise on local matters such as children's problems, truancy, transport, appointment of non-teaching staff in schools, holiday patterns etc., but not in curricular matters, which are the concern of teachers.
3) Teachers' In-service and Advisory Support

(a) Maximum personal contact in teachers' in-service training between
trainer and trainee must be ensured e.g., by the use of training
and advisory staff on short term secondment from teaching as
'local assistants' to regional full-time advisers.

(b) The future in-service pattern should consist of longer courses in
Colleges of Education leading to qualifications and salary
increments/responsibility payments, coupled with local and
regional follow-up and short-term courses.

(c) Regional in-service would be more effective if teachers' centres
were further developed.

(d) Time must be set aside (e.g., five days per year) within the
school session for a required programme of in-service for all
teachers, in a way similar to Scandinavian practice.

(e) Regional centres for educational technology and resource material
with adequate staffing would contribute much to the rural schools'
curricular enrichment and support.

(f) A residential in-service centre in each region would be a great
asset in the in-service sphere.

(g) Sabbatical leave for teachers in rural schools after a
specified
length of service is strongly recommended as a means of combating
their professional isolation and enabling them to undertake
further work or research devoted to the improvement of rural
schooling.

RURAL SCHOOLS

4) Attention must be devoted more intensively by rural secondary schools
to the devising and implementation of more satisfactory 'induction
procedures' for pupils arriving from remote and small primary schools.
Emphasis must be on a slower and longer period of familiarisation with
secondary life rather than on ineffective one day visits. Exchanges
of pupils at 'earlier than transfer' stages is thought desirable by
conference.

5) In rural schooling (as in the whole school system) in-service pro-
grammes must be mounted with the specific purpose of eradicating the
lamentable ignorance evident in primary and secondary teachers of the
philosophy, objectives and curriculum of each other's school levels.
Each primary and secondary school should produce information for
consumption in its associated feeding or receiving school/s.

6) According to the structure of schooling decided upon by an authority,
conference recommends:-

(a) a secondary school of no more than about 1000 pupils maximum
as the optimum size, this to avoid impersonality and unneces-
sary discipline problems evident in larger urban schools; OR
(c) Regional in-service would be more effective if teachers' centres were further developed.

(d) Time must be set aside (e.g. five days per year) within the school session for a required programme of in-service for all teachers, in a way similar to Scandinavian practice.

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(a) a secondary school of no more than about 1000 pupils maximum as the optimum size, this to avoid impersonality and unnecessary discipline problems evident in larger urban schools; OR

(b) a two-tier secondary or middle school system enabling pupils up to age 16 to travel a maximum of 45 minutes each way to and from home, coupled with a 'Sixth Form College' sited centrally within the region.
7) Emphasis must continue to be placed on the adequate selection, training and suitability of staff in charge of school hostels and on the organizing of a suitably relaxed atmosphere in those hostels.

8) Exchange of teachers in remote schools with final year Diploma students of attested ability for a period of e.g. a month in the summer term, the purposes being a) to allow the teachers an opportunity for in-service; and b) the students to have an initial taste of the challenges and problems of the rural school. GTI approval would, conference hopes, be forthcoming for such an arrangement.

9) Local workshops, consisting of small groups of isolated teachers in the schools of a small area, should become a regular feature to facilitate exchange of ideas and expertise and to encourage the teachers themselves to undertake a mutual tutorial role. Schools within a 15 mile radius are suggested.

10) The extent to which local talent (e.g. artists, craftsmen, fishermen) can be used under the professional supervision of the teacher in the interests of an enriched education for her children should be seriously considered.

LINGUISTIC/CULTURAL PROBLEMS

11) Bilingualism in children is strongly urged as the clear objective of a carefully worked out and long term policy for schooling in Gaelic speaking areas. Gaelic must return to the status of a viable second language in such areas in social and economic intercourse. Parents must be actively and continuously encouraged to see the cultural, historical and contemporary relevance of such a policy.

12) The Scottish Education Department are urged, in the light of the above, to undertake active comparison of successful policies on similar matters in Wales and Scandinavia. It is further suggested that a Working Party on Gaelic in Schools and a curriculum paper on Gaelic is an urgent need.

13) Regional Institutes for Celtic Studies should be set up, especially a research institute in Inverness as a part of a possible Inverness University of the future.

14) The new Western Isles Council should be regarded as having a special and leading responsibility for research into, and study of the whole problem of Gaelic in Scottish schools.

15) Aberdeen College of Education should in the very near future be entitled to appoint a Lecturer in Gaelic, such a position being crucial to the future supply of suitably trained teachers of the language.

16) The Highlands and Islands Development Board are urged to consider the initiation of a special conference on 'the use of Gaelic in Education and Everyday Life'.

17) Scottish Studies (inclusive of Gaelic) should be offered by at least
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17) Scottish Studies (inclusive of Gaelic) should be offered by at least one school, but preferably on a wider basis if possible in each of the new Scottish Regions - outside the Gaelic speaking area as an optional language as well as within.
18) Any future Scottish assembly is seen as having a responsibility to give consideration on a national basis to the welfare of Gaelic as part of the Scottish life and identity.

19) The Schools Council in England and Wales is recommended as a model for a similar Scottish curriculum development body replacing the present Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, which suffers from lack of autonomy. Such a body could include more satisfactorily in the normal range of 'across the board' curriculum development, serious attention to Gaelic in the way recommended above in Recommendation 2.