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**A Journey of Enquiry: a historical, legal and economic analysis  
of further education in Ireland from 1800 to 2020**

Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the  
Structured PhD Degree

by

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## **Abstract**

This examination of the historical evolution of Further Education in Ireland emerged from a curiosity about the unique and complex development of the sector within Irish education. Further Education has been depicted for many years as what it is not, rather than what it actually is. We are informed that it is not second level but equally it is not third level. The in-between status of Further Education in Ireland therefore, belies the positive influence this sector has had on people's lives for two hundred years. Uncovering how Further Education was conceived and how it evolved over the years, allows those working or studying in the sector to make sense of the complexities the sector reveals of itself and how things happen within.

This research emerged from practice in the field that lead to an exploration of how the sector was constructed and moulded by historical, legal and economic drivers over the course of two centuries. Analysis of policy, policy implementation shifts, and the reasons for those changes, reveal a constantly changing landscape within which Further Education in Ireland was required to operate. Examination of these aspects reveals that Further Education developed in a dynamic and chameleon-like manner, capable of repeatedly changing its fundamental being, according to the needs of its paymaster and without definitively outlining its boundaries or identity as a sector.

Taking a , historical, legal and economic focus, as this research does, allows the reader to follow the thinking behind political and economic decisions which influenced the sector but were little known to those students educated within its many guises, and also reveals the systemic challenges of its position and status, as the sector struggled to clearly record its presence and activities either in terms of financial resources, student numbers or results in the field of education. Understanding this unique historical evolution is key to appreciating the particular form and position which Further Education currently occupies in the Irish educational landscape.

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## Acronyms Used

AERA	American Ethical Research Association
AONTAS	Aos Oideachais Náisiúnta Tri Aontú Saorálach (translated as National Adult Education through Voluntary Unification)
ASTI	Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
BENELUX	Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg alliance
BERA	British Ethical Research Association
BTEA	Back to Education Allowance
BTEI	Back to Education Initiative
CAO	Central Applications Office
CAS	Common Awards System
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDVEC	City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee
CEC	Current Economic Crisis
CEDEFOP	Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CICA	Commission of Investigation into Child Abuse
CID	Contract of Indefinite Duration
CPD	Continual Professional Development
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DCEB	Dublin City Enterprise Board (now LEO)
DES	Department of Education and Skills
DIC	Department of Industry and Commerce
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community (also Euratom)
EC	European Community
ECA	European Co-operation Administration
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
ERP	European Recovery Plan
ESB	Electricity Supply Board
ETB	Education and Training Board
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community (also EAEC)
FEMPI	Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest
FETAC	Further Education and Training Awards Council
FÁS	An Foras Áiseanna Saothair (translated as The Labour Development Facility)
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulations
GNP	Gross National Product
GP	General Practitioner – a doctor
H. Dip.	Higher Diploma in Teaching
HE	Higher Education
HMSO	Her/his Majesty's Stationery Office
IADHD	Institutional attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder
IDA	Industrial Development Authority
IFE	Irish Further Education
IICI	International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IMI	Irish Management Institute
INTO	Irish National Teachers Organisation
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
LCA	Leaving Certificate Applied
LCVP	Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme
LEO	Local Enterprise Office (formerly DCEB see above)
MSC	Manpower Services Commission (UK)
NFQ	National Qualifications Framework
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PEC	Preparation for Employment Course
PLC	Post Leaving Certificate
POW	Prisoner of War
PPEWU	Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
SCOTVEC	Scottish Vocational Education Council
SEA	Single European Act
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission
SI	Statutory Instrument
SOEC	Statistical Office of the European Communities
SOLAS	Seirbhísí Oideachais Leanúnaigh Agus Scileanna. (services for continuing education and skills)
SLSS	Second Level Support Services
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SMI	Strategic Management Initiative
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
TAP	Technical Assistance Programme
T.D.	Teachta Dáil (member of Irish Parliament)
TUI	Teachers Union of Ireland
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (UK)
UAW	United Automobile Workers (Union)
UCD	University College Dublin
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organisation
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association
VEC	Vocational Education Committee
VPT	Vocational Preparation and Training
VTOS	Vocational Education Opportunities Scheme
WB	World Bank
WWI	World War 1
WWII	World War 2

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## Chapter 1 – Introduction

This thesis originated from my curiosity about the evolution of the concept of Further Education in Ireland, and specifically the conflicting understandings of what further education is by practitioners within the sector. The thesis also outlines my own journey to attempt to understand why I personally did not know what exactly Further Education was when I was first approached to teach within it. The intrigue has never diminished but the answer had always remained elusive. What did emerge during this research, however, was that most people do not know what Further Education is in an Irish context. What is labelled Further Education in Ireland caters for a cohort from seventeen years to seventy plus years, and as such it serves post compulsory education and offers a unique approach to education which straddles vocational education (where its origins lie), technical education (where it progressed to) and in more recent years, training (where it is now being developed to). Notwithstanding its established existence it is often depicted as being an outlier, positioned outside both the second level schooling system and the adult focused third level education system. This outlier position has implications for its recognition and the acknowledgement of its unique contribution to education and control of its own future and funding as will be outlined in this thesis.

### **Rationale**

The concept of Further Education in Ireland is very complex to outline. By way of justification, my interest in this research was initiated during a retirement speech of a principal, who during his 35 years tenure as principal in a particular college, had overseen the transformation of his school/college from second level to vocational to further education within the Vocational Education Committee (VEC) system, who declared in that retirement speech that he was “not sure what Further Education really is”. If it was not easy for *him* to give a synopsis and show a comprehensive grasp of the fundamentals of the system (which was most certainly not beyond his immense analytical abilities), then it would be reasonable to say that it would be well-nigh impossible for others to do so.

When first asked to teach in that particular college of Further Education in 2005, I had absolutely no knowledge of what Further Education was and had never even heard of the concept. This lack of knowledge of the sector, to this day intrigues me, particularly when I now observe how unique the sector is, and the strength of conviction and commitment of the educators within it. I distinctly remember walking into the staffroom, directly after teaching my first class and feeling a palpable sense that this sector was just ‘something else’, that it was ‘special’ and I remember that my thoughts at the time were that everybody should spend time

in Further Education during their schooling and more importantly that those who did not know what it was, were, to say the least, unfortunate. To this day I still feel this way and wanted to capture this essence in my thesis. However, as outlined in this research, this is not just a teacher's story but encapsulates a 200 year history of students and educators who have been through the Irish education system from all backgrounds. It examines the way in which the structures were adjusted over the timescale from 1800 to 2020 and the impact of those adjustments on funding, effect, identity and the success of the sector while outlining the many pragmatic shifts which were effected. The research also exposes that within all those shifts there was a complex set of drivers and a consequent lack of clear focus on what has been perceived to be Further Education in Ireland. The research therefore attempts to explain what it is that makes this sector unique in education terms, particularly in an Irish setting in a way which has not been done to date. Finally the research outlines how failure to define the concept belies the contribution the sector has to make to education, social integration and personal achievement for those who partake in Further Education in its uniquely Irish construct. It is this latter quality that I believe is its unique essence – the 'something else' referred to above. However, this quality is not often visible within and throughout the vagaries of historical, political and economic shifts of the past 200 years as this thesis reveals.

### **Unearthing the research question**

Following a deep economic depression in Ireland as a result of the worldwide financial implications of bank collapses in 2008 and consequent constrictions of expenditure throughout the Irish economy, education became a focus for spending cuts which imposed immense changes applied in a top-down approach. This had the cumulative effect of altering almost every aspect of education in Ireland. The changes, specifically in Further Education in a particular college setting, were palpably challenging and their effect was the initial locus of investigation for research. However, the pursuit of understanding of the influences necessitated an unearthing of very specific questions about Further Education in Ireland. Thus the initial research question was: *How does a period of immense change affect the professionalism, collegiality and leadership in a group of Further Education teachers?* This however, after initial research initiation evolved (as the reader will discover) to be rephrased in the current series of research questions as:

*What exactly is Further Education in an Irish context?*

*How is it defined and what policies affected its evolution?*

*What are the implications of its evolving definition on Irish Further Education?*

The pursuit of answers to these research questions therefore frames the research process and it became a journey of discovery which unveiled a concept which existed without definition and continually changed chameleon-like according to the circumstances and policy processes and decisions of those who were effectively holding the purse strings of education not just during that time but throughout successive manifestations from 1800 to 2020.

## **The place of Further Education in Ireland**

The story of Further Education in Ireland is complex to say the least, and its limits and boundaries are continually shifting, certainly from my observations as a teacher and researcher in the sector. Hence it is necessary to ground this in the current societal and education context in this chapter before exploring its historical roots and pathway throughout the thesis. This sense of constant change in the sector may be the reason why people often do not know what exactly Further Education is and why the very description used by the Department of Education and Skills has effectively couched the explanation in words that say what it is *not*, rather than saying what it actually is.

To outline an introduction to Irish Further Education it is helpful initially to look at how it is actually depicted within the framework of Education in Ireland. To this end I will use the definition found on the Department of Education and Skills website as a start point, where in 2013, the only description of the Further Education sector was:

*“education and training which occurs after second-level but which is not part of the third level system”<sup>1</sup>*

There is a specific reason why I have noted that this was the definition in 2013 as this has been changed to the 2017 definition on the same website as:

*“Further Education covers education and training which occurs after second level schooling but which is not part of the third level system. There are a number of providers of Further and Adult Education and Training and a wide variety of schools, organisations and institutions, are involved in the delivery of continuing education and training for young school leavers and adults”<sup>2</sup>*

There is a huge conceptual difference between the two definitions where the former merely places a limit on the concept of Further Education whereas the latter expands that concept further to include providers and removes the concept from the notion of education provided in schools to a service provided by outside agencies which *might* be schools. The latter specifically includes ‘Adults’ (in Ireland an adult is over the age of eighteen) and indeed ‘Adult

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Education and Skills, ‘Further Education and Skills’ (Department of Education and Skills, 2013 <<https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Services/Further-Education-and-Training/>> accessed 28 October 2019

<sup>2</sup> Department of Education and Skills, ‘Further Education and Skills’ (Department of Education and Skills, 2017 <<https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Services/Further-Education-and-Training/>> accessed 28 October 2019

Education’ which effectively extends the concept even further than just beyond education towards the wider community base while managing to distance the concept of Further Education from within the school system by including ‘others’ in the definition. In using words like ‘delivery’, ‘continuing education’, ‘young school leavers’ there is a perceived altering of the depth of what Further Education may or may not be, but what has happened is not just a terminology change and is more of a contextual re-calibration. Indeed it appears to be focussed on including Further Education within a life-long learning framework.

The changed description in 2017 does acknowledge that there is actually such a sector and it is not a void as depicted in the 2013 description. It does also, however reflect a situated reality where Further Education is currently being offered by many and varied providers whose existence is not actually confined within the education sector and whose educational remit is perhaps predicated on this conceptual depiction of what Further Education actually is. The resultant anomaly however does provide justification for research into the conceptual place of Further Education in an Irish setting where the reader will observe that different definitions, explanations and subtleties have assisted in creating confusion around the concept of Further Education in an Irish context.

Figure 1 is an overview of the Irish Education System taken from a Department of Education and Science publication of 2004 where Further Education sits as part of Secondary and Further Education. It depicts Further Education as a little subsection between Secondary and Third Level Education which would be in line with the 2013 description above. Figure 2 shows another depiction from an Education Training Board (one of the main providers of Further Education in Ireland) of the manner in which the Further Education sector is placed visually disjointed within the education sector between the Second Level and University or Institutes of Technology level which is significant. In most depictions of the Irish Education system this is usually the way the sector is shown; as something outside the easy flowing process that one would expect (as also outlined in Figure 2) and to some extent this might have allowed the sector to effectively morph, as will be examined in this research.

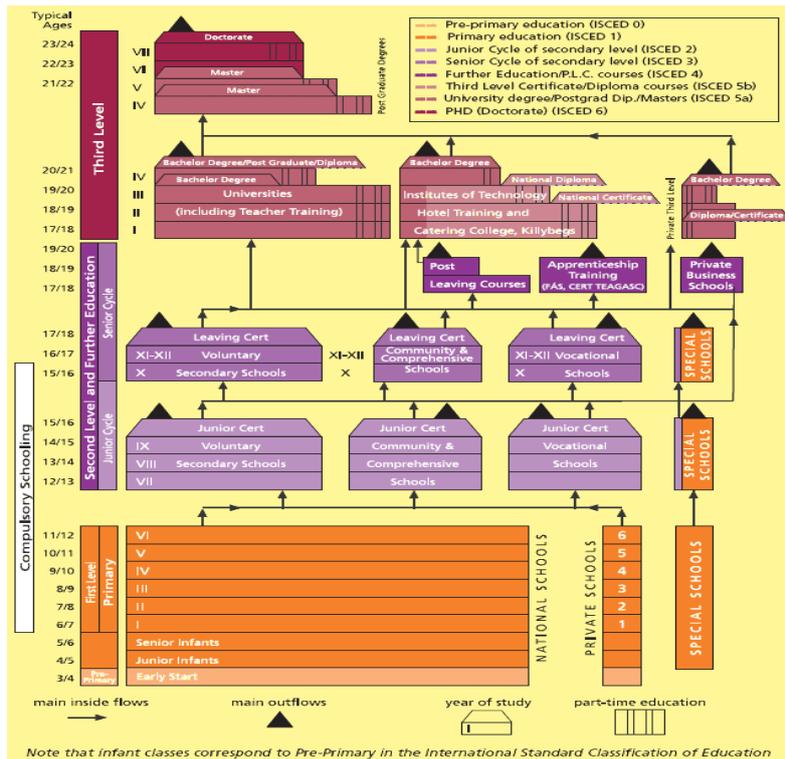


Figure 1 Overview of Irish Education Source: Department of Education and Science 2004

While Figure 1, and indeed Figure 2 (below), reveal an unusual administrative understanding which serves to reduce Further Education to an effective add-on existence, it also reflects successive policy shifts which have happened within Irish education that appear to have perpetuated the conceptual anomalies which have been outlined above.

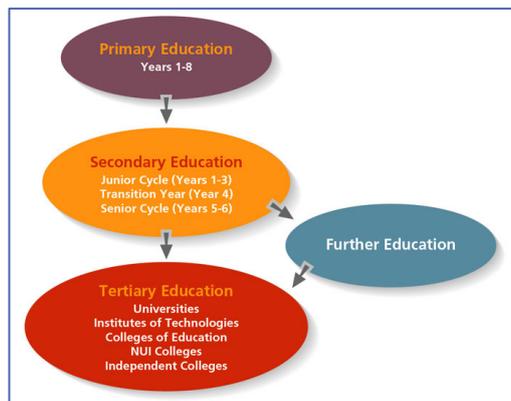


Figure 2 Donegal ETB depiction of Further Education

The process of separating Further Education in both of the depictions at Figure 1 and Figure 2, fails to note that the age cohort of students in Further Education ranges from 17 to 70+ and that those under the age of 18 are, in legal terms, still children in Ireland. Moreover, it fails to take account of the legal anomaly established in *Sinnott v. Minister for Education [2001]*<sup>3</sup> that the constitutional right of a child in Ireland is to receive free primary education, until the age

<sup>3</sup> *Sinnott v. Minister for Education [2001] IESC 63; [2001] 2 IR 505*

of 18 making these diagrams and the segregations within, indicative rather than definitive while being illustrative of other anomalies, uncovered by the research throughout this thesis.

### **Personal Context**

My own background is of relevance to any discussion as to why I *want* to research the notion of Further Education even though I work within it and more importantly the *way* that I would approach this particular research. As an educator I came to teaching late in my working life and it was because my experiences were diverse that I was approached to teach in the first place. Secondary Education in Ireland only become free within my lifetime and consequently access to higher education became a new national expectation because second level education had been made available to the majority. I was the first person in my family to go to university, as were many of my age cohort at the time. It may well be that my conservative education engendered this expectation of newly acquired possibilities, or, as outlined in Reay's research into students' decisions and influences on going to Higher Education, that the "underlying complexities of choice associated with issues of cultural capital, family and institutional influences" (Reay, 1998 p. 528), affected how I thought, about my longer term educational choices. To me at the time however, it was that I did well enough in my Leaving Certificate to get to University so I went.

At that time such analysis seemed neither relevant nor different as I just went with the flow and was not aware that my 'flow' was in any way a product or expectation engendered by my upbringing or habitual fashioning within the secondary school tradition (Bourdieu, 1966, p.184). I emerged from this process in the 1980s when there were no jobs available and as a country, Ireland was being told by the then leader, Taoiseach Charles Haughey that we had "to tighten our belts and ... learn to live within our means" (Haughey, 1980<sup>4</sup>). Fortunately, I did eventually find employment and advanced to the top level of a small company that afforded me the opportunity to learn business from the ground up. During this time my husband and I owned, and ran a Public House where my business and legal knowledge was honed, together with negotiation ability and people skills.

In the year 2000 I was asked to be a Mentor with Dublin City Enterprise Board (DCEB) where I advised others on the legal, financial and business processes they would encounter in setting up small businesses in the DCEB catchment area (Finglas to Tallaght) where my skills and

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<sup>4</sup> Politics/Living Beyond our Means, RTÉ Archives <https://www.rte.ie/archives> accessed 20th June 2019

experiences assisted others overcome hurdles they faced in writing their business plans. By 2005 when I was asked to teach in Further Education, I had assisted hundreds of new businesses in the Dublin area at a time when there was an emphasis on women setting up businesses and had been appointed the first Schools Enterprise Coordinator for DCEB. In that role I travelled to all the second level schools in the Dublin City catchment area delivering presentations on enterprise as well as organising numerous enterprise awards events. I remember asking the Chief Executive Officer of DCEB why they did not want me to visit Community Schools or Further Education Centres as those were listed as schools, on the Department of Education website and some were in my catchment area but had never been suggested for inclusion in my workload. At the time I was directed only to second level schools as ‘those schools did not do Enterprise’. This was probably why I was firstly intrigued and later astounded when I did teach that first Further Education class in 2005.

One of the unique features of Further Education at that time was that because I had lots of industry experience, I was not required to have a Higher Diploma in Education known as a H. Dip. or any teaching qualification (besides a degree) to teach in the sector. It was my varied and specific business, marketing and legal skills that were acceptable educational currency (to use Bourdieu’s terminology of embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1986)). This emphasis on industry and vocational experience – rather than academic training or qualifications - is a noteworthy feature of Further Education in Ireland (and indeed of the vocationally orientated Institute of Technology sector of Higher Education in Ireland), which will be explored later in this thesis. I had narratives and individual experiences to add to the delivery which resonated with the students and I could see from their interactions that they valued the narratives which made the learning relevant and up to date and in that process they could see how theory was reflected in actions in business from a legal and commercial perspective. They questioned, argued, teased out meaning and acknowledged how to put the theories into practice as part of their learning. For me this contrasted with my own personal university college lecture experience, which was more didactic. It soon became obvious that my career in enterprise up to that point had informed a rounded approach to information acquisition, analysis and reproduction, which suited my new audience. Whether that made me a good teacher or it helped me *feel* I was a good teacher are questions which are still to be decided. On the whole however the teachers I met gradually accepted my difference just as they did with their student body.

## **Why research Irish Further Education?**

It is important to remember when describing my journey into teaching, that “teachers are the human point of contact with students and teaching is both a relational and an intellectual practice” (Fitzmaurice, 2010, p54). This is not a staid, unchanging or unchallenging job and it was the concept of changes I was witnessing over the last number of years, albeit in one specific College of Further Education in an inner city Dublin location, which instilled in me a wish to research the impact of these changes for those teachers in Further Education (as outlined in my initial research question). My background in law and business affects how I go about uncovering my truths and consequently my approach to research is in a way that makes sense for me. A post-graduate legal qualification has left its mark upon me as I seek to understand specific words used and their exact meanings to really understand something and am acutely aware that using words out of context can create anomalies. This was the case when I looked at the concept of Further Education and led to this research which eventually altered the research quest to a journey of enquiry into:

*What exactly is Further Education in an Irish context?*

*How is it defined and what policies affected its evolution?*

*What are the implications of its definition on Irish Further Education?*

Research is about gathering information to answer questions which as a process helps to solve problems (Booth, Colomb, Williams, Bizup, & Fitzgerald, 2016). Within those realms, research is “a process of critical enquiry undertaken in a systematic way” (Ryan, & Walsh, 2010 p 29<sup>5</sup>). Information needs to be recorded, interpreted, interrogated and presented in expected ways within the norms of academic and educational realms and this requires rigour of every aspect of the process undertaken and from that vantage, the concept of Irish Further Education certainly is worthy of research.

Further Education stands out from other sectors of the education system as being “vastly under-researched in comparison with the data potentially available to it” (Jameson, & Hillier, 2003 p.3); while this comment was applied to UK Further Education, it is applicable here in Ireland also. This in itself conflicted with my need to understand and examine the detail to know how something is the way it is, and intrigued me enough to start to research the whole concept of Further Education. The Further Education sector is one of constant change; Further Education

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<sup>5</sup> Ryan A & Walsh T, <[http://www.mural.maynoothuniversity.ie/976/1/Ann\\_Ryan\\_and\\_Tony\\_Walsh.pdf](http://www.mural.maynoothuniversity.ie/976/1/Ann_Ryan_and_Tony_Walsh.pdf)> (accessed 13/10/2019)

as a concept has been described as having IADHD or Institutional Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder (Anderson, Barton & Wahlberg, 2003) because of its constant changes and there can be no doubt that this constant change does affect how research takes place within it. Very little about the Further Education sector, certainly in Ireland, is clear-cut and defined and perhaps because of its origins and evolution in a local, rather than a global preserve, it has been formed, influenced, and in turn has managed to change and continually adapt itself in a way that appears to have hidden its unique lack of definition for over two hundred and twenty years. It has in that time been depicted as straddling continuation education, continuing education, adult education, technical education, vocational education and in more recent times has emerged as part of the Further Education and Training (FET) system, but its own strength as will be outlined in this research is its flexibility to be all things to all.

### **Methodological Framework and shifts**

The methodological framework on which this thesis is constructed in that of historical critical discourse analysis of policy formation, as outlined in Chapter 2. The implications of repeated failures to review or oversee the bounding of policies within complicated formulation processes have created anomalies as will be seen in the research. Such consequences, specifically in a Further Education context have required Irish Further Education to develop the ability to morph following educational policy shifts that often overlooked its very existence and have contributed to a veritable fluidity of provision which has not always been in the best interests of those educated within it.

From an initial research methodological proposal using longitudinal interview analysis, the research progressed through several iterations occasioned by real life in-situ events as outlined in Chapter 3; as a result of which the research methodology logically and pragmatically shifted to one of critical discourse using evidentiary historical documents. Using critical discourse analysis within historical, legal, educational and social contexts enabled an examination of how those charged with developing and supporting education over two centuries were influenced by their own political and ideological positions as well as by prominent policy thinkers of their time. The tenets of those policy decision-makers are still evident through this historical examination of the changes and the context which informed their policy decisions and their virtual 'footprints' have contributed to the positioning of sectors within education, in particular Irish Further Education, to this day.

This critical discourse analysis takes a specific and singular approach which is informed by the technical and legal details and how they emerged historically over time in the context of the Republic of Ireland specifically. It also, by taking this approach, adds to the knowledge of this unique concept by examining the legal details and official reports rather than focusing on how others have interpreted those nuances within the system. To achieve this the researcher has chosen to focus on an historical, legal and economic triangular multivariate lens which has often been omitted from examinations of Irish Further Education to date and which has served to expose the fact that what is perceived to be a system of Further Education in a specifically Irish context, has never been clearly defined legally nor positioned clearly in the structures or budget lines of the Irish education system. To understand this evolution, it is important firstly to note the approach taken to terminology and bracketing by historical epochs throughout the thesis.

### **The Historical Context of this Thesis - Terminology and Epochs**

Officially, the Republic of Ireland is a Constitutional Republic established under Bunreacht na hÉireann (Constitution of Ireland) and governed by a parliamentary system (The Oireachtas) which is a three-part process of executive administration consisting of President, Dáil and Seanad. Throughout this thesis, political documents from both Dáil Eireann and Seanad Eireann feature and give contextual insight into the political actions, opinions, arguments and social commentary which took place at the time that decisions on issues were being contemplated in Ireland.

It is key to understand from the outset the legal and political basis of the nation. Ireland (official name *Éire*) is an island nation which is divided into 4 Provinces – Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht. Within those four provinces there are 32 counties, of which 6, in the province of Ulster are actually in Northern Ireland which forms part of the United Kingdom and those 6 counties do not therefore officially make up part of the Republic of Ireland (which consists of 26 counties only). The official language is Irish (Gaeilge), and the second language is English according to the Constitution, although the majority of people use English every day. There are areas of the country who speak Irish exclusively and are named Gaeltacht areas. Irish is spoken dialectically differently in each of the 4 provinces and yet the Irish language, explored in this thesis, has at different times been a source of contention, pride, power, control and division. The complexity of our history and ongoing relationship with our closest neighbour has been a defining feature shaping our society and education system.



Figure 3 Ireland of the 4 Provinces

While much has been written about the concept of Further Education,<sup>6</sup> this has often failed to outline the distinction between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, leading to a loss of the reasoning behind the unique nuances which reveal themselves. Further Education in Northern Ireland while differing slightly from that in Britain, is based on the British system while Further Education in the Republic of Ireland evolved very differently as this thesis will reveal.

In pursuit of a certain consistency in relation to the terminology used within this thesis insofar as it relates to the detail depicted in the specificities of education and indeed in the legal and historical descriptions, I have chosen to use the term ‘Britain’ rather than the various specific historically time-correct terms which arose throughout the historical periods involved such as The British Commonwealth, Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland, The United Kingdom of England, Scotland and Wales or even England. The reasoning behind this is to attempt to sustain a certain consistency in relation to the terminology as the specific detail does not, then, dominate the thrust of the thesis, which, as the reader will see, revealed a chameleon-like Further Education character which changed according to time and circumstances.

Moreover I have also embraced the concept of epochs as outlined by Osterhammel so that the narrative does not employ a “content-blind periodization” which would “achieve its focus only

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<sup>6</sup> Le Chéile: Well-being of Students in Colleges of Further Education in Ireland. [https://www.ucd.ie/psychology/newsevents/news/latestnews/title\\_375112.en.html](https://www.ucd.ie/psychology/newsevents/news/latestnews/title_375112.en.html); Purdom, J. (2017) Class divide in Irish Education, [www.TrinityNews.ie/2017/class-divide-in-irish-education](http://www.TrinityNews.ie/2017/class-divide-in-irish-education)

at the price of contributing little to historical knowledge” (Osterhammel, 2009, p.45). Rather, I have abandoned a purely linear narrative by employing Osterhammel’s favoured method of “transitions and transformations’ where “individual transformations begin and end at particular moments with continuities in both directions on the arrow of time” (Osterhammel, 2009, p.47). There is then a concentration on specifics which might have their origin in one epoch and their result in another, in order to outline the influences, transitions, events and outcomes which do not fit neatly into linear steps or linear time units but tell the story nonetheless.

### **The Economic and Political Context - Budgets and Austerity**

The broader economic and political context within the education sector changes which occurred in the 1990s onwards is highly significant to any outline of Irish education today. Ireland has been depicted as effectively riding the crest of a wave of prosperity up to the mid-late 1990s which led to property prices rising as people ‘invested’ in the commodity that was housing in the expectation of huge gains. Speculative investments and a very relaxed banking credit regime led to warnings that the economy was overheated, which fell on deaf political ears. Competition between banks in Ireland to lend to property developers particularly, led to downward pressure on the interest rate for borrowing and this in turn affected the loan to borrowing ratios (Clarke, & Hardiman, 2012). A subsequent *Nyberg Commission Report*<sup>7</sup> pointed to several contributory factors; banks wanted to be as profitable as each other and replicated the methods used by each other; customer base was under pressure; fear of takeover was evident; bank values were being squeezed; poor governance from the Central Bank and loss of professional standing (Nyberg, 2011, p. v).

Sub-prime lending in the United States took a massive blow with the collapse of two banks which specialised in sub-prime loans; Lehman Brothers<sup>8</sup> collapsed in the United States leading to the failure of Bear Sterns<sup>9</sup> to the value of \$30Bn and Fannie Mae & Freddie Mac<sup>10</sup> to the value of \$187Bn, which in turn caused contagion throughout the world and particularly in Ireland. One particular weekend night in late September 2008, I distinctly remember working in the pub with people coming from far and wide throughout the night, not actually ordering drink but asking where the nearest ATM machine was or requesting to change a cheque. I

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<sup>7</sup> Report of the Commission of Investigation into the Banking Sector, *Misjudging Risk: Causes of the Systemic Banking Crisis In Ireland*. Dr Nyberg was Director General of the Financial Markets Department, Ministry of Finance, Finland and the sole member of the Commission [www.finfacts.ie/irishfinance/news/article\\_1022121.shtml](http://www.finfacts.ie/irishfinance/news/article_1022121.shtml) accessed 12th September 2019

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/lehman-brothers.asp> last accessed 27th October 2019

<sup>9</sup> Bear Stearns: Collapse and Bailout Timeline – The Balance, <https://www.thebalance.com> last accessed 12th September 2019

<sup>10</sup> Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac Bailout- The Balance, <https://www.thebalance.com> last accessed 27th October 2019

surmised that all the machines had been affected by some computer virus or something like that. In fact that night the Irish banking system had effectively collapsed and all the ATMs in the country had been shut down to avoid a rush on the banks if people somehow got to know what was actually going on. While the people would pay the price they were also deprived of their own agency in relation to their own finances.

The 30<sup>th</sup> September 2008 brought more information from newspapers such as The Irish Times, The Irish Independent and news bulletins on the national broadcasting channel Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ) and it transpired that the Irish Government had negotiated a guarantee of Irish bank deposits to protect the banks from total collapse in a late night/early morning meeting in Government Buildings.<sup>11</sup> The citizens were effectively tied into a \$65Bn bailout which would have resounding effects on what the media termed ‘every man, woman and child’ for generations.<sup>12</sup> Budget 2009, delivered in October 2008, immediately imposed austerity measures in an attempt to stave off massive stresses on the financial system in the country where billions had been wiped off both individual and collective wealth in Ireland. This very process also introduced a start of significant austerity processes whose effect on education can still be felt particularly in the less commercially constructed Further Education sector where research grants are not part of the funding model.

The Special Group on Public Service Numbers and Expenditure Programmes was initiated in 2008 to look at where savings could be made in public expenditure. *The Report of the Special Group on Public Service Numbers and Expenditure Programmes* published in July 2009 (Government, 2009). Called the McCarthy Report after its Chairman Colm McCarthy, an economist from University College Dublin (UCD) the report suggested measures that could save the economy millions. Taxes increased and public spending was reduced which put educational resources under pressure. July 2009 saw the drafting of legislation to establish the National Asset Management Authority<sup>13</sup> (NAMA) which gave powers to this new organisation to take over land and development loans from banks in an effort to get them lending again – effectively a sanitisation of their asset portfolios. A call was issued by government asking our business diaspora to come back to Ireland for a special Global Irish Economic Forum,<sup>14</sup> held in Farmleigh (the Government guest house in the Phoenix Park) to tell us how to get business re-activated and to basically tell the country how to do business. This was not the first time in

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<sup>11</sup> European Commission Brussels, 13.10.2008 C (2008)6059

<sup>12</sup> <https://thesun.ie/money/432733/e44365-owed-ireland-goss-debt-215billion> accessed 12th October 2017

<sup>13</sup> National Asset Management Agency Act, 2009. [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

<sup>14</sup> Global Irish Network – Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. <https://www.dfa.ie> accessed 8<sup>th</sup> August 2014

our history that those outside Ireland were given influence in how business was done in the country as can be seen throughout the epochs explored within this thesis.

The Irish Banks' collapse in September 2008 heralded a curtailment on spending in almost every industry in Ireland. Building construction, previously the backbone of the economy, was immediately halted, the impact was ubiquitous with foreclosures, receiverships and liquidations becoming a part of the business landscape of the country (Davy, 2013). Housing estates whose construction had started, were abandoned and became known as 'ghost estates'; workers were asked to take voluntary reductions on monies due to them; unemployment rose immediately and many of those who were made redundant were professionals who had been sure of employment up to that point. Colloquially called the 'current economic crisis' (CEC), or the 'financial shock', the impact was felt throughout the economy and Irish people appeared to go into a deep slump.

These cutbacks had extensive impacts across all sectors of society including education and were most severely felt by those who needed additional resources and supports from public funding. The *Education for Persons with Special Educational Needs Act 2004*<sup>15</sup> which had been effectively paused under Budget 2009 (DES, 2008) particularly impacted on students with special education requirements who were unable to avail of the full impact of the planned interventions envisaged for them by the Act. The result was that both students and teachers felt pressure in the education system; financial and educational. Pupil teacher ratios increased, requiring more from all teachers with less support and more importantly less pay (as a consequence of a higher tax rate and pension provision taken at source to fund the tax burden of the nation). In and of itself these cuts to income may well have been expected but they also came after the whole funding arrangements for Vocational Education Committees (VEC) (which had been funded from local councils) had been changed as a result of the *Local Government Act 1999*<sup>16</sup> and funding was further reduced under the Public Capital Programme 2000 leaving the operations of VECs –the main providers of firstly vocational and then further education – changed significantly. The impact of this particular move was immediately felt in the Further Education arena where the vocational system had been rooted.

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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.irishstatutebook.ie>

<sup>16</sup> Local Government Act 1999, <https://www.irishstatutebook.ie>

The arrival of the European Commission, the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) collectively known as the Troika (a name for a Russian carriage with 3 horses drawing it), added further pressure on every individual Irish citizen to curtail individual spending. Our financial woes became the concern of every country within Europe. Institutional changes were rapid, and not inconsequential, with ‘quangos’ (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations), identified in the McCarthy report, immediately curtailed, eradicated or amalgamated. Within education, immediate repercussions were felt by teachers, parents and students alike; fees became unaffordable, people emigrated, unemployment soared, banks foreclosed on mortgages and discretionary spending was curtailed, leaving a shocked people with issues that often manifested throughout the educational sector, affecting recruitment, teaching and learning, as well as efficacy. This had an additional effect in the Further Education classroom in particular as individual adult and teenage students were under pressure to earn a living as quickly as possible to help families stave off economic catastrophe. These circumstances made the job of teaching, challenging, and the goal of learning, well-nigh impossible for some – education became less a requirement and more a privilege.

### *Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest*

I commenced my research process in 2013 not long after the implementation of the Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest Act 2009<sup>17</sup> (also known as the FEMPI Act 2009). This piece of legislation effectively recognised that the private sector in Ireland had been badly hit by the 2008 collapse of the economy and consequently under the 2009 Act it stated in its **preamble** that:

- *“a serious disturbance in the economy and a decline in the economic circumstances of the State have occurred, which threaten the well-being of the community”*
- *“as a consequence, a serious deterioration in the revenues of the State has occurred and there are significant and increasing Exchequer commitments in respect of public service pensions”*
- *“it is necessary to cut current Exchequer spending substantially to demonstrate to the international financial markets that public expenditure is being significantly controlled so as to ensure continued access to international funding, and to protect the State’s credit rating and reverse the erosion of the State’s international competitiveness”*
- *“the burden of job losses and salary reductions in the private sector has been very substantial and it is equitable that the public sector should share that burden”*
- *“it is necessary to take the measures in this Act as part of a range of measures to address the economic crisis”*
- *“the value of public service pensions is significantly and markedly more favourable than those generally available in other employment”*

***Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest Act 2009 Preamble***

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<sup>17</sup> Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest Act 2009. [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

The preamble is interesting in some of the words it employs. “Community” was neither ‘public’ or ‘national’ interest; ‘well-being’ was used and appeared to be intended to place restrictions and qualifications for many groups on what is in essence our constitutional right to an income. In its use here, the term ‘community’ is not explained. State and Exchequer are selectively used. International competitiveness is interlinked with the State’s credit rating and equitability is being forced on the public sector which is not actually justified except that potentially the private sector has reduced salaries and endured job losses. A concept of benchmarking initiated during the time of Bertie Ahern as Taoiseach,<sup>18</sup> between public and private sector employees, as part of industrial relations procedures, was being undone before the public sector had even become used to the effect of that benchmarking.

Allied to the new order, politicians were so intent on making us believe they had a handle on things and were not wasting the public monies, that, during the summers of 2009 – 2014, we were treated to a constant hint that something might be ‘hit’ in the budget and there might be further and more severe cuts and taxes to pay and ultimately the budget should be feared. Ultimately these threats were usually never as severe as they were hinted at, and people felt that the budget when it was eventually delivered was never as bad as they thought it could have been. While dire budgetary threats were constant, there was public resistance to the long summer holidays that politicians had from the Dáil. Politicians themselves referred to it as ‘kite flying’ and it became the subject of numerous Dáil debates including on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2011 where Minister Roisin Shorthall discussed the cruelty of the process of ‘kite-flying’ which effectively frightened people to believe things could get worse so that they would accept something, which while still unpalatable, was not as bad as the threat they had heard prior to the budget.<sup>19</sup> Looking at the term ‘kite flying’, denotes a leisure pursuit of freedom and gentle breezes.<sup>20</sup> The juxtaposition of public and private interpretation of the same process was repeated for a number of years; however, repetition was its downfall, and eventually it was seen for what it was: ‘the boy who cried wolf’. In the meantime however, the effect of such interactions between the citizens and the government were calculated and divisive and affected the acceptance of co-operation due to mistrust or overplay.

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Public sector pay deals were Bertie’s biggest flaw, says Micheál Martin’, Irish Independent. Fiach Kelly, September 27<sup>th</sup> 2013

<sup>19</sup> ‘Minister slams Budget ‘kite-flying’.’ Niall Hunter (Ed.). <https://www.irishhealth.com>; Joe Higgins Dáil debate 23/11/2011 Vol 747 No. 4

<sup>20</sup> Dáil debate 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2011, Official Report Vol 747 No.4. [www.oireachtas.ie](http://www.oireachtas.ie)



Figure 4 'Angela Merkel Thinks We're at Work' flag - source: canadasun.com

Elsewhere an Irish flag, decorated for the World Cup, with “Angela Merkel thinks we’re at work” (referring to the German Chancellor) printed on it received much TV match coverage. The slight irreverence to Angela Merkel epitomising a uniquely Irish response to imposed authority which could also be seen in earlier times in Ireland when the rent collectors for the British landlords had been labelled ‘gombeen men’; ‘gombeen’ being a derisory word but with benign overtones<sup>21</sup>, or even later when an inspector looked for a school in Ferriter using English and was told by locals that they did not know what he wanted even though the Irish word for school is ‘scoil’ (phonetic pronunciation /skull/). Irish people knew that German purse-strings were being flexed in the guise of the Troika and Angela Merkel represented those purse-strings throughout Ireland. Initially the Irish government denied that the Troika were being consulted until the Governor of the Central Bank, Patrick Honohan, took it upon himself, to divulge to the country directly, that the IMF *had* been consulted,<sup>22</sup> just before a classic photograph appeared on the front page of *The Irish Times*. The photograph showed a man begging and three people passing without appearing to notice him; the Troika had already arrived in the guise of Ajay Chopra, Ashoka Mody and another man; the, by now iconic image, of these three people who represented the three organisations of the Troika was poignant and more importantly the begging bowl was not lost on anybody who examined the image depicted.

<sup>21</sup> For explanation see David McWilliams on Ireland being sold out to Gombeen men <http://www.davidmcwilliams.ie/government-has-sold-us-out-to-neo-gombeen-man/>; also Irish Times Rachel Borrell, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1996 <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/reynolds-described-as-classic-gombeen-man-of-irish-lore-1.95768>

<sup>22</sup> Dark days brought us to an economic hell, Daniel McConnell, Irish Examiner October 1<sup>st</sup> 2018 <https://www.examiner.com>



Figure 5 The Troika arrive in Dublin - Source: thejournal .ie

Derision and dissatisfaction with budget constraints were numerous; it was clear that people were expected to blame the banks for what was being imposed on the country and Anglo Irish Banking Corporation in particular, which had been severely hit by the subprime market in the US, and became the main culprit and as such, an effective national punch bag.<sup>23</sup> People were irate when banks threatened to stop their credit and banks appeared to be putting changes in place on an almost daily basis using the ‘crisis’ to justify that we had all borrowed too much and ‘spent’ the economy.<sup>24</sup> This context and crisis climate of this time had an enormous impact on teachers as a profession as well as being felt in particular ways in Further Education. It was allied with key changes in the nature of Further Education as a sector, when teaching and learning in the sectors was formalized in terms of professionalisation and accreditation as well as key changes in working conditions, as outlined in the following sections. This gives a sense of how the crisis and austerity climate was experienced within the Further Education sector, thereby setting the scene of the current national and sectoral context at the time of researching and writing this thesis.

### ***Professionalising teachers***

Teachers in Ireland paid from government funds are registered with The Teaching Council which was established under the Teaching Council Act 2001, outlined as:

*“An Act to promote teaching as a profession; to promote the professional development of teachers; to maintain and improve the quality of teaching in the State; to provide for the establishment of standards, policies and procedures for the education and training of teachers and other matters relating to teachers and the teaching profession; to provide for the registration and regulation of teachers and to enhance professional standards and competence; for those purposes to establish a council to be known*

<sup>23</sup> ‘Anglo Irish: a brief history’, John Collins, The Irish Times, Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> January 2009

<sup>24</sup> ‘Can Ireland’s Celtic Tiger Roar Again’, Stephen Pearlstein, Washington Post 16<sup>th</sup> August 2013  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com>

*as An Chomhairle Mhuinteoireachta or, in the English language, The Teaching Council; to provide for the repeal of The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, and to provide for related matters”*

***Teaching Council Act 2001***

Statutory Instrument (S.I.) No 444 of 2016 - Teaching Council (Registration) Regulations 2016<sup>25</sup> made further amendment. This Statutory Instrument introduced further limitations on the right to register as a teacher and the requirement of registration in order to be paid. It also stipulated that new teachers would not be fully registered until they had completed a required period of professional practice defined as follows:

*“professional practice” means a period of supervised practice, which meets the Council’s requirements in terms of the procedures it has set down in relation to the induction of teachers into the teaching profession and the procedures and criteria it has set for probation of teachers including for periods of probation<sup>26</sup>*

The cumulative effect of these pieces of legislation was that over a number of years the concept of being a teacher became predicated on being registered, accountable, certified, vetted and practiced rather than just being qualified to teach. Moreover, the registration process imposed a licence to teach which could be withdrawn for failure to be registered, or if registered, failure to pay a renewal fee. This was applied to Further Education in Ireland although the Acts and the subsequent Statutory Instrument did not actually include Further Education in their wording. Such overlooking of Further Education went almost unnoticed with the effect that teachers in Further Education were equated with second level teachers and followed suit in actually registering without appearing to actually notice that they were not actually specifically required to do so.

The general unrest and constant protests led to the Public Service Stability Agreement 2010-2014, known as the Croke Park Agreement named after Croke Park – the home of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), where its negotiation took place which covered all public service organisations but education in particular. This Agreement changed the educational horizon in ways that have still not been overcome in 2020 and were summarised by The Association of Secondary Teachers of Ireland (ASTI) as having the following implications for education:

- *Teachers provide an extra 33 hours annually;*
- *Teachers sign up to be available for an extra period on the Supervision and Substitution rota;*
- *Teachers agree to provide cover for a teacher taking their class away;*
- *A redeployment scheme for teachers, surplus to requirements other than in situations of*

<sup>25</sup> Statutory Instrument (S.I.) No 444 of 2016 - Teaching Council (Registration) Regulations 2016 [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

<sup>26</sup> Statutory Instrument (S.I.) No 444 of 2016 - Teaching Council (Registration) Regulations 2016 [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

*school closure;*

- *Guarantee of no compulsory redundancies for lifetime of the agreement;*
- *Guarantee of no cut to existing teachers' pay before 2014;*
- *Retirement lump sum was based on 'uncut' salary until February 2012*

*www.asti.ie*<sup>27</sup>

Unpaid work, reduced entitlements, flexibility to move and support others and an encouragement to retire by 2012 were cornerstones of the new working conditions for teachers throughout Ireland. The unpaid hours became known as “Croke Park Hours” and were very unpopular. The Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest Act 2013,<sup>28</sup> or the FEMPI Act 2013, further curtailed pay by reducing “remuneration for certain public servants on salaries of €65,000 and greater (inclusive of allowance in the nature of pay) and to persons whose salaries (inclusive of allowance in the nature of pay) rise above €65,000 on or after 1 July 2013”. In effect the notion of commitment to serve became one of expectation to perform to specific criteria for less remuneration and less prospect of a return on the investment of teachers in their own development.

Section 9 of the FEMPI Act 2013, provided that where a teacher retired on or before 31 August 2014, their superannuation benefits would be calculated by reference to the salary scales applying on 30/6/2013 (the day before the Act took effect) and public servants who retired before 31/8/2014 would have their pension and lump sum calculated by reference to pay rates that ignored the effect of the reductions for those earning over the €65,000 limit in the Act. The Act also introduced a lesser pay rate for teachers who started after 2010. The Public Service Stability Agreement 2013 – 2016 (Haddington Road Agreement),<sup>29</sup> a replacement for the Croke Park Agreement, **added** further pressure on teachers and extended the time within which people could retire on their pre-FEMPI 2013 rates, as well as agreeing some restoration timelines. There was an expectation of more co-operation on Supervision and Substitution of teachers for each other, Croke Park hours changes, and the introduction, effectively without protest, of changes in the Junior Cycle in the second level system. Both the Croke Park and the Haddington Road Agreements<sup>30</sup> were unpopular to say the least, as indeed is the newer Lansdowne Road Agreement II 2018-2020.<sup>31</sup> The resultant ‘brain drain’ of teacher experience

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<sup>27</sup>[https://www.asti.ie/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Other\\_publications/9877\\_ASTI\\_Croke\\_Park\\_Talks.pdf](https://www.asti.ie/fileadmin/user_upload/Other_publications/9877_ASTI_Croke_Park_Talks.pdf) (last accessed 12th November 2019)

<sup>28</sup> The Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest Act 2013 <https://www.irishstatutebook.ie>

<sup>29</sup><http://www.budget.gov.ie/Budgets/2018/Documents/2.Estimating%20the%20Value%20of%20Additional%20Hours%20Worked%20-%20HRA%20and%20CPA.pdf> last accessed 13<sup>th</sup> November 2019

<sup>30</sup> <https://circulars.gov.ie/pdf/circular/education/2018/80.pdf>

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/432f22-public-service-stability-agreement-2018-2020/>

was severely felt in the Further Education sector where the resource of teacher life experiences is relevant to an andragogical approach to teaching.

### *Quality and Qualifications Ireland*

In addition to the introduction of the FEMPI Acts 2009 -2013, other changes had, and were, taking place within the Further Education landscape, when this research started. Individually these changes might have been manageable, but they did not come in nicely spaced steps but more like a slippery slope that was continually being extended.

In the period before any of the FEMPI measures were imposed, there had already been significant changes in the awards and accreditation process for Further Education<sup>32</sup>. The Further Education and Training Awards Council (FETAC) migrated towards what was termed a Common Awards System (CAS) overseen by the newer Quality and Qualifications Ireland (QQI) through a series of documents and policies specifically developed for the purpose:

1. A Common Awards System 2005
2. Policy for Determining Standards 2005
3. Policy on Quality Assuring Assessment 2006
4. Quality Assuring Assessment Guidelines for Providers 2007

The shift took several steps, but the end result was that Awards on the National Qualification Framework (NFQ) were all migrated to the new QQI procedures between 2007 and 2012, with locally devised modules either done away with, or migrated to create national QQI common awards intended to bring uniformity to the achievements of all students in the education system.<sup>33</sup> Teachers had to completely restate learning outcomes and competencies. Discretion for the teacher in the correction and marking of students' work was reduced as the process became more prescriptive and learning-outcomes based. Accountability, recording and uniformity were put in place.

### *Institutional reforms: from VECs to ETBs*

In line with rationalisation of public services outlined in the McCarthy report, Further Education had until 2013 operated nationally under the auspices of Vocational Education Committees (VECs), but were re-calibrated as Education and Training Boards (ETBs). While there had been 33 VECs, this process was streamlined into just 16 ETBs which in turn are

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<sup>32</sup> QQI Submission to the Department of Justice and Equality: Integration Policy – Have your say, May 2014. [www.qqi.ie](http://www.qqi.ie)

<sup>33</sup> QQI (2014). Common Awards System Restatement of Policy and Guidelines 2014 Version 4.0 31/03/14. QQI Dublin: QQI

overseen by the Education and Training Boards of Ireland (ETBI). Individual ETBs were to answer to a new statutory agency SOLAS who are responsible for the policy development and planning for the Further Education and Training (FET) sector. The whole process of Further Education in Ireland has been the subject of shifting entities, power bases and influence within a short time period which removed continuity of identity and esteem from many teachers in the process. This particular development was very unpopular with teachers in Further Education, as SOLAS had grown out of what was An Foras Áiseanna Saothair (FÁS) that had been the state training agency charged with reducing unemployment in Ireland. The agency was shrouded in controversy at the time in relation to training standards and certification, payments for travel and other issues. FÁS became the centre of focus of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC)<sup>34</sup> culminating in the then chairman of FÁS, Roddy Molloy, resigning in November 2008 followed by all the members of the board in September 2009.<sup>35</sup> VECs were involved in education and funded by the local authorities with their own structures and budgets, while FÁS and indeed its predecessor An Comhairle Oilunas (AnCO) which dealt specifically with tourist and food related courses, was a Department of Labour creation which dealt with apprenticeships and training; there were crossovers but there also existed a conceptual competition between the two organisations which will be outlined later in this thesis.

### *Professional representation: Education Trade Unions*

As outlined earlier Further Education in Ireland straddles a space between third level and second level (what the Department of Education and Skills called ‘not secondary and not third level’). One of the implications of this crevice is that teachers in Further Education may belong either to the Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland (ASTI) or the Teachers Union of Ireland (TUI); the former represents teachers at post primary level while the latter represents teachers and lecturers at post primary and third level. Since the history of each individual Further Education college may have either a cohort of Secondary teachers and Further Education teachers, all Further education teachers, or all Secondary teachers, there are situations where teachers in any particular college may be in the TUI, ASTI, or no union at all. Unions had enjoyed a position of negotiation power during the economically turbulent 1980s in Ireland where their support was solicited by government for changes under programmes of economic reform and were viewed as having done a good job by teachers who, under pressure

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<sup>34</sup> Public Accounts Committee is an Irish government standing committee which examines the effectiveness of public expenditure and can hold meetings to enquire into matters related to the spending of public finances. See also <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/committees/32/committee-on-public-accounts/> (last accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2019)

<sup>35</sup> ‘Disgraced Fás chief’s €1.4m hike in pension’ Daniel McConnell, Irish Independent, September 13<sup>th</sup> 2009

at the time, remained loyal to whatever union represented them individually.<sup>36</sup> These unions continued to be key actors in the social partnership agreements of the 1990s and inevitably became central actors in the changing landscape of Irish education throughout this period.

The TUI in May 2007, placed an embargo on the process of cross-moderation; where one teacher corrected another teacher's work, and the system operated under the threat of industrial relations repercussions for many years should these processes be introduced without further union agreement.<sup>37</sup> Croke Park hours, which co-incidentally consisted of a cumulative week in terms of teaching hours, while unpopular, called for work to be done in the interests of students rather than individual teachers. It appeared that change was being imposed at a rapid rate on teachers which made for less than ideal industrial relations. These pressures existed alongside the requirement to conform under FEMPI legislation where non-conformity bought answerability of the new social media – using 'public interest' who became the new watchdogs for FEMPI.<sup>38</sup> While teachers hated the new regime they also lived under the threat of derision in the eyes of the public with their 'long' summer holidays being made the focus of argument, whenever they raised complaints. Effectively they were coerced into silence by their own terms and conditions of employment and were therefore unwillingly complicit in the massive changes which were imposed upon them and were not happy with their effects.

### *Institutional Working Conditions and Shifting Sands*

Pupil teacher ratios<sup>39</sup> were reduced so that fewer teachers were *required* in each college despite the system *needing* more teachers to be recruited to replace the missing management levels. The capability of the system to cater to more individualistic learning became a challenge.<sup>40</sup> Permanent posts became harder and harder to get and the concept of a contract of indefinite duration (CID) replaced the permanent contract<sup>41</sup> that teachers had enjoyed since the 1960s. These CIDs meant that teachers had to work in a position for four years before they qualified to get a CID which meant that they had a contract for hours only for four years with no

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<sup>36</sup> Teachers Unions in Public Education: Politics, History and the Future, Ed. Nina Bascia, (2015) New York: Palgrave MacMillan

<sup>37</sup> For explanation and discussion; TUI News, Vol 28 No. 6 May 2006, <https://www.tui.ie/fileupload/Image/May06.pdf> (last accessed 13/11/2019)

<sup>38</sup> For example article on public interest decisions see <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/personal-finance/in-your-best-interest-how-to-get-the-greatest-return-on-your-savings-1.1826093> where spending was being advocated rather than saving as return on investments were not significant. See also Our shameful legacy of waste and incompetence, Daniel McConnell, Irish Independent, February 1<sup>st</sup> 2015

<sup>39</sup> Distinction made between student teacher ratios and pupil teacher ratios explained by CSO for 2015/2016 and 2016/2017 when eventually the figures began to reduce from the highest levels of 2015/2016. See <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Key-Statistics/Key-Statistics-2016-2017.pdf>

<sup>40</sup> Individualistic from the point of individual support for students needing extra support.

<sup>41</sup> Contract under Memo V7 as it was called and this implied it was under the rules of the Department of Education which was the equivalent of a full civil service contract and was full time and *permanent* as distinct to *indefinite*.

permanency prospects. This created a new tier of teachers whose precariousness of tenure made them vulnerable and potentially less likely to create opposition to change. It was against this background that the research in this thesis was conducted.

Teachers, particularly in Further Education, began to retire at a great rate. Many teachers who had not completed the full pension requirement of 40 years, availed of a Government incentive to retire before their statutory retirement age, at their highest salary increment level before FEMPI, rather than have their wages averaged over the term of their teaching careers and consequent pensions reduced to an average wage over their career. Change was being implemented through a top down approach despite the fact that the 'top' was effectively becoming a sieve.

Quotas for posts of responsibility and assistant principals<sup>42</sup> were reduced with the effect that middle management structures in education were being eroded through natural and inflicted changes in addition to enticements towards retirement. These shifts were however, not just confined to Further Education but were throughout the education system and resulted in a competitive process between colleges of Further Education and the University sector to recruit not just teachers but students also.

The pace of change did not appear to allow for evaluation, implementation strategy and application processes which would be normal in change management. Teachers within the college in which this research was based started to openly express feelings of inadequacy, fear, stress and uncertainty about their futures in teaching and, while I listened, I began to mull over why they felt so threatened, and initially selected this as the focus of my research under my original research question: *How does a period of immense change affect the professionalism, collegiality and leadership of a group of Further Education Teachers?* Change was brought in under the guise of financial budget pressure, but these changes immediately became the new norm in so far as they were imposed without regard to union rights to negotiate for terms and conditions in education while the financial emergency appeared to excuse the changes. It was akin to shifting tectonic plates rather than shifting sands as the changes were so frequent and so directed that it was impossible to recover from one change before another was imposed by inference, stealth or diversion. The pace of these changes did not allow the effects to be actually quantified, analysed or adequately justified before more changes were piled on top.

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<sup>42</sup> See Teachers Union of Ireland explanation : <https://www.tui.ie/conditions-of-service/posts-of-responsibility-.159.html>

As will be explained later in this thesis however trying to actually research within Further Education needed to be predicated on what exactly constituted Further Education in the first place and that process led to a journey of enquiry which spanned two hundred and twenty years and concluded by showing that in Ireland Further Education has never actually been defined – shifting sands had existed for a long time.

### **Thesis Outline**

Chapter 1 sets out the background to this research within a specifically Irish setting and in a specifically located economic setting which arose as the research was being conducted. It also locates the research question within a specific college and provides a background to the processes within education which arose in a specific period following a severe depression in Ireland. In doing so it also introduces some of the key differences in the way that Further Education is actually perceived in Ireland.

Chapter 2 explores the issues around policy design, formulation and administration which support later discussions within this thesis and outline how complications can arise in policy processes which have the potential to affect recognition, funding, support and the future vision of many aspects of policy implementation. This chapter examines the processes, complications, contributory or conflicting interests in policy processes around policy governance and administration which form a framework for the examination of dominant policy thinking during the epochs outlined in this research. This supports examination of the concept of changes which took place in the development of Further Education in Ireland since 1800.

Chapter 3 outlines the research query process which informed the strategy chosen in this thesis to reveal the issues which became the focus of this research. It outlines the iterative journey from longitudinal interview, to ethnography, then autoethnography to critical discourse analysis and finally historical critical discourse analysis which framed the pathways used to illuminate what has been an unseen but relevant element of the Irish education landscape. In doing so it explains the significance of historical documentary analysis which assisted in revealing the actors, influencers and attitudes which contributed to creating the shifting dimensions of Further Education in Ireland from 1800 – 2020.

In Chapter 4, a start period of 1800 is identified and the reasons for this as that specific start point are outlined. The chapter examines detailed history within education in Ireland during

the century from 1800-1900. The focus of this chapter is to establish an understanding of the many issues that arise in education, but specifically those which arose in Irish Education in that century. What emerges is a slow process of understanding the many terms which have been associated with Further Education and how those have a basis in legislation and even in economic history at that time. It outlines also a poverty-stricken people who had been subjected to virtual containment but managed to retain a sense of nationhood and resolve to overcome many of the challenges faced. Finally, the chapter summary outlines the five components of education in Ireland which become a tool of analysis of changes through each of the five epochs examined in this thesis; social, culture, apprenticeship, children and teachers.

Chapter 5 covers the period 1900-1950 when Ireland became a State of its own determination, describing how Europe was ravaged by World War I and later World War II, as well as how Civil War followed in Ireland. It outlines how within culture, language, and more specifically the Irish language, became firstly a source of contention and then a source of belonging. The chapter outlines the financial, economic and legal pressures on a fledgling State which while claiming independence in 1916, received a Free State status before eventually becoming a Republic in its own right. The economic policy of protectionism and agricultural focus is outlined and its short-lived duration is discussed. The influences of these changes for the type of education that later becomes Further Education are traced throughout this chapter.

Chapter 6 outlines the period 1950-1972 as a period of pre-accession to the EEC which became the EC after enlargement. The chapter examines aspects of the Marshall Plan which was deemed the saviour of Europe in its attempts to finance rebuilding in Europe after the ravages of bombing, destruction, restriction and retribution. Additionally, the chapter examines Ireland's eagerness to avail itself of whatever financial aid it could get, albeit curtailed possibly by the neutral status adopted by Ireland during wartime. The implications for education at the time were that there was a focus on providing industrial labour for the arrival of foreign direct investment in Ireland and what that implied for the processes which were eventually subsumed into the concept of Further Education in Ireland.

Chapter 7 takes the period 1972-2000 as its focus and examines that epoch in relation to the changes embraced as part of belonging to the EC where decisions were subjected to national and international interests. Throughout this period 1972-2000 there was a clear blending of educational systems across Europe, and within Ireland we adopted the creation of schemes which were socially driven but incorporated into the Further Education landscape through the

vestiges of the vocational education structures. Lack of clear structures and statistical recording colluded to expose inefficiency, while change which might have actually rectified the issues, was neither recognised nor actioned.

By Chapter 8 which covers a period from 2000-2020, there is now a realisation that once again Ireland had a smaller influence on education in Ireland than it imagined it should have. As a country it was now a region of Europe, albeit a very small region, but one also which punched above its weight in many other areas such as economically prior to the banking collapse of 2008. The chapter examines the processes of treaties which were implemented to bring the European Union into effect and how those, on close examination affect how Further Education is now reimagined and how not for the first time, clout in relation to educational constructs has been wrested from the Department of Education and Skills toward a new European agenda of inclusion and especially of inclusion of young people up to the age of 25 in the labour market. The chapter outlines that once again Ireland appears to follow the purse holding policy maker and to do its bidding, and the potential implications of this.

Finally, Chapter 9 summarises and brings all the chapters into focus regarding the implications of each epoch on the development of Further Education in Ireland specifically, and the challenges facing it today. It summarises the five components of education examined in each epoch and addresses the consequences for Irish Further Education of the failure to clearly define the concept which has allowed it to belong in a 'neither' position within depictions of the Irish Education system. Finally, this chapter discusses the research questions within this thesis and the implications that the lack of actual definition has on the concept which is Irish Further Education.

## Chapter 2 - Policy Framework

Positioning research within a theoretical framework allows the reader to understand and interpret the evidence presented in a thesis in a way which outlines the overall influence that might be at play and is being uncovered during the process of research. In this research the theoretical framework chosen relates to policy analysis and specifically the conceptual examination of policy outlined by Colebatch (2009), which examines policy analysis, governance and administrative procedures in broader social, political and economic contexts which in turn facilitates an appreciation of the complicated intersectional and socially constructed nature of policy and the actors within those processes.

Choosing a policy analysis framework within this research and particularly the constructivist approach of Colebatch focuses a wider lens on the understanding of actions, actors, interpretations and implications of both action and consequent perceived inaction over time and the resultant effects on those who could, would or should be affected by those decisions wherever responsibility is apportioned. This places particular emphasis on the relevance of the actual policy making process together with the iterations which are presumed to be a continual part of policy administration and governance to ensure its relevance to the ongoing implementation of the specific policy. Constructively, the thesis examines the effects of policy processes and implementation within the wider context of education in Ireland, but more particularly on Further Education in the Irish context over the last two hundred and twenty years. As later findings chapters reveal, this policy analysis shows that a repeated lack of systemic review of Further Education within its many guises over that time period has resulted in a lack of robust definition of the concept, but more importantly has meant that those served by Further Education in Ireland have been effectively placed in a silo position, rather than in a cohesive evolving process of learning.

### **The concept of policy and policy actors**

A succinct and widely accepted explanation of public policy provided by Jenkins outlines that it consists of a “set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should in principle be within the powers of those actors to achieve” (Jenkins, 1997 p.31). A succinct explanation of

policy however, does not mean that what is involved in policy is easy to understand and in many respects it reflects Hecló's socially constructed description of it as a process of collective puzzling where the problem has to be identified and the solution or follow-on path has to be puzzled out (Hecló, 1974).

Incorporation of the term 'public' with policy, appears to impute that policy making is something which benefits everybody and can be founded on the notion that policy makers always appear to focus on public interests (Colebatch, 2009). This notion of public interests often belies its contested and complex nature, given the range of different political, social and economic actors and interests operating in this sphere. Using the process of collective puzzling requires that there is a 'collective' in the first place and it is often within that 'collective' that strands of thinking diverge, requiring the 'puzzling' to take centre stage. Hence, understanding the roles, motivations and influence of these participants in public policy are key to understanding how each have "different reasons for being involved and different ways of seeing the problem and evaluating possible courses of action" (Colebatch, 2009 p. 119).

This does not make for a linear-only process towards Jenkin's "interrelated decisions" (Jenkins, 1997) of policy-making, as taking a purely linear approach would indicate that decision making takes place in a top down or bottom up manner in a somewhat contained process when in fact there may be many vagaries to the process. An example can be observed particularly in the education arena where outside influences such as economic budgets, worldwide economic phenomena, legislative decisions, cultural and social trends and indeed historical political shifts can play a part in what eventually emerges as education policy. This is significant in the historical development of Further Education in Ireland where key drivers from these spheres are identified as influential as later findings chapters describe. Hence, the input from various actors in all of these spheres, working within their own agendas, budgets or constraints make a collective multi-faceted phenomenon, which in turn often leads to changes in the initial expected outcome. Drawing together these multi-faceted dimensions of policy understanding has positioned Colebatch at the forefront of analysis about the input of actual and perceived power positions within the policy arena. His work resonates with the multiplicity of understandings, which those who presume that policy is finite, struggle to recognise. His work centres on policy as process, outcome and procedure throughout established structures and orders of power particularly "in the way that

professional and other forms of knowledge are drawn into the process of governing”<sup>1</sup> and how the political, education and economic agenda contribute to this multifaceted contribution to power processes. For Colebatch this equates to the dimensions of policy practice which we must study. He proposes a clear depiction of horizontal, vertical and scene setting dimensions as an analytical structure (see figure 7) where he posits these are “not alternatives: rather, each tends to assume the others” (Colebatch, 2009 p.35). It is a “social-construction account of policy, [where] attention is focused on how situations become policy concerns, the recognition of authoritative knowledge, and the identification of appropriate responses.” (Colebatch, 2010 p. 36)

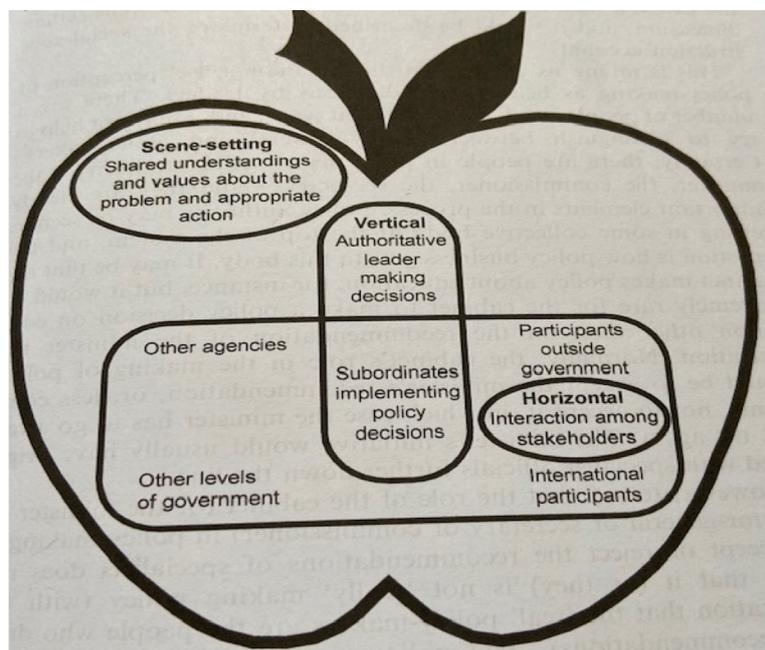


Figure 6 Dimensions of policy practice (Colebatch, 2009 p.35)

Following Colebatch’s vertical dimension, responsibility for the final result in the Irish education context, rests with the relevant Minister of Education who oversees the decision making and input sourcing process, but realistically the process itself, as can be seen in Figure 8, takes place at a remove from the Minister by interested and, one might posit, sometimes pre-positioned parties to the process. Figure 7 also introduces the complexities of interested parties in policy through the horizontal dimension and specifically how their input is actually gathered, considered and filtered for consideration, elimination or adjustment in what becomes the final policy which develops for official publication or announcement. All of this is not removed from the

<sup>1</sup> Colebatch (2015). <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13876988.2015.1036517>

context of politics and in Ireland, there is often a local political basis. This means the horizontal dimension intersects with the vertical dimension in very complex loops, which, for example, has on more than one occasion led to a local versus national debate in policy development, as individual politicians must return to the constituency for re-election and are judged on their individual merits in positions of influence in the Dáil and certainly in the Seanad, where voting is by industrial panel peers with definite agendas which are transparent. Indeed the very structure of competition between parties in elections may often set boundaries to policy agendas (Laver & Marsh, 1999).

Colebatch further distinguishes by means of a division of labour approach, between those who do policy and those who effect policy and posits that it is the defining of these divisions which “reinforces the place of legitimate authority because it is the people in authority who are seen to determine the goals, and officials simply determine how best to accomplish them” (Colebatch, 2009 p.65), while acknowledging that those who do administration do have empirical specialisms and knowledge which they bring to bear. The complexity of the policy process is succinctly summarised by Hood (Hood 1983, cited in Colebatch 2009) in his mnemonic NATO: Nodality (being at the centre of things), Authority (being able to give directions), Treasure (being able to extract money) and Organization (having a bureaucratic structure through which its concerns can be transmitted and acted upon). In this research there is a clear demarcation between the concepts of policy making, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy governance in the epochs outlined, and as the findings chapters reveal, Colebatch’s framework enables an analysis of how these demarcations have served to cloud failures in the policies around Further Education in particular.

### **Strategic Capacities of Policy Administration or Governance**

Understanding the skills and competences which make for good policy administration or governance is a complicated process, the complexity of which can be understood in light of Colebatch’s dimensions of policy process already outlined in Figure 7 (Colebatch, 2009). This is crucial to consider as we move, in the findings chapters, through an analysis of how Further Education policy was developed over 200 years in the Irish context. Those who are charged with responsibility for the administration or governance of the policy which has been developed, are also charged with effectively negotiating with the myriad of actors in the process. They must also ensure that the

policy is robust and its effects are fit for purpose and continually meet the specifications of the Minister or policy initiator who instigated the process in the first place. Key among the issues likely to arise include “measures such as whether or not original objectives have been achieved, whether the policy has had a positive or negative impact on target groups, whether the problem it was intended to address has receded or not” (McConnell, 2010, Howlett, Ramesh & Wu, 2015, p.212). Consideration also has to be given to whether there are failures of agenda setting, and even if the agenda was attainable either in relation to existing resources or failure to make assessments on existing or past failures or even evaluation failures (Howlett, Ramesh & Perl, 2009, Matthews, 2011).

	Policy Analytical Capacity	Organisational Information Capacity	Knowledge System Capacity
Analytical Competences	<i>Knowledge of policy substance and analytical techniques with communication skills</i>	<i>Information and eservices architecture: budgeting and human resources management system</i>	<i>Institutional opportunities for knowledge generation mobilisation and use</i>
	Managerial Expertise Capacity	Administrative Resource Capacity	Accountability and responsibility system capacity
Managerial Competences	<i>Leadership; strategic management; negotiation and conflict resolution</i>	<i>Funding: Staffing levels of intra-agency and inter-agency co-ordination</i>	<i>Rules of Law: transparent adjudicative system</i>
	Political Acumen Capacity	Organisational Political Capacity	Political-Economic System Capacity
Political Competences	<i>Understanding the needs and positions of different stakeholders; Judgement of political feasibility</i>	<i>Politicians’ support for the agency; levels of inter-organisational trust and communication</i>	<i>Public legitimacy and trust; adequate fiscal resources</i>

Figure 7 Adapted from Howlett & Ramesh (2016)

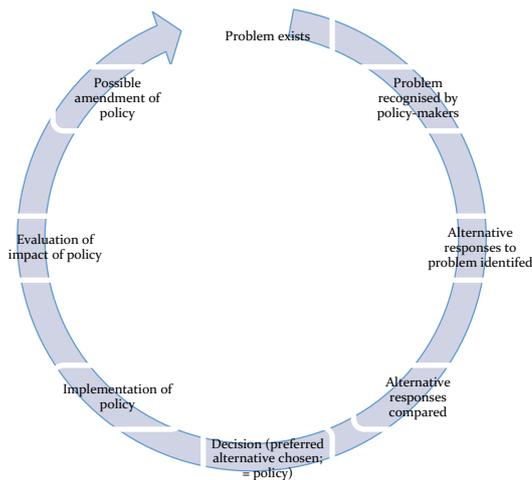
The requirement to match capacities and competences is paramount to the development of meaningful and robust policy effectiveness in design and implementation, and this also affects the concept of redesign, reform or oversight as Howlett & Ramesh’s model of competences highlight (2016). Analytical competences relate to the ability to diagnose a problem and develop appropriate strategies to address the problem, using both internal and external knowledge together with analysis abilities to apply towards solution of the problem, including being able to source new opportunities to generate knowledge on the issue (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990; Riddell, 1998; Howlett, 2009; Howlett & Ramesh, 2016). The abilities to analyse policy itself, creating and sourcing internal knowledge and also outside knowledge, relate to the capacities needed within

the analytical competence. Managerial competences relate to the ability to provide leadership towards finding a solution to the problem presented, finding those who are capable of assisting in the process and ensuring that the adjudicative system is robustly followed in the process. Political competences centres around understanding the different positions which need to be satisfied, getting political and organisational support for the solution process and ensuring that trust is preserved and adequate sources of funding can consequently be sourced to support the process. Within that process there are clearly observed capacities for the best person to fulfil the requirements of the work as depicted in Figure 8.

Failure of any of these competences and capacities has the facility to serve as “Achilles’ heels” in the efficient operation of administration and governance as outlined by Howlett and Ramesh (2016). Important to the understanding of how this might happen, Figure 8 can be envisaged as the idea of government holding the reins on a three horse team with three carriages each. Any one of those carriages, if it fails, has the potential to slacken the reins rendering them uneven causing a resultant imbalance of pace with potential for disturbance. In horse-drawn ploughing this would cause a crooked furrow, just as in weaving any loose thread can skew the final product.

### **Policy development processes**

Understanding the elements involved in the process of developing policies illustrates why the process is often described as a circular process and why it is so complicated because so many elements need to be factored, evaluated, and examined along the process. The process for Colebatch is described as a non-linear stages model depicted thus because there are a number of successive stages: determining the goals; choosing courses of action; implementing these courses of action; evaluating the results; modifying the policy (Colebatch, 2009).



**Figure 8 Adapted from Colebatch's 'stage' or 'cycle model (Colebatch, 2009 p.48)**

Being aware, open and reactive to change are vital parts of good policy processes, together with ensuring good choices which are cognisant of those who can effect change and those who will be affected by change, all of which becomes paramount to a fulsome policy development process. Carefully considering each stage of the process can mean there will be delays and these delays contribute to a slow, careful examination of all stakeholders and all experts who will have an input, along with the relevant holders of the capacities and competences already outlined. It is a multivariant contributor and overseer process where changes may be imposed at any stage and have the potential to change the dynamic as it goes along. However the key is to identify the problem in the first place or to recognise that a responsive policy is needed. If it is not clear what the issue is, then the process lacks focus, it dithers between *doing* and *being* with the result that time, energy and resources are wasted which in the long term means that the policy process will flounder with potential political or public interest wastage along the way. Throughout the process there are many organisations and individuals who constitute what are deemed lobbying bodies and which desire to have an input into the policy process at various stages and “one could argue that every individual or social group concerned about a collective problem addressed by a policy might be considered a potential lobbyist” (Ferris, 2015 p.92). The inputs may elongate the process but are often justified as providing potential contributions to the ultimate efficiency of the policy in development and its effects on policy implementation and governance. Contributing also elicits a sort of ownership which may facilitate buy-in from such lobby groups as effective end users of the policy.

## **Education Policy in Ireland**

Applying this policy lens to education policy reveals the complexity and usefulness of policy analysis. One key anomaly within the compulsory education system is that essentially the end users of education (students) are not usually consulted during the development process and their experience or constructive input is not visible or identifiable in the ultimate decisions of policy makers in the field of education. Decisions, inputs and evaluations are usually done on students' behalf either by parents, boards of management or school principals rather than by them directly. Thus the policy process at implementation and evaluation stages, is often overseen by those responsible for the end user rather than by the end user themselves. Allied to this anomaly is the position of teachers who are often the recipients of effective dilution and dissemination of policies by their principals and other interested parties, such as educational bodies and parents groups, within hierarchical structures and potential cultural interpretations within and without schools as 'institutions' within "wider social, political and economic contexts" (Bell & Stevenson, 2006 p.6). Traditions, reputations, culture, financial accountability, staff contexts and parental expectations often affect the way in which policy is interpreted, implemented and strategically supported in individual institutions (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

Education is compulsory until the age of seventeen in Ireland. In the case of many pupils who finish the 6 years of secondary education (inclusive of a 'Transition' year), this means that those students in their final year are legally adults. However, the continuation of those students within the second level system is not considered 'adult' education since much of 'adult education' is not within the remit of the Minister for Education and Skills but rather the Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment where it rests firmly within the remit of attaining employment and support for that employment. The Green Paper described adult education as:

*"all systematic learning by adults, which contributes to their development as individuals and as members of the community and of society; apart from full-time instruction received by persons as part of their uninterrupted initial education and training. (DES, 1998 p. 16).*

This dichotomy effectively provides a bridge between 'education' and 'adult education' which has the potential to strain the competences and capabilities structures such as funding, resourcing, legal structures, lobbying and direction outlined in Figure 8. Effectively two separate departmental structures in government attempt to balance the reins at the same time, which can naturally cause imbalance in an otherwise finely

balanced control situation. Moreover, institutional hierarchies compete with each other for finite resources defined within separate siloed budgets, where neither outcome nor financial expediency is served as later chapters reveal. This also accounts for differing effects on those who are the recipients of the policy in the first place.

Within these competing structures rests Further Education which belies the departmental definition as evidenced in chapter 1, but persists in straddling the gap between adult education and tertiary education thereby creating a messy unbounded non-linear structure (West, 2006). How this has been achieved to date is the focus of this thesis and the reader will see that complex policy formulation within education policy over many years, has allowed the chameleon that is Further Education to survive for over two hundred years revealing a paucity of understanding or indeed robust defence or examination of the precise place of Further Education in the Irish education system.

Within the policy analysis of this thesis, five concepts are identified which affect policy and particularly education policy specifically in relation to Further Education in Ireland and its strategies of implementation and interpretation. These concepts have had a consistent, presence in Further Education policy dissemination and application throughout the last two hundred and twenty years: *social, culture, apprenticeship, children, and teachers*. While their presence is almost translucent in the ongoing history of Education, and Further Education in particular, they are evident in close analysis of the detail of cumulative changes implemented throughout the 200 years included in this research. They are diagrammatically depicted within the final summary of each chapter in this thesis and provide a backdrop to the developments discussed within subsequent chapters, while also forming part of an ongoing revelation of the literature and analysis around Further Education throughout this thesis. Their varying impacts and perceived shortfalls have effectively shrouded Further Education in particular, in uncertainty and ambiguity and has allowed or facilitated its morphing over two centuries into pragmatic solutions to policy shortfalls of successive epochs as outlined in this thesis.

## Chapter 3 – The Research Query Process

### **Research Introduction**

Research, like life, is a continuum; it does not wait for the researcher to catch it, but must be moulded by the researcher to ensure that what is sought does not get lost in the process of ebb and flow which begets, berates and has the potential to sedate the inquiry. This chapter discusses the evolution of this research inquiry as it transformed from an insider researcher exploration of the professionals working in further education to a critical historical analysis of the evolution of the sector over 200 years in Ireland. Throughout this telling, the methodological decisions and dilemmas of this research journey are revealed.

### **Methodologies & Methods**

Kuhn described the process of choosing a preferred methodology as basically deciding on a choice of which ‘paradigm’ or way of understanding or knowledge-seeking process to use (Kuhn 1962 p. 23). “Research design is governed by the notion of ‘fitness for purpose’. The purposes of the research determine the methodology and design of the research” (Cohen, Manion, Morrison, 2011 p.115). In the case of this research project, its research focus and purpose changed significantly over the course of the research journey. My initial goal was to understand the lived experiences of those working within the Further Education sector, this included me and I sought to do so from the inside (the teachers’ perspective). My original research focus was interviewing those in the setting in relation to their ‘lived experiences’ in this particular Further Education setting. I also proposed that part of the research, while still within the qualitative discipline, would be ethnographic so that I could actually observe changes in the setting as they happened and then interview the research subjects on an annual basis to observe if their perceptions changed over the period of the research and how the impact of those changes might affect the underlying beliefs of the research subjects in terms of collegiality, professionalism and leadership.

However, the initial interviews with further educators revealed that the participants differed fundamentally in their definition of what Further Education actually is and this gradually led to a shift in research question and focus. What intrigued me was that these teachers worked in the same college, taught the same students and within that process they did not agree on the basic tenets of the system they were actually working within.

It was not that they disagreed on every aspect of the work they did but that their interpretations of the approaches were formed by what they believed themselves to be doing; as if the rules fit the person rather than the person followed the rules. It was encapsulated in the story outlined in the introductory chapter about the inability of a Principal of an FE college to define the sector after a career working in it. This curiosity led to further investigation and several pragmatic redirections of research focus in what were effectively pragmatic shifts to get a better view of the landscape of Further Education and its constituent qualities to a final conceptual focus.

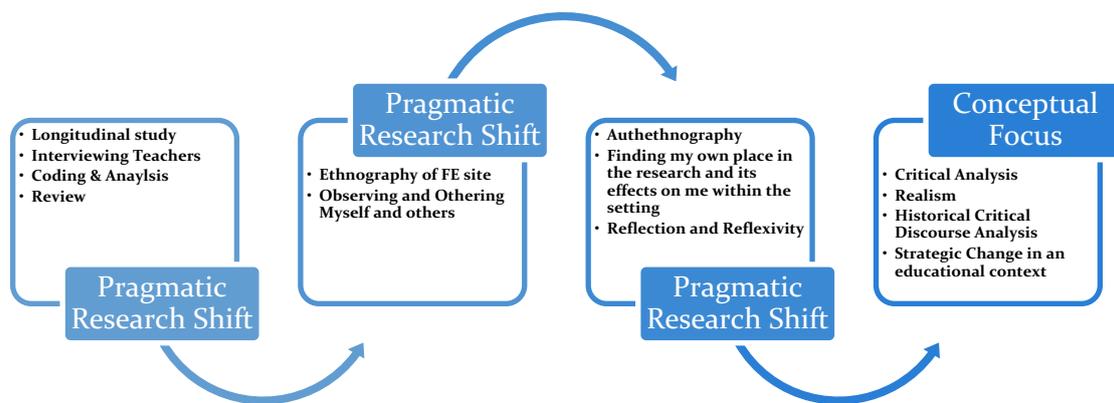


Figure 9 Research Iterations and Pragmatic Shifts

These shifts followed Denzin and Lincoln’s mixed methods approach which calls for greater cognisance of modern complexities, with a move towards pluralism where “many social scientists now recognise that no picture is ever complete – that we need to employ many perspectives, hear many voices, before we can achieve deep understanding of social phenomena” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 1054).

Explanation is needed about whether the researcher is using a number of methods or a combination of methodological approaches, as both are effectively mixing methods (Bryam, 2006, 2012); Tashakkori, & Teddlie, (2010). Atkinson and Delamont posit that what researchers are doing is looking for ‘novelty’ when they mix methods (Atkinson, & Delamont, 2006). In this research the shifts in concepts being investigated meant that the initial research question suited a mixed or mixing of research methods where a study of the people working in Further Education would let others develop a

better understanding of the context and role of a Further Educator and allow others to “see things as those involved see things” (Denscombe, 1998, p 69). However this research quest shifted pragmatically from the focus on Further Educators to a broader critical discourse analysis of the evolution of Further Education in Ireland in an effective and directional legal, economic and historical framework.

Hence for this research, the initial research position pointed to an ethnographic approach which is in essence heuristic research (Moustakas, 1990) where the researcher arrives through “inner searching and empathetic immersion in others’ experiences to reach a narrative portrayal of the phenomenon in question” (Crabtree, & Mutter, 1999). This would use the method of qualitative interviews as a special form of conversation (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003) which while time consuming would bring the benefit of rich insight (Reid, 2003).

It is important for authenticity that research evidence is methodically prepared, and the collection of evidence, is systematically undertaken (Opie, 2004). For this initial research plan, interviews and observations informed a fundamental ‘inside’ understanding of concepts that are being examined such as, in this case, the experiences of professionalism, collegiality and leadership by Further Educators. When I had started interviewing my initial participants some of the actual changes in the education system being investigated were being felt in a real sense and appeared to recur cyclically, such as the extra hours required under agreements called ‘Croke Park’, then ‘Lansdowne Road’ and later under ‘Haddington Road’ as described in chapter 1. Ironically though, leadership was one of the first changes that impacted on the research as the Principal of my specific College was promoted from Deputy Principal and a replacement Deputy Principal needed to be interviewed. I became aware that any one of my respondents had the potential to become one of my bosses so I paused my interviewing process. The selection process did indeed involve more than one of my respondents, the procedure had to be repeated and the research paused again. The change process was repeated and in all there were fifteen change positions during the first two years of this research. These changes and consequent pauses in data collection had a key impact on my research as I began to reflect more on my position and experiences within this culture of change, shifting in an iterative process to an auto-ethnographic position (see Figure 10). Auto-ethnography straddles ethnography (exploration of culture) and autobiography (exploration of the self), but is self-constructed. This proved

challenging as the broader context of further education impacted on the specifics of the institutional context in which I was employed (in a series of leadership changes within the institution which continued to constrain possibilities for data collection), prompting the final paradigmatic shift to a critical discourse analysis approach (Figure 10).

Through these shifts I also became increasingly conscious that these methods did not provide a satisfactory answer to my original research interest in what was Further Education and why it was different. This led me to my final shift to a more pertinent approach as the focus of my research – that of legal and historical critical analysis. This approach afforded me an opportunity to use my legal, business, and teaching and learning background to allow others view some of what I consider pertinent issues in the evolution, defining and shaping of Further Education as a sector in Ireland.

In summary, the methods used in this specific research were exploratory, beginning with open interviews, initially intended to form part of a longitudinal study of the experiences of professionalism, collegiality and leadership by Further Educators, set within an ethically and pragmatically directed ethnography but then shifted to an auto-ethnographic focus from my insider position within the institution in a second iteration and finally to critical discourse analysis of the historical evolution of Further Education in Ireland over 200 years during a third iteration (as illustrated in Figure 10). Throughout this, the research was guided by Grix's recommendation that we should not be led by methods but by the question being researched (Grix, 2002).

#### *Practitioner Research in a Wider Educational Context*

Outside of those who work in Irish Further Education, few know or understand what it is, how it is shaped or indeed what it does. The sector is changing rapidly and while my research initially set out to look at the effect of a period of considerable change on the professionalism, collegiality and leadership of a group of teachers, it soon became apparent that one feature of the research was not just the changes being imposed during a period of austerity but that the whole concept was also in flux and that perhaps that the austerity context was the conduit for that flux. This flux did not appear to be caused by the specific change austerity measures brought, but perhaps there was a fundamental shift in the concept of Further Education itself that was being facilitated unknowingly by the austerity measures being imposed. There is however very little research by

Further Education practitioners being undertaken in the Irish Further Education sector, not just about such issues but about the sector in general and to this end, my research is intended to some extent, to ameliorate the paucity of research by practitioners in the sector.

### **Positioning the Research Question**

In the pursuit of an explanation of the positional shifts taken in this research it is necessary to outline the initial thesis question which began as *What effect does a period of substantial change have on the collegiality, professionalism and leadership in a group of Further Education teachers?* Due to the changes necessitated and pragmatic decisions made in the research described in the previous sections the topic became, through several question processes, *What is it like to teach in Irish Further Education?; What does Leadership, Collegiality and Professionalism look like in Further Education?; What is Further Education in Ireland?*, to the final title of this thesis, *'A Journey of Enquiry: a historical, legal and economic analysis of further education in Ireland from 1800 to 2020'*. The process is the journey as much as the outline and research of the concept.

The story of Further Education's identity in Ireland is complex and messy and this has implications for those who work within it. This particular research involves a journey through the legislation, texts, and actors within Irish Further Education (IFE) with a view to expanding the understanding of the sector and in doing so to use an inductive approach to focus on this dynamic, complex and interesting phenomenon and in the process to add to the body of knowledge about the concepts of professionalism, collegiality and leadership of those within. Interestingly, the further question that arose was: within what exactly?

While Figure 1 depicts Further Education as a type of 'graft' onto the education system as a whole, it is interesting to look at how this happened and why. This research looks at the legal structures that formed and shaped our education system and the effects they had on Further Education in particular in Ireland. This effectively takes us through an examination of the structural system of Irish education historically, how this was changed or had been influenced by economics throughout the last two centuries, what appears to facilitate its shifting and contesting identity and more specifically how that

affects those working within it and to specifically outline these concepts with an Irish lens.

Legislation, however does not happen in isolation and is usually a result of consultation and agreement by politicians and can be embedded in the application of policy formation. Those policies are often based firstly on economic realities and practicalities at the time the policy is formulated, and secondly, how that policy is specifically executed. Therefore, this research will not just look at the legislation in isolation but will attempt to put it in perspective in the economic, social and policy developments that directed that legislation or policy and in doing so will follow the reasoning of Dewey:

***“The nature of the issues cannot be understood save as we know  
how they came about.”***

***(Dewey, 1997 p.77)***

The research postulated a scaffolding of understanding of the concept of Irish Further Education, informed by its parts, and in doing so intended to craft a better understanding of its differences. The various details and connected parts of the concept are presented so that the reader can interpret the concept using a fully informed landscape. As a practitioner in such an elusive sector of the education system (in terms of precise definition and identity) I hoped to create a negotiated picture which elucidates understanding for the research reader. This approach was a feature of Dilthey’s writings, summarised by Crotty as “the texts humans write, the speech they utter, the art they create and the actions they perform are all expressions of meaning”. (Crotty, 2014, p. 95). Similarly, documents, which established the concept of Irish Further Education, and the actions that have consequently been taken, are not without effect on our understanding of what the concept is today. Unless we actually look at all the elements, we will not generate a good understanding of the whole or as Palmer posits, hermeneutics involves bringing a thing or situation from unintelligibility to understanding (Palmer, 1969).

This in turn will inform the argument that the concept of Irish Further Education is a power in itself which lies in the realm of *homo politicus* as depicted by Brown (Brown, 2015); a potentially dormant opponent to *homo oeconomicus* described by Foucault (Foucault, 1978 – 79).

### *Hermeneutics*

Dating back to ancient Greece, hermeneutics is, in its simplest explanation, the process of inductive processing of information that could, the Greeks asserted, be done by comparing different texts literally and spiritually. This allies to the concept of critical discourse analysis which I have used, where what is actually said is examined to induce the real meaning which might be hidden, revealed or alluded to, within the statements made. Hermeneutics views texts as a “means of transmitting meaning – experience, beliefs, values - from one person or community to another” (Crotty, 2014, p.91). If modern hermeneutics is, as Michael Forster posits, a “theory of achieving an understanding of texts, utterances and so on” (Forster, 2007), then this research aims to create a hermeneutical step through the concept of Irish Further Education using Forster’s approach rather than the more biblical approach espoused by Ernesti, which called for a literal interpretation of texts to examine language and meaning in a certain context, which was biblical to begin with. (Ernesti, 1761). To describe hermeneutics, it is useful to look at the succinct description by Okrent:

*Our knowledge claims in regard to the meaning of a whole text or of the meaning structure of some society will be supported by evidence supplied by our knowledge of the meaning of particular sentences or acts. On the other hand, our knowledge claims in regard to the meanings of those individual elements will be supported by and justified in terms of our knowledge of the meaning of the entire structure.”*

*(Okrent, 1988, p. 161)*

As researcher I was also mindful of avoiding what Dilthey (1996) called a “hermeneutical circle” whereby looking at individual parts of text to fully understand the text also implies looking at the complete text to see the meaning of the individual words - ad infinitum which would defeat the notion of iterative processing of research. That is not to say that there will not be a circular aspect to the research but that it will not necessarily be minutiae that is analysed ad infinitum. In this process I examined the concept of philology as this fitted in with more strict and specific word examination in what people say, write and publish and how they exact meanings of words.

### *Philology – interpreting wording*

The examination of meanings of words approach follows, though not strictly, that suggested by Böckh as an interpretation using an historical, linguistic, individual and generic walkthrough (Böckh 1877). I chose to employ what is often considered a lost discipline in doing this but feel that the concept of Irish Further Education needs a deep examination to realise its potential and look at what influences it. Böckh would claim that he was not a philosopher but a philologist; the difference between the two

disciplines is mainly based on interpretation of texts using linguistic techniques to create understanding. Holquist describes philology as a specialist practice, which involves “the closest of all close reading strategies” (Holquist, 2011, p.267). It is a discipline that had been presumed to have been dropped or at least fallen out of favour or been abandoned. It was associated with ancient cultures and embraced the idea that language had a history of its own, and that in order to really understand language you needed to look at it from multiple directions which included structural and historical nuances. It has also been described as “the critical self-reflection of language” (Pollock, 2009 p. 934), but Pollock draws his description away from the notion that philology is about linguistics.

Neitzsche’s work might have had its genesis in the separation of language from thought processes; effectively creating a separation of philology and philosophy. Eighteenth Century Germany became the focus of the discipline of philology and Holquist would assert that Wolf’s publication in 1795 of a treatise on the discipline has been noted as increasing its popularity in Germany at that time. Van Humboldt had influence on the teasing out of the concept and concluded that education was not just of thought but also of speech. He developed the concept that one took responsibility for one’s own knowledge and the University of Berlin founded in 1810 then became the hothouse of philology. Wolf’s student, August Böckh proposed a detailed description of the practices involved in lectures he delivered in the University of Heidelberg (Böckh, (1809-1811) published posthumously in 1877 by Ernst Bratuschek which which strengthened his influence.

Böckh who took exception to Neitzsche’s criticism of the practice of philology becoming unwieldy at the time, refined its definition to “the knowledge of what is known”. Philology’s influence thus spread from the University of Berlin achieving recognition all over Europe. Often it is distinguished from philosophy as being based on linguistics but Pollock draws the argument together succinctly as follows: “It is not the theory of language – that’s linguistics – or the theory of meaning or truth – that’s philosophy – but the theory of textuality as well as the history of textualised meaning” (Pollock, 2009 p.934). The reason I have chosen to incorporate the methods proposed by Böckh is that it is pertinent to an understanding of what I would call systemic synopsis not in a critical discourse way (that comes later) but in a way of organising an examination of a subject that is all encompassing and not narrowly focused. It fits in

with my application of my personal context in particular my varied background as already outlined. Indeed, to offer a preferred summary it would be Holquist's where he explains it as:

*“the history of how a set of technical practices (attention to changes in grammar, lexicon, the appearance of neologisms, changes in word usage, spotting details in manuscripts such as dittographies etc.) has been employed across the globe and in different ages to establish as close to a post textual meaning as humans reasonably can be expected to achieve”*

*(Holquist, 2011)*

For my research this offers an approach that I feel might well have resurfaced as a result of globalization and cultural differences whose influences are being diluted towards a more centralized world position and offers an analysis process with which I am comfortable. It is one that does fit, albeit not precisely, into the concept of critical discourse as it appears to me that it allows the influences of disparate cultural and possible linguistic constructs to be examined within critical discourse in a whole world interpretation.

### **Reasoning**

Technology today can enable most of our activities to be tracked and counted. Holquist described it as a “digital tsunami” brought about by globalisation (Holquist, 2011). This then affects our concept of privacy particularly when the element of the person is removed from our actions. Reasoning is a distinct part of being human and intelligence is encouraged and expanded by the process. Today however it appears that the approach to reasoning is less humanistic with less chance to interpret things in alternative ways. We are continually being directed to a position where we question less and less with the result that often what we read, we presume to be the truth and often do not look at what might be meant by what is written and how it has been phrased and ordered. What we are moving away from is critical thinking. For me, the concept of critical analysis is a necessity that may well be influenced by my legal background. It may be that my ‘habitus’ is to question and extrapolate meaning and understanding and involves being reflexive in my dealings, which Bourdieu describes as being systematically and rigorously self-critical so as to be aware of what is done, why it is done and with what effect it is done (Bourdieu, 1984).

### **Being Critical**

Much of what we undertake when examining text comes from the disciplines of biblical studies used generations ago such as philology, heuristics and hermeneutics, which was often founded in the notion that the bible was the words of God and as such needed to be examined and interpreted. Thus, philology as a discipline was one, which, while replaced by philosophy that brought personal reasoning into the concept, was a foundation for text interpretation. Holquist, explains it as awareness that philology is “an ineluctable association with the past, and has been so from its birth. The appearance of philology heralds a culture’s discovery that language has an existence and a history of its own” (Holquist, 2011) but more importantly that the language cannot be fully understood without the wider analysis of its history, culture and contexts.

Pollock reminds us that philology fell out of favour since the 1900s (Pollock, 2009). His discussion could be applied to most disciplines and the thresholds of each, such as the distinctions between philology, philosophy and the convention that philosophy has replaced philology while in truth it does appear that philology’s attention to detail has the possibility of saving people’s ability to think philosophically as texts, utterances, and documents become more complex in a globalised world. Pollock succinctly summarises that “the definition of any discipline has to be provisional in some sense because the discipline itself is supposed to change with the growth of knowledge, and there isn’t any reason why the definition of a discipline should be any neater than the messy world it purports to understand” (Pollock, 2009). For the purposes of this research, which is constructive in nature and therefore aims to build a picture from the pieces much like a jigsaw puzzle, philological touches will assist in this process because there is a focus on language and meaning not just understanding and thought in isolation.

Learning to think in constructive ways in more recent times and international settings needs to focus on the vocabularies people use to construct understanding and knowledge. In other words the working vocabularies and ways of being, which transform you from an ‘other’, to a ‘member’ in many professions and careers: for example, barristers in Ireland when introduced to each other do not shake hands as they are already fellows of the same organisation and therefore not strangers. Foucault embraced philology for what would appear situationally pragmatic reasons when he addressed this notion that language was more freeing when thought about in terms of

philology, as it could be examined without this emphasis just on vocabularies (Foucault, 1970). This is a justification for using both philosophy and some of the approaches to philology in this research, as in the searching for meaning and application within Irish Further Education it is necessary to examine the minutiae and actions together with the way in which things are phrased, interpreted, disseminated and applied. My own particular interest has been honed by what I perceive as French and German predominance in terms of European dialogue and implementation. Both these countries were leading lights in the world of philology so that their philosophical approaches must still hold some elements of the discipline, which should be considered in approaches that are applied.

As explained by Pollock

- 21<sup>st</sup> century “disciplines cannot remain arrogantly indifferent to their own historicity, constructedness, and changeability – this is an epistemological necessity not a moral preference”.
- “disciplines are not merely particular forms of knowledge”
- allowing us to understand the means used to explicate ‘truths’

(Pollock, 2009 p. 948)

Slightly more simply put, what we see, read and think we understand may not quite be what we are intended to understand or indeed may have been written in such a way as to ensure we do understand it in a specific way. Facts may have more foundational bias than we appreciate in the reading, understanding and thinking and the thought process involved in philosophy is required to make sense but alone it may flounder if attention is not paid to all elements of the narrative.

### *Discourse Analysis*

Allied to this mix of philology and philosophy is the notion of discourse analysis which Holzsheiter describes as “the space where human beings make sense of the material world, where they attach meaning to the world and where representations of the world become manifest” (Holzscheiter, 2014 p. 144). She further explains, “In its essence, discourse analysis is an engagement with meaning and the linguistic and communicative processes through which social reality is constructed” (Holzscheiter, 2014 p. 144). To go back to the use of vocabularies then, there is an element that when people talk in different positions, they use the vocabulary of that position and

examining the position enables the proper interpretation of what is actually being said, done, elucidated or meant to be portrayed by that person in that position. Thus “the objects of our knowledge are not independent of our interpretations and our language” (Adler, 2002, p.95). This was a key element in my selection of this research approach as these discourse analysis methods enabled me to investigate the context and positionality that informed the vocabularies being used to define and position Further Education over the centuries.

Gee explains that there are two positions for which we produce communications and that “(w)hen we speak or write we actually design our language to say and do what we want to or hope to. We are like artists or musicians, composing with words rather than paint or musical notes, trying to communicate and achieve effects” (Gee, 2014 p. 21). For Gee, people use two types of design for what we communicate, and alter our versions depending on whether it is for a particular recipient or whether we are communicating from a particular position thus there is “Recipient Design” or “Position Design” in all communication we engage with (Gee, 2014). Effectively it is like we communicate *with* or we communicate *for* and the difference may be subtle enough for difference not to be recognisable but in that split there is an impact on understanding and more importantly a subtle potential for power to be embedded in the communication. Unpicking this space is, in its simplest form, what discourse analysis is about. In this thesis it is this unpicking of the intentions and actions around policies in relation to Further Education in Ireland to uncover what it might really have been intended to be, and what motivated those intentions, that is facilitated by discourse analysis as a research method.

The ideological basis of discourse was also of significance for this research. It is worth tracing this back to Karl Marx’s outline of his notion of historical materialism, which described a ruling class and a working class, where he depicted a base structure and a superstructure as a description of society and the way society works (Marx, 1861). Marx’s substructure depicted the owners of the means of production, which is overshadowed in size by the elements of society, but the juxtaposition is that the substructure controls the superstructure and the space between the two is the site of possible conflict. It is comprised of the people who only own their labour and whose only power is that of revolution according to Marx. The superstructure supports the substructure as it produces an “ideology that legitimates the system (Jørgensen, &

Phillips, 2002 p.31) and workers who provide the labour are obscured by the ideology and until they realise that this is happening there is no revolution. Thus, historical materialism explains two classes; those who rule and those who work but it does not explain what would actually spark the rebellion or resistance that is described since in actuality labour is not aware it is being controlled to the extent that it is. What is of pertinence in relation to Further Education in Ireland is that revolution or sharp division of labour was 'voided' or rendered 'not visible' in the Further Education space because of the space that has been created in the declared void between superstructure and substructure where it is an absent discourse of what it is 'not' as described by the Department of Education and Skills definition outlined in chapter 1.

For Gramsci, however this depiction did not fit well and he applied what he termed "hegemony" to the process (Gramsci, 1991). Gramsci defined hegemony as the concept of "social consensus that masks people's real interests" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Gramsci located an element of control of change in Marx's superstructure which then took on a political stance. Rebellion or resistance could then be explained because politics had entered the arena. Barrett describes hegemony as "*the organisation of consent* – the process through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion" (Barrett, 1991, p.54). Gramsci still stuck with the idea of economical control as the substructure but gave more fluidity and expression of the power inherent within the superstructure. This fluidity was controlled by socio-cultural and political influences or changes in the composition within the superstructure.

Laclau & Mouffe changed the concept of Marx's historical materialism and depicted the process in society as much more fluid, with their contention that classes did not just exist but were "always created in political discursive processes" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). For Laclau & Mouffe there are no fixations to either society or politics; classes change, as do the boundaries that effectively position people within structures (Laclau, & Mouffe, 1985). There is therefore no substructure or superstructure but all elements of society become products of discourse. Jørgensen and Phillips describe Laclau & Mouffe's theory as creating a temporary closure of the boundaries so that a meaning is clearly formulated and fixed at the point it is examined but this does not stay fixed. Therefore, discourses never become fixed but may be perceived as fixed by those looking at them, however there is always room for struggle over how meaning and

structure have been ascribed and how, in that process the structure changes. This capacity to analyse this struggle over how meaning and structure developed and changed makes discourse analysis an ideal research method to study the influences and power flows which shaped Further Education in Ireland.

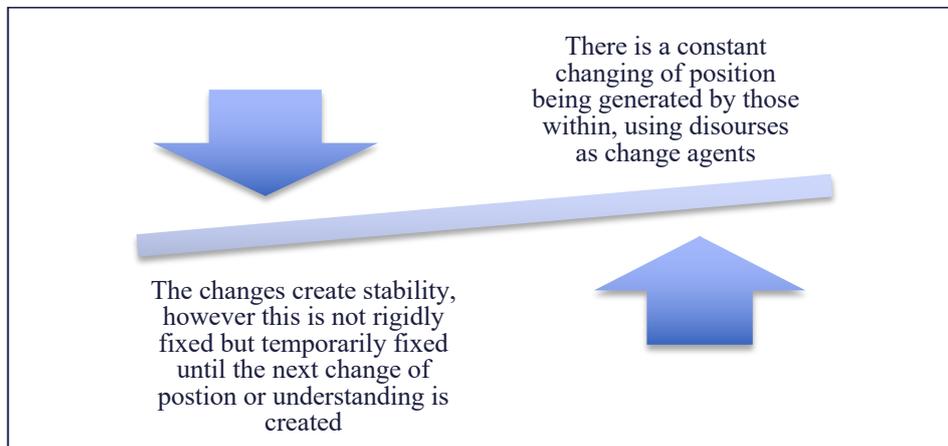


Figure 10 Laclau & Mouffe's Model of Discourse

This model of discourse portrayed the means of understanding as the ‘articulation’. Understanding of the reasons for things appearing as they are is based on interpretations of those articulations but they can also be assigned different meanings or articulations, which may be based on the originals but could be new articulations altogether. Hegemony then, can be displaced by a new discourse from the discursive field. Therefore truth is never fixed or completely known as it can be altered by the discourse being put forward at a point in time.

“The aim of analysis, is therefore, not to uncover the objective reality, for example, find out what groups society ‘really’ consists of, but to explore *how* we create this reality so that it appears objective and natural” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002 p. 33)

### *Critical Discourse Analysis*

A core element within my research focus was an interest in the power flows which are evident in the evolution of Further Education in Ireland, both in terms of the discourses but also in and through the contexts and actors who shaped these discourses. Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on this through five features:

1. *The character of social and cultural processes is linguistic and so discursive.*
2. *Discourse is both constitutive and constituted (as explained by Jørgensen & Phillips, it “does not just contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures but also reflects them” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002 p. 61).*
3. *Language use should be empirically analysed within its social context*

4. *Discourse functions ideologically and involves power – critical discourse analysis tries to uncover the power dynamics*
5. *It is critical research in that it is aimed at changing the effect being created*  
(Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

For Fairclough every instance of language is a) text, b) discursive practice and c) social practice (Fairclough, 1992). He outlines that the mechanisms of social life each have their “generative effect” on events but are mediated by one another in being about the event (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 21). Thus what is being uncovered in critical discourse analysis is whose interests is being served in the wording and depictions, used in what is being spoken, written or represented or “talk and text in context” (van Dijk, 1997, p.3). Revealing these interests is central to this analysis of Further Education in Ireland.

Power is central in the production of these discourses, which points us to Foucault who was interested in relationships between things and concepts. He ruminated on how they intertwined to change perceptions of the way things worked, particularly power, which he described as being connected to knowledge in so much as power for Foucault “produces reality” or “domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, 1979, p.194). Foucault constantly reviewed what he had analysed between one lecture and the next and this constant flux of thought is possibly a source of intellectual re-thinking, but fundamental in Foucault’s writings is the idea that the stripping of people into fundamental subjects allows for the imposition of power over the various elements, by discourse, that have been exposed.

In relation to discourses Foucault distinguishes between

- i) Scientific discourse “whose rules and objectives can be defined in terms of the question: what is truth-telling, what are its forms and what are its rules what are its conditions and structures?”
- ii) Political discourse which “confines itself to posing the question of the *politeia*, of the forms and structures of government”
- iii) Moral discourse which “confines itself to prescribing the principles and norms of conduct”
- iv) Philosophical discourse which “never poses the question of truth without at the same time inquiring about the conditions of this truth-telling”  
(Foucault, 1984 p 66)

Using the idea of discourse, the concept of power as knowledge and knowledge as consequent power, flows and contra flows throughout his writings. There is no doubt that discourses are powerful concepts and can change our concept of self, our

legitimacy to question and our notion of change wrought or thought. Similarly discourses have been very much identified by Foucault as being powerful in the sense, in the context of this research I would posit, of being open to interpretation as forms of truth while being “little more than the gleaning of a truth in the process of being born to its own gaze; and when everything finally can take the form of discourse, when everything can be said and when discourse can be spoken about everything, it is because all things, having manifested and exchanged their meaning, can go back into the silent interiority of their consciousness of self” (Foucault, 1970 in Young, 1981 p. 66).

### *Pragmatic or Historical Discourse Analysis*

The historical orientation of this research project brought a particular lens to bear on the process of discourse analysis used. Critical approaches, as Gee points out “treat social practices, not just in terms of social relationships, but also in terms of their implications for things like status, solidarity, the distribution of social goods, and power. An example is how language in a job interview functions as a gate-keeping device, allowing some access and denying it to others. In fact, critical discourse analysis argues that language-in-use is always part and parcel of, and partially constitutive of, specific social practices, and that social practices always have implications for inherently political things like status, solidarity, the distribution of social goods, and power” (Gee (2014) p. 87, in Rogers, (2014).

Core in my research inquiry is the belief that the implication of actions in history cannot be overlooked in their effects on what happens in the present. This led me to the concept of Historical Discourse Analysis associated with Brinton (1996) and Jucker (1995). As Briton points out the “name for this area of study has varied: labels such as “diachronic textlinguistics” (Fries 1983), “historical discourse analysis” or “historical text linguistics” (Enkvist and Warvik 1987 p. 222), “new philology” (Fleischman 1990), “post-/ interdisciplinary philology” (Sell 1994), and “pragmatic stylistics” (Sell 1985) have been suggested. However, it is one of the earliest names, “historical pragmatics” (Jucker 1994; Stein 1985), that is most commonly used today. Meanings again become pertinent to this type of discourse and the concept of philology fits the process rather than being presumed to only apply in biblical terms. There is no narrowing of strands of thinking or exploring but a pragmatic overview of numerous influences to extract a knowing and in the process there is a potential to expose power

positions which encapsulated the research approach taken in this analysis of Further Education.

A core element of this historical study of Further Education is its basis in analysing the public policies shaping Further Education. Bernstein outlined the effect of policy on discourse and pointed out that “Through public policy we come to be socialised in many ways into what is thinkable and unthinkable” (Bernstein, 2000 p. 30), making it a key part of public discourses. Gee elaborates further when he explains that extending “critical analyses of policy to include explanations of how political power constructs and is constructed by larger social practices is an important process because policy is constitutive. It serves not only to distribute, but to mandate such ideals across a much larger forum—the educational institution and its members” (Gee, 2014 p. 88). What is pertinent for me in this research is that policy wherever it originates, uses legislation to implement its intents or legitimate its claims and this elevates historical legal pragmatic discourse to being more akin to a journey of enquiry using the tools of history, economics, linguistics, social change, social influences, documents, personalities and power positions to unearth the hidden or secreted meanings for why social understandings take the form they do at a particular point in time. What is involved is not the exposure of the actions and effects of gate-keepers, but more importantly for me, it is to understand what might have made them approach, protect and sustain the ‘gate’ in the way they do in the here and now. For Prunty policy is “a set of objectives that legitimizes the values, beliefs, and attitudes of its authors” (Prunty, 1985 p. 135).

In order to engage with the concept of pragmatic historical discourse analysis within my research I examined formal and informal documents, policy documents, legislative documents, governmental Dáil discussion documents (including Dáil Committee documents), historical reflection documents and newspaper articles, among other documents, to try to capture a ‘helicopter’ view of what took place in education and specifically in Further Education which has led to where it is positioned now in an Irish context. In this process I especially benefited from digital archives such as the work of the University of Southampton as many Irish documents were destroyed in a fire in 1922 in the Customs House in Dublin where official records had been kept. The European digitisation work of the University of Pittsburgh in the United States, which were invaluable in allowing examination of many of the reports discussed in this thesis. Digital records of Dáil and Seanad proceedings in our Oireachtas were especially

helpful in relation to unearthing the opinions of our law makers and in their own way present a time-specific overview of public opinion and how it was being interpreted or represented by public representatives within the confines of Dáil Eireann. This ‘helicopter’ approach exposed cultural aspects of Irish education from the available historical documents as well as some pertinent historical aspects which impacted on how policies were implemented. What is important to state is that this research was creating a picture that made sense to me drawing on these theoretical understandings of discourse and critical discourse analysis outlined in previous sections. In this, I attempted to systematically map the field of Further Education in Ireland over the course of these two centuries and rigorously analysed the historical flow of discourses evident in these documentary records, following the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning as outlined by Scott (2006) and McCulloch (2004).

Engaging with my research, I had to pick a suitable timescale for the concentration of the pragmatic historical discourse analysis and this involved looking to the very beginning of what became Further Education in an Irish setting and then following the turns and twists that led to where it is today from a societal and educational perspective. It was not initially intended to take a political stance within the research but political influences did become pertinent and in discussion of those political influences I have endeavoured to be critically reflexive about biases I myself might display. As outlined in chapter 1, this research adopted an approach of epochs and positions its beginning in the 1800s however, when Ireland was ruled by Westminster Parliament, London as it is from that era and the developments that took place both socially and economically that our educational system and specifically what is considered Ireland’s Further Education System was structurally created as discussed in the following chapter and proceeding through to the current day in the final chapter.

## Chapter 4 – The Origin of Ireland’s Education System (1800-1900)

### *Chapter Introduction*

Using an epoch approach to explain developments rooted in Ireland’s history, as explained in Chapter 1 allows analysis flow through understanding situational developments not just as they are but the way in which they existed within wider social structures and developments of the time. To uncover the origins of Irish Further Education it is necessary to examine the process of introducing formal educational structures in Ireland which firmly originated in British policy making which certainly appeared to be philanthropically motivated, initially, albeit with sovereignty overtones.

The social and economic contexts which drove these policies are explored throughout this chapter. British policy was clearly aimed at improving the lives of the ‘pauper’ Irish in an agrarian country which was bypassed to a great extent by the Industrial Revolutions which made very rich nations or firstly Britain and later the United States. The sheer costs of this approach were enormous and structures of accountability or policy governance were implemented. Church resistance to changes in power became an influencer to the implementation of those governance policies as will be outlined in this chapter.

Many of the documents relating to the origins of Ireland prior to it enacting its own Constitution in 1937, belong to the period when Ireland was ruled by Westminster Parliament and are held within the British Archives.<sup>1</sup> These documents provide a step-stone towards an understanding of how our concept of education developed in Ireland, based on laws and statutes that were British in origin. They also depict what the social circumstances were in the country at that time. Additionally, they give some insight into the motivations involved in creating an educational system in the first place and are important in attempting to understand the structures which were set up and how they operated, certainly in the development of the concept of Further Education in Ireland. The development of statistical analysis and reporting in the nineteenth century

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<sup>1</sup> Held in Westminster and can be accessed at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) where the work of the University of Southampton has allowed digital access to many historical reports and documents

afford us an opportunity to examine how those developments arose and were mediated in Ireland.

### ***Ireland's relationship with Britain***

The relationship between Britain and Ireland has been contentious through many centuries. While Ireland's national history is entwined with Britain, so also is the history of our education system. In undertaking this investigation however I chose to start my analysis in 1800 as it marks a new century just before the Act of Union<sup>2</sup> which saw a new organisational structure for the relationships between Westminster Parliament and Ireland. 1801 saw the passing of the Act of Union which formed a very deliberate and profound statement of Ireland being a subject state albeit with Members of Parliament, but with Britain as dominant ruler. Interestingly the concept of Ireland being affected by strategic decisions made by Britain has possibly been replayed in the current process of Britain exiting the European Union (Brexit) and for this reason there is a resonance to that time which proved strategic and noteworthy. Additionally records of this era and the documents in relation to it are accessible and have been digitised. This makes for easy access to the written and spoken words of those involved in social, economic and political developments and policies at the time, one of which involved, the establishment of a school system in both Britain and Ireland which has pertinence for the later evolution of further education.

That 1801 Act of Union may well have been expedient for Britain because it was at war with France, and Napoleon Bonaparte in particular. The Concordat of 1801,<sup>3</sup> signed between Pope Pius VII and Napoleon, made the Roman Catholic Church the majority church of France. Fearing in the 1800s that Ireland, which was a Catholic country, would be used as a route of attack for the French against Britain, the British sought to impose absolute power over Ireland and Irish Catholics in particular. The war was eventually settled by the convening of the Congress of Vienna from 1814 - June 1815 which sought to re-establish stability in Europe.<sup>4</sup> The Act of Union was effective from January 1<sup>st</sup> 1801 and outlined that: Ireland was to be joined to Great Britain to form a single kingdom, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; Parliament in Dublin

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<sup>2</sup> Act of Union 1801 see [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Concordat-of-1801>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/what-was-congress-vienna>

was to be abolished and Ireland was to be represented at Westminster Parliament by 100 Members of Parliament, 4 Lords Spiritual<sup>5</sup> and 28 Lords Temporal,<sup>6</sup> all of whom were Anglican; The Anglican Church was to be recognised as the official Church of the nation of Ireland. There was to be free trade between Ireland and Britain; Ireland was to keep a separate Exchequer and be responsible for two-sevenths of the general expense of the United Kingdom; Ireland was to keep its own Courts of Justice and civil service; Catholics were not allowed to hold certain public offices; Catholic Emancipation was forbidden.

The Act was certainly contentious because the right to vote albeit only for Protestants had only existed from the *Catholic Relief Act 1793*<sup>7</sup> passed by Robert Peel seven years previously. The Union, meant that the laws of Britain became Ireland's laws from 1801 and Ireland's system of justice became that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland until Ireland's eventual independence by Constitution in 1937. Far from creating a peaceful co-existence, this increased an already existing sense of grievance in Ireland. It may even have entrenched a lower social standing of Irish people who did not willingly concede to being declared subservient to Britain.

#### *First Industrial Revolution 1733 - 1860*

The 18<sup>th</sup> Century saw England, Wales and Scotland as a veritable hub of inventiveness based around the concept that patents were secured on new inventions. England already had a long tradition of patent protection going back centuries but it had been abused by many as a means of making money to the extent that patents were being given to people for very spurious reasons and effectively awarded them lifelong monopolies and certainly in doing so, a lifelong source of wealth which was fervently guarded. This abuse of the patent system had, over a long time, grown to such an extent that King James 1 imposed control over the situation by passing an act of parliament called the Statute of Monopolies 1624 which came into effect on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1624.<sup>8</sup> This statute detailed that only the King could issue letters of patent and that this must be done before an inventor could claim to have a patent and the patent would then be granted only for a specific time (originally 14 years and later 20 years). This Statute reinvigorated

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<sup>5</sup> For explanation see <https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/lords-spiritual-and-temporal/>; also see <https://churchinparliament.org/about-the-lords-spiritual/>, for explanation of the role of lords spiritual in parliament

<sup>6</sup> House of Lords (2008), *The History of the House of Lords*, London: House of Lords  
<https://www.parliament.uk/documents/lords-information-office/hoflbphistory.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/the-catholic-question-in-the-eighteenth-century-11/>

<sup>8</sup> 'Six significant moments in patent history', Matt Kwong, Reuters 4<sup>th</sup> November 2014  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-moments-patent-idUSKBN0IN1Y120141104>

business and created greater incentives to actually develop inventions, which rewarded people honestly for endeavour in design and manufacture.

One of the most significant inventions credited for what was to become Britain's first Industrial Revolution was protected by this Statute of Monopolies. This was a small weaving machine invented by clockmaker James Kay called the Flying Shuttle in 1733. This machine began in 1760 to replace home manufacture of cloth which had been the centre of home production throughout Britain. The machine was such a success that it was followed in 1764 by the Spinning Jenny created by James Hargreaves whose machine could effectively increase production eightfold as it had eight spindles. The Spinning Jenny however was divested of its patent as Hargreaves sold some machines before he actually secured a patent, which rendered the patent void and allowed others to work on and replicate the invention freely. Richard Arkwright added to the Spinning Jenny as a result of his development in making the machine capable of being water driven allowing it to be bigger and more efficient and eventually Arkwright opened a factory for cloth manufacture in 1771.<sup>9</sup> Home industry took a blow and people moved to live near factories to earn a living and factories became the centre of industrial developments and cities where those factories were situated became centres of population and wealth.

In 1776 people began to analyse the living and working conditions of the populations of these cities and Adam Smith wrote his book '*Wealth of Nations*' which effectively used economics to examine individual worker throughput in the factories, leading to specialization systems which led to efficiencies in the factories and thereby generated greater profits and further wealth. Thomas Newcomen in this era invented the steam engine which was later modified by James Watt who was as a result awarded a patent for his additions to Newcomen's original patent, in what was effectively the first time a patent was awarded for a modification of an existing patent.<sup>10</sup> Later this fact contributed to George Stephenson's patent for a railway gauge system which was a standard distancing system that allowed factories in other cities to engage with each other and for a railway transport system in Britain, which offered endless possibilities for manufacturing industries.<sup>11</sup> The population of towns and cities grew, and created

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<sup>9</sup> 'Richard Arkwright and His Wonderful Machine: The Water Frame', Christopher McFadden, 4<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://interestingengineering.com/richard-arkwright-and-his-wonderful-machine-the-water-frame>

<sup>10</sup> James Watt (1736 – 1819) see [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic\\_figures/watt\\_james.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/watt_james.shtml)

<sup>11</sup> Standardization of American Rail Gauge. <https://railroad.lindahall.org/essays/rails-guage.html>

an oversupply of labour which in turn pushed wages down and led to greater competition for jobs among the new arrivals to the cities and shocking poverty for many workers.

The nineteenth century Census of 1830 recorded a population of 8 million in Ireland and 13 million in England and Wales. However, as manufacturing efficiencies, more inventions, and mechanisation of the means of production reduced the need for more workers, unemployment became a feature of life and was not helped by the introduction of the *Inheritance Act 1833*. This Act introduced the concept of Primogenitor which meant that the eldest male relative inherited the property of the deceased to the detriment of other relatives who were left with nowhere to live.

Poorer people flocked to industrial cities in search of work but this increased demand for housing to the extent that in order to actually afford rent, whole families were required to find employment which in the case of smaller children sometimes led to exploitation by wealthy factory owners who paid minimum wages and expected full work commitment. Children below the age of 10, taken under the care of the Poor Law Authorities were often sent to work in factories where the owner was to assume control over them and were referred to as 'pauper apprentices'.<sup>12</sup> In this situation they contributed to a very young factory population and more importantly a cheaply paid cohort as the pauper apprentices were totally dependent on the employer who was effectively providing for their needs and therefore did not have to pay such children. This also helped create a very young factory population where accidents and ill health of minors was a problem. The *Health and Morals of Apprentices Act 1802* provided that all apprentices under 21 years of age could not work longer than 12 hours per day and could not work at night and further provided that these apprentices should receive some form of basic education. This certainly appeared to indicate that the focus should be on education at some level, and that in order for this to take priority, then hours of work should be mediated to effect change. This has resonance to the processes which still exist in Further Education where work and education are balanced as far as possible

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<sup>12</sup> 'Child Labour in the Industrial Revolution: New evidence of pauper apprenticeship in Victorian England', Caroline Withall, 27<sup>th</sup> March 2014, Oxford: Economic History Society <https://www.ehs.org.uk/press/child-labour-in-the-industrial-revolution-new-evidence-of-pauper-apprenticeship-in-victorian-england>

to support the student getting the best from education and giving the best to work through supported work placements in many courses.

### *Education in Britain and Ireland in the First Industrial Revolution*

Grammar schools dated back to Tudor times in Britain. They were founded as a direct result of the philanthropic efforts of wealthy business people and factory owners. Some charity schools for poorer people did exist and had their origins in the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) founded in 1699 with what was seen as a missionary ethos (McCulloch, 1949) that included training teachers. Sunday schools dated from the 1800s in Britain and were introduced from there to Ireland in 1908 in the interests of encouraging reading of scriptures and learning how those scriptures were to be implemented in children's lives.

In 1799 it was recorded within the House of Lords that a system of education be set up (*HC Ireland Report of the Committee on the State of Education 22 February 1799*).

The conclusions reached covered the following:

- “that the present state of the lower Order of the People in this Kingdom is highly defective, and requires the interposition of the legislature”.<sup>13</sup>
- “that the establishing of one or more schools in every Parish or Union of Parishes in this Kingdom would be useful to the Public”.
- “that the Masters of these Schools should undergo examination, receive Certificates of their morals and ability, and be licensed annually”.
- “that the payment to such Masters should consist partly of a fixed salary and partly of rewards proportioned to their exertions and success”.
- “that the books permitted to be used in these schools should be chosen by persons appointed for that purpose”
- “that one or more visits should be empowered to inspect these and all Parish Schools once in every year”.<sup>14</sup>

This formed the basis of a very well distributed education system on which much grew.

In 1811 the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor<sup>15</sup> was formed in Britain to develop schooling in what were quickly becoming industrial towns and cities.<sup>16</sup> What was clear in these developments was that the religious elements of the Act of Union ensured that the Anglican religion was favoured and imposed on educational attainments for the people which proved very unpopular with many poorer

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<sup>13</sup> *HC Ireland Report of the Committee on the State of Education 22 February 1799*

<sup>14</sup> *HC Ireland Report of the Committee on the State of Education 22 February 1799*

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.victorianschool.co.uk/school%20history%20national%20schools.html> accessed 28<sup>th</sup> October 2019

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.victorianschool.co.uk/school%20history%20national%20schools.html> last accessed 28<sup>th</sup> October 2019

families. This led to resistance to the education being offered in some areas and the formation in 1814 of the British and Foreign School Society<sup>17</sup> in order to facilitate those who did not wish to conform to the Anglican rules. Indeed, many children were sent abroad to be educated where this could be afforded causing an effectual separation of richer from poorer, or even what Britain labelled the ‘middle class’ referring to those who could pay for education but could not afford to send their children abroad to be educated privately.

### *Ireland in the First Industrial Revolution*

In Ireland at this time very little of the Industrial Revolution reached those whom Britain perceived as the poor Roman Catholics, who quietly ignored all the rules that they speak English exclusively, follow the Anglican religion or even pledge allegiance to the Crown as required. *The First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1825* paints a picture of the educational landscape of Ireland at that time and it was obvious that the Industrial Revolution was far removed from the ‘poor’ Roman Catholics of Ireland. The report highlights the struggle over religion which formed a backdrop to the social situation at the time including how contested an issue religion had become.

The Commissioners outlined specifically how “in the Roman Catholic Church, the literary and religious instruction of Youth are universally combined and that no system of education which separates them can be acceptable to the members of her communion” which was contrary to the “intention of the legislature” that had intended to promote “a well ordered system of education in Ireland” and had provided grants for doing so.<sup>18</sup> While on the whole, the report was a very well-balanced statement of the situation in Ireland, it is notable that when Roman Catholics were mentioned they were ‘lower class’ or ‘poor’. Clearly, education or the lack of it was intertwined with a sense of belonging and impacted on religion, class, language, and social standing as it had for generations. What were referred to as the penal laws were passed, which Dolan posits “institutionalised a strong power and social distance between Catholics and Protestants, which often, but not always, coincided with ethnic and class distinctions” (Dolan, 2016 p. 533) whose impact was evident from then on. Throughout the Commissioners’ report

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<sup>17</sup> <https://bfss.org.uk/about>

<sup>18</sup> Commissioners on Education in Ireland, (1825), *The First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1825. U.K Parliament 1825.*, p. 16

however, it refers to power being wielded by Catholic Clergy to ensure that their Catholic fold did not conform under threat of expulsion from the congregation, public reprimand from the pulpit, and indeed the refusal of the sacraments for those who did not follow the teachings of the Catholic religion.<sup>19</sup> This animosity of the Roman Catholic Church appeared to be founded in the fact that initial grants for education were effectively provided to individual schools in Ireland, on condition that not one comment would be read by the children in relation to the Roman Catholic religion which did not exclude those it was meant to be directed to and resulted in a complete lack of trust on the part of the Roman Catholic Church of the time. This commission had attempted to gather information on the varied types of schools in Ireland but replies to their queries were unforthcoming and resulted in the Commission undertaking to visit the schools individually to ascertain data for themselves.

The Commission explained in its report about the impact of the *Order, Habit and Language Act 1537* which had been passed by Henry VIII requiring the Irish to ‘abandon their habitual dress’ and even their hairstyles, ways of engaging and Irish language. However the actual wording of the Act may well provide an explanation as to why there still existed a dichotomy between those who acquiesced to using English and those who continued to use Irish; “English tongue, habit and order, may from henceforth continually (and without ceasing or returning at any time to Irish habit, or language) be used by all men that will acknowledge themselves according to their duties of allegiance, to be his Highness’s true and faithful subjects”.<sup>20</sup> Thus to refuse to acknowledge the King was the equivalent of continuing to use the Irish language. Education was only to be provided through English, to those who abandoned the Irish language on threat of considerable financial fines. It does appear from the report that this was mostly ignored, except around the area of Dublin called the ‘English Pale’ which corresponded with a central area of Dublin City and would have included business people as well as social and political influencers. The Act was followed later by the *Act of Supremacy (Ireland) 1560* described as “*An Act restoring to the Crown, the auncient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall, and abolishing all forreine Power repugnant to the same*” (sic). Both Acts had a considerable effect on the processes of education in Ireland for generations.

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<sup>19</sup> Commissioners on Education in Ireland, (1825), *The First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1825. U.K Parliament 1825.*, p. 34

<sup>20</sup> Order, Habit and Language Act 1537, [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk)

*The Eight Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland* in 1810 specifically examined the Foundling Hospital in the City of Dublin and reported on the education system within as it was funded by monies from the realm.<sup>21</sup> This in itself was a break from other educational reports as the goals of the Foundling Hospital did not outwardly appear to include education, but did. As outlined in the report the hospital was “not only for the reception of deserted and vagrant children, but for the maintenance of adults who were disabled by age and infirmities from earning subsistence by labour, and also for the confinement and correction of vagrants”.<sup>22</sup> While outlining an incredible amount of child deaths (5,042 from 1799 to 1808 actually recorded)<sup>23</sup> in the hospital, and reporting on improvements to be made the board also examined the efficiency of the system of education and found it wanting. Points made included; a) that children were not admitted until they were about 10 and had been unsupervised until then which made education harder. b) Many of the children were then apprenticed out by 12 years of age and some within weeks of being admitted in order to reduce the numbers.<sup>24</sup>

The report did point to the fact that without due care, attention and education the future of those children was not good. Policy was obviously considerate of the circumstances of the poorest element of society. Boys were kept busy learning trades including within the woollen school which made cloth and or silk, girls were devoted to ‘works of industry’ which appeared to include spinning, carding and reeling the yarn for the looms and in needlework which appeared to command a price.<sup>25</sup> The children put in a six-day week of which three days were in educational instruction. It was ultimately proposed that the children would be kept with the wet nurses until they were seven and then would stay in the hospital until they were ten and had been “instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion and to be taught reading, writing and vulgar arithmetic”.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, “no child was to be apprenticed but to a protestant master and mistress of a certain station in the world and of good moral character”

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<sup>21</sup> Commissioners of the Board of Education, *The Eight Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland*, London: HMSO p. 1

<sup>22</sup> Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland 1825, *The Eight Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland 1825*, London: HMSO, p. 1

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, p. 4

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p. 18

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p. 46

Referring within the 1825 Report to the Act For the Erection of Free Schools (12 Elizabeth c1) passed by Queen Elizabeth I in response to the ‘lack of good bringing-up of the Youth of the Realm’,<sup>27</sup> which also directed that schoolmasters had to be ‘English’ whether born in England or Ireland, would teach through English and that on those conditions school education would be free.<sup>28</sup> It was very much a carrot and stick policy approach which was vehemently blocked by the Roman Catholic clergy.<sup>29</sup> Later there was a requirement by Law that such schoolmasters ‘take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to be licenced’<sup>30</sup> to teach. The concept of putting in place a licence is interesting at that time as it was limited to those who could teach and did set a precedent which required compliance to conditions in order to teach which has been replicated to this day. Later still, the report outlines that Roman Catholics were prohibited from sending their children abroad on pain of a £20 fine and three months imprisonment.<sup>31</sup> Clearly there was frustration at the collusive practices being observed and while threat did not work, bribery was also ineffective. Perhaps in reality the Irish were practising what Foucault acknowledged as the concept of *homo juridical* possessing natural rights and must agree “at least to the principle of ceding these rights, of relinquishing them, when he has subscribed to their limitation and has accepted the principle of the transfer” (Foucault, 1979, p 274 -275) and in this case they neither agreed or ceded full and absolute power over their education or religion and therefore diluted the envisaged power over them. The cause of this ‘gross ignorance’ of the laws was clearly placed at the feet of the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy.<sup>32</sup> The Commission tried to gain an understanding of the cause of the frustrated efforts of the Crown to impose its will and explained that the power of the Roman Catholic Church over its subjects, which in reality they did not really understand, was strong and that for those who already had nothing and could only have less as a result of being deprived, did not represent any type of status change and was therefore unlikely to actually impart change.<sup>33</sup> Later still teachers were awarded a residence to incentivise them.

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<sup>27</sup> Commissioners of Education in Ireland (1825), First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland, UK Parliament (1825) p.4

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p.4

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, p.7

<sup>30</sup> Act 17 & 18 of Charles II, Cap 6 s.6

<sup>31</sup> Commissioners of Education in Ireland (1825), First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland, UK Parliament (1825), London: HMSO p.7

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p.50

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p.57

Visiting the ‘Society of 15’ chartered schools which originated in 1733 and where parents paid for education, the Commission outlined the attempt to change the Irish people. They observed that where benevolence was evident there was much to be desired in the state of the charter schools. Numbers were seen to be overstated, education neglected, children were “sickly, pale and such miserable objects”<sup>34</sup> and were “a disgrace to all society” (Parliament UK, 1825 p7) and some also appeared to be uneducated and used instead by the schoolmaster who had some acres with the schoolhouse where he probably earned more money from rents than from labour.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly it was a practice to remove children from their parents and from foundling hospitals to be educated at these schools but there did appear to be exploitation of those children in the pursuit of manual farming work in the interests of the teacher, rather than the children and their education. Ironic then that it was also noted by the school visitors in the *First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland* in 1825 that “the less cared for, poverty stricken, home-based children were actually more intelligent and vivacious”<sup>36</sup> which the inspector, Reverend William Lee from Newport Co. Tipperary, ascribed to the fact that they still lived with their families while others, better fed and clothed pupils, had been separated from family ties and consequently lacked initiative and intelligence.<sup>37</sup> Whether this was because those better clothed children were effectively embracing all the things that would make them better British subjects which equated to them abandoning their own people, being alone and becoming “hardworking, plodding, bold, determined, preserving, practical, obedient to law and precedent” Englishmen (Newman, 1858, p. 169). In reality those children who appeared to be isolated from “a people of natural abilities, keen-witted, original and subtle” (Newman, p. 169) may well have embraced pragmatism not necessarily lesser intellect or initiative. Indeed the well fed children may well have demonstrated a maturity which was not evident in the poorer children and was acknowledged by Reverend Lee in his remarks. Such maturity and the necessity to make and accept life-changing decisions such as to abandon family are semi-adult decisions being made *by* or *for* those who embraced the hard realities of conformity. What is obvious however, is that perception was being relayed as potential fact in reports to others at a remove, while realities were somewhat different.

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<sup>34</sup> Commissioners of Education in Ireland (1825), Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland 1825 London: HMSO p.7

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p.18

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.7

<sup>37</sup> The First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland, (1825) p.16

The 1825 report, also outlined many abuses of children and monies and was somewhat critical of what would now be referred to as 'rote learning'. The report cautioned that in schools, the successes "shall not be estimated by the mere quickness of recollection or exactness of recitation",<sup>38</sup> but rather according to a "clear apprehension of the meaning, a serious attention to the subject and an application of scripture suitable to the age of the child".<sup>39</sup> Ironic now also that the report specifically outlines one inspection visit where it was noted that in one particular school in a class of 20 boys of 13-15 years of age; half of them had "no idea whether the word 'Europe' meant man, a place or a thing".<sup>40</sup> At a school in Newport, Co. Tipperary where a master had been transferred from another school for being negligent and unfit for the role of teacher, 200 children were withdrawn from the school by the priest, a move indicative of the influence of the church on education in Ireland. Teacher training was initiated for brighter students at new Model Schools in Dublin at Kevin Street and Santry. Others were expected to progress to apprenticeships, boys to labouring and girls to housekeeping, but many had absconded, withdrawn, disappeared or returned to their parents so that results were limited.<sup>41</sup> The report noted that falsification of children's' ages happened and alluded to this being because the schoolmasters retained children to their own ends where they could make more money than was to be made by actually teaching. Indeed, it seemed that rules, probity and power belonged to those in oversight and that their power was ubiquitous.

Parochial Schools; effectively described as haphazard, were summarised as being where the clergy paid the schoolmaster and appeared to garner huge opposition from the Roman Catholic Church who effectively threatened excommunication to those who attended them. Similar treatment was afforded to those availing of the Lord Lieutenant's Fund and the London Hibernian Society who also funded education and distribution of scriptures. Nunneries (convents) did not attract much opposition in the Commissioners' Report and offered free education, while the Christian Brothers who were funded from subscriptions and offered spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, navigation and geometry were similarly accepted as suitable. Effectively

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<sup>38</sup> The First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland, (1825) p.35

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.35

<sup>40</sup> Ibid p.17

<sup>41</sup> Commissioners on Education in Ireland (1825) *First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland* (1825) p.27

the root of the problem appeared to be based on clashes of religious beliefs and allegiances. Roman Catholic free schools were described as being attached to chapels and to engage in the “seditious teaching”<sup>42</sup> of Roman Catholic catechisms. It was very clear that the Commission preferred schooling which included separate religious instruction – an almost side-stepping of the issues that were already in place and creating disagreements and lack of attendance caused by competing allegiances to religious influences.

### *An Education System Evolves*

The Commission went as far as interviewing Archbishops and church leaders who outlined their acquiescence to Catholics being taught by Protestants *as long* as those Protestants did not teach the child any form of religion. The Commission did make suggestions on this basis for a system of education which has often been accredited to ‘the Stanley Letter’ written by the Chief Secretary for Ireland Mr Edward Stanley, to the Duke of Leinster in 1831 but which the Commissioners addressed in their second report (1826), where they appeared to presume that Mr Stanley had not properly understood their report and suggestions.<sup>43</sup> Whichever view one takes, it appears that Ireland’s education system dates from this time.

In a British House of Commons debate on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1833 the Honorable Mr. Roebuck advocated for a system of education in Britain and outlined what purposes and outcomes he had in mind:

*“Education is usually supposed to signify merely learning to read and write, and sometimes, by a stretch of liberality, it is made to include arithmetic. But this is not education, it is simply some of the means of education. .... Putting a hammer and saw into a man's hand does not make him a carpenter; putting a flute into his hands does not make him a musician; in both cases you give him certain instruments, which if he have the knowledge requisite, he may use to good purposes, but if he do not possess it, they will prove either useless or mischievous. So may it happen with the instruments of knowledge. .... Education means not merely the conferring these necessary means or instruments for the acquiring of knowledge, but it means also the so training or fashioning the intellectual and moral qualities of the individual, that he may be able and willing to acquire knowledge, and to turn it to its right use. It means the so framing the mind of the individual, that he may become a useful and virtuous member of society in the various relations of life. It means making him a good child, a good parent, a good neighbour, a good citizen, in short, a good man. All these he cannot be without knowledge, but neither will the mere acquisition of knowledge confer on him these qualities; his moral, as well as his intellectual powers, must contribute to this great end, and the true fashioning of these to this purpose is right education”*

*House of Commons debate, 30<sup>th</sup> July 1833*

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<sup>42</sup>Commissioners on Education in Ireland (1825) *First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland* (1825) p.88

<sup>43</sup> Commissioners on Education in Ireland, (1826) *The Second Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland* (1826) p. 32

Interesting in this particular speech is the coupling of education with social and moral wellbeing, together with the notion that education might help ensure that people knew how to be good, active and contributing citizens which is a theme that has been used through many policy cycles in Irish education particularly in relation to the later constructs of Further Education which have now progressed to European citizens. Mr. Roebuck's motion was withdrawn amid much debate, including a contribution from Daniel O'Connell for Dublin who did not think that such notions could be incorporated in Ireland.<sup>44</sup> It did appear however, that some of the Honorable Mr. Roebuck's suggestions, which centred on three types of schools: Infant Schools, Schools of Industry, and Normal Schools, or schools for the instruction of masters, separately for boys and girls, were incorporated into what turned out to be the genus of formation of a system of education in Britain and subsequently in Ireland.

By 1826 the Select Committee of the House of Commons for Emigration from the United Kingdom in their report on 26<sup>th</sup> May,<sup>45</sup> described the population of Ireland as "excessive" and the condition of the poor as "wretched in the extreme".<sup>46</sup> The Committee noted that there was an abundance of uncultivated land throughout the globe and proposed that emigration should be encouraged particularly in areas of Ireland and Scotland, where "by its producing a supply of labour in excess as compared with the demand, the wages of the labour are necessarily reduced to a minimum".<sup>47</sup> The United Kingdom had already in 1823 and 1825 carried out what was effectively a feasibility project to remove 2,500 poor who were 'transplanted' to Canada and given grants of land.<sup>48</sup> It was eventually summarised that this could be done more cheaply by offering free passage to America. Landlords should pay towards this process as the value of their land would increase as they could rent out bigger fields and have a better return from their lands.<sup>49</sup> In this there was a clear balancing of resources and accounting for return on investment of politically apportioned monies which reflected astute policy governance procedures.

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<sup>44</sup> *House of Commons (1833)*, [https:// www.Archive.org](https://www.Archive.org)

<sup>45</sup> Select Committee of the House of Commons Report, of the Select Committee of the House of Commons for Emigration from the United Kingdom (1826), p.1

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, p. 7

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, p. 2

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p. 77

Throughout the First Industrial Revolution, while Britain was creating great wealth, Ireland, was effectively maintaining resistance and attempting to gradually undo the effects of British dominion in a country where its people were described as paupers. The people pushed for a sense of an identifiable nation state which was perhaps further supported after Catholic Emancipation in 1829 (Ronan, 1930 p.363). Industrial development was therefore not a feature of such a poverty stricken, uneducated, poor population where the struggle to exist and reliance on aid, had effectually contributed to an impoverished agrarian society fraught with “rival denominational systems” (Dolan 2016 p 534) that sought to assert their moral and social norms on a very dependent impoverished people. In those circumstances educational attainment was towards making people fit for emigration, self-dependence and responsibility for the occupations they were deemed ‘fit’ to occupy. In reality removing and shifting people benefited the bottom line of the British economy; money motivated and education was its conduit.

*The Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland of 1827*, (The Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education 1826 was a specific enquiry into foundlings and a proposal to remove them from catholic nurses, put then with protestant nurses and apprentice them only to protestants) shows that the Commissioners had clearly taken their role seriously and had struck-off 23 schools, 2 had been amalgamated and 7 had ceased altogether.<sup>50</sup> Grants had been dispersed by the Commission to build new schools. They proposed a system of school districts (32 proposed and 25 initially developed) with what they termed Model schools<sup>51</sup> in each for the training of teachers within the district and had received approval from the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland for their suggestions.<sup>52</sup> The proposal was that every school would have two departments; one for elementary, the other for scientific instruction, husbandry and handicraft, for practical application.<sup>53</sup> The Model schools described in the Report as “a School of Industry” would have workrooms and a Model farm would facilitate manual work and the general business of agriculture.<sup>54</sup> They outlined that they did not intend “to teach trades, but to facilitate

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<sup>50</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1827) *The Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1827*, London: HMSO p. 123

<sup>51</sup> The first two Model Schools were set up in 1833

<sup>52</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1827 p. 123), *The Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1827*, p. 1x

<sup>53</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1827 p. 123), *The Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1827* p.125

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p.125 par 14

a perfect learning of them by explaining the principles upon which they depend, and habituating young persons to expertness in the use of their lands”;<sup>55</sup> the aim was to produce “an intelligent class of farm labourers and servants”.<sup>56</sup> The proposal was that a Superintendent would live in the Model school, could visit all schools in *his* district to easily oversee the work of all.<sup>57</sup> Effectively costs and efficiency in the delivery of education which we see today was also part of the landscape of this era also. While accountability was encouraged and indeed demanded it was also costly and required pragmatic efficiencies. There appeared to be a presumption that those who availed of the education were the labouring class who fell short of expectations and needed to be ‘better’ or more ‘intelligent’.

Prior to this, eight inspectors travelled the county assessing the results of teachers in order to adjudicate on the fees to be paid each year.<sup>58</sup> This was very expensive and it was proposed that replacing Inspectors with Superintendents would be a cheaper and more practical option.<sup>59</sup> The intention was to create both primary and secondary schools within the two departments of each school and teachers of the primary elements could to be promoted on merit to secondary level as vacancies arose, provided they had been in receipt of quarterly gratuities for good conduct.<sup>60</sup> Thus, a distinction on the relative value of primary teaching and secondary teaching was effectively created.<sup>61</sup> The issue of Catholic religious education was to be overcome by ensuring that one day per week would be set aside so that the relevant priests or pastors could attend the school and parents could decide if the children partook of religious education and which religion specifically.

While the solution allowed both religions to at least be educated, it may well have facilitated the separation of religious instruction. It is possible that social inequality was effectively entrenched by the acquiescence to the denominational separation within education.<sup>62</sup> The proposals did attract criticism at the time and it has been suggested that a letter from the Right Hon. Edward Stanley in 1848 where he described the system

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<sup>55</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1827 p. 123), The Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1827, London: HMSO p.125 par 15

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p.125 par 16

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.125 par 19

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p.126 par 25

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p 127 par 28

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p 127 par 29

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p 127 par 31

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p 127 par 29

as one for the lower classes of society, is where our educational system was defined, but the reports of the Commission clearly refute this and suggest that the ‘Stanley Letter’ was effectively a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of what they had proposed in their first report.

Interestingly in some of the Commission’s reports subsequently the individual commissioners appear to relish their role of setting up and overseeing a nationwide education system in Ireland and often added their own personal opinions on education within the body of the report. These may well have led to different interpretations of what was suitable as being specific for each area, and each area having their own distinct features, traditions and expectations as effectively these commissioners were the governance conduit of education policy of the day. An example of this is the opinion of the Mr. W. J. Browne, M.A. District Inspector in Londonderry in January 1897 where he outlined in the *Sixty fourth report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1897-8*:<sup>63</sup>

*The object of education may perhaps be described as the just and orderly development of all the faculties and powers of the mind and body fitting the individual to do something useful for his own livelihood, to enjoy the pleasures and discharge the duties of private life, and to take an intelligent part in the general work of the community. And every part of school work should be so planned as to assist in this development; not do things for the pupil, but to enable him to do them for himself. In estimating the usefulness of a school subject, therefore, we may reasonably apply the two tests: - Does it train the mind, and will it be useful in practical after life?”*

***Sixty fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1879 -8 p. 105***

Around this time also the Mechanics’ Institutes were founded in Britain and appeared to be replicated in Ireland as an institute that supported scientific exploration by adults and specifically artisans (Kelly, 1952). The first one was established in Dublin in 1824 despite the impoverished state of the country and may well have been a Protestant replication of the system in Britain which was favoured by the more developed cities and regional towns where business communities existed and may even have constituted a form of social reform and separation. It was clearly apart from the established educational system within the country and may well be the first conceptual acceptance of a process of lifelong learning as we describe it today. The idea of artisan business people and industrialists holding talks in regional towns and supporting each other, as

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<sup>63</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1897-8, *Sixty fourth report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1897-8*, London: HMSO

well as developing libraries, must have appealed as a form of economic snobbery for those who could converse in such communities, but they were removed from the poorer Irish communities. Once again, the dichotomy of different economic groups in Ireland creating a conceptual distance from each other and more importantly this being one where adult and artisan education was the stated objective, was possibly prophetic of what would become conceptual differences which have persisted. Adult and artisan education became a form of social development at a time when huge economic and political payback could be achieved by distancing from the poorer population, while accepting that the echelons of British aristocracy was not attainable. Newman while not critical of the intention was openly sceptical of the movement, stating that there was a need to “carefully distinguish ..... between the mere diversion of the mind and its real education” (Newman, 1858 p.170). There was slightly more acceptance in more industrial northern cities such as Belfast where industrial factories did exist and this created a further nuanced acceptable social category which has and still does intrigue many. Indeed such differences may well have contributed to the eventual segregation of Northern Ireland but that is not the focus of this specific research.

From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, it was possible for factories to work all day, every day and accidents were frequent as many very young people had been placed to work in the factories as a result of Poor Relief legislation which had been in existence in Britain from the 1600s. In 1819 the first attempt to regulate children’s working hours was made in the guise of the Cotton Factories Regulation Bill 1819 but was not enforced. This was replaced 14 years later by the *Factory Act 1833* which began to gradually limit the age at which children could work in factories and the hours they could work. Children aged 9 – 13 years old were limited to working no more than 48 hours per week and those children who did work in factories under the age of 13 had to attend school for 12 hours per week, which was policed by inspectors.

Nine years later the *Mines Act 1842* legislated that boys under 15 years of age could not operate machinery and children under 10 years of age could not work underground. *The Factory Act 1844* restricted to 6 ½ hours per day the number of hours children under 13 could work while women and children from 13 to 18 were restricted to 12 hours work per day. These Acts had an impact on the care of the young people involved and alternative activity needed to be found for them, particularly in cities where there were considerable numbers of children – education was seen as the pragmatic choice.

In Ireland, many of these educational developments followed later with developments like the *School Sites Acts of 1841 and 1842* which allowed tithe effectively equivalent to tax exemptions for sites of no more than one acre for the provision of schools. There was to be no more than one school per parish to be run by corporations, justices and trustees who could raise and administer funds. The Commissioners of National Schools were approved by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to set up, support by grant, provide approved books, award teacher payments and indeed train teachers as well as inspect the effectiveness of a system of National Schools in Ireland. These Commissioners of National Education were effectively controlled by religious interests and stuck strictly to the concept of separate religious instruction which they themselves had negotiated. Religious leaders were given free access at specific times in the week and the children were segregated for that instruction which appeared to work well. They imposed very strict standards of education and only their recommended books could be used in their schools. There was a very strict adherence to the concepts of deportment, diction, behaviour and cleanliness in all their schools. Yearly reports with minute spending details were submitted to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, so that account could be made of the application of approved grant monies which were dispersed by this commission. There was much commentary on the task of keeping children in schools during harvest times as their parents needed them to help on the land. The presumption later however was that the children of the schools needed to be taught the skills of industry and work with new institutions built for that specific purpose, without realising the contradiction of the two views.

Almost parallel to the most eloquently worded *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*, were the *Reports of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland* who were responsible for reporting on 'endowed' schools. These schools some of which were known as 'Royal Schools' as they had received some funding to buy land or to lease buildings where pupils paid towards the cost of the schools and often were philanthropic endeavours of wealthy landlords, who received partial grants towards their philanthropic investments. The reports of the Commissioners of Education therefore did not include detailed inspection reports and made much more concise reading (1-15 pages) compared with the tomes of the *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland* whose annual reports often ran to as many as 700 pages and more.

The juxtaposition of the two is somewhat explained in the *Ninth report of the Commissioners of National Education in 1842*; “The objection which the committee thus make to the constitution of this Board manifestly applies, rather to the constitution of Parliament; for Parliament is composed of persons who represent ‘the most conflicting of religious opinions’; and to Parliament, not to this Board it belongs to make laws upon the subject of education, and even for the government of the Established Church”.<sup>64</sup> The Commissioners of National Education held that only separating for religious education inculcated in the children the ability to lay aside differences in the interests of ‘civil concord’ and indeed not just ‘civil’ community, but “mutual feelings of attachment and good will”.<sup>65</sup> In reality, it might be easy to surmise that the fact that the Commissioners of Education were reporting on schools which just got on with the education and did not have to report on every nuance to Parliament through the Lord Lieutenant meant that less needed to be accounted for from the public purse. It would be fair to say that the Commissioners of National Education accounted in so much detail of every aspect of every penny they spent and that data was being collected and submitted to Parliament.

Children in Ireland who did not relinquish their religion, or did not have their religion relinquished for them, did actually attend school where they were taught in huge numbers in makeshift schools – disparagingly referred to as ‘hedge schools’ by the Commission in many of their reports. Here ‘teachers’ who were unqualified by the Commissioners standards, were depicted as teaching children for the price of a piece of turf for the fire (Fernández-Suárez, 2006 p.57) if the Commissioners’ reports were to be believed. What was significant was that there was no requirement on children to deny their religion, or indeed to put themselves or their parents on a course of defiance of the Roman Catholic Church in any way and this in itself may have been the reason such schools were popular. This challenging of systems of education or categorisation of ‘acceptability’ of one education system over another has persisted and is obvious still in the way that Further Education is often depicted as a second choice or second chance process rather than one which best suits the choices of those who learn within it.

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<sup>64</sup> Commissioners of National Education (1842). *Ninth report of the Commissioners of National Education in 1842* London: HMSO p.5

<sup>65</sup> *ibid* p. 9

The new system envisaged in the 1830s in Ireland was written like a franchise document to be followed by every school wishing to be supported by the Commissioners of National Education and nothing was left to chance. It specified that schools within their system would have specific leases with four-year break clauses, that they should have strict understandings of the way the school should be run, that there should be parental input and that the schools should to a certain extent conform within a system that would be clearly recognised wherever it would be replicated.

*The Ninth report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland in 1842* outlined that the Commissioners were already making comparisons with international settings and were supporting the introduction of agricultural education for children in the country. The report discussed the fact that even though farmers in Belgium had very small holdings like those that pertained in Ireland, the Belgian farmers appeared to be able to sustain themselves.<sup>66</sup> The report surmised that what was missing in Ireland was the proper agricultural training which did exist in Belgium with half as many “hours devoted to intellectual teaching”<sup>67</sup> so that they would be skilled as labourers and essentially, they would have enough to survive but more importantly they would have been able to increase their actual physical ability *to* labour. The Commissioners, it might be interpreted, were interested in a better calibre of labouring person and it did not actually suggest, intimate or presume, that those who would receive an education, whether agricultural or intellectual, would actually amount to more than labourers. Lack of resources were blamed for the poorer prospects of some students when in fact there is no discussion of whether the Belgian farmers actually owned or merely rented their holdings and whether the population and resultant economies of scale may have been contributory to the Belgian farmers relative returns. The discussion is however reminiscent of an approach to the ‘education’ part of Further Education being selectively eroded in favour of labour activities to make people sustainable and capable of existing without supports from a central source.

Both groups of commissioners were competing for monies from the public purse although to differing levels, and each appeared to try to paint their picture as the best.

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<sup>66</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, (1842), *The 9<sup>th</sup> report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland in 1842* P159-160

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4

Interestingly these narratives often pointed to the need for each to get additional funds so that they could maximise their effect on the educationally, socially and morally needy Irish paupers.<sup>68</sup> The Commissioners for National Education on any reading of their reports were particularly self-promoting and were visited by many noble people to observe their public examination days where they could witness the great achievements of the system they had started. Very little encouragement was afforded for those who were found wanting in those public exams and often the cause of them not actually performing to satisfactory levels, was explained as their own laziness, their poverty, or the fault of the monitors who had been appointed to deal with those children individually while the teacher oversaw more full-class work. Pragmatically there was a type of budgetary explanation of failings of policy implementation and specifically the failures to maximise resources were cast upon the students and not those overseeing the application of the policy.

While public shows were used to advertise the great work done by the Commissioners, there never appeared to be any consideration of the children themselves who were subjected to these public performances. Reading any of the reports makes it clear that almost without exception the schools were over-subscribed and rooms that would normally hold up to 100 students might well have been servicing upwards of 400 at any given time.<sup>69</sup>

The Commissioners were anxious, it should be acknowledged, that agriculture in schools would serve to promote the ability of the poorer Irish to support themselves and learn how to cultivate and work whatever land they did have so that they might be more self-efficient. While the focus was on boys learning about land there were also maritime schools set up in places such as Galway where the work was available. In 1847 a model agricultural school was set up in Glasnevin and had the services of some very specialized expertise to teach the pupils and create new teachers of agriculture in the process. The school, according to the Report of the *Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1847)*,<sup>70</sup> became popular with “landed proprietors’ of farms and began to produce workbooks that were distributed far and wide. Selection on specific

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<sup>68</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, (1843). *The Tenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland in 1843* p.1

<sup>69</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1847), *Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1847)*, London: HMSO p.11

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13

criteria was required for the grants for model schools and other smaller schools with just 2 or 3 acres of land which was used to learn what might now be called agricultural husbandry. Students received £5 for their efforts. Even in lauding these processes, the Commissioners of National Education still alluded to their own superiority. Indeed the Inspector noted in 1849 that they taught “such an elementary course of agricultural instruction as shall prepare youths for the higher branches of agricultural science, should the opportunity of acquiring such knowledge be presented to them; and what is of still greater moment, shall teach them to avoid those grossly defective methods of farming hitherto practiced and still in too general use throughout the greater part of Ireland”.<sup>71</sup>

In the same report, students of what were referred to as agricultural schools, were called ‘apprentice’ pupils. Suspicions were stated that if the process of agricultural school were not administered by the Commission itself and private provisions (referred to as ‘public spirit and private interest’)<sup>72</sup> being offered which they questioned as to the bona fides of the proposers and clearly doubted that the selection and operation if done by others besides themselves would be done “fairly of the benefit intended for it”.<sup>73</sup> New conditions were imposed regarding the need for 8-30 acres for recognition.<sup>74</sup> These were the length of leases, break clauses every 4 years, a maximum payment of £400 towards the building of the schools which had to be put out to tender, pupils would have to match the investment in their maintenance to pay the teacher. Also, the agriculturalist appointed would have to pay rent, accounts had to be transparent, an annual report was to be presented, managers were to be appointed to actually manage the schools as well as hire or dismiss teachers. Students were to only be selected from the schools in the immediate district of the proposed agricultural school.<sup>75</sup>

The Glasnevin school won great accolades for its work and in 1849 was honoured with a visit from Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. In fact, there were two visits; one on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1849 and the other on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1853.<sup>76</sup> whereupon it was decided to

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<sup>71</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1849), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education of Ireland* (1849), p. 14

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, p. 15

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*, p. 16

<sup>74</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1853), *Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education* 1853, London: HMSO, p.12

<sup>75</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1849), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education of Ireland* (1849), London: HMSO, p. 21

<sup>76</sup> Commissioner of National Education of Ireland (1853), *Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education* 1853, London: HMSO, p. xxvi

rename the college the Albert College, while there was much written at the time about the reception Queen Victoria and Prince Albert got, and how much Queen Victoria was impressed by it.<sup>77</sup>

Revised conditions attached to schools set up by the Commissioners of National Education at that time including a requirement that every school the commission would be connected with would be inscribed with “NATIONAL SCHOOL”, and no other sign would be put up. The sign was to be put up conspicuously on the schoolhouse, on a stone in the wall of the school, parents were to approve of their children’s religious instruction, there were to be 3 inspections per year, two of which were to be unannounced and the third (between May and August) was for the occasion of the public examinations where anybody with an interest could attend and observe.<sup>78</sup> A visitor book was to be kept open on the desk of each teacher and there was to be a clear avoidance of politics and things not educational in the school buildings.<sup>79</sup> The rule of separate religious education was not changed. Women teachers were paid approximately 25% less than men doing the same job and newly appointed teachers were probationers for a year.<sup>80</sup> Teachers had twelve specific rules; there was a “time and a place for everything and everything in its proper time and place”<sup>81</sup> attitude to prevail. Cleanliness, neatness and decency were also to prevail. Truth and honesty were imperative and care had to be taken of the stock of books supplied by the Commissioners.<sup>82</sup> Teachers were also required to teach their students with kindness and morality.<sup>83</sup> Every school was to display a timetable in the building so that others could see what was being taught. This applied particularly to religion.<sup>84</sup> Monitors based on the work of Joseph Lancaster<sup>85</sup> or the Lancastrian system, (Coolahan, 1981 p.11; Reigart, 1916), were to be appointed from the brightest students and interestingly

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<sup>77</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1849), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education of Ireland* (1849), London: HMSO, p.19

<sup>78</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1853), *Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1853*, London: HMSO p.9

<sup>79</sup> The various comments left by visitors in these books were regularly included in the reports from 1850 onwards.

<sup>80</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1849), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1849)*, London: HMSO. p.159

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix 1 p.19

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix 1, p.19

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19

<sup>84</sup> The timetable facilitated the advertisement of times of religious instruction particularly in light of the separation of religious instruction from school work and local arrangements which ensured that different religious personnel did not encroach on the time of another religious leader giving instruction or in some cases to ensure that the different religions would be instructed at the same time in different locations within the school.

<sup>85</sup> For explanation of the system’s application in Ireland see *Seventh Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1940*, Appendix VII, London: HMSO p. 106

girls were required to be able to knit and sew but not to know fractions.<sup>86</sup> Mathematics appeared to be beyond the younger female students and they only needed mathematics to “enable them to keep with neatness and correctness, simple domestic accounts”.<sup>87</sup>

#### *Fastidious Data Collection and Social Comment*

The commissioners accounted for every penny they spent and all data that could be required was supplied in the annual reports and every payment to teachers was effectively vouched. In the *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1850* there was much praise for the sewing, embroidery and knitting produced in the convent schools and sold abroad.<sup>88</sup> The report refers to the proceeds being used on the students’ “support and clothing”.<sup>89</sup> Convent schools provided free education and monitors in the schools wore simple uniforms that appeared to garner favour with the Commissioners and indeed they approved of the supply of finished products which were sold onwards,<sup>90</sup> such as the coverlets used on the luggage vans of Great Southern Railway carriages.<sup>91</sup> Clearly the Commissioners were in awe of the convent schools and how many teachers and fine work they produced. The output formed part of their awe while no questions were specifically asked about the actual intelligence of the girls in the schools.<sup>92</sup> As a result, the Commissioners recommended that the convent schools should be endowed but noted that the nuns themselves, specified as ‘teachers’, “cannot be classified” and “that the principle of classification should be applied to the school instead”<sup>93</sup> based on “the extent of literary and industrial instruction to the pupils, numbers in attendance and general efficiency”.<sup>94</sup>

They proposed 3 classes of schools which per 100 students, would receive a grant; 1<sup>st</sup> Class £25, 2<sup>nd</sup> Class £20 and 3<sup>rd</sup> Class £16. Inspections were to be once a year by the Head Inspector and the District Inspector would determine which class each of the

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<sup>86</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1840), *Seventh Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1840*, Appendix VII, London: HMSO p. 106

<sup>87</sup> Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1850), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education of Ireland (1850)*, p 161

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212

<sup>89</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1849), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1849*, London: HMSO Appendix XIII, p.210

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix XIII, p.212

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213

<sup>93</sup> Commissioners of National Education (1850), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education (1850)* p.213

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p.213

convent schools would fit into.<sup>95</sup> However, in many of the reports there is no reference to the amounts of money generated from the very work that they recognised as being sought after by society ladies in far flung places<sup>96</sup> – there appeared to be no questioning as to whether these items of such great manufacture, were given away to the ladies of society, donated to them or merely sent as gifts. The fastidiousness of the requests for money appeared to be one-sided and one could be forgiven for thinking that perhaps the Commissioners wanted to be associated with these great things and were prepared to endow the ‘nunneries’ for that ability to be associated with a successful concept.<sup>97</sup>

Details of parents’ occupations were being collected and comparisons were made as to the outcome for the children of the various categorisation of parents.<sup>98</sup> There was a fear that teachers would emigrate and W.H. Newell observed “While the schoolmaster’s social position is so low and the standard of his literary qualifications so high, the temptation to follow other pursuits offering more favourable results so great, and the tide of emigration daily carrying with it persons from every grade of life, there is no ground for believing that there will be an over-supply of candidate teachers – at least suitable ones – in the market”.<sup>99</sup> Monitors soon had examinations that they were also required to undertake and there was an expansion of the districts for the National Schools System to 44 districts in all.<sup>100</sup> The system it was suggested would benefit from a better distribution of monitors as some schools were too small to merit the required 8 male and 4 female monitors in each district.

It would be unfair not to acknowledge that the school system did attract overseas visitors and the various reports attest to the interest created particularly by the agricultural element of the various schools. In the *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1850*<sup>101</sup> Rev. Mosley referred to reports from the introduction of his lecture on industrial instruction on the continent delivered at the Government School of Mines and Science, mentioning what was happening in Prussia, Saxony, Austria and Denmark and the fact that the French

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<sup>95</sup> Commissioners of National Education (1850), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education* (1850) p.213

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p.212

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p 231

<sup>100</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1853, *Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*, London: HMSO, p. 14

<sup>101</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1850), *Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education 1850*, London: HMSO p.254

examples had been seen in the success of the Great Exhibition.<sup>102</sup> He concluded by recommending that some scientific equipment and instruction should be encouraged in the teaching schools which could also be used in the winter for evening classes in villages throughout the country.<sup>103</sup>

While it had been described that there would be agricultural classes and industrial classes in the agricultural schools, it appears that there was an ease with which the children in the industrial classes were used as the workers for the agricultural classes and in many individual schools' reports it was made to appear that the boys in question did relish the idea of being busy. Much was written about agricultural experiments taking place in what was now called the Albert College around crop rotation, ploughing and both it and the Bailieborough Agricultural schools received great accolades.<sup>104</sup> The Athy Model farm carried out experiments on behalf of the Royal Flax Improvement Society in 1853.<sup>105</sup> What is now termed as Action research, constructive research and experiential learning were outlined, not specifically named as such, but the effects were mostly reported as positive. So voluminous were the reports that eventually after the *1853 Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*, a form was to be submitted to direct the actual reporting of detail and this included the necessity for a yearly Balance Sheet<sup>106</sup> – accountability and responsibility had arrived and return on investment was expected.

### *Workhouses in Ireland*

The Irish Poor Relief Extension Act 1847 enacted at a time when the Whigs<sup>107</sup> in Britain declared the famine to be over, created in Ireland a system of 130 unions each with a workhouse for the “confinement of paupers, administered by a board of guardians”. In order to avail of the relief of the workhouse a person had to abandon their claim to any property or goods and thus the poor became destitute or at least

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<sup>102</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1855), *Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education (1855)*, p. 66

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285

<sup>104</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1852), *Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1852)*, p.38

<sup>105</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1852), *Nineteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland Vol. II* p. 387; p. 390

<sup>106</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1853, *Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1853*, London: HMSO, p. xi

<sup>107</sup> Whigs were a major political force in Britain who supported the protection of protestant succession within Britain and were not an actual political party but a reactionary grouping, many of them became liberal supporters over time. The Whigs conjured an image of dissent to anything which would change British established supremacy. [www.nationaltrust.org.uk/who-were-the-whigs/](http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/who-were-the-whigs/) Accessed 30<sup>th</sup> October 2019

declared themselves destitute in order to go to the workhouse to avoid starving on the streets.<sup>108</sup> Britain introduced the Removal of Irish Born Paupers Act in 1845 which provided that when an Irishman became destitute and applied for relief to a relieving officer or an overseer, he was taken before two justices of the peace without summons. They then made an order for his removal, and the pauper was committed to the charge of the officer to whom the warrant of removal was given. Paupers so removed were taken to particular ports specified in the Act, (eight in Ireland) deposited and left to fend for themselves.<sup>109</sup> The parish of origin of the pauper was ascertained and that parish was charged for the costs associated with the removal of the pauper from Britain. The impact of this Act was that once a person fell on hard times in Britain they could be deported so that they did not become a burden where they were, but it also had the effect of increasing the truly misfortunate of every parish in Ireland particularly as Liverpool was popular with Irish emigrants and the action of returning them without support meant that their only choice was often to seek refuge in the Workhouses.<sup>110</sup>

At a time when starvation was widespread huge numbers of adults and children alike, were admitted to these workhouses. Families however were split and each person, young or old, was therefore potentially, if not already actually, deprived of consort with others who might have a personal interest in them and effectively left to their own devices. This is another potential example of young Irish people being expected to make hard choices to isolate themselves from family in order to sustain their own existence which is repeated throughout the history of Further Education in Ireland. These workhouses were also examined by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (by 1850 there were 124 in all) and the Poor Relief Act came in for some comment in the Seventeenth Report.<sup>111</sup> The commissioners stated:

*“the sooner a comprehensive system of training and education for the workhouse youth is introduced and put in operation, the sooner will taxation be permanently diminished; as everyone must observe, that not only on a comparison of nations in the same continent, or divisions in the same empire, but even in the provinces of the small island we find material prosperity and self-reliance in the direct ratio of intelligence. Some of the acknowledged causes of these differences in Ireland have their origins in unwise legislation. The objections which lie against converting the able-bodied into producers and thereby competing at unfair advantages with free labour, do not hold, or at least only with greatly diminished force, in the cause of labour, as a means of training up the children so as to fit them for earning their bread hereafter”*

***Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland p.151/152***

<sup>108</sup> Irish Poor Relief Extension Act, 1847

<sup>109</sup> Irish Born Paupers Act 1845. [www.Parliament.uk](http://www.Parliament.uk)

<sup>110</sup> Irish Poor Relief Extension Act, 1847

<sup>111</sup> The Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1850), *Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1850*, London: HMSO p.151/152

Prison schools had been established and 5 were mentioned at inspection time in 1850,<sup>112</sup> of which only 3 were then in operation with a comment being made by the Commissioners that in some cases prisoners purposely got into trouble so that they would have lodgings, support and even the chance of being transported. Likewise, orphanages were inspected and were found wanting in some cases of “information or intelligence amongst the orphans”.<sup>113</sup> No stone was left unturned to classify, report and account for every educational establishment.

The workhouse inspections appeared to be understanding of the positions of the people who had resorted to those workhouses and a Circular from the Committee of Council outlined “the object of industrial instruction should be the same as that from books, viz., to fit the learner for doing his best in life, not to prescribe definitely his sphere in it”.<sup>114</sup> The schools of the workhouses were described in detail and certainly were wanting of resources for teaching and learning, but the inhabitants were very much destitute and some inspectors acknowledged that the children, whatever their age, were all fed the same minimum amount so that they would not benefit from being in the workhouse.<sup>115</sup> Older boys who it was proposed could work as labourers on the farm schools, had not sufficient nutrition for the work they were expected to undertake. The Clones workhouse renamed their industrial class to “our industrial or working class”,<sup>116</sup> while the Clonmel workhouse explained that the boys from the workhouse could not get jobs after their time in the workhouse as they did not have the clothes to get jobs!<sup>117</sup> It certainly appeared that cheap labour was plentiful and the 1853 report boasted of not needing to pay for extra labour as they had their own. In Carrick on Suir Workhouse smaller spades were created for the ‘youthful paupers’ as was the case in Pilltown, Co. Kilkenny Agricultural School.<sup>118</sup> What became the industrial schools of Ireland had their origin in these structures and the utilisation of the poor as cheap labour was being fashioned in organisations which had nothing to do with industrialisation within Ireland. In any investigation of the origins of Further Education in Ireland this

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<sup>112</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1850), *Seventeenth Report of the Commissions of National Education*, London: HMSO, pp. 152-153

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584

<sup>118</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1853), Carrick On Suir, p.316; , *Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education*, London: HMSO, Appendix K Vol II p.505

dichotomy of name, method, and policy effect is very significant. We had industrial schools in a country which had no recognisable industries.

It was clear that rules were being broken in workhouses and falsification of ages was acknowledged in the 1853 report where four reasons were given; larger rations went to older people, adults over 15 years of age could leave the house without parental consent if the parents were also residents of the workhouse, boys and girls older than 15 could visit their parents in the workhouse – boys to the fathers and girls to the mothers, over 15s could get out with three hours' notice and could more importantly qualify for free emigration.<sup>119</sup>

The School Sites Acts were not extended to Ireland until the 1852 School Sites Act by which stage the Great Famine, reduced the Irish population by over two million, from 8 million, through starvation and emigration. That Act provided that the exemption from tithes (taxes), which applied to the earlier Acts, were to be extended to include “Schools or Colleges for the religious or educational Training of the Sons of Yeomen or Tradesmen or others, or for the theological Training of Candidates for Holy Orders”.<sup>120</sup> These colleges and schools along with earlier schools under the School Sites Acts were to be administered by committees who could hold the land and school in trust and could engage in activities to fund the operations of the schools they were supporting. Formal schools aside from ecclesiastical institutions, including Cambridge, Oxford and indeed St. Patrick’s College Maynooth, had arrived in Ireland and had a legal funding structure in place. The 1854 Literary and Scientific Instructions Act applicable to England and Wales, set out a complete indemnity, operating, funding provision and management system for the operators and members of what were effectively committees to establish and operate institutions for the “Promotion of Science, Literature, the Fine Arts, for Adult Instruction, the Diffusion of useful Knowledge, the Foundation or Maintenance of Libraries or Reading Rooms for general Use among the Members or open to the Public, of Public Museums and Galleries of Paintings and other Works of Art, Collections of Natural History, Mechanical and Philosophical Inventions or Designs”.<sup>121</sup> These changes did certainly highlight the differences in opportunities for poorer people to acquire an education rather than to be

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<sup>119</sup>Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1853), Twentieth Report of the Commissions of National Education, London: HMSO, pp 634-635

<sup>120</sup> School Sites Act, 1852

<sup>121</sup> Literary and Scientific Instructions Act 1854, preamble

restricted to the confines of a workhouse, but they should also be seen against a backdrop of resentment for the imposition of the English language on native Irish speakers; the expectation of acquisition of languages in order to advance was to raise its head a number of times in the last three centuries of the Irish Education System.

International developments in education were also being observed within reports on education at that time and some of the individual inspectors seemed well versed in how things were being done in other countries and to voice their opinions on what should be done here. J.W. Kavanagh, Rev. Norris and Mr. P. J. Keenan were clearly versed in the Mettray system in France, and other systems in Belgium, Berne, Bavaria, Prussia and Holland, while expounding the virtues of the Irish system.<sup>122</sup> If their narratives are examined the analysis certainly observes a discourse that is social in nature and appears to have been informed by an examination of detail, structures, and resources. Examinations were recommended to be of one day only and to be written rather than be public and week-long.<sup>123</sup> Examples of writing in the top of the pages of notebooks would serve to help children to see good examples with the use of steel pens<sup>124</sup> rather than more expensive and cumbersome quills. There was a pride evident in their reporting and it was clear that they believed in what they were reporting on. Indeed Mr. Keenan summarised his belief succinctly:

*“The National system, however, as a system of education has much to recommend it to the interest of the educationist. Even viewing it as an inspector involuntarily views it, with the sharp eye of criticism, one cannot help observing the comprehensiveness of its leading features, and their adaptability to the peculiar circumstances of the country”.*  
*Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1854, p. 60, italics in original)*

He described the system as; *moral* as it taught “a love of truth, of honour, of justice and of moderation”; *social* as it brought all classes together to trade, legislate, confide and sustain each other; *national* as it prepared children to attend school, be good citizens, loyal to the Sovereign, obedient to the laws, and nurtured a love of country; *rational* as it taught youth to look for what was true in science, art, nature and the universe; *utilitarian* as it encouraged industrial education as well as agricultural knowledge; *religious* as it inculcated a love and fear of God, and he then advocated all should cooperate to make these things “permanently effective”.<sup>125</sup> Throughout it is very clear that

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<sup>122</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1854, *Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1854*, London: HMSO, p. 66

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, p.55 Appendix G

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, p.70 Appendix G

<sup>125</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1855), *Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1855*, London: HMSO, p, 81

there is a utilitarian approach and that individual responsibility of children to become better citizens was shaping education in line with policy thinkers in that era such as Mills and Bentham. Bentham (1748 – 1832) introduced the concept of utilitarianism and believed in statistical and analytical approaches to concepts. He also believed that people would almost instinctively know the difference between right and wrong if the consequences of doing wrong were significant enough to prompt right actions. Mills advocated individual freedom and that people should make free choices as long as they did no harm in the process. Thus education, which in reality would only show its effects in the next generation, was being shaped by the policy thinkers of the era and the epochal effect was far reaching in relation to Further Education where agricultural tenets towards self-sufficiency were being incorporated in the schools at an early age and with it the notion of being capable of labour for the sake of good citizenship.

#### *Second Industrial Revolution 1860-1900*

While Ireland was floundering in extreme poverty, and had not really been able to benefit in a commercial sense from the first Industrial Revolution, a second Industrial Revolution from 1865 to 1900 saw methods of production speeded up by inventions such as electricity, steel manufacturing improvements and petrol-based products to the extent that what had been mainly a system of manual labour was being replaced by more efficient methods of production (Dillistone, 1956). The British Museum describes the effect of the Industrial Revolutions on British life and outlines how industrialisation of manufacturing led to further changes such as the development of a banking industry;

*“With the increase of capital and the need for credit, banking developed not only in London but also in the countryside. Industrialists, shipbuilders, merchants and other private manufacturers established provincial banks and issued paper money in the form of bills of exchange and notes, primarily in order to provide payment for labour and for the purchase of raw materials.”*

[www.britishmuseum.org.uk](http://www.britishmuseum.org.uk)

#### *British influence on America in the Second Industrial Revolution*

What was significantly different about the Second Industrial Revolution was perhaps its effect on international trade. Effectively the concept of the second revolution applied to other areas of Europe and America and combining existing developments of the earlier industrial revolution to create bigger, faster and more efficient machinery increased production to a level it had never been seen at before. In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase process in America, was where Thomas Jefferson acquired lands within

America that had been part of the French colonies.<sup>126</sup> In Oregon for instance, migrants could get up to 300/400 acres free (later they charged \$1.25 per acre).<sup>127</sup> The Homestead Acts in America allowed people to claim ownerships of tracts of lands, mainly west of the Mississippi, with up to 160 acres per person freely available under the Homestead Act of 1862. By 1866 Black Americans were also allowed to claim land. Because of this migration there was demand for a railway system and this also created further jobs in those areas (Melvin & Shapiro, 1997). The multiplier effect of these developments created greater prosperity throughout America.

Britain's Patent Laws, which had ensured that those who owned patents had prospered in the First Industrial Revolution, had no legal standing in America and many of the British inventions were copied or combined more freely and created wealth which did not benefit Britain. Cotton was plentiful in America and the copying and indeed improvement to British textile machinery created massive textile factories which expanded exponentially as the population of America did as a result of natural increase and immigration from other countries. The very concept of economies of scale were at play and more could be produced for less and oligopolies and monopolies grew and wealth begets its own power. Britain and France were also fighting in the Crimean War to support the Ottoman Empire against Russian interference and this allowed America to progress internally while Parliament was engaged in diplomacy to settle those affairs (Goldfrank, 1994). Abraham Lincoln who favoured equality for all and the abolition of slavery had also successfully negotiated the Confederate Wars and America became the United States of America in the process. While emphasis had been on great and wonderful inventions, the Brooklyn Bridge being a marvel in itself in 1883 (Brady, 2015), it was also considered that the United States needed to concentrate on agricultural cultivation and Agricultural Colleges were eventually established under the *Morrill Acts (1862 and 1890)* to teach the new landowners innovative, more efficient and productive work methods and processes. Each State received 30,000 acres of land for each senator or representative in Congress (*First Morrill Act 1862*) and excluded racial discrimination for acceptance into those colleges (*Second Morrill Act 1890*).<sup>128</sup> Here then were chances which could be promoted as reasons for learning new

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<sup>126</sup> The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 at <https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/louisiana-lewis-clark/the-louisiana-purchase/>

<sup>127</sup> See discussion at <https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/louisiana-lewis-clark/the-louisiana-purchase/> (last accessed 10<sup>th</sup> November 2019)

<sup>128</sup> For discussion see <https://www.nap.edu/content/about-the-national-academies-press>

agricultural skills before emigration from Ireland and this promise of a better future by engaging in learning specific skills is still advocated in the promotion of Further Education in Ireland to this day, such as the concept of flexicurity as advocated in the EU today.<sup>129</sup>

*America's influence on Britain in the Second Industrial Revolution*

Oil was the big discovery which turned America into an industrial player of note with oil and petrol production facilitating more and more developments and mechanisation of production processes that were not dependent on coal which was difficult to mine and expensive to transport. Of particular significance was the internal combustion engine developed by Alphonse-Eugène Beau de Rochas in 1859 (Bryant, 1967). The world saw movement as it had never been seen before – the motor engine had arrived! The pace of invention towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century has never been equalled. What did happen in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in this process was that a wealth was created in America that has driven America's influence throughout the world and ensured that America was, and indeed still is, a significant repository of investment funds as well as consequent banking skills.<sup>130</sup> Transportation was a very significant development in America, cars were being manufactured by Henry Ford and these also facilitated migration within America with more ease. In all, the scale of things showed that compared to the size of Britain the size of America was now incomparable and its influence was similar. 1857 began a downward trend of the economy of America due to internal overheating of markets, pressure on the gold standard and consequent devaluation of the dollar. By 1860 however it was obvious that the workers of America wanted better wages and conditions and this was made obvious when up to 3,000 New England Shoemakers staged a walkout for better terms and conditions.<sup>131</sup> It is often a consequence of demand for labour that those who do the job want more pay but the owners of the assets who create the wealth will seek cheaper labour in order to sustain the profits which they have become accustomed to. This then leads to opportunities for even cheaper labour to find employment and this was where the paupers of Ireland found opportunities in America.

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<sup>129</sup> See <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=1223>

<sup>130</sup> For some discussion see Oklahoma History Center, Timeline of American Banking at <https://www.okhistory.org/historycenter/federalreserve/edutimeline.html>

<sup>131</sup> 'The New Crisis – the Strike of the Lynn Shoemakers', The New York Times, March 6<sup>th</sup> 1860 p.4

Land was cheaper in America and had been underutilized until roads and railways were built and the sheer volume of those tasks provided much needed employment for those who had often emigrated to America with nothing but the clothes on their backs. Farms could be bigger and food production more streamlined as a result. Britain found it cheaper in some cases to actually import from America rather than set up new manufacturing processes in Britain and over time this included many of Henry Ford's cars. Ford is also credited with mass production by using production systems that allowed more to be made cheaply while still paying good wages, thus creating worldwide competitiveness in the process, and 'Fordism' became a manufacturing and management system that had implications throughout the world (Hodkinson, 1997).

#### *British education in the Second Industrial Revolution*

In Britain there were also extremely wealthy classes who were kindly disposed to helping those less fortunate and did endow schools and workhouses in their areas. *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens was written in 1838 and paints a conceptual picture of what those times were like. Income Tax had been introduced by Robert Peel's government in 1842 and this meant that money could be distributed by Parliament towards social supports for those needing assistance.<sup>132</sup> As can at this stage be understood by the reader, British factories were overcrowded and its cities consisted of distinct class structures: Royalty, Industrialists, Middle Class, Labouring Class and those living in abject poverty. American developments led to a diminution of Britain's dominant position in the textile industry as cotton was plentiful in America and a ready competitive product was being manufactured in what had been Britain's main specialist export market.

The wealthy merchants of Britain were clearly philanthropically driven to assist those who were living in abject poverty, unable to sustain themselves and often abandoned by parents or families to roam cities and towns. Teachers who were not well paid could see that their chances would be better further afield and many emigrated leaving a smaller number of qualified teachers for higher and higher numbers of children in each school. This was noticed in some reports on education<sup>133</sup> and it was proposed that there should be some contingency made which would allow more teachers to advance and

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<sup>132</sup> 'A Short History of Income Tax' Paul Wallace, Independent 15/10/1995, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/a-short-history-of-income-tax-1577708.html>

<sup>133</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Twenty Fifth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1858 pp. 183-185 Appendix B; p. 207, p.343 Appendix B; p353 Appendix C,

also give the children themselves a chance to prove individually that they had learnt what they were required to recite publicly for inspectors to be convinced that they also understood what they recited.

In 1847, the British Government introduced a system which was called the ‘pupil-teacher system’.<sup>134</sup> This involved a specific number of students being assigned to each teacher and time allowed for more individual follow up to the instruction given by the teachers. This differs from our current ‘pupil-teacher ratio’ in that the pupils in question in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century were prospective teachers who had already been identified as having potential to progress and could supplement the system in the process, whereas now it relates to the number of pupils a teacher should teach in each group. However what is clear is that the beginnings of a systematic accountability was being established within education with rewards being promised for effort and commitment. There was effectively a shift to the choice processes of individuals as espoused by the policy thinkers Bentham (1748 – 1832) and Mills (1806 – 1873).

1853 saw the proposed introduction of what would effectively have been the precursor of our Capitation Grants System which is imperative for education funding in Ireland. This scheme of annual grants while never regarded as being a permanent feature of education has only marginally changed and altered over time. The 1853 scheme divided the population of the country into two specific classes; one of larger towns and the other of rural districts. In towns education was to be provided by local rates as a form of tax on property. The rural districts were to be provided for by grants from central revenue. The Committee of Council was to administer these grants overall and they were dependent on the number of children in actual attendance in each school in the year preceding the allocation of the grant. The stated 176 attendance days required to qualify for a capitation grant has persisted to the present day. In order to verify the numbers in attendance there was to be a daily register of students in each school. This registration of attendance with capitation based on attendance still dominates in schools in Ireland and also in Further Education because the system is based on second level structures necessitating strict attendance criteria in Further Education where failure to attend for 90% of classes can result in failure to attain an award whatever the adult reason for non-attendance.

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<sup>134</sup> Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1855), Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1950, p. 1855

The Commissioners of Education published a report in 1861, called “*The State of Popular Education in England*”.<sup>135</sup> Volume 1 of this report referred to the preceding reports of the Inspectors of schools which had grown to voluminous proportions since 1839: the 1850 Irish report ran to 1189 pages. They stated that these reports had been “a mass of information”<sup>136</sup> but pointed out that “(t)he inspectors are inspectors of schools, not of education. They have no experience of uninspected or private schools, nor have they any means of ascertaining what proportion of the population grow up in ignorance”.<sup>137</sup> National Schools certainly were inspected meticulously but many Inspectors admitted that they did not always visit all the National Schools in the yearly reports. Forms were introduced in 1853 thus eliminating commentary.

Britain introduced The Elementary Education Act in 1870; also known as Forster’s Act, to make the education of children between the ages of 5 and 13 compulsory throughout England and Wales. This Act provided that those children could be educated in either fee paying schools or publicly funded schools and moreover those schools should be regularly inspected.<sup>138</sup> This and subsequent 1870s and 1880s Education Acts did not apply to Ireland and were later consolidated into the 1918 Education Act which again did not apply to either Scotland or Ireland. It appeared that instead of a laissez faire liberal approach to industry and education, there was a clear shift to a protectionist approach where developments would be implemented in Britain; specifically, England first, rather than Britain educating its own competition for jobs and consequent wealth and taxes.

#### *Expansion of Ireland’s Education System*

Workhouses, appeared in the picture of education in Ireland having been established, and expanded by the Poor Relief Act of 1862 which provided that if a person had a land holding of more than a quarter of an acre they had to relinquish their holding if approved by the Guardians of the Poor. People were to be in dire need if they were to receive the relief from the Workhouse. For children under the age of 15 who did not have a parent or whose parents could not be located, the guardians of the workhouse would act in loco parentis for that child and the child could not be ‘discharged’ without the

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<sup>135</sup> Commissioners of Education of Ireland (1861), *The State of Popular Education in England*, London: HMSO

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> The Elementary Education Act 1870, Parliament UK

permission of the guardians of the workhouse.<sup>139</sup> These guardians could dictate everything except religion and if somebody claimed to be a relation of the child and could prove their ability to maintain the child without the aid of the poor rates, they could be entrusted with the care of the child.<sup>140</sup> The guardians could also decide the religious aspects of the child's education if they were an orphan or of religion unknown.<sup>141</sup> Only some workhouses included schools but the provision was meagre and often the children too weak to benefit from it as recorded in numerous official reports.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, in some workhouses these children were the labourers used in the agricultural activities of the workhouses without recompense and often without adequate provisions for the type of work involved. This was subtly pointed out by Inspectors in several Reports of the Inspectors of National Education, in what appeared to be a covert way of letting authorities know what was going on.

Reformatory schools were introduced in Ireland in 1858 following from the British (1852) and Scottish (1854) systems, under an amendment to the Poor Law Act, amid clamour about the number of young people who were effectively out of control, abandoned or did not appear to have parental influences visible. These schools were intended to deal with young persons under 16 who had been convicted of crimes and were the recipients of an order of court for a period of between 2 and 5 years. The schools had to be open to inspection also and only the highest authority could discharge an offender after they had completed their sentence. It was possible for managers of the Reformatory schools to place such offenders for a trial period with a respectable person who might take them, and to grant them a licence to remain for 30 days on trial with the person, which licence could be renewed every three months until the sentence was completed.<sup>143</sup> However, this could not happen until at least half of their sentence had been served.<sup>144</sup> Failure to comply in the Reformatory could lead to detention with labour or with hard labour, the expenses of which their parents were also expected to pay.<sup>145</sup> *The First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory Schools of*

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<sup>139</sup> The Poor Relief Act, 1862, Parliament UK

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., Section 8

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., Section 11

<sup>142</sup> The Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1853, London: HMSO p.1308; Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1850, London: HMSO, p. 316

<sup>143</sup> First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory Schools of Ireland (1861), London: HMSO p. 7

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 7

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6

*Ireland (1861)* reported on these newly formed reformatory schools by which time the numbers of ‘inmates’ were:

High Park, Drumcondra (Catholic girls) 1858	38
St. Joseph’s Limerick (Catholic girls) 1859	28
Cork Street, Dublin (Protestant girls) (1859)	11
St. Kevin’s, Glencree, Wicklow (Catholic boys) (1859)	239
Goldenbridge, Dublin (Catholic girls) (1859)	33
Spark’s Lake, Monaghan (Catholic girls) 1859	25
Rehoboth Place, Dublin (Protestant boys) 1859	18
Malone, Belfast (Protestant boys) 1860	29
St. Patrick’s, Upton, Cork (Protestant boys) 1860	92

The Inspector outlined that the manager at Glencree had arrangements to send his charges to other countries, when reformed – curiously the inspector commented “there can be but little doubt that placing the liberated juveniles beyond the reach of their former bad companions will very materially assist their amendment”.<sup>146</sup> Effectively their “amendment” should have taken place before ‘liberation’ and the idea that the manager would still have dominion over their futures was all encompassing and certainly, even if well intended, would now be questionable from a human rights point of view. Comment was made on the charges to the parents and the Inspector expressed his wish that as much as possible should be collected from the parents who were liable<sup>147</sup> – this is somewhat puzzling when considered with the fact that the manager could send the ‘inmates’ to other countries and appears at odds with the acknowledgement that the parents should be responsible for the children’s actions and pay towards their keep. The inspector suggested that it would be advisable to check on the careers of those liberated after they left the Reformatory School so that they could “demonstrate to the public the true value of the system”.<sup>148</sup> Within the 1863 report there was a clear attempt to mitigate the meagre rations given to the children by explaining that food prices were higher than in Britain and curiously for all the needlepoint, knitting, sewing and embroidery being done by many of the children and clearly from the reports being sold, no amount was receipted for this work in the final accounts.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> First Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory Schools of Ireland (1861), London: HMSO p.4

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p.6

<sup>148</sup> Former inmates of such reformatories were kept under observation for six months at least and were only on licence.

<sup>149</sup> Particularly it appeared that the accounts of Glencree Reformatory in Co. Wicklow, were subjected to inspection and passed as being within satisfactory accounting expectations but it does appear that those accounts were subject to scrutiny by a sceptical Inspector. *Second Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory Schools of Ireland 1863*, London: HMSO, pp.13- 15

A clear understanding of what is described as ‘industry’ or ‘industrial training’ in the first and subsequent reports of the Inspector of the Reformatory Schools, when viewed in the light of the ‘Industrial Revolution’, bore no comparison. The children were kept occupied with menial tasks like stone-picking, tailoring, needlework, laundry, rather than creating lofty plans for machinery that would lighten the load of those menial tasks. In Ireland industry was tantamount to a poor class who had nothing and nobody; who were dispensable, ragged, and under-nourished outcasts. The narrative in many of the reports was that the process was saving taxpayers money as the young people were better schooled or at least “treated as a child, and sent to a Reformatory School, not to a prison; and that this is a wise principle cannot be doubted, whether we consider the question as Christians or as economists”.<sup>150</sup> What was called the ‘mark system’ was applied in many of the reformatories and its success was also lauded.<sup>151</sup> This system operated like a reward or reprimand system where the children had to attain marks so that they could be deducted from a specified total and privileges could be earned or lost during the process. Meant as a positive re-enforcement system it had gained popularity in the National Schools during the 1850s and formed a sort of ‘payment by results’ system.<sup>152</sup> This proved very unpopular with teachers as they might well have put in a huge amount of work, that might have gone into getting perhaps 100 or considerably more children, who were native Irish speakers, to read, write and understand, in English, when for example, there is no ‘v’, or ‘z’, and ‘h’ is depicted as a dot in the Irish language native to those same children.

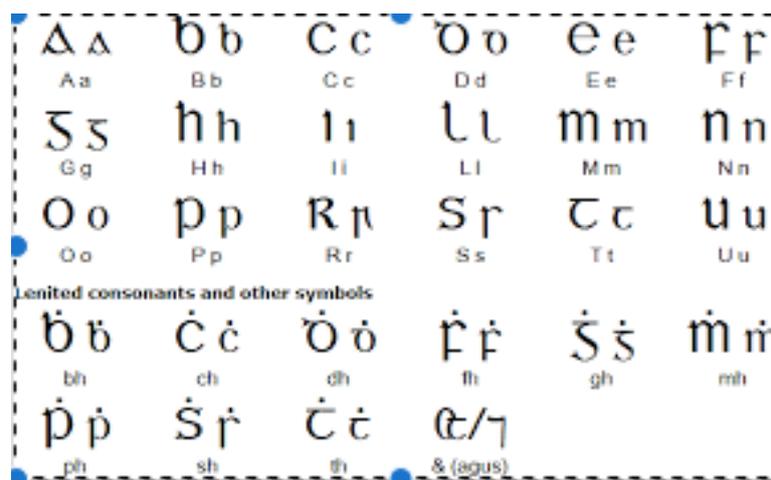


Figure 11 Old Irish Alphabet in Roman Script (source: omniglot.com)

<sup>150</sup> *Third & Fourth Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory Schools of Ireland 1865*, London: HMSO, p.29

<sup>151</sup> *Second Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory Schools of Ireland*, London: HMSO, p. 18

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18

Ignoring the challenges to the children and indeed to the teachers in dual language attainment by both teacher and child did effectively understate the worth of the teachers' achievements. Effectively a carrot and stick approach was applied to teachers work. Keeping constant change as a requirement for reward still persists in education. While this seemed unfair at that time it is also evident in Irish Further Education where resources are allocated on numbers retained rather than the work done by dedicated teachers in Further Education settings.

While these Reformatories were introducing their own kind of unpaid 'industrial' work for children, another type of school was initiated called the Industrial School. Introduced in Britain first under the *Industrial Schools Act 1857*, these schools were initially confined to children convicted of vagrancy whom the magistrates were enabled to commit to detention under certain restrictions, to what were called Certified Industrial Schools and, in the process withdrew all public assistance to ragged schools if they did not offer both industrial and literary instruction whether they qualified for a certificate or not. Effectively there were 3 categories:

1. Ragged schools where industrial instruction was not given – they received no funding
2. Ragged schools where industrial instruction was given which could be certified or not. Children convicted of vagrancy could be committed to certified schools by magistrates and detained there by managers
3. Reformatories for the education of children convicted of crime.<sup>153</sup>

Industrial schools managers could apply under the Act (where schools provided industrial training and where children up to 15 years of age were fed as well as taught) to be a certified Industrial School, which certificate could be withdrawn if annual reports or inspectors found them unsatisfactory. The British Act specified: the child had to be convicted of vagrancy by two justices or by a Magistrate, the Manager had to have room for an additional child in the Industrial School. the child was kept for 1 week in a workhouse or poorhouse or other suitable accommodation to see if parents could be found, if the parents could be found the child would be put on a bond of good behaviour for 12 months, but if the parents could not be found then the Magistrate had to decide the length of term the child should serve in the Industrial School, the child could however, be discharged if a suitable position was found.

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<sup>153</sup> *Industrial Schools Act 1857*, Parliament UK

The Act did not initially include Ireland and it was only a full ten years later in a House of Commons debate<sup>154</sup> that O'Connor Don proposed the introduction of this 'industrial school' concept into Ireland pointing out that "at present many children were sent into reformatories who ought to be sent to Industrial Schools". The Earl of Mayo pointed out that the distinction between Reformatories and Industrial Schools would be maintained saying that "The Industrial Schools should be there for those only who have committed no legal offence; and children guilty of acts of vagrancy should be sent to Reformatories instead of Industrial Schools"<sup>155</sup> The result was that in 1868 the provisions of the *Industrial Schools Act 1858* were applied in Ireland under the Bill proposed by O'Connor Don in the House of Lords. Some reformatories could be certified as Industrial Schools where the price given was more lucrative as the materials for education were provided and grants were available to build or renovate buildings while in Reformatories the price per child was fixed and the amounts paid by parents towards their upkeep was variable depending on the child's parent's income. Additionally, Industrial Schools fitted into the model of education which had already been started in the Christian Brothers and the Nunneries as they were called,<sup>156</sup> resulting in many Irish Industrial Schools being run by religious orders. Reports of the Inspectors of Education were often glowing in relation to the relationship that had built up between the children and the religious orders and it appeared that the level of education in 'industries' was adequate. Nunneries were now even more acceptable as providers of services to children, and their association with education took a new turn.

Burdened by their own destitute paupers (and possibly by expenditures towards empire building throughout the wider world), the British Government was eager to reduce the charges on rates which were occasioned by the poor and the education of the poor specifically. They set about examining their expenditure and how monies were applied as evident in the *Schools Inquiry Commission (the Powis Commission)* where questions were asked about the validity of some of the practices already in place in the education system. Reading the proceedings of the Inquiry there appears to be a suspicion that the system was being used to the advantage of those for whom it was not intended and that the figures being presented were questionable. Additionally, it was also clarified that

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<sup>154</sup> HC. Deb 25/3/1868 Vol 191 cc217-241

<sup>155</sup> HC. Deb 25/3/1868 Vol 191 cc217-241 (p.221)

<sup>156</sup> Who had only up to that point been paid on an average attendance rate which was less than a payment rate for registered students – in effect this appeared to create a more financially rewarding situation for the Christian Brothers and Nunneries.

alterations<sup>157</sup> had been made to the Stanley letter on the set up of the Commissioners of National Education which affected the way the regulations regarding religion had been interpreted and indeed was posited as the reason why Christian Brothers schools did not become part of the National Schools which were being inspected by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.<sup>158</sup>

The Lord Bishop of Ossory in his contribution exposed that convent schools were paid on average attendance but Monastery schools were paid nothing.<sup>159</sup> Some questioning was made about the materials which were procured by the nuns for the embroidery and needlework done by girls in convent schools and possibly returns on investment were not recorded to the satisfaction to the Commissioners who did not accept much without verification. Bickering happened and a Mr. Kavanagh told the priest of one parish not to remove scripture books from a school. The priest, possibly offended, banned all his parishioners from attending the National Schools. This caused conflict, particularly as the situation of separate religious instruction had previously been settled under the Statute of Thurles (1850) signed at the Synod of Thurles, to allow the separate treatment of religious education to children in the National Schools provided there was a timetable displayed showing the times for religious instruction.<sup>160</sup>

One particularly interesting point examined by the Commission of Inquiry was the almost line by line analysis of the Reports of the Commissioners of National Education over a number of years and how things which had been reported on appeared differently interpreted when viewed with the lens of the altered Stanley Letter. In relation to the element of part-time school for those in work who were to receive three hours education daily it is interesting to note that there were many issues in trying to marry the circumstances of the part-time cohort with the conditions of the schools,<sup>161</sup> which may well be of interest to the current envisioning of what will be effective in a Further Education and Training (FET) setting, but which does not appear to have addressed the issues raised in the 1870 inquiry. Another anomaly uncovered was the distinction between ‘schools’ and ‘schoolhouses’<sup>162</sup> where one schoolhouse might actually be two

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<sup>157</sup> Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland) 1870 Vol. 1, Dublin: HMSO pp23-28

<sup>158</sup> *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland) 1870* Vol. 1, Dublin: HMSO pp. 11 -12

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p.100

<sup>160</sup> It appears that the question of alteration of the Stanley Letter facilitated this type of dispute and while outlined by the Commissioners as being about religion was actually about the details in the books supplied and also in relation to the interpretation

<sup>161</sup> *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland) 1870* Vol. 1, Dublin: HMSO p. 326

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222

schools as the boys and girls were educated in separate rooms therein.<sup>163</sup> So many discrepancies were obvious that a new school census was carried out throughout Ireland and involved the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC),<sup>164</sup> among others, verifying the detail in relation to schools which had been continually reported on by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland and were found to be lacking in full detail. The Inquiry among its conclusions favoured a rate being applied to schools funding which would involve all citizens of Ireland paying towards each school rather than just the Commissioners being responsible for the reporting and indeed effective sanctioning of expenditure based on their reports.<sup>165</sup>

Teachers' payment was also addressed as part of the inquiry<sup>166</sup> at the same time as the Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO) was set up, with a view to advocating for better wages and conditions for teachers. The teachers enlisted Vere Foster a well-regarded philanthropist of the poor and destitute Irish, who funded many emigrants to new worlds and indeed himself ventured on a famine ship to verify the horror stories of emigration. The history of the INTO records that Vere Foster pointed out that teachers' salaries in Ireland "were only one-third of those paid in England, should be substantially increased and paid monthly instead of quarterly, and pensions and residences should be provided for them" (O'Connell, 1868, p. 5). Some of the grievances mentioned by O'Connell for agreement included pension equality, the unfairness of the payments by results system where there was no mandatory rule on attendance, payment of rent by the teacher when rents were rising and salaries were not, too many categories of school and different rates of payment per category, payment by the month, and paying for equipment and resources for the school out of teachers' wages. Further issues included the possibility of instant dismissal, the reduction of the absolute power of an inspector to condemn a teacher or school without mercy, the right of reply to any accusation made against them, the right of appeal against a decision of an inspector. Situations which arose where a school was closed, in which case it was

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>164</sup> The Royal Irish Constabulary were dispatched as the census was to be unannounced and the police (RIC) were employed to verify the buildings even though they were also not aware of the different types of schools being counted and whether workhouse schools should be counted for instance. *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland) 1870* Vol. 1, Dublin: HMSO pp. 23-28

<sup>165</sup> This particular suggestion may well be responsible for the concept of Vocational Education being paid in part by local rates in later years.

<sup>166</sup> *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland) 1870* Vol. 1, Dublin: HMSO p. 236, p. 332. It also became an issue that probationer teachers were being counted as teachers for capitation purposes and this was stopped which contributed to savings for the Crown as those probationer teachers were being overpaid up to that point.

argued that the teachers should be paid until they get another teaching position, free competition for teaching posts, payment for teaching monitors, along with widows and orphans' pensions where a teacher died. What O'Connell (O'Connell, 1868) discussed was a veritable shopping list but one which in itself depicts teaching in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century as not a particularly sought-after profession.

### *Changes Afoot*

In Britain the 1870 Irish Land Act debates in Parliament<sup>167</sup> concerned Irish tenants' right to buy their land holdings from their landlord if they could afford it. There were several changes over the next ten years and poor Irish tenants could eventually buy their holding with land attached on a lease from the landlord with conditions attached.<sup>168</sup> Should the tenant breach the conditions he could be evicted but if the landlord breached lease conditions, the tenant was to be given compensation. Almost simultaneously women were given some property rights and were permitted to hold £200 of her own income. . There appeared to be a recognition that Ireland needed change and the *Land Act (Ireland) 1881* allowed for a Land Commission to decide on fair rent issues. The life of the tenant was improving prompting the Earl of Carnarvon to note “(a)fter 700 years of rule – after nearly seventy years of Parliamentary Government, Ireland still remains dissatisfied by us, and in any great national emergency she and her resources must be deducted from the estimate of our national strength” (HL Deb 26 June 1868 Vol 193 cc2-100).

In a question to the House of Commons in 1899 a circular sent from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was questioned by a Mr. Dillon from Mayo East. The circular read: “I am directed that owing, perhaps chiefly, to a want of full information regarding the antecedents of children brought up for committal to Industrial Schools, numerous committals have from time to time been made of children belonging to a class for whom detention in an Industrial School was never intended” -----“his Excellency desires me to explain that he is advised that the Act was designed for the saving of children who, if not rescued from their surroundings would grow up in vice and add to the criminality of the country. Magistrates are only to make an order, ‘if satisfied of the fact’ that the child comes within one of the descriptions, and that it is expedient to deal with the case

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<sup>167</sup> See House of Lords, June 1871; HL 15<sup>th</sup> June 1871 Vol 207 cc 46-8

<sup>168</sup> See Irish Museum discussion and timeline at <https://www.museum.ie/Country-Life/Exhibitions/Current-Exhibitions/The-Times/Timeline-of-Events> (accessed 18th November 2019)

under the Act”.<sup>169</sup> Complaints were immediately made that Industrial Schools had been built (often by religious orders), and had been working for the previous 30 years with positive results, many children had achieved great things and there should be no change. In the ensuing debate it was observed that there may well have been subtle abuses of the Act such as parents reputedly sending their children to beg so that they would be sent to the Industrial School where they would be fed, educated and cared for.<sup>170</sup> It was pointed out by Gerald Balfour who quoted from the *Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the Industrial Schools Act 1884* where it stated; “it is certain that the certified Industrial Schools in Ireland are regarded as institutions for poor and deserted children rather than those of a semi-criminal class” and they had been used basically for the destitute.<sup>171</sup> Balfour claimed there was effectively “an abuse of the law”.<sup>172</sup> It was directed that Managers could in the future only admit children who were convicted under the *Vagrancy Act*<sup>173</sup> and were on the point of criminality as determined by two justices or a Magistrate and not to treat the Industrial Schools process as an effective upper workhouse.<sup>174</sup> Mr. Hemphill from Tyrone North pointed out that it was an “attempt to shift from the Consolidated fund on to an altogether over-burdened occupying tax payer in Ireland and that this objection was coincidental to the passing of the Local Government Act, which would mean the workhouse would be funded from Rates from the people, rather than Industrial Schools funded by Central Funds.<sup>175</sup> Reports followed of children being left on train platforms and sent to the Workhouse where the education system was non-existent.<sup>176</sup> Thus Industrial Schools which then came under the Home Office rather than the Education Department have to this day affected the position of the concept of ‘industrial’ education in Ireland.

*The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878*, put even more structure on the operation of education. The Act provided that an “Intermediate Education Board for Ireland” was to be set up as a body corporate<sup>177</sup> of which 3 members out of a total of 7 appointed by the Lord Lieutenant would make up a quorum,<sup>178</sup> could appoint

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<sup>169</sup> Hansard: HC Deb Vol 67 cc663-700

<sup>170</sup> Hansard: HC Deb Vol 67 cc663-700

<sup>171</sup> Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the Industrial Schools Act 1884, London: HMSO, p.50

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 684

<sup>173</sup> Vagrancy (Ireland) Act 1847, [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

<sup>174</sup> Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the Industrial Schools Act 1884, London: HMSO, p. 692

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 692 - 693

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 693 - 700

<sup>177</sup> Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878, S. 2 [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

<sup>178</sup> *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878*, S.2

examiners, and even remove such examiners from office.<sup>179</sup> The Board was also to “promote secular education in Ireland” by a) instituting an examination system, b) providing for prize payment and presentation of certificates to students, c) paying managers fees in association of those examinations, d) ensuring there was no examination in religious instruction or no payment for such examination, e) deciding who could qualify to do the examination, f) including girls, g) deciding the subjects and how they would be examined,<sup>180</sup> that no pupil was to attend a religion class unless the parents or guardians approved<sup>181</sup> which was called a conscience clause. This ensured that secular education was funded from monies received from lands confiscated under the *Irish Church Act 1869* which Gladstone had brought into law nine years previously.<sup>182</sup> Indeed, the monies which had been accrued under that latter act were also to be used to pay the pensions of teachers under the new *National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1879* until such time as a fund of its equivalent was amassed by deductions of teachers’ pension contributions under the Act.<sup>183</sup>

The close of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century saw demand for education a little more than the intermediate education and another branch of our education system – what can be described as the precursor of what in essence later became vocational education and a core aspect of much of the further education system– was established under the *Technical and Industrial Institutions Act 1892*<sup>184</sup>. This Act applied to Ireland (though not to Scotland) and was based on the *Technical Instruction Act 1889*<sup>185</sup> which imposed restrictions to technical and manual instruction where such instruction was contributed from rates payments of local authorities. The 1889 Act outlined that: a) such instruction was not to be given in elementary schools, b) there was to be no condition of restriction on Sunday School or religious observance, c) there was to be no religious formation or catechism, d) the district needs for technical education were to be of concern in relation to the rates being paid by the local authority, e) if there was rates contributed by the Local Authority then there was to be representation of the local authority in a pro-rata equivalence to the contribution of the rate, f) if there was a dispute in relation to the pro-rata allocation of the representation then the Department

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<sup>179</sup> *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878*, S.3

<sup>180</sup> *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878*, S.6

<sup>181</sup> *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878*, S. 7

<sup>182</sup> *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878*, S.8

<sup>183</sup> *National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1979*, S.8

<sup>184</sup> *Technical and Industrial Institution Act 1892*, [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

<sup>185</sup> *Technical Instruction Act 1892*, <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1889-technical-instruction-act.html> last accessed 20/11/2019.

of Science and Art would decide the matter as long as it was not a private for profit institution receiving the aid and g) the maximum amount to be charged to the rates was one penny in the pound.<sup>186</sup> *The Technical and Industrial Institutions Act 1892* provided:<sup>187</sup> 1) to give technical instruction within the meaning of the *Technical Instruction Act, 1889*, 2) to provide the training, mental or physical, necessary for the above purpose. 3) in connection with the above to provide workshops, tools, scientific apparatus and plant of all kinds, libraries, reading rooms, halls for lectures, exhibitions, and meetings, gymnasiums, and swimming baths, and also general facilities for mental and physical training, recreation, and amusement, and also all necessary and proper accommodation for persons frequenting such institutions.<sup>188</sup> The Technical Instruction Act 1899 defined “technical instruction” and also “manual instruction” in Section 8 as:

*“instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments. It shall not include teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment, but, save as aforesaid, shall include instruction in the branches of science and art with respect to which grants are for the time being made by the Department of Science and Art, and any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial and agricultural subjects), which may for the time being be sanctioned by that Department by a minute laid down by Parliament and made on the representation of a local authority that such a form of instruction is required by the circumstances of its district*

*The expression “manual instruction” shall mean instruction in the use of tools, processes of agriculture and modeling in clay, wood or other material”*

*Technical Instruction Act 1899, Section 8*

The subsequent *Report of the Inspectors of Intermediate Education Ireland 1903*<sup>189</sup> went so far as to try to define what they interpreted as technical education as they effectively separated it from intermediate education.

*Without attempting to define the vexed term Technical Education, it may be said that the Science and Art subjects introduced by the Department into the Intermediate schools are non-technical in so far that they are not treated with reference to their application to any specific trade or industry, but with reference to the general intellectual training which they afford. Even in the case of Manual Instruction, which might seem to be most clearly “Technical” in its scope, the Department points out in its syllabus for Secondary schools that the aim of instruction in it is “not technical but educational; not the knowledge of a craft nor the acquisition of manual skill, . . . but intellectual and moral training.” The Department has, in fact, acted on the principle which may now be taken as one of the few axioms admitted by all interested in Higher Education, that a sound Technical education can only be built on the foundation of a good Secondary education, and that the interests of neither Technical education nor Intermediate education would be served by the premature introduction into Intermediate schools of such specialised instruction in processes of manufacture as is given in the Technical Institutions or Evening Classes at present working under the Department. The co-ordination of Technical with*

<sup>186</sup> *Technical Instruction Act 1889, Section 1.1*

<sup>187</sup> *Technical and Industrial Institutions Act 1892, Section 1, www.irishstatutebook.ie*

<sup>188</sup> *Technical and Industrial Institutions Act 1892, Section 1*

<sup>189</sup> *Inspector of Intermediate Education in Ireland (1903), Report of the Inspectors of Intermediate Education Ireland 1903, London: HMSO*

*Intermediate education is best secured if a scholar passes from the latter to the former with such habits of trained observation and intelligence and with such a general acquaintance with the nature and methods of investigation pursued by all branches of Science as will enable him to follow without difficulty instruction in their application to any specific department of trade or industry.*

*Report of the Inspectors of Intermediate Education Ireland, 1903 p. 34*

There is recognition of ‘the vexed’ term and of education for a particular useful purpose and not just for the personal development of the individual and certainly this changing of structures within the overall education policy concept facilitated a utilitarian approach to education of the individual, theorised by Mills and Bentham as outlined above, which has been a feature of classification within Further Education to this day. Such definition in relation to Further Education has become so familiar, as to be unquestioned but that does not render them invisible. However, perhaps in using them so freely without understanding those definitions is tantamount to a lack of care to clarify understanding of concepts when introduced. In the words of Fromm “you cannot eat the meaning, you cannot consume the sense, and as far as the future is concerned – *après nous le deluge!*” (Fromm, 2002, p. 167).

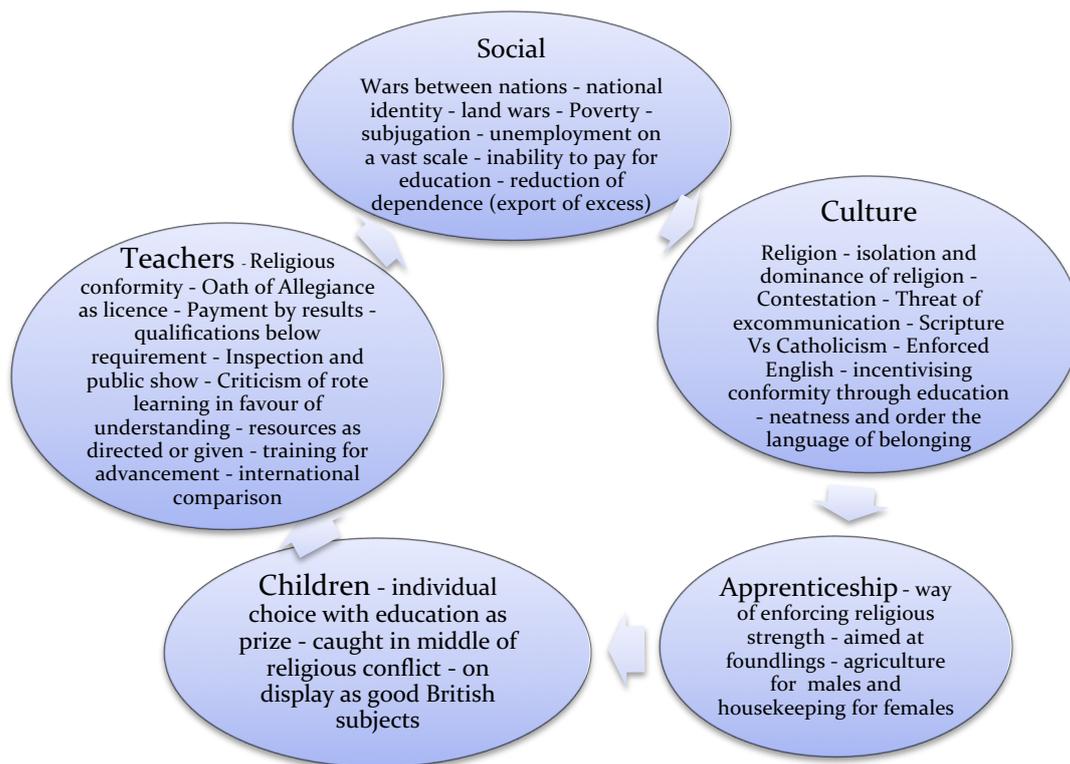
### ***Chapter Summation***

This particular epoch in Irish educational history is categorised within an era of policy thinking based on policy makers who followed processes to ensure accountability as part of the paternalistic processes incorporated into the policy processes of the time. The fundamental issue revealed in the period between 1800 and 1900, was that Ireland was a very small country of the world, but held a perceived strategic location. This perceived strategic advantage was deliberately rendered ineffective by imposing a system of subjugation specifically by Britain in order to protect those with financial and social dominance and Ireland paid a high price. What is obvious however is that Ireland really had nothing to offer the British at that stage and while colonialism is often based on the acquisition of assets from countries which are colonised, this was not the case in Ireland as industrialisation had effectively bypassed Ireland which remained destitute and agrarian.

The effect of this process ensured that, as a nation, Ireland did not possess control over its educational system as the purse of the British Realm held the power in this period from 1800-1900. It was the central authority making policy decisions in relation to the education of Irish citizens. The process towards dominance over Ireland was, however,

thwarted by the people's non-conformist nature which may well have been what has been identified as an effective belligerence to cede absolute power, as identified as '*homo politicus*' depicted by Brown (2015). While covert in its presentation, there appeared to be a tacit acknowledgement by the British hierarchy of the existence of something beyond touch which appeared to protect the cultural position of the Irish people themselves, in as much as those who did not conform to the direction of those who held the purse strings were not afraid to continue to do so, and had the resolve to carry on regardless, and appeared to be grudgingly admired for their resolve. This message is one which appears throughout the history of Irish Further Education from the 1800s to 2020 examined in this thesis.

In its attempts to overcome this presumed reluctance to 'toe the line', the British realm reported and oversaw all elements of education in Ireland. Reports had specific component parts which I have classified under five headings; Social, Culture, Apprenticeship, Children, and Teachers, each instrumental in the way changes were being incorporated into what was perceived as a new national identity in Ireland. This may well have been because the Realm itself reported under broad categories as centres of expedience in the educational process through which they could render control financially. This chapter has explored the broad categories and their implications for those who were educated in Ireland and examined themes which will recur in later chapters over this journey towards learning about Further Education in Ireland.



**Figure 12 Components of Irish Education 1800 - 1900**

Language and Religion, classified under Culture became very significant factors of contention and the processes of mediation of the resultant conflicts have had a lasting impact on Ireland's attempt to streamline a system of education in effect and this has been replicated throughout the formation of what developed into Further Education in Ireland. While Britain as the effective policy maker supported its own structures and values in Ireland, it was not an easy or seamless process as outlined in this chapter. Individual children and their families risked excommunication for availing of the education provided which was also in another language and took no account of native tongue and linguistic differences. There was a system of apprenticeship but it was directed at making better subjects of the children in the processes and this was firmly based on religion where only Protestants could have apprentices and the aim of the apprenticeship was to make good Protestants of the children who were apprenticed. This is an example of where apprenticeship served a political purpose for those who set up the apprenticeship process rather than being based on the process of providing the skills which apprentices themselves would naturally have chosen. This use of apprenticeships for these very specific political intentions has obvious implications for the particular shape and evolution of apprenticeships in Ireland into the future and has possibly contributed to a scepticism of apprenticeships in Ireland to this day which is

today firmly entwined in Further Education and Training. From a policy analysis perspective, it also highlights the influence of cultural and political objectives on policy objectives within Irish education.

Where education was eventually provided there was also a clear gendered distinction between the education afforded males and females with women clearly expected to become housekeepers, seamstresses or more subservient positions which clearly did not require the equivalent skills of males. Men or boys more specifically were headed towards agricultural pursuits but were given skills in mathematics which would allow them become tradespersons which was in keeping with the gender divisions within Britain and other countries also. This highlights the influence of gendered cultural norms entering policy.

Specifically, in relation to children in Ireland, this chapter outlined the isolation some endured to achieve an education when they were required to renounce all they knew to become better educated. Often children were the hostages to their own parents' religious leanings. They were the subjects of public display in order to demonstrate that they had achieved competence whenever the inspector chose to visit their area and it is also clear in the reports of the time that those children were adept at appearing to know what was required of them in a performance situation. Their poverty was on display for every passing visitor of means to view at these public displays when their teachers were also on view. Educational policy framed the individual as the focus, with their decisions, performance and outcomes judged on an individual level rather than the responsibility of the community or system. In terms of individual choices in this epoch it was however of note that there was a move to improve the plight of the pauper Irish but the cost to the individual child appeared to be tantamount to a cultural treason of their national identity. It would be unfair to characterise the issues as all being of British making as certainly children at the time were quick to learn and the lesson was unfortunately one of resistance to education on terms which did not suit the prevailing church entities of the time. This concept of religious contention had an enormous impact on education policy and implementation, and Ireland is no exception as will be seen in this thesis.

Teachers were seen as role models particularly when they could only be English and required to pledge allegiance to the Crown. Hence they were used as key elements of

policy implementation of political or cultural objectives. Individual teachers were constantly under scrutiny, often found wanting, and were often drawn into the centre of the contestation of religious interests whether in the ethos of their schools or the fielding of the issues which arose. Poverty was abject and did not exclude teachers as has been outlined in this chapter. Numbers in schools were extraordinary with as many as 800 children in a two-classroom school, albeit with a balcony. The monitor system was incorporated to assist teachers deal with the sheer volume of children and to oversee the processes involved but they were held responsible for any shortcomings in their monitors where it arose also. The teacher bore ultimate responsibility for any educational shortfalls highlighted in the public examinations in the majority of cases. However there were instances where the managers of those teachers or the teachers themselves, depending on the geographic location of the school, were themselves prioritising return on the land attached to country schools whether to supplement their own poor wages or for other purposes or part-occupation while using the schoolchildren they were supposed to teach as cheap labour. Accountability was overt but it appeared to inculcate covert practices which were not always conducive to a respect for the processes within education and this, in an Irish setting, may have elicited a wariness of complicity with education thus administered.

For teachers accountability was not just about budgeting as they were also held accountable for their own actions in a utilitarian mode similar to that outlined by policy thinkers such as Bentham and more particularly Mill, and were also expected to conform to meet curriculum challenges where they had no input into that curriculum. They were merely the doers for the policymaker who expected them to do more and more for the same wages or even in some cases to accept less wages if they could not meet the requirements of the job or more specifically do so within the resources which were assigned to it. There were many instances when the students themselves provided cheap labour under the guise of education as already outlined. This concept of young people being capable or geared towards cheap labour provision is a theme which recurs in this journey of enquiry into further education in Ireland as seen throughout this thesis. Although Further Education had not emerged as an entity at this stage in Irish educational history where concentration was on the alleviation of dire poverty, this provision of work or cheap labour, is a recurring theme throughout this research. While this was certainly needed, the issue of dire and abject poverty had actually been created by the processes of suppression of the Irish in the first place. The construction of

robust generic basic educational structures where none existed previously was the focus of this century as outlined in the research. We have seen that there were specific parameters being applied to the type of education being offered to different cohorts which appeared not to be based on potential outcomes but on potential returns on resource investments and local conditions. However, that very process has endured and has contributed to some of the anomalies which are outlined in this research on Further Education in Ireland and which chapter 5 continues to examine.

## Chapter 5 – A New Ireland (1900 – 1950)

### *Chapter Introduction*

This chapter outlines anomalies which became increasingly obvious in the manner in which British policy structures were applied in Ireland. It also illustrates a certain belligerence in the Irish interpretation of educational structures which originated in Britain but were applied in Ireland within Irish socially constructed parameters. This starts with an exposure of some unfairness in the much relied-upon accountability which saw Ireland question the application of rates which in itself displays a newfound confidence in Ireland. The establishment of Technical education explained in Chapter 4 and a precursor of the constructs of Further Education suffered a setback in Ireland and this affected the application of the process even though the concept was understood and clearly defined as we have seen already.

Further issues arose in relation to the treatment of children, specifically those who were assigned to Industrial schools in Ireland, leading Britain to correct the process and insist on the correct application of the policy intentions which had been laid down by Britain. This, in summary undid the good intentions which had been at the centre of the Irish application of the policies of Britain which may well have been indicative of a new national cultural identity developing in Ireland, coinciding with new national ambitions of independence as will be outlined. What is clear however in this epoch is that Ireland still followed Britain's lead in education despite an opportunity to totally change policies as the new nation emerged but failed to grasp the opportunity to do so. This did undoubtedly allow educational structures to be subsumed without redesign, contributing to a blurring of structural limits which can still be seen particularly in Further Education in Ireland.

### *A New Century – a new reality*

Queen Victoria in her speech at the opening of the House of Lords in the new Century on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1900 outlined where Britain stood at the beginning of the new Century, but in doing so perhaps revealed more about her reign: “The peace which had recently been broken in South Africa when last I addressed you has unhappily not been restored;

but otherwise my relations with other States are friendly”.<sup>1</sup> She warned that “the time is not propitious for any domestic reforms which involve a large expenditure”,<sup>2</sup> and she listed the relief of “tithe-rent payers in Ireland and proposals for better enabling local authorities to aid secondary and technical education in England and Wales”.<sup>3</sup> The issue of Technical education had very quickly in the new Century become contentious for the British Parliament for two specific reasons. Firstly, what became known as the Cockerton Judgement had held that the monies used to fund technical education which had been paid by the London County Council when there was no authority to pay the expenditure of technical education from local rates because the 1870 Education Act had stipulated that the specific funds, to be allocated from the rates for education, could only be used for elementary education (Taylor, 1982 p. 329). The Local Government auditor Mr Cockerton agreed and the decision was given his name. Despite appeal to the court, the decision stood. Secondly it was explained in the House of Commons in 1904 that Ireland had not apparently received its fair share of the funding for technical education as England and Wales had received multiples of the amount which should have been allocated to Ireland. It was an embarrassment to the House of Commons and the concept of technical education in Ireland earned itself a less than enthusiastic reputation in the process,<sup>4</sup> and was a disaster for meaningful development of technical education at the time particularly in Britain and Ireland as explored in this chapter.

Irish nationalist interests pursuing Home Rule advocated for a government to sit in Ireland so that Irish issues could be properly decided by Irish people in a call somewhat strengthened by the revelations in relation to technical education funding outlined. King Edward VII had succeeded Queen Victoria in 1901 and visited Ireland in 1903, the same year the *Wyndham Land Purchase Act 1903*, (also known as the *Irish Land Purchase Act 1903*) was passed.<sup>5</sup> This Act forced landlords to sell their property to their tenants at affordable prices and set limits on the multiples of rent that would be deemed to be fair prices. *The Education Act 1902* (also known as the Balfour Act) remedied the difficulties of funding which had arisen in Britain and provided a system of local authorities who would be responsible for funding, abolished School Boards,

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<sup>1</sup> House of Lords Queens Speech 30<sup>th</sup> January 1900, HL Deb 30 January 1900 Vol. 78 cc1-4 (2) see <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1900/jan/30/the-queens-speech> (last accessed 20/11/2019)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., (4)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., (4)

<sup>4</sup> HC Deb 24 February 1904 Vol. 130 cc910-36 (910), see <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1904/feb/24/technical-education-ireland-equivalent> (last accessed 20/11/2019)

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1903/act/37/enacted/en/print.html>

and set out a new system called the ‘secondary education’ system. The Act was very complicated and in effect it re-designed a whole system by which education was administered, managed and funded as depicted in Figure 14 below.

A 1904 House of Commons debate<sup>6</sup> heard Irishman John Redmond unmask the unfairness of many of Queen Victoria’s government decisions about Ireland in a resounding condemnation to the House of Commons;

*“..... this Board has been, from an educational point of view, narrow and incompetent even on the authority of their own Resident Commissioner, and from an Irish point of view has been grossly anti-national. .... That can be proved by referring to the declaration of Archbishop Whateley, when he declared in so many words that the object of the Board was to proselytise the Catholic children of Ireland. I would like to quote a few words written by Mr. Starkie, the present Resident Commissioner, the paid servant of this Board, as to the merits of his employers. He says— “I fancy few practical educationists will deny that the National Board were guilty of a disastrous blunder in thrusting upon a Gaelic-speaking race a system of education produced after a foreign model, and utterly alien to their sympathies and antecedents. Such an attempt was unsound, both philosophically and practically. Neglecting the principles of continuity which pervades all human things, it disregarded the home training and associations of the children, and thus rending in twain the nascent intelligence, rendered all real development impossible. True education is a refining and developing of the whole intellectual life and character, and I think there can be little doubt that the Board were guilty of narrow pedantry in neglecting as worthless the whole previous life of the pupil, and the multitude of associations, imaginations, and sentiments that formed the content of his consciousness. The consequences of such a system are inevitable. To this unhappy blunder may be attributed the want of initiative, and independence and distaste of knowledge, which so hampers the industrial development of Ireland—qualities so alien to the quick sympathies and alert intelligence, which are the most salient characteristics of our race”.”*  
House of Commons UK Vol 129 cc199-269 (206)

There was obvious resentment among Irish politicians at the time that Ireland had effectively been tricked into paying rates that were then inequitably distributed to England and Scotland education to the disadvantage of Irish education, and this became entrenched in the argument for Home Rule. Moreover there is again a discourse evident in this last quotation from the House of Commons which almost grudgingly recognises an innate intelligence and creativity which Irish people held close and retained as a type of defence from ultimate control, and which, in the longer term was almost a covert withholding of power by a people. However the issue was an unfair application of policy resulting in an unfair allocation of resources for which Britain held the reins.

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<sup>6</sup> HC Deb 03 Feb 1904 Vol 129 cc199-269

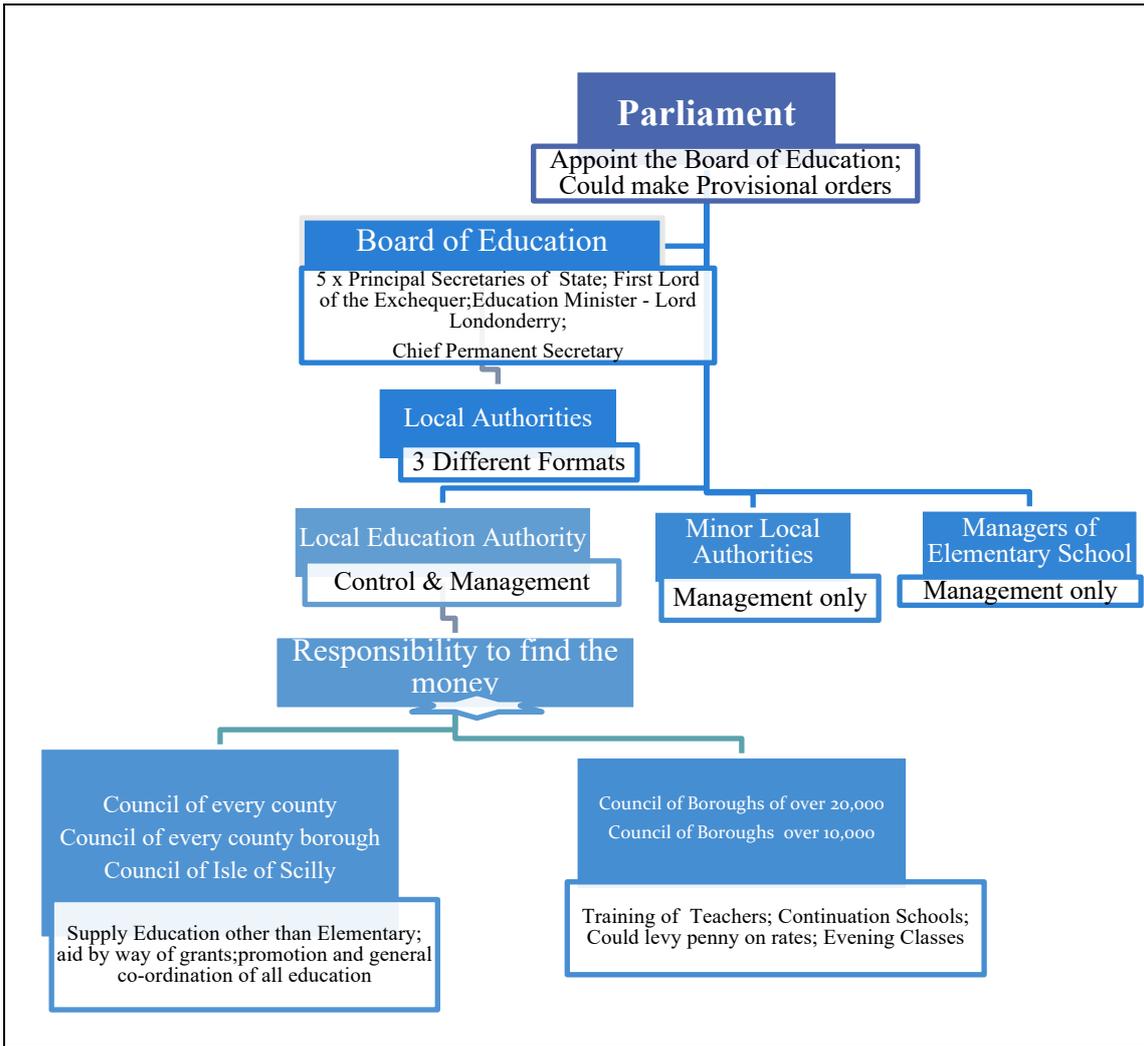


Figure 13 Post Education Act 1902 (the Balfour Act)

*Home Rule*

In 1911 Ireland finally got the promise of a limited version of Home Rule when the House of Lords veto was removed. However the Home Rule Act, as first passed, did contain an assertion that the British Parliament would retain command “over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland.” There was opposition as half a million people signed the Ulster Covenant against home rule specifying that Ulster wished to continue to be represented by Britain, but it was eventually carried in January 1913 and passed as the *Government of Ireland Act 1914*<sup>7</sup> and due to commence in September 1914. World War was however imminent and meant, that Irish politicians knowledgeable of Irish sensitivities would run the country, while still answerable to Britain and became part of a separation (albeit limited) of the affairs of Britain and Ireland following the

<sup>7</sup> *Government of Ireland Act 1914* <[www.parliament.co.uk](http://www.parliament.co.uk)>

*Suspensory Act 1914*<sup>8</sup> which put a hold on the Act becoming fully effective. It was however not to become an uncontested reality immediately as there was entrenched opposition from Sinn Féin<sup>9</sup> and others. These objections brought about what is referred to as Ireland's Civil War (June 1922-May 1923),<sup>10</sup> which was bloody, long, vicious and divisive. Just prior to this, the Easter Rising (1916) saw a Republic declared in Ireland but some of those involved in the rebellion were imprisoned in Britain or executed. Saorstát Eireann (Free State Ireland) became a reality in 1918 albeit with many of the newly elected ministers still imprisoned in Britain as a result of their actions in the Easter Rising leaving them effectively removed from their own policy processes and the practical governance of those policies. This may well have been part of the reason that education policy was not more robustly examined at that time which allowed structures to be subsumed into the new State without addressing the anomalies already evident such as the pursuit of industrial education in a country which had been virtually bypassed by the Industrial Revolution. Final independence from the United Kingdom following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921 had the effect of dividing the six counties of Ulster, who wished to remain loyal to the Crown, and the remaining twenty-six counties who formed the Saorstát Eireann. The new State set about writing its own Constitution (Bunreacht na hÉireann), which was finalised in 1937. While the Constitution came into effect in 1937 it was not until 1949 that Ireland was no longer a part of the British Commonwealth. This ambition was obvious in the efforts of Saorstát Éireann to be independent of Britain during its application to join the League of Nations in 1921 (Keatinge, 1970). One of the first Acts of the new Irish State was *The Adaptation of Enactments Act, 1922* which stated:

*“all Acts passed by the British Parliament which were in force on the 6<sup>th</sup> Day of December, 1922 (being the date of the coming into operation of the constitution aforesaid) in the area now comprised in Saorstát Eireann will by virtue of the said Article 73 have the force of law in Saorstát Eireann”.*

*The Adaptation of Enactments Act, 1922*<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *The Suspensory Act* is explained in detail at [https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1914/aug/31/government-of-ireland-and-established#column\\_437](https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1914/aug/31/government-of-ireland-and-established#column_437) (last accessed 20/11/2019); [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1914/90/pdfs/ukpga\\_19140090\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1914/90/pdfs/ukpga_19140090_en.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Sinn Féin was the original Republican Party which later split into Sinn Fein and Fianna Fáil – both parties

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Ireland's Civil War see ‘Hearts of Stone in Ireland's civil war, Irish Times Diarmaid Ferriter, Mar 7 2015, < <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/century/the-civil-war/hearts-of-stone-in-ireland-s-civil-war-1.2125800> >(last accessed 20/11/2019); Ferriter (2015) *A Nation Not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913-23*, London: Profile Books Ltd.

<sup>11</sup> *The Adaptation of Enactments Act, 1922* <<http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1922/act/2/enacted/en/html> > (last accessed 20/11/2019)

Thus, our education system, and the laws that governed it, were effectively transcribed to our new State's laws, and with them, the distinctions between technical education, intermediate and primary education as well as Reformatories, Industrial Schools and Workhouses attached to Poor Unions. Whether this was as a result of the complicated new structures designed in the Balfour Act or were a lack of oversight, it has ensured that Irish Further Education Policy decisions were not made at the time. While it was obviously expedient for the formation of the new State that those laws were transcribed, it certainly proved lamentable that in doing so the laws which had already been contested by Irish politicians in the House of Commons were not altered in the process.

### *Education, War, Reconstruction and Technical Education*

Both World War I (WWI) and World War II (WWII) had enormous financial, emotional and social impacts on economies in Europe like Germany, France and Britain. Children throughout Britain had been displaced from big cities to rural areas to protect them from bombing campaigns and many had their education disrupted.<sup>12</sup> Ireland contributed in manpower terms to the British efforts as poor people joined the British Army, but as a nation-state Ireland remained neutral then and since then. Much has been written about WWI and WWII and it is not intended to add to any such narratives since my particular focus is on education and how our Education System and more specifically Further Education developed in Ireland. The types of legislation enacted for a considerable period in Britain were however, affected by the needs of war, as would be expected, with many UK Acts, written in relation to the restrictions on military operations, treason, rationing and other necessary changes.<sup>13</sup> Educational policy was side-lined by the experiences of war and its aftermath.

Irish education and teaching, was very much affected by WWI as young people left to join the British Army and Navy where wages were steady and many never returned whether as a result of death or onward emigration. *The Fifty Fifth Report of the Chief Inspector Appointed to Visit the Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Ireland (1916)* noted that the number of boys who had gone to HM forces between August 1<sup>st</sup> and June 1<sup>st</sup> 1917 was 3860; of which 1254 were from Reformatory schools and 2606 from

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<sup>12</sup> Operation Pied Piper as the child evacuation process was called is discussed in: 'Second World War taught us the danger of family separation, warns former child evacuee', *Independent*, Amy B Wang, 20 June 2018. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/family-separation-second-world-war-us-immigration-evacuation-children-a8407581.html> accessed 20/11/2019

<sup>13</sup> Examples: Defence of the Realm Act 1914, Representation of the People Act 1918, Munitions of War Act 1915. For others see [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk)

Industrial schools making a total of 3860; of whom 1132 were dead by the end of the war.<sup>14</sup> These were disposable children to all intents and purposes and it is unlikely their loss was mourned. However, the wages of war were above those of a teacher and many potential teachers, particularly boys, throughout the length and breadth of the country appeared to leave to join up to fight in the War rather than stay in education and progress to teaching.

Empire building was replaced by survival necessities with more than 100 million from all countries, killed during both wars. Legislation which had been in progress was halted; in the vacuum new influences came to bear. A confidential memorandum on the Education Bill of 1917 from the War Cabinet on 31st October 1917<sup>15</sup> written by H.A.L.F. who may have been, as later shown in a Cabinet paper in 1920, The Right Hon. H.A.L. Fisher, M.P., President of the Board of Education, outlined that “the opportunity is unique and will not recur. There can be no extension of popular education in this country which does not entail some abridgement of juvenile labour in the field of industry. Indeed, we should, I take it, all desire a greater and more economical use of machinery, an increased number of brain workers, and a reduction in the volume of juvenile labour employed on mechanical tasks”<sup>16</sup> explaining further, the writer outlined “(T)here must be less industrial employment of young children, a larger employment of adults, and an extended use of machinery. The inconvenience necessarily dependent upon these changes will be very greatly lightened by demobilization”.<sup>17</sup> Whether the motive was really educational advancement, or mere pragmatism, is perhaps illustrated at the end of the memorandum; “If we wait too long and allow the generous atmosphere created by the common sufferings of the war to be dispersed, I can see very little chance of substantial progress upon rational lines”.<sup>18</sup> Wait they did, however, as one War effectively replaced another with Civil War in Ireland, the Second World War (WWII), as well as changes in Parliament, Sinn Féin won the 1918 election in Ireland but many of those elected could not take their seats as they were imprisoned in Britain. A second reading of the Education Bill took place in the House of Commons on 13th March 1918 and there certainly did seem to have been

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<sup>14</sup> Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Ireland (1916) *The Fifty Fifth Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Ireland 1916*, p. 15, Dublin: HMSO

<sup>15</sup> The National Archives, Catalogue Reference: CAB/24/30, Image Reference: 0059  
<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-30-gt-2459-59.pdf> accessed June 2018

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2

much anticipation of changes in education. Mr. Acland (Member for Cambourne) outlined;

*“I believe that in the position in which we shall find ourselves after the War industries that do not want workers with a broader outlook, a better trained character and an increased power of applying their brains, not only to the particular industry concerned but to the ordinary problems of citizenship, are not industries that we shall be able to encourage or even keep in this country”*

*HC Deb 13 March 1918 Vol 104 cc335-447 (339)*

The final comment above, appeared to uphold his earlier comment in the same speech that; “I believe that some of the coal owners, certainly some of the people representing the farmers, have tended to take the view that their industries cannot possibly stand any diminution of the hours spent by boys and girls in work in order that there may be an extension of the hours spent in school”.<sup>19</sup> In relation to the argument parents put forward that they could not do without the earnings of the children, Mr. Acland’s suggestion was that the wages of adults should be increased instead.<sup>20</sup> It was clear that many industries had given submissions to Parliament and were cautious in their approval of every section of the Bill (later named the Macpherson Education Act), but it was agreed by many industries that young people should receive more education and broader education. Certainly Mr. Acland appeared to side clearly with education for those who should have it. Sir Henry Craik summarised what appeared to motivate the Bill; “Equality of gifts and equality of powers are impossible, but it is essential to have equality of condition, and you must establish it. I hope that this Bill will prove a solvent of class antipathies and will open up a new era of freedom and elasticity of school life, a full career for the teacher, and cement the nation by the way of enhanced character and enhanced intellectual standard, and at the same time of increased prosperity”.<sup>21</sup> These sentiments were laudable, but perhaps education was to be a panacea for the horrors of war which it certainly did not become, despite objectives so expressed.

The Education Act 1918, was further complicated by the fact that the London County Council had implemented the Act and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not inclined to stop the process in London which was not complained about. Notably, Birmingham did protest and it was halted there. Even in its application, this Act was therefore piecemeal<sup>22</sup> and it was agreed that London would be released from the obligation it had

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<sup>19</sup> HC Deb 13 March 1918 vol. 104 cc335-447 (338)

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 340

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 366

<sup>22</sup> British Cabinet Paper 75 (20), 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1920

started, only because there was a commencement date specified for it under the Act.<sup>23</sup> An Education Report by the Board of Education for 1921 prior to the handing over of Irish Education to the Department of Education of Saorstát, had clearly described what did form Technical Education at that time as:

***Senior Technical Schools** – for students over 16 years of age the majority of whom learnt information related to the occupations of the part-time students; some full-timers who learnt the skills for the occupations they hoped to enter; students who were working for University degrees in arts or pure science.*

***School of Art** – for students over 13 years of age, who were, or had been engaged in industries dependent on art; teachers of elementary or secondary schools who were improving their qualifications to teach art.*

***Junior Technical Schools** – full-time schools which allowed boys and girls who had left school at 13/14 years of age, to stay on for two or three years to continue in the ordinary school subjects while also learning occupational subjects like engineering, woodwork, needlework or dressmaking.*

***Day Continuation Schools** – schools which provided tuition for students who were engaged in ordinary jobs for the rest of the time and was compulsory up to 16 years of age and eventually up to 18 years of age.*

***Evening Continuation Schools** – to allow young people who had left school to attend in the evening for about two years<sup>24</sup>.*

A comparison of what was intended as Further Education above and this clear division of branches of Technical Education shows that the lines between both overlapped and there was no clear distinction between them. Civil War in Ireland ensured that the Irish Free State had plenty to deal with and several changes of personnel took place in the intervening years until stability appeared to have been established after the Anglo-Irish Treaty.<sup>25</sup> This may well have been the reason that, over time, the distinction was not clearly defined by practice, and the problem, while not compounded, certainly appears to have been overlooked.

### *Teething Problems*

It would be naïve to suggest the transfer of power to the Free State/Saorstát and eventually to Éire just happened, as there are so many layers of transfer and negotiations which are necessary in such events. Trust, belief, political factions, subterfuge and inexperience abounded, with expectations and dreams laid in the hands of several political parties or amalgams over a number of years. While the Civil War was, to say the least, divisive, ruthless and bloody, it may well have allowed for a certain culling

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<sup>23</sup> British Cabinet Paper 27 (22) of 16<sup>th</sup> May 1922

<sup>24</sup> Author's summary on reading of reports prior to 1921

<sup>25</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> December 1921

process which ensured that those who were eventually triumphant had earned their success in the eyes of their followers. While this might be said it also clearly divided support between what was to eventually become Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael particularly following Michael Collins' assassination.<sup>26</sup>

While the focus of the majority of people was on politics specifically, there were also changes in Civil Servants in the formation and consolidation of the new Nation. The Civil Service that existed in Ireland at the time, consisted of those who had served in Dublin Castle under the Lord Lieutenant (Maguire, 2008). These Civil Servants had their own worries about being transferred back to London rather than maintaining the positions of power they had in Dublin. There was also competition for positions from war-returning Civil Servants who had served in trenches during World War I (Maguire, 2008). Maguire outlines a robust system of self-interest being protected by some very powerfully organised Civil Servants in Dublin who could clearly foresee a threat to their jobs, and who negotiated special terms in the event they were to be selected to move with the old British Administration in Ireland should the 'new broom sweep clean'.

#### *Ireland puts education on a new footing*

The Irish Free State, inherited our education system as outlined and after 31<sup>st</sup> January 1922 the Minister for Education role was taken by Eóin MacNeill, who was in fact Minister for Irish not Minister of Education, while Seosamh O'Neill was Secretary to the Department of Education.<sup>27</sup> Once again, but now possibly more politically motivated rather than culturally or morally motivated, Irish language both spoken and taught, dominated education policy ambitions. As outlined in the report on education of 1923-1924, the country was divided into seven Divisions each of which had a Divisional Inspector.<sup>28</sup> The Divisions were divided further into districts, with an inspector over each district. The National Education Commissioners were established by Order 10 of 1923.<sup>29</sup> The Report of 1923-1924 outlined that Irish had been made an

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<sup>26</sup> Michael Collins was the Commander in Chief of the National Army in the Civil War and was shot in an ambush at Béal na mBláth, Co. Cork by anti-treaty forces in August 1922. It is said that his death changed the course of Irish history and is the feature of the film 'The Wind that Shakes the Barley' directed by Ken Loach in 2006, by Pathe Distribution (UK) which won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes film festival in 2006. The topic is also discussed in Ferriter (2015); Lee (2001).

<sup>27</sup> An Roinn Oideachas 1923-24, Oideachas Náisiúnta (Report and Statistics relation to National Education in Saorstát for the Year 1923-24: Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 5

<sup>29</sup> National Education Commissioners Order, 1923 (No. 10 of 1923), 16<sup>th</sup> August 1923

ordinary subject and that it expected “instruction in the subjects of the curriculum through the medium of Irish” and that it would be “extended in accordance with the capacity of the teachers and the circumstances of the schools”.<sup>30</sup> Additional changes made included teachers’ pay which was cut by 10%;<sup>31</sup> Algebra and geometry were to be taught to girls provided the teacher was qualified to teach those subjects;<sup>32</sup> and teachers had to attend Irish courses from 4<sup>th</sup> July to 25<sup>th</sup> August. 12,000 attended in the first year (1922) and 14,000 in 1923 and was a requirement for those under 45 years of age.<sup>33</sup> Compulsory attendance of 75 complete days in each half year was required for children between 6 and 14 years of age.<sup>34</sup> Certificates of Merit had been agreed for children over 14 years of age who had attended an extra year (the Seventh Standard) and were worthy of the award in the opinion of the inspectors.<sup>35</sup>

The *Report for 1924-1925-1926 of Saorstát Eireann* outlined that the Minister of Education had taken over;

- “(1) The Commissioners of National Education who administered the system of Primary Education.
- (2) The Commissioners of Intermediate Education, who administered the system of Secondary Education
- (3) The Commissioners of Education in Ireland who administered the schemes for Endowed Schools”<sup>36</sup>

However, the other two were treated differently:

- “(4) The Department of Reformatory and Industrial Schools
- (5) The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction which administered Technical Education”

Reformatory and Industrial Schools went to the Minister for Local Government,<sup>37</sup> and Agriculture and Technical instruction schools went to the Minister for Agriculture. It is possible that this division of those specific branches of education immediately

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<sup>30</sup> Report and Statistics in relation to National Education in Saorstát for the year 1923-24>

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 9

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.10

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 26

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.27

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.28

<sup>36</sup> *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1925-26-27 and the Financial and Administrative Year 1926-1927*, Dublin: The Stationery Office, pp 1-50

<sup>37</sup> There is a succinct examination of the historical steps towards this distinction included in the *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1925-26-27 and the Financial and Administrative Year 1926-1927*, Dublin: The Stationery Office pp.83-9, Dublin: The Stationery Office.

segregated the differing aspects of each Minister's brief and later when the *Ministers and Secretaries Act of 1924* came into operation it outlined the remit of the Department of Education as being responsible for Primary, Intermediate, Endowed, Reformatory and Industrial, Technical, Colleges of Science, National Museum of Science and Art, Metropolitan School of Art, The Geological Survey and the National Library of Ireland.<sup>38</sup> It was impossible to conceal the clear demarcation which had already been made.<sup>39</sup> The report outlines changes that were made and in doing so, discusses 3 main branches of education<sup>40</sup> and the creation of a "standing Council of Chief Inspectors" to "co-ordinate of the inspectorial staffs of the three branches as far as the different nature of the work permits, the unification or correlation of their programmes and methods, the preparation of schemes for reforming any sections of their branches that are defective or not consonant with one another, and in general, the formulation of the best methods for correlation or carrying into effect as one whole the educational policy of the Department".<sup>41</sup> It explains that there was to be a direct route from primary to post-primary to university and that steps were being made, to establish this route, which could be facilitated by the allocation of grants from the County Councils to eventually ensure free compulsory education until 16 years of age.<sup>42</sup> A pragmatic approach as theorised by James (1842 – 1912) and Dewey (1852 – 1952) was the basis of policy thinking at this time. James theorised that truth evidenced by experience could withstand criticism and would direct individuals to correct choices in problematic choice alternatives. For Dewey, pragmatism was a form of social experiment and clear definition of problems would facilitate a trial and error approach to finding suitable solutions. Thus theoretical thinking evident in pragmatism may well have motivated this re-allocation of monies but in doing so it also created a veritable divide in relation to the status of the County Councils in educational policy constructs as they were effectively facilitating the direct route but not retaining an input of significant power to effect control over the process. This can still be seen today where the ETBs (conduits of what is Further Education) administer the grant system for Higher Education but have little power to ensure their own system is equitably supported, thereby making Further Education an outlier to the process.

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<sup>38</sup> *Ministers and Secretaries Act 1924*, Section 1, v, see [www.irishstatutebook.ie](http://www.irishstatutebook.ie)

<sup>39</sup> A certain distinction is made however in the 1925-26-27 Report that the situation of the reformatory and industrial school was different because certain official criteria had to be met and that the students homes were in these schools

<sup>40</sup> *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1925-26-27 and the Financial and Administrative Year 1926-1927*, Dublin: The Stationery Office, p. 8

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9

Before the report was written the College of Science which had been a separate entity had been “closed for military reasons” as outlined to Mr. Hogan (Minister for Agriculture) in reply in a Dáil report of 18<sup>th</sup> October 1922,<sup>43</sup> and its students subsumed into University College Dublin for ‘military reasons’, without actually explaining those military reasons any further.<sup>44</sup> A promise was made that education in science would not be compromised with Professor Mc Neill (‘Minister for Education’), outlining:

*“... In this matter of education it is most necessary that we should be all clear in our minds at all stages, that the State exists for the benefit of the citizens, and not the citizens for the benefit of the State; that the children of the people do not belong to the State, but that on the contrary, the State belongs to the people and to the children of the people and we must be extremely careful in anything that we lay down as a general principle that we do not say or appear to say that the control of education belongs as by right to the State. It belongs to the State only by right of service”*

*Dáil Debate 18<sup>th</sup> October 1922<sup>45</sup>*

Clearly the intentions appeared sincere, but, interestingly, the College of Science remained subsumed into UCD, and the former College of Science building, became the headquarters of the Saorstát government. It was clear that policies were directed to the Saorstát and pragmatic solutions were advocated where political expedience beat educational policy administration.

The Departmental report acknowledges that in what they had proposed “(T)here would still remain, however, a lacuna on the side of Technical Instruction”.<sup>46</sup> It did not outline how the distinctions would be clearly demarcated however and this has continued to affect the concept of technical education, industrial education, continuing education and indeed the boundaries of all of these concepts through many decades that followed. The use of the expressions ‘still remain’ and ‘the side’ appear to suggest that there had been a chasm already created between technical instruction and the Department of Education which is not elucidated in the report as it was to be outlined by a Commission Report.<sup>47</sup> Training in teaching was now to result in a Diploma in Education for which £10 would be awarded as a yearly bonus, while a holder of a Degree awarded by the University for those who have satisfied the University of their ability, would be

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<sup>43</sup> Dáil report of 18<sup>th</sup> October 1922, [www.oireachtas.ie](http://www.oireachtas.ie)

<sup>44</sup> A satisfactory explanation was never actually supplied, but it did apply a certain solution for inspection purposes as there was an effective consolidation of activity or at least consolidation of focus.

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1922-10-18/30/>

<sup>46</sup> Saorstát Eireann,(1926), Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1924-25 and the Financial and Administrative Years 1924-25-26, Dublin: Stationery Office of Saorstát Eireann, p. 10

<sup>47</sup> Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1925-26-27 and the Financial and Administrative Year 1926-1927, Dublin: The Stationery Office, pp.9-11

awarded £20 bonus per annum.<sup>48</sup> In outlining this process, it is clear, that the new system was to integrate with the Universities, and the standard set, not by the Department, but by the University itself.<sup>49</sup> The training of teachers for the technical instruction ‘side’ is totally ignored despite the quotation in the report from Section 17(2) of the *Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act 1923* which defined:

*“An approved school shall be such school, either extern or residential, for the giving of secondary education, or the giving of instruction or training in Agriculture, Forestry, Trade, Commerce, Domestic Economy, Teaching, or any other subject of a vocational character as may be approved of by order of the Minister for Education.”*

*Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act 1923 Section 17(2)*

In the wording of this section it appears that not only is there a distinction between secondary education and technical education, but there is also a distinction in the combining of agriculture, forestry, trade, commerce, domestic economy and teaching and ‘other subjects of a vocational character’. The use of the word ‘or’ in the section also indicates that there may be an intended division of what vocational subjects were to be. The report does outline the reforms that had been made to university education as part of the new system so that Junior and Senior Courses were created with the Junior Course of three or four years depending on the pupils age, as it was to be usually taken at the age of 16.<sup>50</sup> This culminated in the Intermediate Certificate Examination and after that the Senior Course would be of two years duration leading to the Leaving Certificate Examination which if attained could lead to a course in teacher training.<sup>51</sup> Capitation grants were adjusted on the basis of the number of pupils between ages 12 and 20 who were in attendance for 130 days during the school year rather than successful completion.<sup>52</sup> This latter change may well have indicated that financing was part of the reason to separate Technical Education, as to do so would mean that the budget of the Minister for Education did not suddenly have to be stretched to include Technical education just yet.<sup>53</sup> In keeping with pragmatic policy making of the time, there had been a particularly bad agricultural output that year due to adverse weather, which affected the payment of rates on land and may well have affected the view of

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101. It should be noted that the rates for a teaching diploma differed for women as they were usually approximately 20% less automatically, see p.101.

<sup>49</sup> *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1925-26-27 and the Financial and Administrative Year 1926-1927*, Dublin: The Stationery Office, pp. 39-40

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.67

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65

<sup>52</sup> *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1927-28*. Dublin: The Stationery Office p. 102

<sup>53</sup> Part of the budget for technical education came from the local rates rather than central government. There had already been inclusion of Christian Brothers schools into the system and these increased the expenditure expected by the Department as those new schools would not qualify for capitation grants.

agriculture's contribution to the economy and fuelled a reluctance to putting the expense of the activities under the immediate remit of the education budget.<sup>54</sup>

Describing Technical Instruction *schemes* the *Report of the Department of Education for the school years 1924-25*<sup>55</sup> report starts the section on Technical Education by describing that the funding was administered by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and that the schemes (including the art colleges) provided *instruction*<sup>56</sup> rather than use the expression 'education', but also outlined that "the general standard of education of those seeking admission was rather low". The term *schemes* is still associated with Further Education in Ireland today and the inference of low educational standards at entry has also endured. It is interesting that these classifications were introduced under an Irish designed system by Irish civil servants and ministers. There were also student contributions, prize or scholarship funds, sale of book, grants from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, attendance and other grants, and refunds of a cost of living bonus.<sup>57</sup>

Apprenticeship is very much associated within the explanation of the schemes in relation to Department of Agriculture activities rather than the Department of Education activities<sup>58</sup> and within the narratives of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Education it is easy to see how apprenticeships had been adversely affected by the turbulent times. Interestingly, those which related to engineering and building were well subscribed, as one might expect in times of war. What was called 'the other trades' had very poor attendance, influenced as it was, by "the apathy of many employers, the uncertain conditions of apprenticeships, and the indifference of the apprentices themselves, owing to their inability to appreciate the advantages of a sound educational equipment".<sup>59</sup> In itself, the expression 'educational equipment' is not 'education' and the section went on to outline that the functions of Technical Schools, were "to develop intelligent and skillful handicraft and to teach the fundamental facts and principles of

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<sup>54</sup> See <[www.met.ie](http://www.met.ie)> and Keane, Tom, and J.F. Collins, eds. *Climate, Weather and Irish Agriculture*. 2nd ed. Dublin: AGMET, 2004.

<sup>55</sup> The *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1924-25*. Dublin: The Stationery Office

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, throughout the report there are references to increasing budgets and trying to make ends meet. It is possibly more clearly illustrated in the Eleventh Annual General Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Education

<sup>58</sup> Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland 1912, *Eleventh Annual General Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, 1910-1911*, HMSO: Brown & Nolan Ltd. Dublin

<sup>59</sup> Department of Education (1923-24), *Department of Education Report for the School Year 1924-25 and the Financial and Administrative years 1924-25-26*, Dublin: Stationery Office Saorstát Eireann, p. 61

applied science” (sic),<sup>60</sup> again avoiding the word ‘education’. In doing this there is a very distinct separation of ‘education’ and ‘developing’ where ‘developing’ is work and creation related, with a presumption of some skill being there in the first place, and acknowledged as the function of the Technical Schools, but it certainly is not *educative* or *academic*, although the word *academic* is not used at all. Describing the apprentice schooling element of the scheme, the report says that it is expensive but “the training is very valuable and a considerable extension of technical instruction on the lines of this school would undoubtedly help to stimulate industrial development”.<sup>61</sup> Even with the Schools of Art, the word education was not used in connection with the Technical Schools.

There was recognition that the staff of the Technical Schools had *trained* at Summer courses, where if they attended progressive courses, they received recognition to conduct classes<sup>62</sup>. There were also Special courses, which were extensive courses over 6 months or longer which added to their qualifications as instructors. Those who attended schools of art, trained at the Metropolitan School of Art, or schools of Domestic Economy, where they were permitted to proceed to the second year which was equivalent to the First Year of the Teachership Course.<sup>63</sup>

## **A New Nation**

Much of the time between 1922 and 1937 was occupied with developing a new national identity and what was eventually to become Bunreacht Na hÉireann or the Irish Constitution. The complications of actually setting up the process were evident in the number of Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements that had to be negotiated on behalf of the new State and had to be renewed as the Free State, developed eventually into the Republic of Ireland.<sup>64</sup> Egypt was high on the agenda and this was presumably fostered by the need to ensure exports worldwide while the Suez Canal was or would have been a big part of that agenda.<sup>65</sup> Initially Ireland only had Dominion status under Britain,

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.61

<sup>61</sup> Department of Education (1923-24), *Department of Education Report for the School Year 1924-25 and the Financial and Administrative years 1924-25-26*, Dublin: Stationery Office Saorstát Éireann, p. 63

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p.65

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.67

<sup>64</sup> For examples of some of the bilateral agreements and their purposes see [https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/international-priorities/international-law/find-a-treaty/treatyresults/?bilat\\_multilat=&search\\_depository=&its\\_no\\_1=&its\\_no\\_2=&search\\_keywords\\_title=&search\\_party=&year\\_search=1937](https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/international-priorities/international-law/find-a-treaty/treatyresults/?bilat_multilat=&search_depository=&its_no_1=&its_no_2=&search_keywords_title=&search_party=&year_search=1937)

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., See Bilateral agreement no. 2 of 1937 as an example

which meant that it could not pass its own laws without consultation, as became obvious in negotiations to join the League of Nations.<sup>66</sup> The country was busy setting up arrangements for the recognition of its currency and bank notes, negotiating trading agreements with other nations and attempting to set up its own structures. Canada became an ally in the difficulties experienced in the League of Nations because Canada wished to move from Dominion status, as did Australia. Eventually in the Imperial Conference in 1926<sup>67</sup> there was a movement to define the nature of the Commonwealth in order to ensure freedom and equality for Dominions. This movement resulted in the Conference's Balfour Declaration which described the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to each other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs ...." (DFAT, 2019). Effectively this 1926 Declaration led eventually to the Statute of Westminster 1931 which allowed the dominions to enact their own legislation and to repeal laws made by Westminster in relation to those dominions.<sup>68</sup> In doing so this process laid the foundations for the Irish Constitution of 1937. While Ireland continued these and other negotiation processes, to establish the bona fides of the new State, it was also involved in a veritable tit-for-tat tariff process, when it engaged in Land Wars with Britain in order to abolish land annuities. The resulting Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938<sup>69</sup> paved the way for enactments by Ireland, to get for Ireland, the ability to control Irish ports, which facilitated Ireland's eventual declaration of neutrality, and indeed the consolidation of Ireland's Constitution enactment in 1937.

The subject of the loyalty of Civil Servants in Ireland, became one mired in suspicion following the 1916 Rising. This was an important issue as in the application and governance of any policies of government the Civil Service structures are paramount to the interpretation of ministerial policies and the balancing of resources, structures and negotiations. Some Civil Servants obviously wished to remain in Ireland but others did not and some held their decisions in reserve in the hope of getting better terms of pay and better conditions, thus preserving their options. Britain was anxious to ensure

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<sup>66</sup> For explanation of dominion status see <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-182-CP-384.pdf>

<sup>67</sup> Documents on Irish Foreign Policy. see, <https://www.difp.ie/docs/1926/1926-Imperial-Conference-/725.htm> (last accessed 27/11/2019)

<sup>68</sup> See National Archive at <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-232-CP-297A-2.pdf> for clarification of the concerted efforts of countries to move from dominion status. (last accessed 26/11/2019)

<sup>69</sup> British-Irish tripartite agreement on Trade, Finance and Defense (P. No. 3102), see <https://www.difp.ie/docs/1938/British-Irish-tripartite-agreement-on-trade-finance-and-defence/2321.htm> (last accessed 26/11/2019)

that those who were civil servants would prove their loyalty to the Crown and to this end, introduced the Oath of Allegiance, which was effectively seen as the ‘acid test’ of a civil servant’s loyalty and motives. Additionally, the Whitley Councils were inaugurated to reorganise the Civil Service departmental structures into a new grade structure which would ultimately be approved by Britain’s Treasury so that the system could be incorporated into the Irish Civil Service concept (Maguire, 2008 p.64). Civil Servants in Ireland wanted age to be a consideration in their new conditions, while Treasury favoured a positional status look at promotional opportunities. Those due to retire at that time did relatively well from the negotiations and this included extending the working retirement age to 65 rather than the British equivalent of 60 years of age, which made sense in terms of an extra 5 years to avail of better pension accumulation potential. (Maguire, 2008 p.65). So effective were the negotiation processes of the Irish Civil Service that Maguire observes that by “1920 the vested interests of Irish Civil Servants, who previously were employed ‘at pleasure’, had been transferred into rights that were legal and parliamentary and therefore defensible at Law. The relationship binding the new Irish State and its civil servants would be contractual” (Maguire, 2008 p.68). The period of Martial Law in Dublin that saw ‘black and tans’,<sup>70</sup> notorious for their brutality, engaged on the streets of Ireland effectively created a separation between Britain and the Dublin Castle-based civil servants. New structures were set up and as a result, the creation emerged of what Maguire described as a ‘pyramid of protection’, with a reduction to 4 classes of Civil Servant; Writing Assistants, Clerical Officers, Executive Officers and Administrative Officers (Maguire, p.77). Civil Servants individually wanted to have secure positions within the new establishment which they may well have been sceptical of in terms of sustainability and used what had developed as their own guarded and protected negotiation processes to good use. In this however it may well be argued that their own negotiation skills were self-serving at that time which might account for things slipping by the wayside as appears to have happened in the case of some aspects of education particularly Further Education and its legislative implications.

As noted earlier, it was evident from Dáil debates during that time that the issue of education, and more importantly, perhaps, the Irish language, were high on the agenda

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<sup>70</sup> The Black and Tans were a hated force of temporary constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). See also ‘*The Black and Tans – as they really were*’, Frank Boucher-Hayes, , June 21 2006. Irish Times.

of all Irish politicians. *The Gaeltacht Commission Report*<sup>71</sup> presented to Seanad Éireann by Mr. Dowdall, on 10<sup>th</sup> March 1927 noted that President Cosgrave had written a letter to the Chairman of the Gaeltacht Commission outlining that in relation to the Irish language; “(T)he neglect, and contempt, the ignominy and the abuse to which it has been subjected are a part of our tragic history”.<sup>72</sup> Describing it in veritable human terms, the report goes on: “our language has been waylaid, beaten and robbed, and left for dead by the wayside, and we have to ask ourselves if it is to be allowed to lie there, or if we are to heal its wounds, place it in safety and under proper care, and have it restored to health and vigour”.<sup>73</sup> Consolidation of lands in the Gaeltacht regions of Munster were suggested in the report as pointed out by Senator Coughlin,<sup>74</sup> along with the idea of making Irish compulsory and teaching all other subjects, through Irish. The conviction to making Irish compulsory was a contentious and rousing topic with Senator Kenny pointing out:

*“... The Irish language is our native language, with an emphasis on the “our”. It is our native language recognised in the Constitution and given pride of place in the Constitution. If that statement does not appeal to any member of this Seanad then I have no further argument. There is something lacking in that member in his patriotism and nationality. .... It is in its growth and development a language perfectly modulated to meet the growing needs and prosperity of that nation until ultimately it has grown to its present full dimension.”*  
*Seanad Éireann Debate, 10<sup>th</sup> March 1927*<sup>75</sup>

Thomas Derrig (Thomás O’Deirg), who himself became a Minister for Education later in 1928, was particularly adamant that Irish should be the first language of the Nation and sometimes refused to speak English in the Dáil, even though he knew, the majority of the other politicians, could not understand him, indeed they pointed it out to him in numerous debates at the time. It is sometimes forgotten that even the Civil Servants were used to dealing in English and to impose another layer was possibly hard for some of them at the very least. The issue was more entrenched in the unionised primary and secondary schools where the will of nationalistic positions were more protected in numbers and while technical schools did use Irish it was not as rigorously enforced except in Gaeltacht areas where it still persists.

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<sup>71</sup> The Gaeltacht commission was set up in March 1925 and made 82 recommendations and Oireachtas and the Government of Saorstát Éireann were the appointed trustees. See <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1928-05-02/32/> (last accessed 27/11/2019)

<sup>72</sup> *The Gaeltacht Commission Report p.2*

<sup>73</sup> Comisiún na Gaeltachta (1928), *Comisiún na Gaeltachta Report*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 3

<sup>74</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate 10/3/1927 see also <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1927-03-10/2/>

<sup>75</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 10<sup>th</sup> March 1927, Vol 8 No. 10, see <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1927-03-10/2/> (last accessed 27/11/2019)

In a Dáil debate on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1929, the then Minister for Education, Professor O’Sullivan, when discussing the increase of subjects then capable of being undertaken through Irish, described that “On the Secondary side there has also been an increase in what are known as (A) schools, that is schools in which the subjects, except English, are taught through Irish. The (B) schools are tending in the same direction”. It is clear that a pecking order existed.<sup>76</sup> Mr. Powell in the same debate discussed the issue of scholarships and that “(T)here should be provision made for a ladder in the scholarship system from the primary to the continuation school. If the step from the primary to the continuation school seems too great, some system should be evolved which would permit the pupil to spend more time in a secondary school. If a few years were spent in a secondary school after leaving the primary school, the pupil would get sufficient general education, and then he would profit more by a specialised course in a continuation technical school later on”.<sup>77</sup> There appeared to be some confusion in Mr. Powell’s mind as to what was the distinction between the *continuation* school and the *continuation technical school*. It certainly does appear that he intended that either would be ‘continuation’ but where the person got a scholarship there was no expectation that the follow-up to the primary school would be the secondary school itself. What emerged was an effective blurring or overlap of different categories of education for pragmatic purposes as might be expected post-war but has led to an almost enduring inability to separate the concepts to this day as can be seen by Further Education being classified within the second level system when in fact it is defined as being neither as outlined in Chapter 1.

The Constitution, finalised in 1937, was clear within its provisions that the new Irish State intended to make education a fundamental part of the life of the country and to ensure that some of the control that had been imposed on Irish education up to then were conclusively dealt with. When seen in light of the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century already outlined, it is therefore not surprising to read Article 42:

1. *The State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the Family and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide, according to their means, for the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children.*
2. *Parents shall be free to provide this education in their home or in private schools or in schools recognised by the State or established by the State.*
3. *1<sup>o</sup> The State shall not oblige parents in violation to their conscience and lawful preference to send their children to schools established by the State, or to any particular type of school designated by the State.*

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<sup>76</sup> Professor O’Sullivan, Dáil Éireann Debate, 11<sup>th</sup> April 1929, Dáil Éireann 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 29 No.2

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Mr. Powell Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 29 No.2

- 2<sup>0</sup> The State shall, however, as guardian of the common good, require in view of actual conditions that the child receive a certain minimum education, moral, intellectual and social.*
- 4. The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative, and, when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard, however, for the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation.*
  - 5. In exceptional cases where the parents for physical or moral reasons fail in their duty towards their children, the State as guardian of the common good, by appropriate means shall endeavour to supply the place of the parents, but always with due regard for the natural and imprescriptible rights of the child.*

***(Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937 -original wording)***

Additionally, and perhaps in reaction to the issues that had arisen in funding what were the ‘industrial schools’ under British rule, Article 44.2.4<sup>o</sup> of the Constitution states:

*Legislation providing State aid for schools shall not discriminate between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or be such as to affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending religious instruction at that school.*

***Article 44.2.4 of Bunreacht na hÉireann***

It certainly might be naïve to suggest that the actions of the previous 100 years would not have impacted on those charged with implementing policies and procedures setting up the protections of a new State, and more importantly the specific concept of the education of the people of that new State. The discourse is emphatic in its protectionist wording as if to assure the Irish people that there was a new dawn ahead for education in Ireland. That is not to say however, that there were no problems looming with the new strategy. Indeed, these problems quickly manifested in terms of the concept of secular education provisions. Casting back to The Macpherson Bill on Education, initiated in Britain in 1918,<sup>78</sup> which outlined a proposed system of education that would effectively remove religion from education and was strenuously objected to by Irish clergy who had effectively conceded to allow a system operate that had to that point, by compromise, facilitated part-secular education in our schools.<sup>79</sup> The matter, however was not to be ignored and the Bill was revisited.

This time however, the teachers union, Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO), backed The Macpherson Bill, and it is reputed that this resulted in the Bishop of Kerry banning a choir from singing at the INTO conference. This act is also reputed to have annoyed the INTO who retaliated by moving the Conference to another location. A clear usurping of perceived authority was obvious and more significantly it was one of

<sup>78</sup> Education Bill 1918, Legislation.uk

<sup>79</sup> A ‘conscience clause’ was agreed for Ireland so that no student would be forced to be involved in religious instruction in violation of their parents’ wishes or indeed their own wish.

the first instances of teachers effectively having their say on matters of religion in the classroom and implementing nationalistic practices in education policy where it appeared they were stamping their mark on nationalism. The Macpherson Bill was withdrawn on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1920 – within a week of the *Government of Ireland Act 1920*. The INTO passed a motion at their conference in 1920 to the effect that the work of primary classes was to be entirely in Irish with no teaching of English. All songs were to be Irish songs. The INTO also reduced the number of subjects to Irish, English, Mathematics, History with Geography, Drill and singing. While it was made clear to a certain extent that the INTO were not to be threatened, it did however cause some residual resentment between Church and education in Ireland. While this was perhaps not new, it was possibly now more entrenched.

President Eamonn DeValera, in his dual role as President of Ireland and Minister for Agriculture, advocated, and finances or the lack of them ensured, that the new State was to be an almost closed agricultural economy where self-sufficiency, State responsibility, State intervention, investment and support was to be provided for the protection of the new Republic. Despite his best intentions, this did not create more markets which might have supported the finances of the fledgling State, but merely entrenched elements of poverty within it. Ireland had however, an established presence of Irish emigrants in Britain and the United States since the Famine, and the stated national idea of that time was that the only option against poverty was to emigrate. Emigration was a continual drain from our population.. The escape mechanism of a well-regarded education did not appear to guarantee the chance of betterment as the number of nations seeking to relocate its people following the War, outweighed the potential to excel because of education.

#### *Education for a new Nation*

It was clear that Ireland wanted to provide education to raise the chances of its people, and intended that in such case, people should avail of the education provided. The *School Attendance Act 1926* was introduced in a somewhat piecemeal way as it was not effective nationally until January 1927 and was administered by County Boroughs and Gardaí, rather than by the Department of Education directly. This Act provided that education was compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 14. An exception was made for children over 12 who could be kept from school to assist in light agricultural work of not more than ten days in spring and ten days in Autumn harvest

season, as a temporary provision.<sup>80</sup> The *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27* noted that attendance had increased from 73.5% to 77% but did also acknowledge that some of this increase could be apportioned to the fact that the Christian Brothers schools were now recognised as National Schools and were included in the figures for attendance, which had not been the case before this.<sup>81</sup> Newspaper advertisements appeared for schools to register for certification as providing elementary education and this brought what had been referred to as ‘private schools’ into the bigger landscape picture of an evolving educational system.<sup>82</sup>

A ‘New Programme’ was also introduced which basically outlined the subjects that could be taught. An investigation started into inspection processes and comparisons were made to provision further afield by way of visits to see how inspection practices were carried out in Scotland, England, Belgium, Holland, Germany and France, resulting in a new system of inspection from 1<sup>st</sup> August 1928.<sup>83</sup> More frequent ‘incidental visits’ were to take place where the inspectors were to be enabled “to become familiar with the schools in their everyday working state, and to give them opportunities for affording to the teachers the benefit of his assistance and advice, for observing faults in teaching methods, for suggesting suitable remedies and for making sure that the teacher understands and applied these remedies” (National Education Circular February 1927). Reports were only required to be made, if there was an unsatisfactory assessment, or where the inspector found “something especially praiseworthy”.<sup>84</sup> Wherever the inspector spent more than half an hour, he was to leave observations in what was called a “Suggestion Book” officially called “The Observation Book”.<sup>85</sup> If those observations were of a negative character they were not to be entered until the teacher was spoken to and if that incident could be explained satisfactorily by the teacher, or the teacher promised to rectify the matter, then the note did not need to be recorded in the Observation Book.<sup>86</sup> General inspections were to “review the work of the teacher as a whole, the results attained by him in each subject taught, his professional diligence, power of discipline, personal influence and other

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<sup>80</sup> Department of Education, (1925-26-27), *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27* Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10

important aspects of his work”.<sup>87</sup> The focus had shifted from the recitation by the students in relation to public questioning, and was now on how “the education given has contributed to the formation of character, the training in good habits, the development of the pupils intelligence, the strengthening of the sense of personal and national self-respect, and generally the preparation of the pupils to take their place as good and useful citizens of their country”.<sup>88</sup> This certainly in its ‘useful citizens’ wording changed the concept of education to being to create good citizens of the State with ‘personal and national self-respect’, rather than belonging to the State only by right of service as outlined above by Mr. McNeill in 1922.

The introduction of the new Primary School Certificate details in 1926, dominated the report for 1925-26-27 and was disseminated by way of circular from the Department of National Education.<sup>89</sup> The Primary School Certificate was now a specifically Irish examination process and the procedures introduced have persisted in Irish education to this day and by means of meritorious reward, have contributed to our current points race by ensuring that there were levels which have today become part of the points system by which students are often segregated into university candidates or Further Education students. Students have as a result naturally assumed that the Further Education route was the lesser option since points do not ensure admission to Further Education in Ireland. It specified that teachers would nominate students for the examination to testify their successful completion of Standard VI. Subjects were to be Irish, English, Mathematics, History, Geography and (for girls) needlework. Oral Irish was to be tested directly by teachers and a report submitted to the Central Joint Committee in charge of the process. Students were to take a *higher* course either in Irish or English. Criticism was lauded against training of teachers to that date “which had proved such a failure” and was to be rectified by providing two new Preparatory Colleges in Dublin and others in Gaeltacht areas “where the language and tradition of Gaelic Ireland are still a living force”<sup>90</sup> and where they would get a good education through Irish. The inspector for Donegal, Sligo, Roscommon and parts of Mayo and Leitrim observed that the proficiency of students was, generally speaking, best in poorer areas, observing that “Poverty may be a partial cause, for poverty is a great sharpener

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<sup>87</sup> Department of Education, (1925-26-27), *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27*, Dublin: Stationery Office p. 11

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9 replicated this circular

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22

of the intellect of youth: the children of the poor get into the heart of the realities of things at a much earlier age than children brought up in easy comfort”.<sup>91</sup> The inspector also observed the children of the poor had been bilingual, and this might have been a contributory factor to their comparative superiority, while acknowledging that teachers had a way to go to “inculcate the practical patriotism of supporting our own industries”.<sup>92</sup> Once again it could be interpreted that rather than education for individuality and personal betterment, which might well have aligned with technical, industrial, continuation education what was envisaged was, education by way of inculcation towards something else.

The Dublin region at this time witnessed unprecedented migration of people to the suburbs and some of the more familiar housing schemes of Kilmainham, Artane and others were built to house people who were moved outwards from city tenements.<sup>93</sup> The report from Galway noted that attendance before the introduction of the Attendance Act had already improved because American immigration rules had changed and they forbade entry to America for people who were illiterates.<sup>94</sup> Comments were made throughout the reports about the lack of proper planning and adequate schemes of work on the part of teachers; the improvement in teachers’ mentality because of Irish study; history not being of relevance to the local area; lack of teaching of manners and politeness and even the standard of books used by teachers.<sup>95</sup> the Inspector for Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny and Wexford only reported in Irish and outlined the improvement in mental capacity of those who learned and used Irish and expressed his concern that teaching was not more oral in nature.<sup>96</sup> The report also lauded the new grants system to allow more students to access secondary education after the introduction of Section 17 of the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act 1923, noting that 223 extra students had availed of the new system. In several reports there were preferences on the part of inspectors for specific methods of teaching, and they used the reports to emphasise their favourite methods as producing wonderful results. Additionally, the preference for nationalistic approaches were evident and in fact one could posit that

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<sup>91</sup> Department of Education (1925-26-27), *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 24

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-47

they were allowed to override what were obvious policy anomalies in the distinctions between technical, continuation, training and educative comments in the reports.

In the case of Technical Education, it is interesting that the Report of 1925-26-27 described that the control of it had just been passed from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction to the Department of Education in June 1924 and the description of Technical Education explained it as a “State service in Ireland”<sup>97</sup> consisting of a range of local schemes and “a survey of the Branch” had reported and that “a thorough investigation of the facilities for Industrial and commercial training in the Saorstát was necessary”.<sup>98</sup> One is minded of the more recent definition of Further Education as being not second level but existing in the void between that and third level. There was at the time a clear demarcation of education and labour with a separation of the policy makers in the form of Ministerial structures and governance procedures.

A Commission to report and advise on the system in relation to the “requirements of Trade and Industry” was set up which included teachers, employers, labour (presumably unions), and the Departments of Education, Industry and Commerce, Agriculture, and Finance, as well as the president of Zurich’s Federal Institute of Technology (Dr. Rohn), and a member of the Swedish Board of Education (Mr. Fredricksson).<sup>99</sup> There really is not an adequate explanation as to why the members of the committee from Switzerland and Sweden were chosen, but their inclusion may well have affected how the concept of Technical Education was honed in later years. It may well have been the fact that both Switzerland and Sweden were neutral countries in WWI and were therefore from a mutual neutrality point of view deemed to be of similar mindsets and therefore, to be suitable role models for changes in education policies. Waterford City was reported as linking the entrance to apprenticeship in a skilled trade with a period of preliminary training, effectively pre-apprenticeship in current terminology and it appears that there was a presumption this would take the form of technical education.<sup>100</sup> The wording of what was proposed at the time is very much employer or potential employer driven where “a definite agreement has been reached

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<sup>97</sup> Department of Education (1925-26-27), *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p 67

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70

to absorb into the trade those who complete satisfactorily the courses prescribed”.<sup>101</sup> The use of the word ‘absorb’ is not the same as ‘including’ and there is a sense that what was actually done was that the trades, had agreed to work towards fitting these students into the structures they had already created for themselves, rather than creating new structures for the students who would come to them. In all of the commentary about technical education, in the Inspector’s report, the concept of Bolton Street and Kevin Street as seats of manual technical instruction, marked those colleges as closely aligning with a new future for technical education. Rathmines was focused on Commercial and secretarial type instruction but it was noted that the teachers were inexperienced in the “appreciation of the realities of business life” which stymied their ability to “produce the best educational results”.<sup>102</sup>

There was only one workhouse left in operation under the Department of National Education in 1926 with an average of 48 days of attendance for the year which was clearly not sufficient by the Department’s reckoning for an adequate education to be delivered.<sup>103</sup> Similarly the 1925-26-27 Report brings the State very quickly into the description of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. It refers to them firstly as institutions and to the children being ‘admitted’ saying that “the State must be satisfied that investigation by a Justice shows that the home cannot or does not give the children sufficient protection and care and that it will be for the advantage of the children in later years that it should delegate to Managers of Schools under its supervision a trust *almost equal* to parental responsibility”.<sup>104</sup> The report also outlines that “in no other schools, do the personal qualities of teachers and assistants have such vital or far-reaching effect”<sup>105</sup> adding that “there is good reason to avoid any exaction of a hard and fast uniformity in other phases of school activity and to encourage whatever may relieve the institutional features of such schools”.<sup>106</sup> It was as if there were some point where the children would be encouraged to do the best, they could with an unwritten expectation that their best would never be quite good enough. As two extra reformatory schools appeared to have been found since the 1924 report, a total of 4 reformatories was reported on and acknowledgement was made that the famine years had affected the

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<sup>101</sup> Department of Education (1925-26-27), *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27*, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 70-71

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83 (emphasis added)

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83

numbers which had been high with 15,000 children committed from Dublin alone and 1,200 of those were under 10 years of age. The probation system is acknowledged as contributing to the reduction of repeat offences but there is also an acknowledgement in the report that the majority of the children admitted were illiterate. The policy in implementation appeared to actually counter the stated objective of the policy and this is replicated over a number of years with the result that schooling and education appear to have had parallel but divergent meanings where children were concerned whether of working age or not.

Industrial Schools on the other hand were reported on, along with a synopsis of the criticisms that had been levelled against the Irish way of doing Industrial Schools, possibly indicating that the criticisms that had been levelled at the initial Irish system, within the Industrial Schools, still festered.<sup>107</sup> Interestingly, the report outlines that thirty years earlier an inspector had been appointed who was “interested in working-class life and aware of the need of ordered training”<sup>108</sup> which led to a new programme of progressive industrial classes which would “replace valueless occupation by practical work directed to make the pupils skillful and alert”<sup>109</sup> to provide better opportunities for getting employment after they left the schools. Interestingly the Inspector is not identified personally and this might indicate that the Inspector was blameworthy or blameless depending on the side you were on and the fact that there was likely to be repercussions whichever side was to shoulder responsibility for such a move. Certainly it appears that diplomacy was at play in the narrative about the inspector. Discussion of union resistance was mentioned along with the fact that boys, if apprenticed, were often not capable of being self-sustaining on an apprentice wage. Girls were described as securing jobs as governesses, teachers, nurse assistants and such trades, but those who returned to where they had come from were “factory workers”.<sup>110</sup> The subtle inference being that if they engaged, and did not return to where they came from, they had a better chance of what would be considered good employment *for girls* at the time.

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<sup>107</sup> Department of Education (1925-26-27), *Report of the Department of Education 1925-26-27*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 87

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89

*The Department of Education Report of 1927-1928* introduced for the first time the expression 'Post Primary' in its introduction to the Report, while including the *Report of the Commission on Technical Education* as being one of the chief events of that system.<sup>111</sup> While the title Post Primary is just dropped into the introduction there is no corresponding explanation in the later parts of the report; it is just left there. It is obvious from the report that there was a process of amalgamation of schools and districts taking place and that new rules had been drafted to allow for this process. This included the amalgamation of boys' and girls' schools, where expedient, and ensured that there was a reduction in the number of teachers required to teach the numbers of pupils rather than increasing the numbers of teachers.<sup>112</sup> Whether this is as a result of the better pay conditions and pensions for teachers which had been recently negotiated is not alluded to, but that is not to say that it might not have had some impact on the situation.<sup>113</sup> The Irish training during the summer months continued after the school vacation commenced so that July and August became the eight weeks of the course for teachers and the schools were ordered to close for that period. However, by 1929 it was deemed unnecessary to run such a course,<sup>114</sup> but the time could be used to visit the Gaeltacht so as to keep alive the Irish that had already been learnt.<sup>115</sup> The summer courses were effectively given over to Mathematics in an effort to improve that subject, Courses in other subjects were held in July and open to "teachers engaged in Technical Instruction or in schools receiving grants from the Department".<sup>116</sup> Clearly summer holidays were times when teachers were expected to supplement their own education.

This same report included details of the Elementary Evening Schools, while reminding the reader that the possibilities for such courses had existed since 1846 but was not widely adopted and was discontinued with effect from 31<sup>st</sup> March 1929.<sup>117</sup> The Department deemed that "the purposes served by these evening schools, the standard of efficiency reached, the provision elsewhere of educational facilities of a similar character and the proposed establishment of a new and comprehensive system of continuation education"<sup>118</sup> did not justify the expenditure. It is clear from a Dáil Debate

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<sup>111</sup> Department of Education (1927-28), *Report of the Department of Education 1927-28*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 7

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8. Curiously also the figures for the Christian Brothers were left out supposedly to allow comparisons of figures for previous years (p.9) which appears implausible for planning purposes in subsequent years.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p.88

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.89

on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1929<sup>119</sup> that Professor O’Sullivan defended that decision and promised further attention to the topic when he outlined that he wished “to make it quite clear, so far as continuation education is concerned, that we do not think that this particular action will lead in any way to detrimental results. I hope to be in a position in the summer to introduce a Bill dealing with Technical and Continuation Education”.<sup>120</sup> Therein lay the expectations of more comprehensive provisions for the future but the Minister Professor O’Sullivan had made it abundantly clear in a Dáil Debate on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1929 that he did have opinions on what essentially appeared to be affecting the acceptance of technical education as a necessity in Ireland, saying “there is too much tendency to regard the professional and the Civil Service as the be all of what education should aim at. I naturally do my best, seeing this is my view, to put it before those who, with the system we have, are, in the last resort responsible”.<sup>121</sup> Whether this was an indication that his own Civil Servants had more to do with the stratification of Technical Education appears to be at issue for Professor O’Sullivan, certainly when he makes his penultimate comment to the Debate; “Our Department is largely a directing Department and a paying Department. It does not educate, but it deals with those who do educate, and if people are dissatisfied, attention might be turned to those who educate in different types of schools, university, technical, secondary, primary, and so on”.<sup>122</sup> Certainly, one might be forgiven for considering from his wording that the ‘tail was wagging the dog’, and that the civil servants in the Department were taking a purely administrative stance whether from the point of view that they may have been reluctant to reimagine the concept and just supported its continuance and to state otherwise might have compromised their civil service stance. Additionally there is a clear indication that he intended his policies to be implemented and not restated, but as the person responsible for the actual generation of the policy it may well be that his own efficiency was at question if his civil servants were somehow remiss in implementing the policy he set or oversaw at least.

The comment, to a certain extent might also explain a further comment in the *Department of Education Report for 1929-30* where the Inspector made his position quite clear; “The Department desires it to be more widely known that this Certificate (*the Intermediate Certificate*) testifies to the completion of a well-balanced course of

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<sup>119</sup> Dáil Debate 21/2/1929, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 28 No. 2 Public Business Vote 46

<sup>120</sup> Dáil Debate, 21/2/1929, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 28 No.2

<sup>121</sup> Dáil Debate, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1929, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 29 No.4, Finance Committee

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

general education. The examination, while, of course, not competitive, is of the same standard as the Clerical Officers' examination of the Civil Service Commissioners, on the results of which a large number of the State's employees are appointed. The Department trusts that employers and others will give due consideration to this Certificate when offered as evidence of educational fitness".<sup>123</sup> (*italics inserted for explanation purposes only*). There certainly seemed to be a distance between him and his civil servants and he almost rebuked them publicly rather than employ tactful negotiation but there was also a recognition that employers were not convinced of the employability bona fides of the structures themselves.

*The Report of the Commission on Technical Education in Saorstát Eireann*<sup>124</sup> published in 1929 dealt with the processes of apprenticeships and contained examples from Sweden, Switzerland and indeed South Africa. The report glowed with praise for the very popular technical instruction courses in South Africa which appeared to include motor car maintenance then popular with many men who had gone to war and who had seen the use of cars in other countries as just one example. Such examples were proffered as a veritable justification of the practices of apprenticeship in combatting inequality and lack of engagement by young people, which arguments are to this day being used in the favouring of apprenticeships over courses with education content in the newer concept of Further Education and Training (FET) in Ireland. Moreover the use of the words 'technical instruction' created a distance from education as often seen in such discussions to this day.

#### *Emergence of Technical Education*

The *Report of the Department of Education 1928-29* dealt comprehensively with the concept of older children "putting in time" until they reached the age of 14 so that they could leave school, particularly where they had effectively already gone through all the class levels.<sup>125</sup> The children were said to be "deriving some benefit from having old impressions re-lived, faint ones deepened, and some new ones added"<sup>126</sup> but noted that "there is nothing in the work to stimulate the vigour of their minds, to challenge them

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<sup>123</sup> Department of Education, 1929-30, Report of the Department of Education, 1929-30, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 55 (emphasis added)

<sup>124</sup> Commission of Technical Education, 1929. The Report of the Commission on Technical Education in Saorstát Éireann 1929, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>125</sup> Department of Education 1928-29, *Report of the Department of Education 1928-29*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 37

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37

to put forth their best efforts, to attract them by its novelty, or please and satisfy them by a sense of progress and achievement”.<sup>127</sup> The Inspector for the Cavan, Monaghan District, pointed to the adolescents being “left to vegetate” as the teachers did not have the skills to deal with them.<sup>128</sup> The Galway/Mayo District, refusing to budge on the use of Irish, again presented their report in Irish but also added focus to the position of the children over 12 years of age who had already been in the school through the new system and had to stay until they reached 14 years of age. That Inspector made the point that in the case of children over the age of 12 “Nuair shroicheadh an leanbh a dó dhéag ní múineadh atá uaidh ach stiúradh. Is é is cóir ón uair sin ná é bheith ag foghlaim do féin fé stiúradh an oide (the most important fact is that when a child reaches the age of 12 he requires to be directed rather than taught. Henceforth he should learn things for himself, under the direction of the teacher)”<sup>129</sup> (*translation added*). This distinction does fit with andragogical approaches being more effective with older cohorts and is one which to this day would be accepted by many who work in Further Education particularly where it is referred to as ‘second chance education’ to this day. There also appeared to be consensus that the methods of teaching to children needed to be changed for the older cohort, and this, while observed at that stage, appears since then to have been overlooked when Further Education is categorised as second level teaching. The policy did not appear to reflect the original intentions of the policy initiators and one must wonder if that was ever really appreciated in the history of Further Education in Ireland from a practical viewpoint.

The 1928-29 Report made reference to the *Report of the Technical Education Commission* and the fact that a Vocational Education Bill was being debated in the Dáil.<sup>130</sup> Conferences were held between The Department of Education and the Department of Industry and Commerce (DIC) around recommendations for conditions of apprenticeships in what was referred to as “the skilled trades” and that the DIC would be promoting legislation itself “to enable the trades to secure for their apprentices a uniformly improved training”.<sup>131</sup> The inference was that even though the employers were undertaking to take apprentices, as indeed they had done by means of City and Guilds systems, now employers just needed to be instructed in how to actually do this

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<sup>127</sup> Department of Education 1928-29, *Report of the Department of Education 1928-29*, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp.37-38

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p 42

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 48

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 99

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 99

apprenticeship process. An immediate change appeared to be the removal of teaching Domestic Science onto another trajectory with new colleges aligned for the purpose. It is also clear that there may well have been a ‘cart before the horse’ attitude to the provision of some courses, where students and parents were enthusiastic, but employers were less so, which could well be because they did not want interference with their established trade processes.<sup>132</sup> The 1926 Census of Population is referred to in order to outline some of what were perceived as the needs of the concept of technical instruction and it is curious or maybe prophetic that the word education is removed from this particular reference, as immediately there is a disassociation of the process of education and the differing process of instruction.<sup>133</sup> There is analysis to the effect that there are approximately 5,000 preparing in the technical schools for employment in a sector which had 186,617 already employed in that classification; details are broken down for each of the different classifications and are attached in this thesis at *Appendix 1*. This total of 186,617 in the *Census Report of 1926*, which interestingly cannot really be deemed to be totally accurate as children counted in that census only consisted of children of married men and widowers and did not include orphans, or indeed children born out of wedlock,<sup>134</sup> was effectively only 30% more than the 129,928 who, in the same *Census Report*, were employed in Commerce. The Commerce figure of 129,928 was used to justify the statement that “the work of the technical schools favoured unduly instruction in commercial subjects” and noted especially the oversupply of instruction in clerical and typing instruction.<sup>135</sup> Another classification that was deemed to be under-represented in technical instruction were those involved in ‘Personal Service’ such as hotels, restaurants, hotel keepers, and waiters, etcetera.

### *Vocational Education for Ireland*

The Vocational Education Act 1930 which had been discussed in Bill form in Dáil Debates in April 1929<sup>136</sup> was the first major Irish Act of our new State in relation to education, and in relation to young persons, defined within the act as those who were between 14 and 16 years of age. For this age cohort the Act introduced what it called “continuation education”, defined as

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<sup>132</sup> Department of Education 1928-29, *Report of the Department of Education 1928-29*, Dublin: Stationery Office p. 100

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102

<sup>134</sup> *Census Report of 1926*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.1

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109

<sup>136</sup> Dáil Debate, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1929, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 29 No.4, Finance Committee

*“education to continue and supplement education provided in elementary schools and includes general and practical training in preparation for employment in trades, manufactures, agriculture, commerce and other industrial pursuits, and also in general and practical training for improvement of young persons in the early stages of such employment”.*

*Vocational Education Act 1930*

The Act outlined what Vocational Education areas, committees, and the constitution of such committees, were to be and it looked like policy changes were on the way which might have put an Irish structure on the whole concept of how vocational, skills, continuation, industrial and technical and education might align at last. However, in its actual design, the 1930 Act clearly incorporated existing Acts which had actually been written and implemented under British rule and were of British administrative effect, but nonetheless tied the 1930 Act to those previous incorporations and processes, certainly to the UK Balfour Act already depicted in Figure 14. In the process of ensuring that the ‘bones’ of what the Balfour Act implemented in Britain, was replicated, it was necessary for administrative structures to be adjusted in Ireland to allow for the processes of County and City Councils. This was done by means of *The Local Government (Dublin) Act, 1930*.<sup>137</sup> In essence this meant that the county boundaries needed to be finalised in order to tie the Vocational Act 1930 into the system that was to prevail here in Ireland into the future. Possibly because of procedural difficulties in matching the two different regimes, there appeared to be more than a little confusion created by the terms used both in the process and within the Act. This is borne out in a Seanad Debate on the Vocational Bill of 18<sup>th</sup> June 1930 when John O’Sullivan, the then Minister for Education, explained that the Bill was “not a new departure, it is a reform of the existing system”<sup>138</sup> having already explained: “What we really attempt in that respect is merely a better formulation of what is now in a chaotic condition”.<sup>139</sup> While acknowledging that there was chaos it really did not appear that he intended to rewrite the system, but just to ‘band-aid’ it and in taking this route it is very possible that a massive opportunity was lost to generations of students who may have been better served if the system had been changed utterly. The Minister was at pains at the time to ensure that the Senators understood that it was the *system* that was the problem and not the schools. Even in this explanation the Minister appeared to allow more and more flexibility in an effort to appease the public representatives. He

<sup>137</sup> See Local Government (Dublin) Act, 1930 <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1930/act/27/enacted/en/print.html> (last accessed 28/11/2019)

<sup>138</sup> Seanad Eireann Debate, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1930. <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1930-06-18/7/> (last accessed 28/11/2019)

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

explained that the committees would replace the Councils, they would be smaller in number, the schools might have compulsory attendance in some areas and not in others, the hours of attendance could be decided upon based on local situations and liaison with local agricultural committees saying that “in that way the different interests ought to be safeguarded”.<sup>140</sup> Effectively he was ensuring that this patchwork solution would be ‘all things to all men’, a goal most systems may aim for, but rarely attain, while still trying to retain an identity as a system with substance. Senator Sir John Keane voiced, what really still to this day, may well be the Achilles Heel in the Bill, when he pointed out; “I cannot quite see the dividing line between the terms vocational, technical and continuation. I think continuation is the general term dealing with education. I would like to know if I am wrong in that”<sup>141</sup> to which Mr. O’Sullivan replied that he was and explained that “Vocational is the general term” and further that “it embraces both continuation and technical education.”<sup>142</sup> This clearly illustrated that the procedures which were being used to distinguish different branches within education were proving confusing for those in the Seanad where one would have expected such matters to have been debated and agreed upon. Senator Keane had already given his opinion which intimated that he was more than a little sceptical when he stated that the Bill “makes very little change in substance from the present system. It provides of course for the giving of more money and for an elaboration of the present machinery. It indicates elaboration in a direction that I always suspect is in the direction of control and check”.<sup>143</sup> It was clear that a new departure had been made in deciding that the system was vocational and within the vocational, that it covered continuation (the non-technical) and technical education and was therefore a layered approach. Effectively the further distinction elicited in the Debate was, that in the case of continuation education, this covered the ages 14 – 16, while technical education covered those aged 16 – 18. Clearly, however, there was a distinction within the umbrella system of Vocational Education between the younger cohort of student, and the older age group, in the type of education that was to be delivered.

Lengthy discussion took place during this Seanad Debate of 18<sup>th</sup> June 1930, around the concept of using council rates to pay for education and whether all county or city

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Seanad Eireann Debate, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1930. <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1930-06-18/7/> (last accessed 28/11/2019)

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

councils would strike a rate sufficient for its educational needs and around the possibilities that existed if they did not. It was clearly stated that the Minister had the right to dissolve any committee which did not put forward a plan for continuing education in their area, while he did not have the capacity or right to impose a plan himself. It was, in that respect, clear that there was to be a separation between the Minister and the vocational committees and in effect a separation between vocational education and the Department of Education. Indeed, the Bill could not be passed fully until what was called the ‘Greater Dublin Bill’<sup>144</sup> was also agreed upon, which effectively divided the county and city of Dublin. It was also obvious, throughout debates of this era that the notion of rates was not popular as a method of taxation or finance for education. Senator Comyn, in his contribution to the Seanad debate of 18<sup>th</sup> June 1930, argued that the fact that a town-dwelling person would be rated on the value of his home was not equivalent to a farmer who would be rated on the value of both his home and his farm when the farm was the only means of generating a living. Curiously, throughout his answers to questions raised, the Minister clearly outlined that he did not expect this proposal to be of a permanent form and that he was “not, legislating for all time. The conditions that will prevail in ten or fifteen-years’ time may call for a recasting of some of the provisions in this Bill”.<sup>145</sup> However the lasting effects of those conditions did prevail and did fundamentally change the perception of vocational education in Ireland and indeed one could argue on the concept of Further Education which clearly embraced the vocational structures then set.

A thorough examination of the debate contributions would lead one to understand that if Vocational Education was the ‘blanket name’, then there was also a clear expectation that there would be some division under the blanket term ‘vocational’, and that there was to be a clear demarcation between technical and continuation education. It might well be argued that the divisions within, did not well serve the system without, and that the intention of the Minister, was that the ‘fix’ was never envisaged to be long-term. In the process of appeasing other political factions it does appear that the lack of outright policy leadership led to the confusion around the policy parameters which in turn led to enduring policy application and governance procedures to flounder which has

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<sup>144</sup> Local Government (Dublin) Act, 1930 <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1930/act/27/enacted/en/print.html> (last accessed 28/11/2019), referred to as the “Greater Dublin Bill” because it sought to expand and consolidate the boundaries of Dublin.

<sup>145</sup> Seanad Eireann Debate, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1930. <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1930-06-18/7/> (last accessed 28/11/2019)

contributed to a morphing of the notion of technical and vocational education in an Irish context which has not served Further Education well. Alternatively, it may well have been that the government was following developments in England and Wales which were included in secret memoranda on educational decisions and which were obviously being advocated following what was called the *Hadow Report* in Britain.<sup>146</sup> However, it is notable that this 1930 Irish Act actually pre-dates the Statute of Westminster of 1931,<sup>147</sup> which prohibited dominions from passing laws for themselves that would be recognised internationally, and possibly the new government, still the government of an effective but not legally designated dominion, was not actually in a position, from a legally defined point of view, to change anything in the Act. Indeed, this might account for the idea that it was not seen as being a long-term solution. Moreover, the processes served to distinguish vocational education as being something which was different from other education. Indeed, Professor O’Sullivan attempted to explain this difference in a Dáil Finance Committee meeting on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1931 when he outlined:

*“Everywhere the power of a central Government in educational matters is limited, but that is especially so here. As I have on more than one occasion pointed out, we do not control or aspire to control education. We may guide it, we may influence it to a considerable extent, but as I have had to insist on more than one occasion, the system is essentially not a State System. In essence, ..... the basis of the system especially so far as primary and secondary education are concerned, is laid on the principle that it is essentially a private system..... It is only in the case of vocational school that you have anything in the nature of what I might call public schools. They are essentially again local schools, aided to a certain extent, guided, influenced, and controlled by the central authority”*

*(Dáil Eireann, 21<sup>st</sup> May 1931<sup>148</sup>).*

The Vocational Education Act was followed by the *Vocational Education (Amendment) Acts of 1936 and 1944* which still did not avail of the opportunity to create a thoroughly Irish offering for Vocational Education and appeared to make minor changes to the original Act of 1930. To an outside observer it must have appeared at the time, if not since, that what had been done, was essentially trying to square a circle: it just didn’t quite fill all the gaps and there was room left for movement or to use the ripple effect earlier identified – the ripples would never quite reach all the edges of the river bank.

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<sup>146</sup> Report of the Consultative Committee on The Education of the Adolescent 1927, London: HMSO also known as the Hadow Report after its Chairman Sir W.D Hadow CBE

<sup>147</sup> See National Archive at <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-232-CP-297A-2.pdf> (last accessed 26/11/2019)

<sup>148</sup> Dáil Debate 21st May 1931, Committee on Finance Vote 45 (1931), 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 38 No. 14. [https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1931-05-21/18/#spk\\_205](https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1931-05-21/18/#spk_205) (last accessed 28/11/2019)

One Oireachtas debate at the time, involved a lengthy consideration about the concept of a person who might potentially be a contractor, actually serving on a Vocational Education Committee (VEC) where they might at some stage actually provide services for that specific VEC, what would now be deemed corporate governance issues.<sup>149</sup> There therefore appeared to be acceptance within the Oireachtas that issues of governance, accountability and transparency needed to be dealt with in any new processes. At this time, it must be remembered, that Ireland was still portrayed as being part of the British Commonwealth, even if the country chose to oppose that notion and did not become an official Independent Republic until 1949. This may well have been why there was no appetite to change the status quo in relation to the Vocational system as until then the system within the country was still effectively engaged in the processes of creating the Republic and the concentration on education which is often one of the most expensive items on any government's agenda might have detracted from the main event of establishing the Republic.

It is clear, from the Act, that the government clearly allocated the preparation for trades, employment and industrial training within the confines of the vocational area, but equally it failed, after explaining the system as one of education, to outline how that education would be undertaken, and much more.<sup>150</sup> Significantly the Act went on to describe it as training and more specifically 'practical training' which was 'for the improvement of young persons in the early stages of such employment'. The distinction was not fully drawn between education and training and this I would posit, has had repercussions on the overall concept, to this very day. There were many debates on every aspect of the Act and Professor O'Sullivan, then Minister of Education, was questioned on almost every word, so intense were those interactions.

Essentially, following the enactment of the *Vocational Act 1930*, Vocational Education Committees (VECs) were administered under the umbrella of what became local authorities and more specifically by sub-committees of those local authorities. They were therefore paid from rates rather than from income or central taxes. Those rates

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<sup>149</sup> Dáil Debate 18<sup>th</sup> November 1936, 8<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol64 no.4 , see <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1936-11-18/29/> (last accessed 29/22/2019)

<sup>150</sup> Examining the avoidance of Minister O'Sullivan to actually own the process in the Dáil debate of 18<sup>th</sup> November 1936 may well be an example of the avoidance being engaged in where Minister O'Sullivan did all he could not to specify the type of educational establishment being proposed. see Dáil Debate 18<sup>th</sup> November 1936, 8<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol64 no.4 , see <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1936-11-18/29/> (last accessed 29/22/2019)

were effectively capped in respect of any increase that could be applied annually, from which all of their expenses had to be paid. Effectively these limitations made for a perpetually cash-strapped administrative process which was obviously not ideal at the time and may not have been ideal, in the longer term either. While it had been acknowledged by Mr. O’Sullivan that the solution was not necessarily intended to be long-term, it was not necessarily ideal as a short-term solution either. The economic conditions which prevailed at the time, where the United States experienced its most significant depression, effectively created a fissure in Ireland’s economic pressure outlet of emigration to the United States.

Almost parallel to the *Vocational Education Act 1930*, the *Apprenticeship Act 1931*<sup>151</sup> became law. This effectively allowed the Minister for Industry and Commerce to designate certain trades, which then fell under the legislation of the Apprenticeship Act. The Act defined a ‘designated trade’ intriguingly as meaning:

*“a trade which is for the time being, declared under this Act to be a designated trade for the purposes of this Act, references to the carrying on of a designated trade shall, in the case of a trade which is a designated trade in part only of Saorstát Eireann, be construed as referring only to the carrying on of such trade in that part of Saorstát Eireann”*

Apprenticeship Act 1931<sup>152</sup>

This certainly raised questions in the Dáil committee which discussed its implementation and potential effects, on June 11<sup>th</sup> 1931.<sup>153</sup> What was intended in the Act was that the Minister would designate the specific trade and then a trade board would be appointed, which would administer the detail of the apprenticeship conditions and regulations from that point onwards. This may well have replicated the policy and policy administration dichotomy, but at the time this was particularly unusual as the trade would be decided or specifically selected, rather than being grown out of a process, and this caused some reflection among Dáil deputies at the time.<sup>154</sup> There was a presumption also that there had been a lack of knowledge in relation to the earlier Vocational Education Act and, it is in the discussion of this Act, that there appears to have been a presumption of a close connection between vocational education and apprenticeship training processes.<sup>155</sup> Deputy Mr. Good clearly stated that on the basis

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<sup>151</sup> <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1931/act/56/enacted/en/html>

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, Definitions

<sup>153</sup> Apprenticeship Bill Committee, Dáil Éireann, 11<sup>th</sup> June 1931, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 39 No.2

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, discussion centred around the ability to specify some trades rather than others and to use the example of the South African Apprenticeship Act 1922 where such a problem was overcome by specifying the trades to which the Act applied.

<sup>155</sup> What was discussed was how the *Vocational Education Act 1930* and the *Apprenticeship Act 1931* were actually co-dependent each other. See Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 39 No. 2

of the Report of the Commission, vocational schools were set up to deal with the training of these young people, so as to make them more adaptable to industry.<sup>156</sup> The use of the words ‘training’ and ‘adaptable’ certainly appears to indicate that there was an intention to provide specific futures for the young people involved rather than to just let them find their own vocations.<sup>157</sup> Deputy Mr. Good quoted that the vocational system was expected to deal with 75,000 young people within the ages of 14 and 16 and that the task was extraordinarily excessive for the resources of the vocational committees, and in doing so acknowledged that the problem was huge in Ireland.

*“I am afraid in dealing with this question some Deputies did not realise the importance or the magnitude of it. Under the recommendation of the Commission, vocational schools were set up for dealing with the training of these young people, so as to make them more adaptable to industry. I am afraid, even in connection with vocational training, that the House is not aware—.....of the magnitude of the problem now before the various vocational committees in the Saorstát. The Department of Education, under whose jurisdiction vocational committees work, has pointed out to them quite recently in a statement that there are 120,000 young persons in the Free State within the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and that 45,000 of these are in primary and secondary schools. The task of dealing with the balance of 75,000 is the task of the vocational committees. .... If this Bill does not open up avenues to employment at present closed, then, a great deal of the money being voted, and that will be voted in the future for vocational education will be wasted. Therefore, I say, that this particular Bill and this method of dealing with this difficult subject, is of vital importance to the State.”*

*Deputy Good, Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil, Vol 39 No. 2 11<sup>th</sup> June 1931*

Significantly there was a change in the Minister for Education when Thomas Derrig was appointed in 1932, and in all he served two tenures albeit with changes in the intervening years. Mr. Derrig was Minister for Education from 9<sup>th</sup> March 1932 to 8<sup>th</sup> September 1939 which were obviously very significant years in relation to the setting up of systems within the new State. Additionally, he served again from 18<sup>th</sup> June 1940 to 18<sup>th</sup> February 1948, which were similarly very significant years in the aftermath of war. What is interesting in Ireland is the number of Ministers who have been responsible for the education portfolio since the establishment of the State and the duration of their tenures in the position (one for as little as 100 days). **Figure 15** shows the list of ministers (summarised by this researcher) and their tenure in months as illustrative of the short time that many had, which might explain why developments within the education field were so sparse.

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<sup>156</sup> Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 39 No. 2

<sup>157</sup> Compulsion was discussed and centred on the concept that if there were compulsion then the masters effective working life would be limited to fifteen years. See Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 39 No. 2

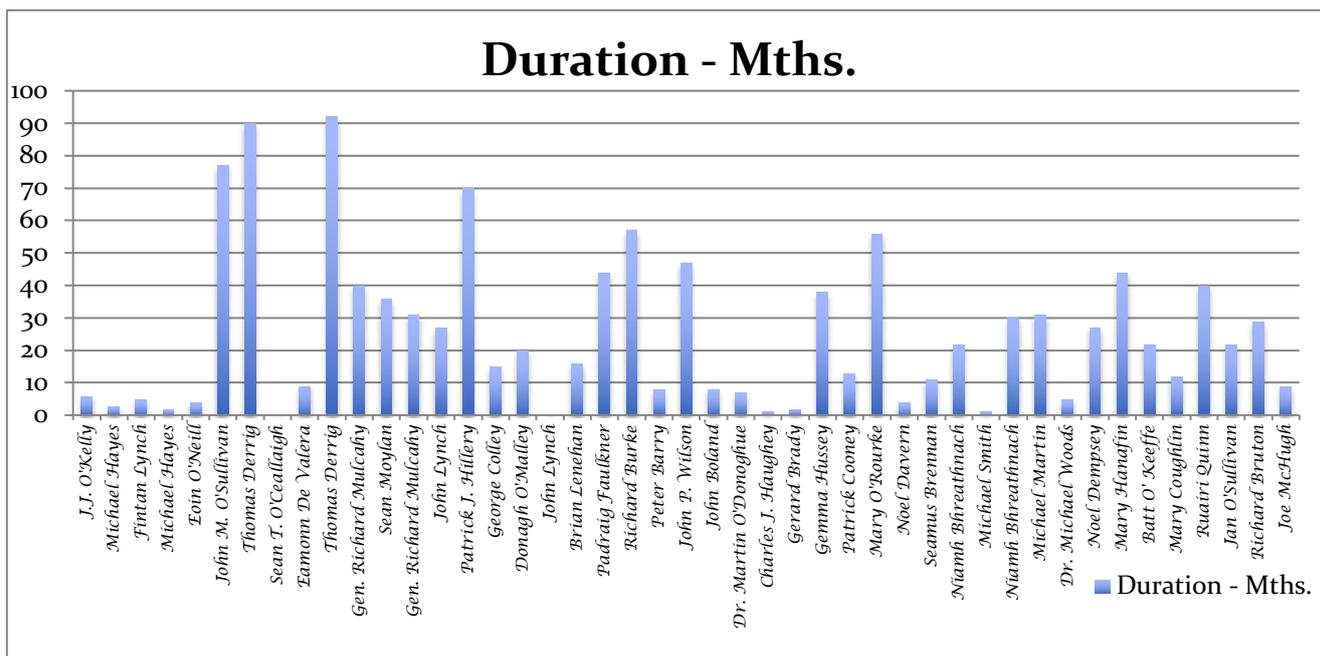


Figure 14 Duration of Ministers of Education in Ireland

The times when Ministers were longest in office appear to be times when more significant changes were implemented. This would be in keeping with the concept of Ministers as the directors of policy and the holders of the reins of policy governance and administration discussed in Chapter 2. Too many changes too quickly as seen in Figure 15 would create a flux of policy which would and possibly did create confusion for civil servants charged with disseminating any ministerial policy developments. Thomas Derrig was one of the few exceptions to short ministerial tenures, being appointed twice, and, in both cases, served during significant periods of any minister in that office which potentially gave him time not only to understand his brief, but also to make considerable changes to education in Ireland during both of his tenures. Rapid changes of Ministers is not necessarily expedient in terms of efficient determination of education responses to economic developments that may take place at various intervals requiring changes to policies. This would also affect the development trajectory of Further Education throughout all these changes where one minister might favour or feel the need either economically, politically or conceptually to alter educational structures particularly since many of the Ministers in Irish education over many years were actually teachers themselves on leave of absence from teaching while they served in the Oireachtas. There is, however, reason from the foregoing to believe that perhaps Mr. Derrig had a considerable influence on what later became of both vocational education and apprenticeship.

Coincidentally, a British Cabinet document within the UK National Archives, dated 1935, on Compulsory Education beyond 14 produced by the President of the Board of Education in Britain<sup>158</sup> throws some light on the system Ireland effectively inherited from the Commonwealth from which the country was in the process of separating itself. This report memorandum outlined that “a demand has been growing for some further educational training of adolescents which should serve to improve the character and equipment of the new recruits to industry. On the economic side, action has been demanded as a means of reducing the burden of unemployment by withdrawing one whole age group from the labour market”.<sup>159</sup> The report outlined that the writer favoured one of 4 solutions which were outlined and that was to raise the school leaving age to 15. Reading the memorandum, it is very clear that there were plans and strategies formulated as to the best way to present this option which was not expected to be welcome, while also curtailing excessive expenditure for the Exchequer.

It was proposed that Local Authorities in Britain would effectively be placated by being able to vet what exemptions were to be given within the system. Essentially 15 years would be the official school leaving age, but exemptions could be made for children who secured employment. However, this would be done in such a way that the government could “do something to direct the activities of the existing machinery towards securing that exempted children should only be released for employment which is both suitable to them and likely to offer prospects of permanence and advancement”.<sup>160</sup> The payment of grants for maintenance at such schools for the extra year would be curtailed by proposing that the new system of an extra year of schooling would be presented “as a comprehensive policy covering the whole field of education, and we should be able to claim that so far from “starving” education, we were spending money on more directly educational objects and therefore more prudently”<sup>161</sup> by keeping children an extra year. There was a clear calculatedness in presenting what was known to be unpopular, and couching it in language that might be easier to get past the public, and was focused on what was known to placate the people. Moreover there was a clear indication that issues of cheap labour could be satisfied by altering the

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<sup>158</sup> see <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-253-CP-32-4.pdf> (last accessed 29/11/2019)

<sup>159</sup> See <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-256-CP-143-1.pdf>, p. 39 (last accessed 29/11/2019)

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49

<sup>161</sup> UK National Archive (C.P. 143 (35), <http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-256-CP-143-1.pdf>, p. 46 (last accessed 29/11/2019)

educational situations of young people who were not in a position to object and if they did then there was a politically expedient explanation available. One might be forgiven for thinking that the view was that money, saved on education could be more usefully employed in other areas of the Empire, particularly to curtail unionisation of workers. Such a policy direction had an element of economic justification since Ireland also had a growing population of young people and rising unemployment which might possibly be controlled by focusing on school attendance when industrial enterprises had failed to step up to provide employment thus delaying the actual manifestation of high unemployment figures which might prove politically divisive.

*Operation of Vocational Education in Ireland*

The *Department of Education Report of 1935-1936*<sup>162</sup> outlined the effects which had been put in place to reduce Ireland's unemployment figures or perhaps it would be more realistic to outline that the actions which had been implemented specifically for the purpose of reducing the number of those who would otherwise be entitled to receive unemployment payments. The report also outlined supports which had been put in place by the Irish Government in an effort to consolidate the educational experiences of people in Ireland. It noted that the building of housing estates or what were called Housing Schemes to relieve congestion in the City of Dublin, was causing headaches for the Department of Education in terms of "the provision of schools for the children which would be convenient to their new homes is a formidable task demanding strenuous effort on the part of all concerned".<sup>163</sup> A policy of suppression of the numbers in teaching was put into effect with conditions of acceptability changed so that enrolments were curtailed. Such changes included making those who had trained outside Ireland ineligible, a raise in the standard of achievement in Trinity examinations,<sup>164</sup> an increase in the standard of Irish required to train to teach and later still in 1938, the imposition of a requirement to pass a singing examination before admission to train as a teacher.<sup>165</sup> Another issue which had been mentioned in a Dáil Debate in 1931 was the fact that the writing of Irish had been changed in books and exams where the Roman script was now being used and did not take account of the old way of writing Irish.<sup>166</sup> Even this was potentially problematic as many of the older

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<sup>162</sup> Department of Education (1935-36), *Department of Education Report of 1935-36*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>163</sup> Department of Education (1934-35), *Report of the Department of Education 1934-35*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 5

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61

students, were by that stage, only used to the Roman script and were unable to translate the new script or font as we now refer to it.

In relation to Vocational Education the above report outlined that there had been five sessions of debate to that date and the majority of difficulties had been worked out.<sup>167</sup> While it did say that “the main task of each Vocational Education Committee” was to “organise a scheme of continuation education suited to local conditions which were effectively at that stage under five categories: trades (buildings); trades (engineering); commercial; rural; general subjects.”<sup>168</sup> An instruction had been distributed and its salient details were outlined as follows: “... In the field of technical education, Committees have within recent years brought their work into much closer touch with industrial needs and greatly extended the scope of instruction provided for trades and specialised factory occupations”.<sup>169</sup> The extent of the reach of such instructions is interesting when it is further explained that “(T)his instruction has been widely distributed over the country and has been given not only in the technical schools but in the factories themselves”<sup>170</sup> in what was clearly beyond the scope of authority of the Department of Education prior to that stage.

Quixotically, the report outlined that “(I)n all these cases not merely was the skill of existing operatives improved, but in many cases also the industry was able to reach the stage of production at an earlier date because of the training of its employees in advance through the aid of the Vocational Education Committee”.<sup>171</sup> This statement is easy to overlook but its potential makes the concept of what was intended by vocational education a little more nuanced. The statement distorts the process slightly – if those industries needed the continuation education, one would expect that they were already up, running, established and capable of benefitting from learners of trades rather than just getting to “the stage of production at an earlier date”<sup>172</sup> (like putting the cart before the horse). The remark makes more sense, however, when one examines some of the industries mentioned in the report and when they were actually founded.

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<sup>167</sup> Department of Education (1934-35), *Report of the Department of Education 1934-35*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 68

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 68

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

*The Control of Manufacturers Acts 1932* and *The Control of Manufacturers Act 1934* were passed to ensure that new industries established in the Irish Free State, while being given substantial tariff protection, would for the most part be Irish-controlled (Daly, 1984). The industries in question included the Sugar Company originally formed in Co. Carlow in 1925 by Lippens of Belgium. Comlucht Siúcre Eireann (The Irish Sugar Company) in 1932 enjoyed protected status under Fianna Fáil initial protectionist policies industry and then appeared to also provide students to help to set up and to run the factory. Shoemaking was another protected industry with Padmore & Barnes of Bennettsbridge in Kilkenny reportedly making 25,000 pairs of shoes every week while receiving trainees for on-site training at no cost to the company. Dubarry Shoes of Galway, set up in 1930 similarly received support from the government through the vocational education system (Daly, 1984) *The Report of the Department of Education 1935-36* outlines that “over 100 students were placed in employment during the session”.<sup>173</sup> Guinness, the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) as well as shoe and boot manufacturers and others, appear to have taken vocational education students to assist them in their endeavours to establish manufacturing businesses in Ireland.<sup>174</sup>

There certainly appeared to be a policy of vocational education *to* the industry, rather than *for* or *by* the industry, which may well have slightly distorted the concept of vocational education. Indeed by 1936 it appeared that visits to industries were “a feature of the schemes in the county boroughs” when “a responsible officer of the concern, explained the working of the organisation and, in this manner brought home to the students, the relation between their work in the Vocational School and that work in the world of industry and of commerce for which they were being prepared”.<sup>175</sup> While this was clearly not the main aim of the vocational education system when it was first lauded, it certainly in this report appeared to take a very different tone in its expectations of what vocational education was all about, while still differentiating technical education in a fusing of apprenticeship and vocational education, whether continuation or technical. While the 1930 Act specified that the schemes which were proposed by the VECs, were to be submitted in advance, the position seemed to be

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<sup>173</sup> Department of Education (1934-35), *Report of the Department of Education 1934-35*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.70

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74

completely turned on its head, particularly when the report outlines “in accordance with the condition laid down by the Irish Sugar Company ....”<sup>176</sup>

There also appears, even on a cursory reading of this statement, to be a lack of forward planning, when it is explained that while 72 apprentices had been admitted to factories in 1934 after initial training, “(T)he problem of subsequent training of those apprentices to be released at the conclusion of the present sugar campaign is being carefully considered in the centres at which such training has already been given. It is probable that the limited equipment available in the smaller centres will not suffice for training of the specialised character desirable and that it will be necessary to group the apprentices according to their trades, irrespective of the factory in which they are employed, and provide specialised trade instruction in selected centres”.<sup>177</sup> It certainly changed the nature of what was understood as the ‘umbrella’ of vocational education to that of a facilitator of protected manufacturing and removed the educational part to being that of following the instructions of employers not the trainers or teachers. This report referred to vocational education, as a scheme rather than a branch, and in describing it as “the new scheme of education”,<sup>178</sup> this could well have been based on the idea that it was not seen as a permanent situation and could be altered when circumstances changed, rather than being a separate established part of the overall education system in Ireland. Certainly, there appeared to be a blurring of the demarcation lines between VECs, government, industries and the original stated intentions of vocational education as outlined in the *Vocational Education Act 1930*. These actions have served to alter the perception of Vocational Education, as a forerunner of Further Education, to be one which was not educationally based in a county where education had been fought for over decades at much cost to the ordinary people in an effective diminution of the concept which did not serve its potential even to this day.

#### *The After-Effect of World War II*

WWII began in 1939 with the invasion of Poland by Germany,<sup>179</sup> and lasted until June 1945. While the casualties amounted to approximately 60 million it is not intended that

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<sup>176</sup> Department of Education (1934-35), *Report of the Department of Education 1934-35*, Dublin: Stationery Office., p. 77

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.* p. 89

<sup>179</sup> For discussion see <https://www.newspapers.com/topics/world-war2/1939-invasion-of-poland/> (last accessed 29/11/2019)

the War will be discussed in great depth here, as this will be done by others more expert in the subject, while the focus of this particular research is based around education and Further Education specifically. That is not to say that WWII did not have implications for education as it most certainly did. One thing it might well have done was to quieten the admiration which had existed for the system of education Germany had developed which had appeared in some reports on Irish Education.

As a result of the intervention of WWII on Britain, it took until 1944 for the *Education Act 1944 (also known as the Butler Act)*, to be passed and by that time it was obvious from some of the considerations within the Act, that War and its aftermath influenced its provisions. The Act clearly differentiated between primary and secondary schooling but went beyond that by introducing for the first time the notion of *Further Education*, which it charged every local education authority to make provision for. In the process it defined Further Education as:

*“a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age; and  
b) leisure-time occupation, in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.”*  
*Education Act 1944 (UK)<sup>180</sup>*

The British Act allowed for every local education authority to direct, prepare and submit schemes of further education to the Minister so that there was oversight of their duties and specific proposals, and more importantly, possibly to overcome the financial issues that had arisen in relation to the Technical Schools. While the provisions of this Act were similar in nature to the Vocational Education Act of Ireland, the new term of Further Education, appeared to garner more acceptance or utility than the term ‘vocational’ did in the Irish sense. In the House of Commons on the proposal of this Act Mr. Butler outlined “The Acts of 1899 and 1921 are repealed and, from being charged with a mere “superintendence”, the new minister is charged with the duty “to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area”.<sup>181</sup> However the wording also was less directive in that what was proposed in Britain was ‘suited to

<sup>180</sup> Parliament UK (1944), Education Act 1944

<sup>181</sup> HC Deb 19 January 1944 Vol 396 cc207-322 see <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1944/jan/19/education-bill> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

their requirements' (notably not the committees' or the Minister's, or even the employers') and there was a respect inherent in the wording of the British Act which stated that the persons for whom the service was envisaged were those "who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose",<sup>182</sup> which in effect put the potential student at the centre of what would become further education. This differed from the stated objectives of the Irish vocational offering which were concerned with ensuring that children over 14 were kept in education rather than potentially swelling the ranks of the unemployed indicated by the absence of such beneficial sentiment within the Act. Undoubtedly, the focus of the Irish Act was to prepare those students for employment specifically, rather than to ensure that they would 'profit by the facilities' without employment.

Where the proposals had been submitted to the Minister, the local education authority could temporarily implement the proposed actions until such time as the Minister gave official approval. In the aftermath of war, industrial development worldwide had slowed because of bombings and destruction of infrastructure such as strategic roads and bridges, and indeed, rationing. The people who had returned from war (approximately 100 million had died) and indeed those who had been subjected to rationing, just did not have money to purchase goods which in economic terms restricts the multiplier effect<sup>183</sup> which helps build economic wealth. Rebuilding was the order of the era. Germany after the Treaty of Versailles,<sup>184</sup> lost its colonies to neighbouring countries, resulting in France regaining control of the Alsace-Lorraine region as reparations were agreed by Germany. Italy in the process, gained Trentino, South Tyrol and Trieste.<sup>185</sup> The British coal industry which experienced competition from the oil industry was nationalised under the *Coal Industry Nationalisation Act 1946*<sup>186</sup> and miners were left without work, adding to a growing unemployment problem in many small towns in Britain. Because at the time, one needed to be of 'full age' (18), to join the army and fight in the wars, there was an emphasis on the 'post compulsory' age group who returned from War. The concept of Further Education as outlined in Britain

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<sup>182</sup> Education Act 1944 Section 41 see <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/7-8/31/section/41/enacted> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

<sup>183</sup> Adam Smith Institute, 'For every multiplier there is a de-multiplier' Pirie (2010) <<https://www.adamsmith.org/blog/tax-spending/for-every-multiplier-there-is-a-de-multiplier>> (accessed 20/2/2020)

<sup>184</sup> An agreement to restate boundaries which particularly punished German involvement in the war. See <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/treaty-of-versailles-1> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Coal Industry Nationalisation Act 1946 (UK), <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/9-10/59/contents> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

was therefore associated with an age profile that was over 18 and could include those of any age over 18 who wanted to keep busy, or meaningfully active. In this process also there was possibly an acceptance that those who might avail of the type of education planned, would be of full age and therefore adults who would have a stake in the process for their own goals. This is a significant shift from the previous eras where technical and vocational education was intended to occupy and/or train younger age cohorts of 12 or 16 years.

Irish Further Education constructs differed as we did not have the same policy incentives because Irish returning soldiers had been economic migrants rather than revered war veterans and the revered status of Britain for its war returnees did not appear to be replicated in Irish education policy. The effect of this was that while effective mirroring of Further Education happened in Ireland, it lacked the respectful sentiments which drove Further Education in Britain and the replication was the lesser for its omission.

### ***Chapter Summation***

The achievement of an Irish State with its own sovereignty occupied the first half of the new Century from 1900 - 1950 and resulted in a concentration on nationalism approaches supported by economic protectionism, which greatly influenced policy decisions, the allocation of resources and the priorities of the new State, including education. Ireland as a fledgling nation was involved in complex treaties, bilateral agreements and legislative transformation as well as its own internal conflict. It was also a time when war and its aftermath wore heavy on British and European resources to rebuild and nurture its sick and battle-ravaged people. The policy goals of firstly Britain, then the Saorstát and finally the Republic of Ireland, directed the way in which policy was applied. The components of policy administration between 1900 and 1950 appeared from analysis of education reports of the time, to fall once again into the five categories; social, culture, apprenticeship, children, and teachers as outlined in chapter 4 on the period of 1800-1900;

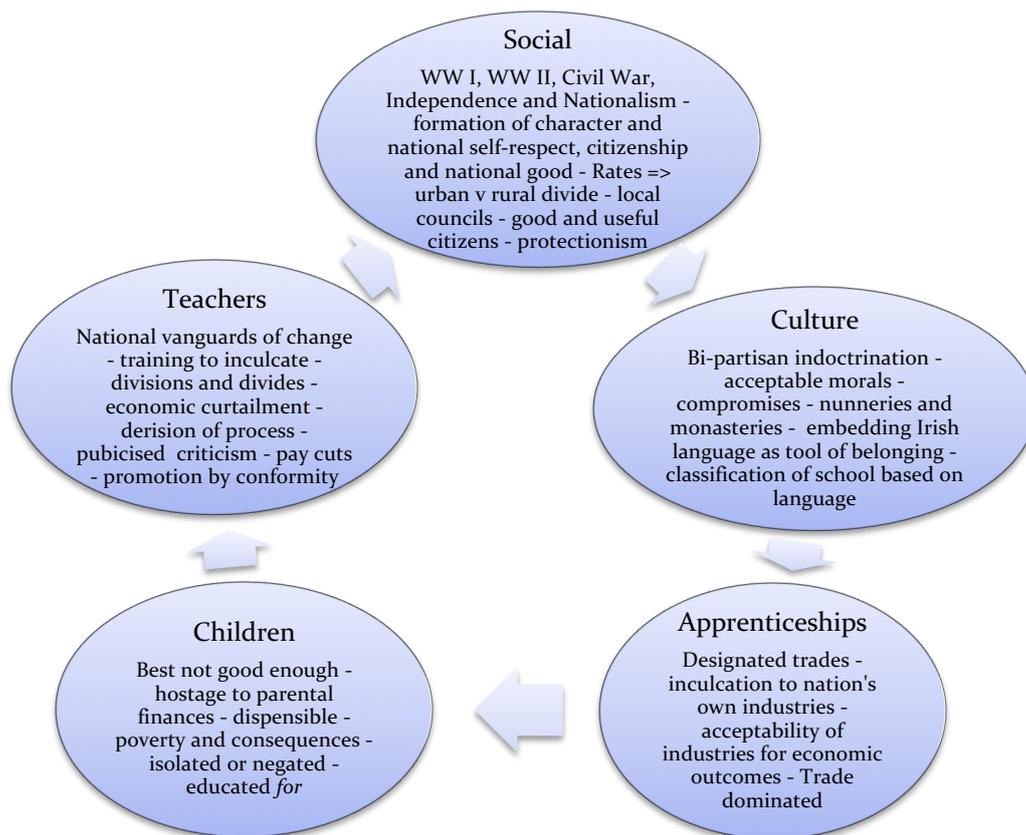


Figure 15 Components of Irish Education 1900 - 1950

While opportunity to review and reconstruct an educational system by aligning policies did present itself more than once in the period, such as when Saorstát was constructed or later again in the process of declaring Ireland a Republic, those opportunities were not availed of. It may possibly have been because the confidence, resources or prioritising of those policy decisions in the fledgling new State were secondary considerations, or possibly because many of the new Ministers were actually imprisoned at the time and civil servants were administering what was already there rather than redrawing new policies. Legislative constructs were the overall goal rather than reform of a system that clearly could have benefited from it. Constitutional relevance and the commitment to education clearly did exist when primary education was named as a constitutional right of every young person and in that process it was clear that the custodians of the evolving State were minded to the effect of a good education for every individual.

Throughout the period 1900-1950 Ireland did not lose sight of the British system of education or evolving British educational policies and appeared minded to retain British basic tenets while being nationalistic about its intended outcomes. This meant that it

paralleled Ireland's education system to that of Britain and this became of significant relevance during the emergence of the division of Ireland into Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The system of British Further Education was applied in Northern Ireland with small differences to the British system but in the Republic it was selectively mirrored rather than applied. Within culture, language continued to be a contentious and controlling influence within Irish education but this time it was in reverse as the Irish language was now being used to determine true loyalty to the emerging State while using the education system to enforce this stance. While Northern Ireland did not have the same element of linguistic contention educationally, language and in particular the Irish language did create, support and sustain what evolved as social and political distinctions which also added to the anomalies which have beset the notion of further education in Ireland to this day.

Religious rivalries and positions still featured in Irish education but the development of VECs as public educational bodies where the Irish people owned much of the resources diminished the overall effect of the rivalries. The dreaded rates which paid towards the VEC structures, did however mean that people effectively paid more taxes and this contributed in some areas of dire poverty to the notion that education and particularly that of the VECs was a burden they the people could do without. Policy thinking had moved on to a focus on pragmatic thinking which may well have influenced how Irish policy was interpreted in terms of how a public education system can contribute to employment and the societal good. Because the people were effectively vested in the operation of VECs as public educational bodies, this contributed to a focus on ensuring employment opportunities through education around the goals of the State despite Ireland not having an industrial history of note. Such return on investment thinking was new to the emergent State and its realisation may well have contributed to the mirroring of what was known rather than risking errors in policy administration and governance particularly as ministerial ownership of decisions were fluid in this epoch.

The system of apprenticeship was directed towards an outward looking agenda but was, while Ireland was still an emerging system, curtailed by the lack of an industrial bias within the State. As shown in this chapter the concept of apprenticeship did not produce employment results quickly enough and came in for criticism. Public policy was expected to produce quick results in the fledging State in a very short-term pragmatic approach. Hence what emerged was apprenticeship for created industries rather than

organic development of a national structural system and the process of apprenticeship was the poorer for it. Indeed, the constant criticism of apprenticeship is still being worked on to this day albeit under a training umbrella which has now been coupled with Further Education, into a new Further Education and Training (FET) construct as later chapters demonstrate.

Religion and how it influenced practices in Ireland, had however, ensured that thousands of children had never been counted in official statistics as they were effectively non-people by virtue of their birth outside marriage. The resultant hole in official reporting on educational statistics certainly pointed to the possibility that the statistics which had been continually returned in education could not have been robust, since they could not officially match the population statistics because those born outside of marriage did not officially exist. This placed pressures on the processes of policy governance in Ireland after independence as resources, structures and returns, were skewed when actually applied to the larger numbers than should have been factored into policy application processes. Thus under-reporting did little to alleviate the pressures on resources after Independence, the blame for which could only be laid at the feet of wholly Irish religious practices and resultant misinformation. It highlights the complexity of policy implementation with this gap in numbers between what was planned and what was experienced in practice, as well as revealing how cultural pressures such as religion dominated public policy.

Teachers were required to teach to the new agenda while once again bearing the responsibility for failures of policy decisions, in order to support a truly Irish education and were required to do more and more towards the State's nationalistic agenda including being expected to operate on ever decreasing resources. This theme is a recurring one throughout the journey of enquiry outlined in this thesis and in combination with the new emerging structures of Irish vocational education in particular, were to set the blueprint for what became Further Education in Ireland. Teachers' methodologies were constantly monitored and their ability to work with and within scarce resources was an expectation which never changed and was indicative of failures of policy administration and governance to actually align the resources and negotiate with the interested parties as outlined in Chapter 2. They were expected to support the agricultural traditions of the people so that children were facilitated to become self-sufficient, and, while teaching larger and larger numbers of students, to

continue their own education, support their own needs and bring about changes to the outcomes for the children in their care while also managing change at as fundamental a level as the alphabet whether English or Irish. Moreover a lack of industrialisation over long number of years meant that facilitating increased economies of scale in agriculture without industrial approaches meant that young people were constantly trying to meet the demands of family agricultural needs at the cost of a continuity of education. Indeed this very facilitation was part of the reason for a melding of primary and secondary education by means of secondary tops. This method of developing a pragmatic solution to a real social issue may well have facilitated a template for future developments in secondary education and Irish Further Education, which created an enduring flexibility in resource allocation and pedagogical processes that still exists in Further Education in Ireland and allows it to appear as separate while operating within the second level system in a process that serves neither system efficiently. It demonstrates how educational policy was both at the mercy of broader political, economic and cultural pressures as well as being expected to pragmatically adapt and stretch to cover gaps in the system of provision, due to a mix of resourcing pressures or ambitious objectives during this epoch.

The lack of ministerial longevity could also have contributed to an ineffective policy application process when the minister of the day could be, and often was, replaced frequently. It would therefore be reasonable to suggest that civil servants as custodians of the policy governance processes, possibly had more control than was expedient and may well have been reluctant to change what already had been set under British rule. The effects of this were certainly obvious in the lack of vision for Irish Further Education which eluded inspection and re-interpretation as would have been expected when the new State was legislating for new structures. Certainly the dual ministerial roles of the Department of Education and the Department of Agriculture did not help as outlined in this chapter.

Children in this era were still effective hostages, but this time it was to their parents' stance on nationalism rather than the previous parental religious stance. Those who went to fully Irish speaking schools enjoyed smaller classes, better paid teachers and relatively more financial resources at the schools disposal. Their education was however, once again, about a sense of being compliant citizens albeit of an Irish sovereign State. VECs concentrated on providing those children with skills which

would now allow them to contribute to the State in the longer term as soon as they were capable of employment. Huge numbers of children however, were effectively excluded from enjoying a full and free life by reason of their parent's poverty or perceived inability to provide for them. Workhouses, industrial schools and reformatories which had been established to cope with the dire straits of many families became the custodians of thousands of Irish children who were effectively excluded from schools as a result, as we now know. Those deprived of the basics of education were not likely to require any concept of either continuation education or further education and this did certainly affect the acceptance of education for generations of some families. These anomalies affected the public sentiment around poverty and dependence particularly in education and this endures in Ireland, particularly in the notion of post-secondary education within which Further Education belongs.

## Chapter 6 – Rebuilding Begins (1950 – 1972)

### *Chapter Introduction*

Ireland had, until the 1950s effectively existed in a state of self-preservation while it found its own place in the world, achieved by ensuring that its people supported a system of social belonging as a new State was constructed. However, it was not long before the State developed a new sense of belonging which was facilitated by developments on a global stage such as the League of Nations and Marshall Plan reimagining of national identity for many global actors. This chapter looks at the way in which Ireland chose to assert itself in postwar global developments which were aided by the Marshall Plan loans it obtained.

The chapter examines how structures were implemented to create opportunities which introduced a type of artisan commercial development that would compensate for the dearth of industrialisation which existed in a formerly protectionist agrarian society. This involved the effective importation of structures of industry while Ireland worked on securing a sense of belonging in a more global sense economically. Apprenticeship processes were developed to facilitate these imported structures and ensure their viability at all costs and the Irish government had a ready market of cheap labour at the ready in its young population which it supplied readily. In order to set out the complicated processes involved in these developments, the chapter briefly outlines the history and background of the aftermath of war and the Marshall Plan and its implementation by the US in Europe before outlining how Ireland itself embraced the concept of assistance despite scepticism within its own politicians.

Training and apprenticeship then became part of the education landscape and vocationalism was a ready conduit for such labour structures. In this process the notion of Irish Further Education was moving to a more facilitatory mode of delivery and it appeared to endure because of its flexibility in meeting the needs of the new and emerging industries. From a policy analysis perspective, the constant focus on newness and facilitating change appeared to overlook the altered educational structures being created and the lack of robust parameters of the new constructs which continued to

allow, if not expect, vocational responses to the changes being adopted and in this process the chameleon nature of Irish Further Education appears to have been honed.

The chapter also outlines developing organisational policy structures which have become significant in terms of internationalisation processes worldwide such as the OECD, United Nations and such organisations, whose commentary and analysis, has changed how many nations interact with new policy developments such as country rankings and influence structures between countries. While these organisations had their origin in this period, their alterations over time has facilitated ongoing influence on changes within and without education not just in Ireland but in a wider European policy dimension which continues to develop.

## **The United States Post-Depression**

The United States did not escape the vagaries of war, but those vagaries were significantly based on economic or business systems. The level of human post-war shock was possibly not as severe in America as it was in Europe. This allowed the United States to restart its economic and business structures quickly. The United States adopted a careful approach to trade after the war. The Nye Commission had already concluded that US involvement in WWI was driven by private interests from arms manufacturers, and in its reprimands, it banned US business interests from backing warring nations.<sup>1</sup> As a means of somehow circumventing direct involvement, the U.S. instigated the 'Cash and Carry' policy in 1939 to replace the Neutrality Act passed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in September 1939 just after WWII broke out in Europe.<sup>2</sup> This policy allowed the sale of materials to needier countries as long as the recipients arranged their own ships and paid immediately in cash. It was seen as a way to ensure that Britain for instance had supplies without breaching America's neutral position.

Following the devastation of the Great Depression of 1929 in the United States, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was established by the *Securities Exchange Act 1934*. This is an independent U.S. government agency that oversees securities transactions, activities of financial professionals and mutual-fund trading

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<sup>1</sup> Summarised at <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-truth-about-the-america-first-movement-16887> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

<sup>2</sup> Securities Exchange Act of 1934 for updated version <https://www.nyse.com/publicdocs/nyse/regulation/nyse/sea34.pdf> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

ostensibly to prevent fraud and intentional securities deception. Its mission according to its current website ([www.sec.gov](http://www.sec.gov)) was to restore investor confidence in US capital markets by providing investors and the markets with more reliable information and clear rules of honest dealing.<sup>3</sup>

The level of information processing and statistical analysis done by the SEC is phenomenal and enables the United States to quickly analyse investment products both inside and outside the United States, using structures already in place. In Irish Further Education this potential influence cannot be overstated as will be seen later in this chapter as it certainly appeared to create a different approach to business building in Ireland. This will be seen in the structures of commercial organisations which influenced the approaches to apprenticeships, technical education and indeed industrial practices to the extent that commercial policies appear to have overseen educational policies with possible tacit ministerial agreement.

After WWI, The U.S. passed *The Neutrality Acts* in 1935,<sup>4</sup> 1936, 1937, and 1939 with the direct aim of limiting U.S. involvement in future wars. On 9th November 1935 the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO) was founded as a workers union organisation. Additionally, The Wagner Act, or more correctly the *National Labour Relations Act 1935*<sup>5</sup>, established the legal right of most workers, notably excepting agricultural and domestic workers, to organise or join labour unions and bargain collectively with their employers. A year later The Flint Sit-down strike begun on 30th December 1936 changed the United Automobile Workers (UAW) into a major union rather than isolated workers leading to the unionisation of the United States car industry (Boyle, 1995 pp.28-29). Unionisation of this scale effectively created higher wages and resultant pressures on industrial profits in turn leading to an expected search for cheaper labour resources which were to be found in countries with high unemployment, and certainly Ireland was one of them.

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<sup>3</sup> Securities Exchange Act of 1934 for up to date version  
<https://www.nyse.com/publicdocs/nyse/regulation/nyse/sea34.pdf> (last accessed 30/11/2019)

<sup>4</sup> See Office of the Historian, Department of State United States of America,  
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/neutrality-acts> (last accessed 4/1/2020), see also  
<http://insidethecoldwar.org/sites/default/files/documents/U.S.%20Neutrality%20Act%20of%201935%2C%20August%2031%2C%201935.pdf> (last accessed 30/11/2019), courtesy of University of Houston: Digital History

<sup>5</sup> National Labour Relations Act 1935 see <https://rooseveltinstitute.org/wagner-act/> (last accessed 30/11/2019).

In the post war era, the United States assisted countries like Britain to help rebuild with direct financial aid by way of loans channelled through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) which had been founded in 1943 and mainly financed by the United States (73%), but not actually directly controlled by the United States (Steil, 2018). It soon became obvious though, that more was needed, and while investment funds were the solution, they were not, at that stage, feasible because the reserves of most European countries had been depleted in order to fund war campaigns. Eventually this, led to the establishment of the United Nations (UN) through the Truman Doctrine to support countries to recover and reinstate their independence (especially in light of perceived threat of communism).

### *The Marshall Plan*

The Marshall Plan was a key public policy intervention by the United States to support European recovery in the post war period. It was depicted as the work of U.S. General George Marshall who travelled to Europe in 1947, and witnessed for himself the poverty and deprivation caused by the war. Ireland still had rationing, rising inflation, dependency on its own agricultural produce, falling living standards and dependency on mostly British coal markets to generate electricity and to fuel economic activity. It was agreed by the United States to fund a recovery programme throughout Europe so that ‘communism’, as Truman had described it, should be kept at bay, and European countries could be put back on their feet through encouragement and supported recovery investment from the United States (Steil, 2018). The 1948 European Recovery Act set up the structures of what became known as the Marshall Aid Plan, aimed at achieving this goal through the newly formed European Co-operation Administration (ECA). Ireland did not receive grants (although some other European countries did), because of what has always been posited as Washington’s irritation at the continuation of Ireland’s neutrality stance in World War II, which had been retrenched in the new Constitution. Thus from 1947 – 1951 it was required under the ERP to report Ireland’s progress to the ECA, quarterly and yearly and to produce 4-year plans which directed efforts towards analysis of outputs, production and development in very real terms which were recorded, analysed, overseen and maintained.<sup>6</sup> Remembering that Ireland had only actually been fully independent from Britain in 1947 this was like a move ‘from the frying pan into the fire’ insofar as Ireland

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<sup>6</sup> See also: Whelan, B., (2000), *Ireland and the Marshall Plan, 1947-57*, Dublin: Four Courts Press

was back within bureaucratic systems that were not of its own making or control. Ireland's sovereignty had only just been secured before it was diluted. Between 1949 and 1952, Ireland was tied to this reporting requirement and in the process, efforts were concentrated on reforestation, research, house building, hospital development and education development. Dáil reports at the time clearly portray the panic, worry and cajoling which set in, to ensure that, as a very newly declared free country the civil servants and Ministers could produce the financial reports and statistics required to properly apply for aid under the plan. As is evident later in this chapter, these reporting pressures meant that planning for economic issues dominated what should have been education policy governance issues and contributed to confusion within education.

The discourse around the Marshall Plan has always portrayed the process as if the United States became something akin to, the 'very best uncle' of the countries which received aid under the system. This image belies the detail of the Plan as outlined in the legislation passed to bring the process into being at the time. *The Foreign Assistance Act 1948* is described as an Act

*“... to promote world peace and the general welfare, national interests, and foreign policy of the United States through economic, financial, and other measures necessary to the maintenance of conditions abroad in which free institutions may survive and consistent with the maintenance of the strength and stability of the United States”*  
*Foreign Assistance Act 1948 (preamble)*<sup>7</sup>

The Act outlined that what was envisaged was “a joint recovery programme based upon self-help and mutual cooperation”,<sup>8</sup> which was “contingent upon continuous effort of the participating countries to accomplish a joint recovery programme through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organisation for this purpose”<sup>9</sup> and the completion of an agreement to:

- 1) *Promote industrial and commercial production and to produce plans for specific projects under the plan to include projects for increased production of coal, steel, transportation facilities and food*
- 2) *Taking financial and monetary measures necessary to stabilise currency, rate of exchange, balanced budget (as soon as practicable) and to restore confidence in its own monetary system.*
- 3) *Co-operate to reduce barriers between countries and facilitate and stimulate the interchange of goods and services*
- 4) *Use facilities, commodities or services efficiently and practically to support the process*
- 5) *Facilitate the transfer to the United States for sale, exchange, barter of otherwise stockpiling products required by the United States due to deficiencies of its own resources but may be available in surplus in other countries.*

<sup>7</sup> Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, 80<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2D Session, Chapter 169, April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1948 see <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/1948-04-03b.pdf> (last accessed 1/12/2019)

<sup>8</sup> Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, 80<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2D Session, Chapter 169, April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1948, Section 102

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 115 (b)

- 6) *Place in a special account a deposit in the currency of the country under terms and conditions as agreed between that country and Government of the United States*
  - 7) *Publishing and transmitting to the United States, at least quarterly, full statements of operations under the agreement as well as a report on the use of funds, commodities and services received.*
  - 8) *Publishing in the country and transmitting to the United States any relevant information which would help the United States in determining how the assistance and support will be used.*
  - 9) *Minimise the drain on the United States resources by providing a schedule of resources which the United States can effectively call upon, protect the right of access to these resources for the United States and provide an agreed schedule of increased production and proportion available to the United States.*
  - 10) *Agree to submit to arbitration for compensation claims from U.S. nationals whose property rights or contractual rights might be affected by the activities of participating countries.*
- Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, 80<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2D Session, Chapter 169, April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1948 Section 115(b)***

Fundamentally, in return for the possibilities, or maybe, the privilege of selling surplus products or buying products, which the United States decided it had surplus stock of, countries had to ensure that adequate currency deposits were secured in safe accounts. It was certainly beneficial to struggling countries but it was not a ‘free meal’. The process implied a veritable submission of a nation’s forward business plans and how funds were to be used to benefit trade in Europe. Budgetary oversight was a by-product of such a regime and it certainly seemed as if it was brought to bear. The Marshall Plan however was clearly intended to be operated under the auspices of the United States and not the UNRRA.<sup>10</sup> Clayton wanted the plan to “be based on a European economic federation on the order of Belgium-Netherlands-Luxembourg Customs Union” (Clayton, 1947 p. 100). Effectively the United States favoured its own type of uniting of states as that would effectively mean less individual negotiation and more cohesively-grouped individual negotiation. This would be groups of similarly minded countries rather than individual disparate and harder to reach consensus countries. All administrative expenses were borne by the participating countries and interest was charged on the transactions – the structures of banking were imposed, but the marketing was focused on aid by a Superpower to impoverished nations.

#### *Ireland and the Marshall Plan*

The Irish Government during this time was clearly anxious to participate in the Marshall Plan which was portrayed as saving the economies of Europe. Its initial application was deemed to be doomed by virtue of the neutral status adopted by Ireland in the wars, and the fact that it had not suffered from as much war damage as other countries in Europe. However, there may well have been an assumption, even if only

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<sup>10</sup> See <https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/362ac450-9b04-4a89-892d-011d296d33e2> (last accessed 1/12/2019)

portrayed for political expedience, that once again Ireland posed a potential risk, because of its close proximity to Britain. There has always been an assumption that Ireland's agricultural economy was the reason Ireland was supported but it is likely that the proximity of Ireland to Britain was the reason. Clearly however, from the actual wording of the *Foreign Assistance Act 1948*, the process did not just include the facilitation of export of American-needed produce, but also the absorption of produce that the United States itself had surplus of, in return for dollar reserves. In this way, for instance Ireland was required to import wheat flour from the United States even though Ireland already had its own flour production facilities. This in effect put pressure on native industries which were being undercut by cheaper products being imported in conflict to the protectionist strategies which had facilitated the home-grown nature of Ireland's chosen development of Irish industries.

The negotiation of Ireland's part in the Marshall Plan also coincided with a change of Ireland's 16 years old Fianna Fáil government, which was replaced by an inter-party, or rainbow coalition government. Now the task of the application for funds fell from the well-versed Seán Lemass to Seán MacBride who at short notice, after assuming office as Minister for External Affairs, had to oversee the application for funding to the ECA. In a Dáil Eireann Debate on 14<sup>th</sup> July 1949 Mr. McBride illustrated why Ireland's allegiance had slightly moved in favour of the U.S. and specifically the Marshall Aid Plan when he said "On the question of the foreign policy of this country, there is no country with which we have closer affiliations, either historically or by population relationship, than the United States of America, and in so far as I can influence the foreign policy of this State, it will be one of the utmost friendliness to the United States of America. I make no apology ...."<sup>11</sup> It certainly seemed that 'the gift horse' was not going to have its teeth examined.

Ireland, despite an argument that it was being disadvantaged by being given loans (repayable), rather than grants (non-repayable) as Britain received, observed this as resulting in an advantage to the northern 6 counties, above that of the other 26 counties. Indeed, Ireland appeared to presume that loans which had to be repaid, did not mean that the ECA had the same authority over Ireland as they had over Britain for grants received. As a Nation, Ireland was given slightly more favourable terms latterly,

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<sup>11</sup> Dáil Debate 14 July 1949, Committee on Finance. – Vote 65 – External Affairs (Resumed), <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1949-07-14/23/>> (last accessed 1/12/2019)

following the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference and the resultant Bretton Woods Agreement in July 1944,<sup>12</sup> which effectively established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) and was a commitment from WWII-allied countries for their Central Banks to maintain a fixed exchange rate between their currencies and the dollar.<sup>13</sup>

In May 1948 Winston Churchill spoke at the Congress of Europe in the Hague, and his speech, named the Zurich Speech,<sup>14</sup> called for peace so that war would not happen again. This is described, as being the initiation of what is now the European Union.<sup>15</sup> In 1948, also, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) was founded by the United States and membership of the OEEC was a condition of receipt of Marshall Aid for countries within Europe.<sup>16</sup> Many countries, which received aid under the plan, embarked, not just on industrialisation, but on social service initiatives such as the National Health Service in Britain, and a welfare state in France under Charles de Gaulle as such projects came within the element of social integration of people into society after the War.

Ireland on the other hand appeared economically lethargic in its adoption of the aid being offered to it, and this has been assumed to have been because Ireland was effectively given agricultural-based aid as the country already had an agricultural economy and this was not quite what the people had advocated for. It is interesting that in a Seanad Éireann debate on 5<sup>th</sup> August 1948 there was some scepticism about the way in which the Congress of Europe<sup>17</sup> (which had been the basis of European organisation) in the Hague had been convened and run. Senator Douglas in that debate explained:

*“The Congress of Europe which met at the Hague from May 7<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> was arranged by a number of nongovernmental organisations who had for some years been advocating the principle of European Unity. It was, therefore, strictly unofficial and the members of the conference*

<sup>12</sup> The Bretton Woods Agreements 1944 < <https://www.teamlaw.org/BWAgreements.pdf>>, (last accessed 1/12/2019)

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> European Commission: calling for a United States of Europe. [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/winston\\_churchill\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/winston_churchill_en.pdf) (last accessed 2/12/2019)

<sup>15</sup> ‘The historical development of European integration’ [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/PERI/2018/618969/IPOL\\_PERI\(2018\)618969\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/PERI/2018/618969/IPOL_PERI(2018)618969_EN.pdf)> (last accessed 2/12/2019)

<sup>16</sup> Marshall Foundation [www.marshallfoundation.org](http://www.marshallfoundation.org) (last accessed 2/12/2019)

<sup>17</sup> The Congress of Europe followed on from Winston Churchill’s Zurich speech and took place from 7-10 May 1948 <<https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/7b137b71-6010-4621-83b4-b0ca06a6b2cb/4b311dc0-cbe6-421d-9f9a-3bc8b1b155f6>> (last accessed 2/12/2019)

*consisted of persons who had accepted invitations as individuals and not as delegates from their respective countries”*

*Mr. Douglas, Seanad Éireann Debate 5/8/1948<sup>18</sup>*

This interpretation of the congress as unofficial certainly puts a slightly different light on Mr. Churchill’s speech, which, as already outlined, has been credited with starting the European Union. It was obvious that the idea and issues around the establishment of a European Parliament were discussed under the Political Committee of the Congress.<sup>19</sup> Mr. Douglas did acknowledge that there had been a discouragement of too much “interest or curiosity on the part of the man on the street in what was taking place in Europe”<sup>20</sup> by “censorship from reading any news”<sup>21</sup> and that people did not therefore know a lot about European affairs. Much was made of the need for Europe; to “regain and surpass its former prosperity and reassert its economic independence”,<sup>22</sup> so as to avoid any move towards totalitarianism; to ensure the salvation of Europe, and, to protect the freedoms of European nations. The discourse hinted at the possibility that unification could ensure a return to the way things were and also to protection from outside threats, without once acknowledging that the nations involved were the ones that had actually been a threat to each other. Communism was depicted as the enemy and it was personified in Russia and the Soviet Union and all countries were encouraged to unite against the threat.

Marshall Aid Plan assistance, in an Irish context, eventually came in the form of the Technical Assistance Programme (TAP), aimed at industrialisation policies although it was initially administered as agricultural aid and included tractors and other equipment. This form of assistance was given on an individual business level rather than at government level and involved contacts with what might now be termed American mentors who could advise individual Irish businesses on how to maximise their production capacity, market penetration, export potential and forward planning for expansion with an emphasis on productivity, effective use of resources and maximisation of return on investment (Murray, 2008). The Marshall Plan, the influence of TAP and these developments become evident in the reporting and discourses of vocational education in particular.

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<sup>18</sup> Seanad Debate 5/8/1948 <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1948-08-05/4/> (last accessed 02/12/2019)

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

The introduction of TAP in Ireland signified a new way of doing things which was very forthright and brokred little resistance, while dictating a developmental pace that had not been seen before. Such attention to the way things should happen was also evident in the way that education changed and particularly the training and industrial focus of what was presumed to be vocational, industrial or technical education. This reflected on the overall contested place of both vocational education, apprenticeships and technical education in Ireland, evident in the constant reinvention of the differing portrayals of each concept in policy processes to this day. Indeed the ability to shape-shift was very much developed in this era and has had long term effects particularly in relation to how education policy was possibly influenced by these processes of favouring foreign investment which may well have facilitated the continued overlooking of the anomalies that affected the development of the Further Education concept in Ireland which differed considerably from those in Britain and Northern Ireland where industrial concerns were more prominent.

More was to come, however, as during the second stage in Dáil Eireann (9<sup>th</sup> March 1950), on the Industrial Development Authority Bill 1949 it only seemed to be realised, or at least outlined, that the organisation being proposed, had to all intents been in existence for almost a year, and the Bill, was just to give it legal effect. Deputy Morrissey the Minister for Industry and Commerce outlined that:

*“In this task of formidable proportions and of paramount national importance, the Government have felt the need for a specialised autonomous organisation. They have, therefore, set up the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) to advise and assist the Government in the intensification of industrial development on the best possible lines; the primary purpose of this Bill is to give statutory effect to the Government’s action, with effect as from the 26<sup>th</sup> May, 1949”*

***Dáil Éireann debate 9<sup>th</sup> March 1949<sup>23</sup>.***

The Government gave extraordinary powers to the four members of the authority in what was retrospective legislation, and had given them staff from a complete section of the office of the Minister for Industry and Commerce who then ceased to be civil servants, without being subject to Civil Service regulations or procedure.<sup>24</sup> The

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<sup>23</sup> Dáil Éireann debate, Thursday 9 Mar 1950, Industrial Development Authority Bill, 1949 – Second Stage, <  
<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-03-09/43/?highlight%5B0%5D=developing&highlight%5B1%5D=industry&highlight%5B2%5D=bill&highlight%5B3%5D=authority&highlight%5B4%5D=industries&highlight%5B5%5D=industry&highlight%5B6%5D=industry>> (last accessed 2/12/2019)

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

members of the IDA authority were to be assigned the work of the Trade and Industries part of the Minister's office, as well as the staff who had already been doing that work.<sup>25</sup> It was further explained that full permission had been given for a survey of investigation of industrial stock in the country "and the extent and location of the human and natural resources which allow for further development".<sup>26</sup> It certainly appeared that the Minister gave TAP full sway without consulting the Dáil and, more significantly, the methods of American industrialisation were introduced by Irish co-option if not by Irish co-operation, and were justified because the country did not have enough business-savvy natives. The entire event augured for a type of compliance of business to the needs of those calling the shots. In the case of education and particularly what was Further Education whether under vocational or technical constructs, the focus was on ready access to cheap labour. The actions appeared to be bound up in the re-imagining of apprenticeships to facilitate new, non-native industrial interests without actually outlining the policy administration and governance issues which might have elucidated some of the anomalies which later led to the unseen shifting of the constructs of Further Education for years after. It certainly seems that nobody noticed and, if they did, they ignored it, and later still they continued in a failure to recognise the issues which arose possibly in favour of employment policies rather than educational policies.

By the late 1950s, loans from the Marshall Aid Plan were sanctioned, Ireland was directed to widen its horizons in terms of trade and export potential. The IDA identified industries which would locate in Ireland, and gave them support to set up, which was in line with ECA activities, termed Type B proposals.<sup>27</sup> Type B proposals involved U.S. consultants being brought to Ireland to ascertain what the issues were and what were the best industries with which to engage and it certainly appeared that Ireland had succumbed to the commercial interests of others to gain financially. The focus of the ECA was on internationally traded business which then became the focus of the IDA. It is significant that throughout Europe where Marshall Aid was received, there was an increase in global trading of the selected industries, as the process of the actual trade involved in the goods being exported was managed by the OEEC who held the funds in special counterpart funds. The ERP received 5% of the counterpart fund in charges from the deals (Price, 1955). The U.S. in all gave a total of \$44.3 billion to the world

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Congressional Research Service 7-5700 R45097, < <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R45079.pdf>> (last accessed 02/12/2019)

by way of grants and loans between 1945 and 1953 and based on the 5% charge only, that equates to charges of \$2.21 billion payable directly to the ERP (Price, 1995). In the process, certainly the one Ireland was involved in, there were companies attracted to Ireland which would never actually belong to Ireland as their shareholders were mainly U.S. investment structures, unfamiliar to industrial and agrarian Ireland prior to the Marshall Plan (particularly pharmaceutical companies and industrial fertilizer manufacturers). Noam Chomsky critically concluded that the Marshall Plan “set the stage for large amounts of private U.S. investment in Europe, establishing the basis for modern transnational corporations” (2002, p.9). I would posit that in Ireland that the ‘stage’ was set with Irish Further Education included in the presentation as the conduit of cheap labour resources to facilitate the developments proposed.

#### *Irish Vocational Education and the Marshall Plan*

The timing of the Marshall Aid plan, coincided with Ireland’s official independence from Britain in 1947. The Catholic Church and its teachings were firmly entwined in all the protections of the Constitution of the new State and the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. John Charles McQuaid had reputedly been included in its scripting. A new respectability had arrived, and education, even in the vocational sector, was now being supported by the priests throughout Ireland. The strict imposition of Irish, particularly in the vocational area was a little more relaxed at that stage and it was suggested that if vocational teachers were to talk to students in normal conversation it might improve the usage and respect for Irish among the students.<sup>28</sup> The tone used in relation to the reporting of progress in Vocational Education was more positive and this may have been because the report was being presented by a new Chief Inspector, Micheál Breathnach who presented the Reports from 1946 through to 1950 when a system of Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Vocational Education Committees was implemented. After that, reports were made by and responsibility assigned to those same CEOs. Mr Breathnach while making very positive remarks on the vocational education system, appeared also to slightly re-define or expand what could be taught within the vocational education system when he noted in the 1948-49 Report:

*“In the Vocational Education Act 1930, the definition of “technical education” in section 4(1) included Music in the county boroughs of Dublin and Cork only. To meet the growing demand from other VECs for instruction in Music in their areas, the Minister issued Order, SI, No. 74 of 1949 amending the definition and thereby extending to these other Committees power to*

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<sup>28</sup> Department of Education (1948-49), Report of the Department of Education 1948-49, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 32-35

*provide instruction in vocal and instrumental music, including the formation of choirs and orchestras”*

*Report of the Department of Education 1948-49*<sup>29</sup>

Mr Breathnach’s report became more expansive as his tenure lengthened and he appeared to focus on what he portrayed as positive additions to vocational education, such as visits out to the community, music events, films, and trips to various places of interest to the educational offering within the VECs.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, his expansion of the concept of apprentices in his 1948-49 report may well have been the reason he proffered for increased numbers in day courses being run by the VECs.<sup>31</sup> In keeping with his apparent expansion of the activities of VECs within this report, including those outlined under the Section Vocational Education, where what were called ‘Juvenile Training Centres’, but were effectively the 3 ‘Brughs’ which had provided activities for young people including camps, social trips, and educational supports operated with oversight from the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee (CDVEC) at the direct request of the Minister for Education, were now working with younger youth.<sup>32</sup> The Inspectors were quick to point to the possibilities that education for employment presented, and to encourage such activities which broadened the horizon for younger people, while at the same time changing the potential familial influence over those same young people. This has been an ostensible influence ever since and its effects on Further Education in Ireland in terms of the type of activities and training to which students are orientated can still be seen.

In the debate on the Industrial Development Authority Bill, (9<sup>th</sup> March 1950),<sup>33</sup> Labour Party Deputy Jim Larkin, contributed that in his opinion, the development of the new Authority, for which support was being requested, would suit students of the technical schools to secure employment in these potential new enterprises. He posited that it would increase openings for boys and girls who undertook the technical courses. That process, it seemed would make the courses more attractive to students, as well as

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<sup>29</sup> Department of Education (1948-49), Report of the Department of Education 1948-49), Dublin: Stationery Office < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1948-1949.pdf>> (last accessed 02/12/2019), p.23

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-33

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-47

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 40-41

<sup>33</sup> Dáil Éireann debate, Thursday 9 Mar 1950, Industrial Development Authority Bill, 1949 – Second Stage, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-03-09/43/?highlight%5B0%5D=developing&highlight%5B1%5D=industry&highlight%5B2%5D=bill&highlight%5B3%5D=authority&highlight%5B4%5D=industries&highlight%5B5%5D=industry&highlight%5B6%5D=industry>> (last accessed 2/12/2019)

increasing demand from industrial interests in the future, rather than predominantly from commercial interests as was the trend at that time. It would appear that this might well have been where the expectation was voiced, that students of technical schools would become industrial workers and have a direct link with industrial enterprises which would in turn, be attracted by the IDA, thereby creating a new collaboration as part of a national movement away from agriculture.<sup>34</sup> However, his presumption did not appear to take into account that not every person in the technical schools, was only capable of getting that type of work, in what was a dichotomic presumption that intelligence did not equate to vocational education. There were however several logical reasons why a student would undertake a vocational course rather than go to the secondary school: a) the areas they lived in, might only have had technical schools or vocational schools; b) it was compulsory to be in some school until they were 16; c) the other option was to stay in primary school and repeat everything they had already learnt; d) their parents may not have been able to afford to pay the fees for secondary school or indeed university, although the children may have been extremely bright and capable, and finally, e) their parents were paying for the development of those schools anyway by way of the rates paid to the local authorities. This belied those presumptions of intelligence versus vocational, but the presumption has never actually been rectified and has resulted in a prevailing presumption that vocational, and later further, education is for those who do not possess the intellectual capacity to follow a more supposedly acceptable route through secondary education to third level education.

Interestingly in the *1950-51 Department of Education Report*<sup>35</sup> it was noted that on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1950 there was an inaugural meeting of what was called a Council of Education, possibly based on the Constitutional notion of the Council of State, to advise the President on certain matters of legal significance.<sup>36</sup> The objects of the Council of Education were stated as being:

*“To advise the Minister in so far as pertains to the powers, duties and functions of the State, upon such matters relating to educational theory and practice as they may think fit and upon any educational questions and problems referred to them by him”*  
***Report of the Department of Education 1950-51, p. 3<sup>37</sup>***

<sup>34</sup> Dáil Debate, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-03-09/43/?highlight%5B0%5D=developing&highlight%5B1%5D=industry&highlight%5B2%5D=bill&highlight%5B3%5D=authority&highlight%5B4%5D=industries&highlight%5B5%5D=industry&highlight%5B6%5D=industry> > last accessed (3/12/2019)

<sup>35</sup> Department of Education (1950-51), Report of the Department of Education 1950-51, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 3 [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats\\_statistical\\_report\\_1950\\_1951.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats_statistical_report_1950_1951.pdf) > (last accessed 3/12/2019)

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 3

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

What might be questionable in relation to that definition is the fact that the Government of Ireland, presumably representing that same “State”, had already outlined that the system of education in Ireland was privately run and the only one part which the State had any sort of oversight over, was that of Vocational Education. This may well be open to the interpretation then, that the new theories were specifically relevant to Vocational Education Committees, rather than just the Minister, but the wording used does not actually specify that distinction because it uses the words ‘powers, duties and functions of the State’ and thereby creates a remove from its intended target. It certainly does give the impression that the policy was being dictated by others rather than the Minister and this may well have affected the presumptions made above by those who did not comprehend the nuanced history of Irish education and sought to create a different structure which could potentially be referred to them before any changes were to be made.

In that same report there was reference that under the ECA Technical Assistance Project, an Inspector of the Department and the Chief Executive Officer of a county scheme spent 13 weeks in the U.S.<sup>38</sup> They enjoyed visits to various rural High Schools and Land Grant Colleges and were allowed to study the educational system.<sup>39</sup> This was followed in 1952 by a visit from teachers from Vermont who viewed the Irish standard of teaching as being good.<sup>40</sup> Additionally, newly introduced quarterly statistical reporting formats were a new departure from annual reporting.<sup>41</sup> The Marshall Plan and its operations, did require more timely statistics, and this move to quarterly recording was obviously the manifestation of the operations of TAPs within an educational sphere which, as already described, had the potential to facilitate the alignment of labour education with labour needs outlined in the detailed planning processes, potentially wresting purely Irish education decisions in favour of planned industrial and commercial needs. An interesting development in this process appeared from the 1951-52 Report which moved the section on Reformatory and Industrial Schools to directly after Vocational Education as if the type of student of vocational

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<sup>38</sup> Department of Education (1950-51), Report of the Department of Education 1950-51, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 23 < [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats\\_statistical\\_report\\_1950\\_1951.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats_statistical_report_1950_1951.pdf) > (last accessed 3/12/2019)

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-34

schools were in a pecking order and rested just above those in Reformatory and Industrial Schools, although this is not overtly stated.<sup>42</sup>

During the Second Reading of the Vocational Schools (Amendment) Bill on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1950,<sup>43</sup> the then Minister of Education, General Richard Mulcahy, outlined that in Ireland “our educational system, apart from university education, consists of three main branches – primary, secondary and vocational”.<sup>44</sup> He further outlined that “vocational education comprises two main sections – continuation education and technical education”.<sup>45</sup> This clearly contradicts the idea that what was set up by vocational education committees was merely a bureaucratic ‘scheme’ when in fact it was now positioned as a third branch of education for young people. General Mulcahy further outlined that since the introduction in 1936 of a new system of technical school examinations, there had been more input and exchange with actual business and industrial interests, and that “many useful schemes of training have been developed by vocational education schools working in association with particular industries or occupations”. While this was encouraged by the Minister, he also outlined that “permanent schemes for the systemic training of apprentices are in operation mainly in the county boroughs”.<sup>46</sup> There was obvious co-operation of the Department of Education with various vocational education committees throughout the country and also co-operation between various vocational education committees in joint schemes with the Department. Interestingly the speech goes on to outline that “Adult education is, however, forcing its attention more and more on vocational education committees and the main problem is at present being investigated by a sub-committee of chief executive officers and inspectors of the Department”.<sup>47</sup> Effectively what was a vocational committee structure which had been established albeit by Britain within Ireland initially, to oversee the operation of various types of education, was now being branded, not as an overseeing committee-based system but a specific type of education.

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<sup>42</sup> Department of Education 1952-53, Report of the Department of Education 1952-53, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. viii < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1952-1953.pdf>> (last accessed 3/12/2019)

<sup>43</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1950, 13<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 123 No.6 <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-11-16/57/> (last accessed 6/12/2019)

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

General Mulcahy outlined that some university extension courses were also being co-operated on, particularly in “social science and allied subjects”.<sup>48</sup> It was proposed in the 1950 bill to allow for changes to be made in some areas for sanctioning increases in the rates (again within limits) for any specific vocational education committee, where that committee had: (i) submitted a copy of its financial scheme in advance to the local rating authority, (ii) that scheme was approved by the rating authority, (iii) that the Minister himself was satisfied that the additional money was actually required, at such time and (iv) he would issue a certificate to the local authority which would authorise that the rate was either to be increased or to remain at the level it had been at during the previous year.<sup>49</sup> A complaint had been directed to the Minister that Tralee Vocational Education Committee had proposed a scheme but had been waiting to get it approved and in reply the Minister suggested that if they co-operated with Sligo’s Vocational Education Committee, there would be a better scheme possible. One might gather from this, that the Minister was encouraging economies on the demands of rates, by ensuring that there was co-operation between Committees in their varied enterprises. Indeed, it might also appear that there was an exercise being carried out on the possible synergies between various VECs with a view to amalgamation of effort that might ease expenses from the Department’s coffers where there was a ratio of expenditure between the VECs and central funds.

Deputy O’Ciosáin, in his frank contribution to the debate, outlined that he had been pleasantly surprised, with the successful development of vocational schools and admitted, that he had been “rather sceptical as to the future success of the scheme”.<sup>50</sup> He outlined however, that he was “now fully satisfied with the rate of progress that has been made. I am glad to say that the doubts I had when the scheme came in first have been to a great extent dispelled”.<sup>51</sup> More illustrative of the potential identity confusion, of vocational education however, was outlined by him also:

*“At that time to tell you nothing but the truth, I could not see any great difference between what would be described as technical education and vocational education, and even still, I think that one could be described as an expansion of the other, although there are clear subjects being taught in the vocational schools now which would come under the heading of vocational education that were being taught even before the Act came into existence”*  
**Deputy Éamon O’Ciosáin, Dáil Éireann Debate 16<sup>th</sup> November 1950**<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1950, 13<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 123 No 6 <  
<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-11-16/57/> >(last accessed 6/12/2019)

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

Deputy Derrig, in the same debate, pointed out that the vocational schools were actually in competition with secondary schools for the same pupils, but the secondary schools could effectively cherry-pick the best students, while the grant for them to go to that secondary school would come out of the rate which the VEC was also competing for. He outlined that he also understood that “The Marshall Aid administration recently issued a publication in which they referred to the state of our agricultural advisory services. .... I presume that it will come within the Minister’s province if he thinks that the observations of the committee are worthy of being considered for putting into force, that the teaching of agricultural economics should as far as possible be improved. They refer in particular to marketing and farm management”.<sup>53</sup> In Britain at this time engagement of young people with youth services, had begun in what appeared to be an extension of scouts and other youth organisations (Devlin, 2009). In Ireland the series of ‘Brughs’ or clubs which provided activities for young people including camps, social trips, and educational supports had gained a good reputation. The Irish organisation called Comhairle le Leas Óige was born in 1942 and its basic setup of the ‘brughs’, ensured that each club had youth leaders, a special chaplain, and a Social Welfare Committee made up of female social workers. Finances were provided by voluntary fundraising and activities and Comhairle le Leas Óige quickly secured effective engagement with over 1000 young people in the City of Dublin area.<sup>54</sup> This process also assisted the CDVEC to encourage such developments within their educational structures, and it was not long before the lectures and trips which had been organised by Comhairle le Leas Óige were expanded as personal development activities within the VEC colleges. Interestingly the narrative on teachers in the VECs also changed slightly, with an apparent appreciation of the dual role they played in relation to teaching and being practitioners in their own specialism; Deputy Connolly, while describing vocational education as “the latest form and phase of education in this country”<sup>55</sup> added:

*“Technical and vocational education and those who are trained to administer it, ..... are qualified actually to do the work, because it has to be done and it has to be administered. It cannot be theorised about in front of the students in regard to the large number of industries for which schemes have been provided, or in regard to the large number of technical classes which are held, and these cover a multitude of subjects”.*  
*Deputy Connolly, Dáil Éireann Debate, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1950<sup>56</sup>*

<sup>53</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate Thursday 16 November 1950, An Bille Garim-Odieachas (Leasú), 1950 – An Dara Léigheamh, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-11-16/57/>> (last accessed 7/12/2019)

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

It was clear, however, that politicians were also focused on what other countries were doing with reference being made to Norway, Sweden and Denmark. In this way, they appeared to want ‘something similar’ for their own county.<sup>57</sup> It appeared, that the majority of politicians, approved of the activities of the vocational education committees from a development point of view, but would favour, not a continuation of the dual funding system of rates and central funds, but, more fiscal equality, with secondary education, which did not rely on rates. In effect they were objecting to the financial policy of the process, not the fairness of the political policy, on which there appeared to be no capitulation.

Significant changes for vocational education became evident as a consequence of political agreements about key commodities, deemed sought after, as controllable in light of perceived communist threats in post war Europe. On 9 May 1950, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Robert Schuman, outlined a plan to unite the coal and steel industries of Europe’s bitterest enemies namely France and Germany.<sup>58</sup> Eliminating monopoly of staple commodities such as coal and steel had the potential to make the amalgamations of other economic and political sectors less fractious, so that eventually all major decisions would be taken at a European level, creating, according to Schuman; a “de facto solidarity”.<sup>59</sup> This solidarity would eventually make war between France and Germany “materially impossible”.<sup>60</sup> The proposal was accepted and France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries (Belgium, Luxembourg and Netherlands) created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952 (Schuman, 1952), and the unification of the initial 3 countries expanded to 6. The effect of this amalgamation was brought into legal being, when a treaty was signed in Paris on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1951(referred to as the Paris Treaty) legally effective from 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1952 for fifty years only.<sup>61</sup> The text outlined that the six countries:

*“Resolved to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of their essential interests; to create, by broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to*

<sup>57</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate Thursday 16 November 1950, An Bille Garim-Odieachas (Leasú), 1950 – An Dara Léigheamh, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1950-11-16/57/>> (last accessed 7/12/2019)

<sup>58</sup> The Schuman Declaration. < [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en)>, (last accessed 7/12/2019). Also < <https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-204-en.pdf>> (last accessed 7/12/2019)

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Treaty establishing The European Coal and Steel Community and Annexes I-III Paris 18<sup>th</sup> April 1951, Text of the Treaty < <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:11951K:EN:PDF>> (last accessed 7/12/2019)

*lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared”*

*Preamble of Paris Treaty, 1951*<sup>62</sup>

The overall thrust of the Paris Treaty envisaged that amalgamations, technical advances and necessary re-adaptations, had the potential to make workers in the coal and steel industries effectively redundant. Article 56 allowed (after consultation with the Consultative Committee) for the “financing of such programmes as it may approve for the creation of new and economically sound activities capable of reabsorbing the redundant workers into productive employment”,<sup>63</sup> which activities included “the financing of vocational training for workers having to change their employment”.<sup>64</sup> Non-repayable aid on a one-for-one match, with State involvement, was to be provided. Immigration rules could be adjusted where skills were needed, particularly immigration of experts from other ECSC member states.<sup>65</sup> Noticeable in the Treaty, was that some of the activities envisaged vocational training, but did not limit the activities to vocational training as if the intention was not to deal with vocational training, but to expand the subjects that would be offered without actually stating this as an intention. In effect then there was a re-interpretation of vocational education in individual European States to vocational education throughout those States affected by the replacement of mining jobs for instance. Those jobs had not been a feature of Irish vocational or technical education and such promises were therefore unlikely to materialise even in an expanded amalgamation of States. It demonstrates how markets increasingly would dominate policy rather than policy dictate markets.

By 1961 the OEEC which had been set up specifically to administer the Marshall Plan, was dissolved to create a new entity, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)<sup>66</sup> which came into force on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1961. Article 2 of the OECD Convention stated that the members agreed that they would both individually and jointly; a) Promote efficient use of their economic resources; b) In the scientific and technological field, promote the development of their resources, encourage research and promote vocational training; c) Pursue policies designed to achieve economic

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<sup>62</sup> Treaty establishing The European Coal and Steel Community and Annexes I-III Paris 18<sup>th</sup> April 1951, Text of the Treaty < <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:11951K:EN:PDF>> (last accessed 7/12/2019)

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., Article 56 (b)

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., Article 56 (c)

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Article 69 (3)

<sup>66</sup> History of OECD, < <https://www.oecd.org/about/history/>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

growth and internal and external financial stability and to avoid developments which might endanger their economies or those of other countries; d) Pursue their efforts to reduce or abolish obstacles to the exchange of goods and services and current payments and maintain and extend the liberalisation of capital movements; and e) contribute to the economic development of both member and non-member countries in the process of economic development by appropriate means, and in particular, by the flow of capital to those countries, having regard to the importance to their economies of receiving technical assistance and of securing expanding export markets”<sup>67</sup> From its inception the OECD has been a trusted repository of vast amounts of information about member countries and a ‘go-to’ for financial analysis of the activities of all its members. Moreover, the OECD has contributed many reports on education since its inception and has become the ‘go to’ for analysis for many who have studied educational developments in all OECD countries.

### **White Paper – Programme for Economic Expansion**

In Ireland, November 1958 saw the introduction of a White Paper; the Programme for Economic Expansion,<sup>68</sup> which, in its introduction outlined that it had “been prepared in the conviction that the years immediately ahead will be decisive for Ireland’s economic future”.<sup>69</sup> Interestingly it does not say who prepared the Programme or even who was responsible for its presentation. It has been credited as being one of the lasting achievements of T. K. Whitaker, a senior Civil Servant, but he himself did not present it. In terms of policy, the lack of ownership of the proposals within are not ascribed to any particular author and this was a clear change in the way proposals were presented. The structure of the report and the way in which language was used was reminiscent of ECA influences. The wording of Ireland’s ambition on living standards was now phrased as a wish that the country did “not lag behind those of neighbouring countries”.<sup>70</sup>

As a Nation, Ireland had never been on a par with neighbouring countries in the first place, and had always, not so much as lagged behind, but had never actually been in

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<sup>67</sup> Convention on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Article 2, < <https://www.oecd.org/general/conventionontheorganisationforeconomicco-operationanddevelopment.htm>>, (last accessed 8/12/2019)

<sup>68</sup> Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://ptfs-oireachtas.s3.amazonaws.com/DriveH/AWData/Library3/Library2/DL006590.pdf>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 7

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

the running in the first place. It was as if the economic ambitions of the country had been restated not just as ambitions, but as dangers to which the country might succumb if it did not aim high enough and speedily enough. Paragraph 3 of the Programme<sup>71</sup> outlines that the existing policies are the problem, that social needs will be “overtaken in most of the country”<sup>72</sup> and that to effectively avoid a consequential drop in employment then, all resources would be employed as fully as possible in promoting “sound national development”.<sup>73</sup> Paragraph 4 outlined that economic policy needed to be redefined in light of present-day and probable future conditions, but nevertheless did not expand on what the conditions were, or were ‘probably’ to be in the future. The exact wording used in Paragraph 4 implied that Ireland had got it wrong up to that point and this new programme would be so much better and could limit “the scope for misunderstanding and inconsistency”,<sup>74</sup> while such concepts were not drawn out or specifically defined. In Paragraph 5, it contended that the programme could not be based on “targets”,<sup>75</sup> was an outline, was flexible, and was capable of modification to meet “changing circumstances or unforeseen needs”.<sup>76</sup> More importantly it appeared to negate the idea of social contribution in preference to industrial investment, and warned that “(T)he expected decline in social capital expenditure in the coming years will afford an opportunity – and underlines the necessity – of switching resources to productive purposes”.<sup>77</sup> Paragraph 8 appeared to indirectly outline the specific shortcomings:

*“More is required – the adoption of improved methods and techniques, the loosening of restrictive practices, the raising of the general level of technical education, the stimulation of new ideas, etc. No programme of economic development will be successful unless the people have the will to work and are prepared to accept the living standards to which their efforts entitle them. This means, in particular, that wage standards must be realistic, having regard to the level of productivity in this country and the need for ensuring competitive costs per unit of output”*

***Programme for Economic Expansion, 1958<sup>78</sup> (emphasis added)***

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<sup>71</sup> Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://ptfs-oireachtas.s3.amazonaws.com/DriveH/AWData/Library3/Library2/DL006590.pdf>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.8 < <https://ptfs-oireachtas.s3.amazonaws.com/DriveH/AWData/Library3/Library2/DL006590.pdf>> (last accessed 8/12/2019), *(Quotation marks used in original document)*

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p.8

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

Within this introductory statement the inclusive ‘our’, was essentially replaced by an unstated ‘them’, indeed this interchange of ‘us’, ‘them’, ‘they’ and ‘the Government’, while ubiquitous, might not have been accidental. Given the impact of such changes as were being envisaged it would have made sense to actually identify the ownership of the policy changes envisaged but it is only on examination of the exact wording as seen above that the reasons might be viewed. Certainly the notion of some planned path to lower expectations was being alluded to.

The White Paper called for the “instilling of a real interest in and respect for rural life in young people”<sup>79</sup> which was to be “fostered at all educational levels”<sup>80</sup> and promised that the Departments of Education and Agriculture would “consult together with a view to coordinating the work of the rural vocational schools with that of the agricultural instructors”.<sup>81</sup> Those very divisions were what separated education in schools from technical education as a precursor of the Irish notion of Further Education, and now it was being proposed that there should be coordination, as if the rules could be rewritten and the division glossed over. This proposal, in itself appeared to indicate that the authors of the White Paper were totally unaware of the already existing and functional interactions of these two departments which had been established for over a century. In relation to what it called technical training,<sup>82</sup> the White Paper outlined that an adequate supply of skilled personnel at all levels of industry, was required and noted that since “existing arrangements in regard to recruitment and training of apprentices are unsatisfactory, new legislation has been introduced to replace the present apprenticeship legislation”.<sup>83</sup> Finally, the very last line of the White Paper, outlined that “in the last resort, progress will depend on the determination of the people to prosper, on their capacity for hard work and on their willingness to cooperate in the fulfilment of a comprehensive national programme”.<sup>84</sup> While everything up to that point, emphasised the need for investment, industrial production, suitable finance and confidence in Irish export markets, the Programme had only two pages of generalized financial projections, and, at the end of the day, success really depended on the people themselves. It certainly appeared that the White Paper was written by those outside the

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<sup>79</sup> Programme for Economic Expansion 1958, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://ptfs-oireachtas.s3.amazonaws.com/DriveH/AWData/Library3/Library2/DL006590.pdf> > (last accessed 8/12/2019) p. 23

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp 23-24

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 39

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 39

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 48

education system and that Ireland's affairs were being redirected by those outsiders and this was firmly entrenched in the constructs of education which would be best motivated to face future challenges, particularly the constructs of vocational education as it then existed. Because of the emphasis on future challenges it would not be unreasonable to surmise that the outsiders who orchestrated the final version of the White Paper were the OECD (O'Sullivan, 2005 p461).

### *Changes to Apprenticeships*

November 1958 saw the introduction of an Apprenticeship Bill, debated in Dáil Éireann on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958 during which, the then Minister for Industry and Commerce, Séan Lemass outlined:

*“The Bill provides for the establishment of machinery by which it is hoped that the existing defects in our apprenticeship arrangements may be remedied. I think most Deputies will agree that the three-fold aims of a good system of apprenticeship should be to ensure that (1) sufficient numbers of boys and girls of the right type are attracted to the skilled trades; (2) these apprentices are given an adequate opportunity, by thorough training on the job and by technical school instruction, of acquiring the knowledge and the skills which it is desirable that they should have; and (3) there is adequate supervision of apprentices so that they may make good use of the opportunities with which they are provided.”*  
*Dáil Éireann Debate 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958<sup>85</sup>*

Outlining that the *Apprenticeship Act 1931* had been based on what he called the principle of voluntary co-operation where only those trades that requested to be under the scope of the Act were actually within its scope, Mr. Lemass noted that only four trades had made the necessary request: furniture making, house painting and decorating, hair dressing and brush and broom making. The new Act envisaged:

*“the establishment of a national apprenticeship committee, the setting up of statutory apprenticeship schemes for more trades and the provision of more effective measures for the training, instruction and testing of apprentices”*  
*Dáil Éireann Debate 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958<sup>86</sup>*

Envisaging that the Bill would apply mainly to what was termed craft trades, which excluded agriculture, the dairy industry and the professional and clerical occupations, Mr Lemass pointed out that “(O)ne of the major defects of the Apprenticeship Act, 1931 will be removed because the initiative in the matter of setting up statutory apprenticeship schemes will be vested in the central apprenticeship authority to be known as An Céard Chomhairle which will be established under this Bill. The Chomhairle will be under the direction of a full-time officer, the Director of

<sup>85</sup> Dáil Debate, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958, Dáil Éireann 16<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 171 No. 4, Apprenticeship Bill, 1958- Second Stage < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1958-11-05/52/>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

Apprenticeship, who will be in a position vigorously to promote the principles and practices of sound apprenticeship ... An Chomhairle will be the authority and will step in in such cases. The trades will be designated for the purposes of the legislation and apprenticeship committees will be set up to co-operate with An Chomhairle in regulating their apprenticeship schemes".<sup>87</sup> Certainly the goals were stated, but the history and machinations which had been wrought under TAPs and other schematic arrangements were not acknowledged as having any impact on the lack of effectiveness of the apprenticeship processes which had conveniently straddled the border between technical and vocational education and indeed good citizenship for many years up to that point. This attempt to cloud the issues allowed policy on the education system to be rewritten yet again.

There were complaints of the existing system within the Dáil debates that day (the second stage was resumed later the same day) and it was also obviously outlined that the vocational teachers had been left with the responsibility for placing the apprentices. Mr Rooney in the resumed debate outlined:

*The Bill appears to me to be designed for a highly organised industrial economy and not for the type of economy which we have where we are trying to put industries on their feet and keep them there. In this country there is a large number of small businesses. The provisions of the Bill, in my opinion, would work effectively with regard to the recruitment of apprentices in large concerns but we must remember the very large number of businesses which would recruit a very limited number of apprentices in the normal way. In my opinion the Bill should be designed to meet that problem rather than, as I think this Bill is designed, for recruitment of apprentices in large numbers in large concerns.*

**Mr. Rooney, Dáil Éireann Debate, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958<sup>88</sup>**

What was proposed for the new system was that each apprenticeship committee would make rules and regulations as to how apprentices were to be trained by their employers and if necessary, An Céard Comhairle could nominate suitable experts to advise and implement standards of training required and would appoint supervisors to ensure the standard of apprenticeship provided was satisfactory and where it was found wanting the apprentice could be transferred to another employer. Tests of proficiency were to be introduced and certificates awarded, which in time would be accepted as being definitive proof of the young person's standard of skill in the trade.

<sup>87</sup> Dáil Debate, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958, Dáil Éireann 16<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 171 No. 4, Apprenticeship Bill, 1958- Second Stage < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1958-11-05/52/>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

<sup>88</sup> Dáil Debate, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958, Dáil Éireann 16<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 171 No. 4, Apprenticeship Bill, 1958- Second Stage (resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1958-11-05/52/>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

Records were to become an important part of the process whereby employers would provide feedback to the committee and the individual apprentice would also be required to keep records of the things that were learnt. In addition, the employer of the apprentice would be required to enhance the apprentices' training by giving them time off without deduction of pay, to attend any day courses selected as suitable by an apprenticeship committee (notably this would not be at their own individual instigation). Wage rates were not controlled, unlike under the *Apprenticeship Act 1931*, but were to be negotiated between unions and the employers, which would effectively create, a more market-oriented wage. There was criticism about the closed shops or restrictive practices, which had to that point existed in apprenticeships, with the effect of ensuring that only children of tradesmen could become apprentices but reference was made by Mr. Dillon that those practices existed in pharmacies and also in the Bar Council (barristers) so that the issue was endemic within trades removed from the concept of crafts.<sup>89</sup> This did not fit with modern industrial methods.

#### *Tonal Changes in Irish Education*

In Ireland, The *Report of the Department of Education 1959-60*,<sup>90</sup> outlined that further changes were envisaged in the education sphere, and close reading of the report, appears to indicate a change of tone to the way in which concepts were envisaged. This may well have been because, as a nation, Ireland had moved to a more outward looking approach, but was equally just as likely to have been a foreshadowing of changes afoot.

Reporting on the numbers attending courses in the school-year 1959-60 the *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1959-60* noted that in all 95,193 students, including 1,112 under S109 of the Act,<sup>91</sup> had availed of the various services offered by the Vocational Education Committees.<sup>92</sup> Scholarships were awarded under the Mary A Hardiman Trust fund<sup>93</sup> for travel all around Europe in most cases for Chief Executives and inspectors to see how things were done elsewhere in places like Scandinavia, Spain, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria specifically. The

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<sup>89</sup> Dáil Debate, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958, Dáil Éireann 16<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 171 No. 4, Apprenticeship Bill, 1958- Second Stage (resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1958-11-05/52/>> (last accessed 8/12/2019)

<sup>90</sup> Department of Education, 1959-60, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1959-1960, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 45

<sup>91</sup> Refers to Residential schools of domestic economy, Trades Preparation schools, Alexandra College, Nautical School, Dun Laoghaire, Municipal School for Nurses, Dublin as explained later in the report p. 54

<sup>92</sup> Department of Education, 1959-60, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1959-60, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.45 [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats\\_statistical\\_report\\_1959\\_1960.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats_statistical_report_1959_1960.pdf) (last accessed 13/12/2019)

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46

methodology of teaching Irish came in for some criticism, as it had in almost every report to that date, as did English, Science and Mathematics, with the culpability being apportioned to poor classroom planning by teachers.<sup>94</sup> Winter Farm Schools based on the 1959-60 White Paper on Economic Expansion, where instruction was shared between vocational *teachers* and agricultural *instructors* were started on the basis of the 1958 White Paper on Economic Expansion, involving approximately 850 students who were mostly in the age group 18-35. A new definition of Evening Courses also appeared which was deemed to refer to:

*“All courses which are held after normal working hours or thereabouts are classified as evening courses, whether courses in trade or technical subjects for a particular occupational group or courses which are open to the public generally.”*  
*Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1959-60*<sup>95</sup>

Most of these courses were in larger cities like Dublin, Cork and Waterford, while experiments were carried out in other more rural areas into different modes of course delivery, as a substitute for formal class teaching such as using “series of lectures, practical demonstrations, study circles, co-operation with voluntary organisations”<sup>96</sup> and that in those situations attendance was not recorded so that effectively the number must have far exceeded the 95,193 who availed of Vocational Education.<sup>97</sup> Finally, in relation to Vocational Education, the work of the Comhairle le Leas Óige in Dublin was reported as receiving grants towards repairs, equipment loan and the services of instructors<sup>98</sup> which appeared to indicate a slight movement towards the ‘brughs’ being independent entities rather than within the bosom of vocational education. It is noteworthy that the students availing of the brughs do not appear to be included in the figures and on the basis of previous reports might be as many as 1,500 young people.

Reformatories and Industrial schools, although as has been outlined earlier in this thesis the term ‘Industrial’ in education parlance had nothing to do with actual industry in a business sense, still nestled in the report after the section on Vocational Education. A somewhat cryptic comment in the report indicated that “children under detention” who were eligible to do so, followed the primary school course and instruction in woodwork

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<sup>94</sup> Department of Education, 1959-60, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1959-60, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.47 [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats\\_statistical\\_report\\_1959\\_1960.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats_statistical_report_1959_1960.pdf) (last accessed 13/12/2019)

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p 54)

and mechanical drawing was provided for boys in the upper age group”<sup>99</sup> while girls learnt housecraft.<sup>100</sup> The report of 1959-60 gave the impression of a potentially new care system developing where “After-care of industrial school children is exercised in many ways particularly by finding suitable employment *for* them, personal visits *to* them, correspondence *with* them and reports *on* them by social workers”.<sup>101</sup> The impression of activity belies the facts that there was possibly a very different narrative to the one reported by the Inspector, which we are now aware of.

The *Education report for 1960-61* outlined that the number of students, availing of the resources of Vocational Education, came to 95,008 (including 1,075 under S109).<sup>102</sup> Visits abroad, travel within Ireland and visiting experts were paid out of the Mary A. Hardiman Trust and included attendance of a vocational teacher at a conference at Eastbourne in Britain on ‘Trends in Apprentice Training’ while an Inspector also went on an international study group about apprentice training in Belgium. Within all of this activity the report does draw the distinction between courses which boys undertook which were not usually of a clerical nature and those which girls favoured such as clerical and household courses. There was clear distinction between the gender of students, but the use of the word ‘usually’ held out some hope that there was a change in the offing. Quarterly reporting of statistics was obvious and indicates that there was by that stage an application of accountancy and clerical methodology to the administration of education, while the level of training of teachers appeared to be falling behind what was needed. Concentration was being put on the synergies of certain industries and the training of young people in the section of technical education with the costs being shared between vocational committees and the sponsoring companies. Such an example is the Bord Gaeltarra Éireann assisting young people to begin training in large industries in Gaeltacht areas.<sup>103</sup>

This *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1960/61* also extols that “the benefits of courses of technical education to supplement workshop training and

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<sup>99</sup> Department of Education, 1959-60, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1959-60, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.55 [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats\\_statistical\\_report\\_1959\\_1960.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats_statistical_report_1959_1960.pdf) (last accessed 13/12/2019)

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p 56

<sup>102</sup> Department of Education, 1960-61, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1960-61, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.68, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1960-1961.pdf>> (last accessed 13/12/2019)

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 73)

experience are becoming more widely known throughout the country”.<sup>104</sup> It also notes that the vocational education committees will be expected to be prepared to provide increased facilities for apprenticeships which were an “important branch of technical education”.<sup>105</sup> Once again blurring of boundaries was evident, with vocational education expected to stretch resources to the benefit of technical education, when in reality it was a distinct entity, but equally a part of the overall education being offered by vocational education committees throughout the country. Throughout, there are overlaps of provision and an outlining of a change in the offering of technical education as if what had happened before was now revamped. Describing the ‘old system of technical instruction’,<sup>106</sup> is a clear remove from the “elementary level”,<sup>107</sup> which existed before and the students were reportedly opting for intermediate and advanced levels rather than elementary.<sup>108</sup> Teachers appeared to be double-jobbing also as it appeared that the part-time evening courses were being taught by day school teachers.<sup>109</sup> While pointing that these teachers did not appear to vary the way they taught despite the fact that “in adult classes a different approach is desirable”.<sup>110</sup> Larger committee areas were now offering professional-sounding courses, geared to professional examinations such as Company Secretaries, Insurance and Public Administration, which could be expected in large urban areas like Cork and Dublin.<sup>111</sup> Of more significance, the report refers to this being advocated by an Irish Management Institute (IMI) report on ‘*Education and Training for Management*’.<sup>112</sup>

The IMI had been established in 1952 to stimulate management thinking in Ireland inspired by the American Management Association and what was called The Conference Board, both of which were member-led organisations established in the United States to correlate member-led management developments.<sup>113</sup> The IMI also became a trainer in its own right approximately ten years later. The Conference Board (CED) on which the establishment of the IMI was based, outlines on its website that

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<sup>104</sup> Department of Education, 1960-61, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1960-61, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1960-1961.pdf>> (last accessed 13/12/2019)

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 74

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 75

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> ‘The Irish Management Institute aims to provide fresh ideas’, Dr. Simon Boucher, Jan 16 2015 Irish Times, < <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/work/the-irish-management-institute-aims-to-provide-fresh-ideas-1.2065921>> (last accessed 14/12/2019)

“since its inception in 1942, CED had been active in researching, advising and addressing “national priorities that promote sustained economic growth and development to benefit all Americans”.<sup>114</sup> Its activities, included advice on the Marshall Plan, The Bretton Woods Agreement, The Employment Act 1946 and more recently Corporate Governance Research Reporting.<sup>115</sup> It may therefore not have been coincidental that the IMI, with similar structures to the CED, appeared out of nowhere to take a similar role in the Irish economy and more specifically to be acknowledged as having expertise to support vocational education, albeit the technical instruction element of that vocational education. The IMI approach appeared to reflect the CED structures, ethos and culture, and was seamlessly credited with expertise which could support vocational education, albeit the technical instruction element of that vocational education which was effectively labour market centred. At all stages in this epoch there was a consistent responsibility flow evident in policy to the vocational system for the economic efficiencies of businesses which were being facilitated in what were clear advantages for foreign business interests. Expectation without recompense was evident.

The *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1960/61*, noted that “(T)he most significant recent development in the new school has been the introduction of training in Work Study. A complete course of such training has now been established, together with shorter courses of a less specialised type. ... The Committee (*referring to Cork City*) has on its staff a teacher trained in Training Within Industry techniques who has held “Institutes” in the city and at other centres in Munster”<sup>116</sup> (emphasis added for explanation). Wherever this one individual had actually received the training and what that training consisted of, were not outlined and one might suppose this had a connection to the IMI and the business interests associated with it. Additionally, there appeared to be more co-operation between businesses and vocational education committees with new courses being designed specifically for certain businesses such as the Department of Posts and Telegraphs.<sup>117</sup> Lastly it now appeared that Comhairle le

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<sup>114</sup> [www.ced.org](http://www.ced.org) (last accessed 14/12/2019)

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Department of Education, 1960-61, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1960-61*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.75-76, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1960-1961.pdf>> (last accessed 13/12/2019)

<sup>117</sup> Department of Education, 1960-61, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1960-61*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 76, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1960-1961.pdf>> (last accessed 13/12/2019)

Leas Óige (Dublin) of which there were now “about sixty affiliated clubs”,<sup>118</sup> was now receiving grants towards ‘instructors’ and was therefore running training courses independently.<sup>119</sup>

Noticeable within the *Report from the Department of Education 1962-63*, was that the narrative was less critical of teaching methods in the schools as if there was an attempt to keep the teachers amenable. The actual amount of text in the report was significantly reduced but noticeably the statistical section was much more detailed and specific, despite containing some funding anomalies.<sup>120</sup> The report noted that the total number of students being served by the Vocational Education Committees was 103,268 from a budget of £2.2m of State funds and £898,164 from local rates, making a total budget of £3.1M or approximately £30 per student.<sup>121</sup> The budget for secondary students amounted to £3.539M creating an average per student of £41.5.<sup>122</sup> However, the actual figure per student under the classification of Vocational Education had been omitted.

While the report does not openly criticise teaching methods there are more subtle barbs within:

*“It is a weakness of the work in the schools that too much of the sensory appeal of the teacher’s work is directed to the pupil’s ear. Many teachers tend to speak too much when teaching. More appeal could successfully be made to the eye and it would be desirable to make greater use of pictures, diagrams, charts, maps, reliefs, models and flannelgraph in the middle and junior groups”*

*Department of Education 1962-63*<sup>123</sup>

This descriptive analysis certainly created the idea, in light of previous reports, that teachers were never quite doing it right. The report did forewarn that there was a report imminent from a survey team which had been appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962<sup>124</sup> and it would be reasonable to suppose therefore, that there was a new beginning expected, and that was why the report was light on prose and more concentrated on financial detail is so far as it was presented.

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p79

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Department of Education, 1962-62, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1962-63, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 89 <[https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats\\_statistical\\_report\\_1962\\_1963.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/stats_statistical_report_1962_1963.pdf)> (last accessed 16/12/2019).

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 57

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 54

The 1963-64 Report gave notice that the practice of a full report each year was to be discontinued and that a full report would be done every 3 years while in each individual year there would be a statistical report<sup>125</sup> One might apporportion such a move with a change in Inspector but this was not the case. Effectively absence of narrative could potentially pave the way for a change in procedures but total lack of narrative creates a void. As there would therefore be a lack of description of the system for two years, it is interesting to note what was outlined in relation to Vocational Education in the 1963-64 Report.<sup>126</sup> Development of business links within Vocational Education were continuing and international links were still obvious in the trips abroad of inspectors and teachers for conferences, talks, workshops and exhibitions.<sup>127</sup> Furniture manufacturing was changing as Bolton Street was extended and effectively it took over all training for the industry.<sup>128</sup> Blanchardstown became the base for a new school known as the Irish/Swiss Institute of Horology for servicing and repair of watches, clocks and timepieces.<sup>129</sup> Customs clearance procedures and paperwork was the focus of some of the night classes and a visit was arranged to Liverpool to see the export process from outside Ireland.<sup>130</sup> It certainly looked as if competitive advantage was being created for Bolton Street and Blanchardstown by way of specialism in the crafts and artisan trades.<sup>131</sup> This may well have been because of the proximity of those centres to Dublin Port and Dublin Airport respectively which would facilitate exports.

The Annual Conference of Chief Executives took place in May 1964 with the Minister in attendance, with a working group set up to look at the “whole position in the light of existing and future requirements and to make recommendations”.<sup>132</sup> The Report does not say what the existing requirements were and one can only guess that the future requirements were in reference to Ireland’s application to join the European Economic Community, and educational changes that might be entailed. Whole-time day courses, following a Ministerial decision in 1963, were to become 3-year courses and the range

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<sup>125</sup> Department of Education, 1963-64, *Report of the Department of Education 1963-64*, Dublin: Stationery Office. Notice given at introduction to the report. < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1963-1964.pdf>> (last accessed 16/12/2019)

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66 - 67,

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67

of subjects in the Intermediate Certificate was increased.<sup>133</sup> A Departmental committee had proposed a new curriculum and syllabi which had been submitted for consideration and “the New Intermediate Certificate was to be rolled-out in 1966-67”.<sup>134</sup> An interesting observation of intent was also included where it reported that “(T)he Minister adverted to the courses in vocational and secondary schools while preserving the distinctive character and function of the education provided in these schools”.<sup>135</sup> Clearly there was a distinction in culture yet it seemed that some sort of harmony of delivery was being anticipated. This did not, it seems, extend to scholarships, however, where a total of 5,061 were awarded of which 4,920 were to secondary schools and 49 only to Vocational Schools.<sup>136</sup> It is also important to acknowledge that Ireland’s application to join the EEC had been withdrawn at this juncture and this fact was credited for a reduction in language class attendance at evening courses.<sup>137</sup>

### *Blurring the ‘Levels’*

The *Report of the Department of Education 1964/65*<sup>138</sup> was the first report, as flagged in the *Report of the Department of Education 1963-64*, which included only a statistical analysis of education.<sup>139</sup> The most significant change immediately wrought, though not actually immediately reflected in most of the statistical analysis within, was the creation of a new classification system outlined in the introductory pages of the report.<sup>140</sup> This new classification system, introduced as a means of explaining what was actually included in the statistics, divided all education in the country into “levels”. In doing so, it created what might well be the reason for confusion and conflict in relation to the place of Vocational Education in Ireland to this day. The processes used were obviously thought out, certainly from the point of view that the outline tried to form some type of structure, but in doing so appeared to overlook the historical structures,

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<sup>133</sup> Department of Education 1963-64, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1963-64*, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 68, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1963-1964.pdf> > (last accessed 16/12/2019)

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 129

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 73

<sup>138</sup> Department of Education 1964-65, *Report of the Department of Education 1964-65*, Dublin: Stationery Office <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1964-1965.pdf>> (last accessed 16/12/2019)

<sup>139</sup> Department of Education, 1963-64, *Report of the Department of Education 1963-64*, Dublin: Stationery Office. Notice given at introduction to the report. < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1963-1964.pdf> > (last accessed 16/12/2019)

<sup>140</sup> Department of Education 1964-65, *Report of the Department of Education 1964-65*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. xi, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1964-1965.pdf>> (last accessed 16/12/2019)

the way they had been formed and failed to actually discuss any of the reasons why those structures had existed in the first place.

Vocational education had, it appeared, effectively been officially re-classified within second level, and only the reference to the Army Apprentice School provided an indication of where it might lie within that specific categorisation.<sup>141</sup> Effectively the figures appear recalibrated in such a way that one could easily presume that everything to do with vocational education was part of the second level system whether in senior level or indeed just Second Level without the senior classification within it. The inclusion of ‘persons attending full-time classes while undergoing detention or imprisonment’ appeared in First Level ‘Other’ and also within ‘Second Level, Senior Cycle, other aided’ which also has no explanation. Moreover, within the same classification lay the reformatory and industrial schools’ children, even though they had been separated for over a century at that stage. There is no explanation in the report as to who decided these classifications and what purpose they were meant to serve at that time, except that they would make the recording of statistics better or even who they would make them better for. The discourse was that the move was administrative and certainly bore the hallmarks of a social discourse, and, in keeping with the best interests of the public from the point of view of reporting. The reality, however, of the statistics, is that they did not immediately, make things clearer, and it might actually appear that since that time they never have. Certainly, they did not make things clearer in the case of the Vocational Education Committees.

Somewhat illogically however, the *Report of the Department of Education 1964/65*, having outlined these newly created classifications, continued to deliver the actual statistics as they had been before the classification, as if this, at the time was only a work in progress, certainly in the case of vocational education. This, one might speculate, further entrenched the anomaly created by the new classification system, with the result that the differing demarcation lines had been blurred between the new levels and more significantly, they were, probably, then, open to re-interpretation. There was a slight adjustment in the age cohort for the participation rates (20 to 22 rather than the previous 20-24), by the time the *Report of the Department of Education*

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<sup>141</sup> Department of Education 1964-65, *Report of the Department of Education 1964-65*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 2, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1964-1965.pdf>> (last accessed 16/12/2019)

1965-66 report was published.<sup>142</sup> The statistics of that report were certainly more detailed and included the number of hours teachers taught,<sup>143</sup> the specific detail of trainee teachers' own education,<sup>144</sup> and the distinction between classes taught by full-time teachers and classes taught by part-time teachers.<sup>145</sup> The amount of fees being paid by employers and others were included as receipts in the financial summation for the first time despite it being reported that there had been some fees paid by parents for a good number of years.<sup>146</sup> There is a clear sense, on reading the report, that there was now more sophistication to the statistical procedures which were being employed within the Department of Education and certainly there appeared to be a better application of accountancy principles to the reporting methods being employed.

Because there was no accompanying narrative to this report, it is hard to read into what the immediate changes were to be – a vacuum had been created. However, against this void was the fact that negotiations were ongoing for Ireland's entry to the European Economic Community which would certainly support the view, that the void was divisive. Certainly it was divisive in the case of Vocational Education which might have embraced the mantle of Further Education, but was administratively placed in the second level family where it has stayed to date.

#### *European Economic Community entry challenges*

The Treaty of Rome, signed in March 1958 set up the European Economic Community (EEC) and The European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or later known as Euratom). The Irish Government was anxious to belong within the European fold but had not actually applied for membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) and by 1961 Irish Politicians were asking questions in the Dáil, about why the country had not yet done so. During a Dáil debate on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1961,<sup>147</sup> Deputy Russell asked the Taoiseach when he was being questioned on what would happen in relation to Ireland if Britain joined the EEC. Because Ireland's main market at that stage was Britain, and Ireland was in a strong export position, politicians appeared anxious for

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<sup>142</sup> Department of Education 1965-66, *Report of the Department of Education 1965-66*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 2. <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1965-1966.pdf>> (last accessed 17/12/2019)

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., pp. 66-67

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 65

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 66-67

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p71

<sup>147</sup> Dáil Éireann, 1961, Dáil Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1961, 16<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 191 No.15, <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1961-08-03/>> Adjournment Debate – Policy Review. (Resumed), (last accessed 17/12/2019)

reassurance, that if Britain joined the EEC as it had indicated it might, then Ireland should also join. Deputy Russell stated his views on the challenge, stating that “Whether we like to admit it or not, Great Britain and we form a natural economic unit and we already apply to the two islands some of the policies which the six countries of the Common Market are now trying to introduce among themselves. I refer particularly to the free movement of capital and labour between these islands. It is only natural, therefore, that if England joins, we must join her”.<sup>148</sup> Inevitably Ireland did apply to join and initially met with some resistance particularly when Minister Charles De Gaulle’s opposition was portrayed as being justified because Ireland had little to offer to Europe.<sup>149</sup> However in the Seanad in July 1966, Senator Garrett FitzGerald presented a different narrative which did not actually get as much mention in the history of this process.

Fitzgerald elucidated the concept further, in a Seanad Debate of 14<sup>th</sup> July 1966, at a time when the country was still awaiting entry.<sup>150</sup> In that debate he moved a motion that “The Minister for External Affairs should initiate an active European policy designed to ensure the achievement of Irish membership of the European Communities and should reorganise his Department and our diplomatic missions abroad so that they contribute effectively to the achievement of this objective”.<sup>151</sup> He outlined that he was referring to the lack of continual active contact with the community and its member Governments since the initial application had been put on hold because of the British withdrawal of its application for membership, which was not looked upon well in Brussels. He further outlined that he had been on numerous visits to Brussels and had various contacts there with whom he had many conversations regarding Ireland’s position.<sup>152</sup> Positing that there was a feeling in Brussels that Ireland, and other countries, who had been reluctant to join in the very initial stages in 1957/8 were now attempting to effectively “get in and share in the benefits without, of course, having any of the responsibilities”,<sup>153</sup> Senator FitzGerald outlined that Ireland had done such a

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<sup>148</sup> Dáil Éireann, 1961, Dáil Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1961, 16<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 191 No.15, <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1961-08-03/>> Adjournment Debate – Policy Review. (Resumed), (last accessed 17/12/2019)

<sup>149</sup> ‘Ireland’s 1961 application to join EEC fraught with fear of rejection’ Stephen Collins, Irish Times, Nov 13<sup>th</sup> 2018, < <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/ireland-s-1961-application-to-join-eec-fraught-with-fear-of-rejection-1.3695449> > (last accessed 17/12/2019)

<sup>150</sup> Seanad Éireann 1966, Seanad Éireann debate –Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> July 1966, 11<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol 61 No. 19 < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1966-07-14/3/>> (last accessed 17/12/2019)

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

good job of portraying reasons for not being able to join which included that as a very new state, the early stage of industrial development and the economic weakness of the country, mediated against accepting a full Free Trade Area, that when Ireland put a more updated application altogether, they were suspicious as there had been a complete reversal of position within a very short time.<sup>154</sup>

Depicting Ireland's change of stance as extraordinary after British policy changed in the Spring of 1961, Ireland also began to prepare for membership and "by some sleight of hand managed to actually get the application completed and submitted a day before the British".<sup>155</sup> The Irish application however, still wanted concessions which caused concern in Brussels.<sup>156</sup> Later it was decided to formally withdraw this *aide memoire* and ensure it was not understood as being part of the formal application (Keogh, 1997 p.3), but in doing so the process cast doubts on Ireland's willingness or ability to become full members straight away. Senator FitzGerald added that the second mistake was to post the application rather than send it through diplomatic channels as should have been done.<sup>157</sup> The Irish application process had to wait 14/15 months for acceptance to negotiate while the British application was accepted immediately.<sup>158</sup> The EEC officials, according to Senator FitzGerald could not fathom how the situation could have changed so much in 3 years to allow Ireland declare itself ready for membership.<sup>159</sup> The lack of diplomatic interaction was puzzling as well as doubts about our ability to keep up, were other reasons for question about Ireland's membership application and why it took until October 1962 for us to be accepted for negotiation.<sup>160</sup> This had been helped by the Taoiseach's visit to Europe in the autumn of 1961, and Civil Servants beginning to take French lessons.<sup>161</sup> It was outlined that Ireland's signing of the Free Trade Agreement with Britain effectively deprived the country of the right to negotiate with the EEC unless and until Britain negotiated and that Ireland just had to become a member when Britain joined, and moreover, would have to be on an equal footing with Britain.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Seanad Éireann 1966, Seanad Éireann debate –Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> July 1966, 11<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol 61 No. 19 <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1966-07-14/3/>> (last accessed 17/12/2019)

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

Interestingly, as Johnson observed, the Treaty of Rome did not place education competency at the heart of its Treaty, as nations' educational systems are based within the social sphere and carry many historical and political overtones not in keeping with the goals of the EEC (Johnson, 1999, p199). This was different in the case of Vocational Education, as the Treaty did address this aspect under Article 128,<sup>163</sup> where it outlined that the aim was a common vocational training policy to assist national economies and the overall goals of the common market by providing that everybody would have access to vocational training (Johnson, 1999, p.200).

While this seemed ambiguous, clarification was given in the judgement years later in the case of Françoise Gravier and City of Liège (Judgment of 13.2.1985 – Case 293/83 Court of First Instance, Liège).<sup>164</sup> This case raised several issues including whether a foreign student could be charged a higher enrolment fee for a course on strip cartoon art which would effectively be deemed to be discrimination because of nationality and in such case would be contrary to Article 7 of the EEC Treaty. One issue which also arose was whether the course of strip cartoon art in this case, actually fell within the Treaty as it had to be 'vocational education' in order to do so. In considering the issues which arose, the court referred to Council Decision no 63/266/EEC (2<sup>nd</sup> April 1963)<sup>165</sup> which set out that "the general principles must enable every person to receive adequate training, with due regard for freedom of choice of occupation, place of training and place of work".<sup>166</sup>

Quoting Council guidelines of 1971 which stated that "in view of the constantly changing needs of the economy the aim of vocational training 'should be to offer everyone the opportunity of basic and advanced training and a continuity of in-service training designed from a general and vocational point of view, to enable the individual to develop his personality and to take up a career'.<sup>167</sup> Paragraph 30 of this judgement outlined:

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<sup>163</sup> The Treaty of Rome 1957, p. 44 <[https://ec.europa.eu/romania/sites/romania/files/tratatul\\_de\\_la\\_roma.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/romania/sites/romania/files/tratatul_de_la_roma.pdf)> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>164</sup> Case 293/83 Court of First Instance, Liège, 13/2/1985, [https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/b5332b8c-3a58-4e40-b731-b1aa47b2038d/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/b5332b8c-3a58-4e40-b731-b1aa47b2038d/publishable_en.pdf)> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>165</sup> Official Journal of the European Communities, 1338/63 pp. 25-28, p. 25 < <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/7bc95c31-a382-403f-8c69-d9733cb35247/language-en> >(last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Official Journal of the European communities , Jan 1971, C308, p.1, < [https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/b5332b8c-3a58-4e40-b731-b1aa47b2038d/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/b5332b8c-3a58-4e40-b731-b1aa47b2038d/publishable_en.pdf) > para 29, p. 6, (last accessed 18/12/201)

*“It follows from those statements that any form of education which prepares for a qualification for a particular profession, trade or employment or which provides the necessary training and skills for such a profession, trade or employment is vocational training, whatever the age and the level of training of the pupils or students, and even if the training programme includes an element of general education”.*

*Françoise Gravier v City of Liège, Case 293/82<sup>168</sup>*

In relation to the particular course for cartoon strip art in the specific case considered, the Council decided that the term ‘vocational training’ “includes courses in strip cartoon art provided by an institution of higher art education where that instruction prepares students for a qualification for a particular profession, trade or employment or provides them with the skills necessary for such a profession, trade or employment”.<sup>169</sup>

This case opened up the concept of training, and more specifically vocational training, to any educational level in a country, because the criteria used was the process of preparation for trade or profession, rather than at a specific level or even social standing within educational systems of EEC nations. This represented a departure from the social discourse of vocational education that Ireland was used to, where economic classification often determined whether you entered the vocational stream or the academic stream. Ireland was now effectively quoting a discourse of pragmatics where the choices being offered were basically presented as economic discourses rather than that of progressive, culturally personalized and socially driven educational systems. This may however have facilitated a more benign approach to vocational education which allowed for the effects of the ruling to be distilled in diluted form which facilitated the further blurring of the boundaries of vocational and technical education within labour market confines. Perhaps what should have been more forcefully acknowledged, in Ireland’s situation, was that the strict classification of vocational education only within second level was not correct and that the traversing of levels in this case actually gave it more significance as a distinct identity within education and this may well have allowed it to meld properly rather than schematically with the idea of Further Education as it developed. However this legal explanation was at least a decade after changes began in vocational school entities and history in hindsight is a

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<sup>168</sup> Case 293/83 Court of First Instance, Liège, 13/2/1985, para. 30 <[https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/b5332b8c-3a58-4e40-b731-b1aa47b2038d/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/b5332b8c-3a58-4e40-b731-b1aa47b2038d/publishable_en.pdf)> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

very powerful tool in allowing us explain the policy processes which were directing changes at the time.

This move away from social class distinctions was somewhat heralded by a Seanad Debate on Post-Primary Education on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965 where Senator Desmond noted that the issue was “not only here but in other countries. Everybody who desires a better standard of education should have the facilities available to him but there is no denying that such facilities are very limited. Many boys and girls find themselves handicapped at the beginning on account of finance”.<sup>170</sup> Senator Boland in the same debate noted that vocational teachers often found that children who came to them were practically illiterate because of overcrowding in classes within the primary schools of Dublin city in particular.<sup>171</sup> The challenges were obvious but the solutions were misplaced and still are.

1966<sup>172</sup> saw the announcement of the introduction of free secondary education in Ireland, and consequently, an opportunity for many who would not previously have had the chance to stay in education and obtain a qualification, to do so. Free secondary education, it was expected, would enable young people to have a higher standard of education, and thus, increase the employment potential of many, and in doing so, would increase economic returns as higher wages with multiplier effects which would create more demand for goods and services. It is interesting to note that the process of free education for all, was also contentious, as it was claimed within the proposal that there would be a need for a proper system of education for teachers, in consequence of the changes in education and amalgamation of schools as part of the process. This amalgamation of schools had been discussed, more in the sense of being alluded to, rather than outlined, in Dáil discussions in 1965 at a time when there were changes in government and to a certain extent, while there may well have been merits to the

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<sup>170</sup> Seanad Éireann 1965, Seanad Éireann Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965, 10<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 58 No.13, Private Business – Post-Primary Education: Motion (Resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1965-03-03/11/>> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> On Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> September 1966 Minister O'Malley announced the concept of free secondary education for every child in Ireland without full sanction from the Government. September 1967 was the first year of such free secondary education. The speech was not recorded and has been reproduced as a form of historical record. 'Donogh O'Malley's speech announcing free secondary education recreated by son', Carl O'Brien, Irish Times 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2019, < <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/donogh-o-malley-s-speech-announcing-free-secondary-education-recreated-by-son-1.3835245>> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

suggestions made, they were somewhat diluted because of a change in government.<sup>173</sup> Professor Hayes T.D. during the Seanad Debate on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965, outlined that Ireland had different kinds of education which worked from different points of view in relation to grants, teachers, training, remuneration and resources and specifically outlined the primary, secondary, vocational and the newly created comprehensive schools, which had been suggested as a meld between secondary and vocational schools in such a way as to reduce overheads and procedures which had existed for many years of different structures in secondary and vocational school systems.<sup>174</sup> The Minister for Education had actually stated that he had left the logistics of the process of this melding to the secondary and vocational schools themselves and that 3 were being trialled. Bemoaning the fact that in some Dublin schools there were as many as 50-70 students in some primary school classes and that he was “not certain” that he knew what the Minister intended by a comprehensive school, Professor Hayes, outlined that he presumed it meant that “it will be a school that will combine two types of education and one type would be, for want of a better word, academic such as is thought to be at present pursued in the ordinary secondary school; the other would be technical, practical, scientific”.<sup>175</sup> Warning that there was a need to be wary of what Ireland intended to create, Professor Hayes noted:

*“... (i)t seems to me we may be falling into one error which it is easy to fall into when we begin to talk as so many people are talking now, about equipping ourselves and equipping our youth for the atomic age. It is said we must adapt ourselves to this new age of scientific discovery. . . . . If one is confined to a scientific education, it is a very incomplete preparation for life. It is an incomplete preparation for modern life and an incomplete preparation for the kind of life that is being predicted for us, no matter how scientific that life becomes. As we advance into this age of scientific discovery, education for leisure is becoming more important than ever. For that reason, in the development of educational plans there should be no such thing as turning our backs upon the kind of school disciplines that we have heretofore found so important.”*

*Seanad Éireann Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965*<sup>176</sup>

Senator Hayes appeared to be outlining that Ireland was now moving from what was a reactively-based planning process to an aspirational-based predictive process where the use of projections and presumptions would change. He outlined that it would certainly have to change the type of effective silos of teachers; “the different kinds of education we have here . . . . . have all different origins in history and all work in a different way

<sup>173</sup> Seanad Éireann 1965, Seanad Éireann Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965, 10<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 58 No.13, Private Business – Post-Primary Education: Motion (Resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1965-03-03/11/>> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

and all work from the different point of view of the Government with different types of grants, different types of teachers, different training and different remuneration”,<sup>177</sup> which had existed up to then. The Senator called for a more uniform approach to teacher training which would allow for the flexibility required for the overlap of secondary, vocational and comprehensive schools, being posited. Professor Jessop, a senator, in the same debate, outlined that it was not necessarily a fact that a scientific education was “the only thing needed to equip one for life”.<sup>178</sup> Senator Dónall Ó Conalláin, outlined that the lack of information on the specifics of community education was creating difficulties and that there was uncertainty among secondary schools that they would be made redundant and unable to compete with comprehensive schools which would be well equipped with modern aids and investment by the Minister.<sup>179</sup> He stated that “(T)he introduction of a comprehensive scheme could be the beginning of a creeping and progressive socialisation of education. It could even be the beginning of a trend to divert education from its proper ends and orientate it mainly towards subserving the economic programme of the State. And there could be a tendency in it to subordinate the person to the citizen”.<sup>180</sup> Senator Ó Conalláin suggested making both secondary and comprehensive schools as attractive as one another which had to that point been dominated by the secondary school because it led somewhere, while the vocational school had not. This favouring of secondary school, he outlined, was remedied by the introduction of the Intermediate examination which would give all students a set product (passing the examination).<sup>181</sup> Secondly, he pointed out that the economy had not developed enough for all the technicians being educated and this led to a negative image for vocational education as this led to technicians emigrating.<sup>182</sup> A third reason why secondary schools were favoured was because they effectively had constant management by religious organisations, which was not the case with VECs whose management changed more frequently and was not strictly religiously based.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Seanad Éireann 1965, Seanad Éireann Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965, 10<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 58 No.13, Private Business – Post-Primary Education: Motion (Resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1965-03-03/11/>> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>178</sup> Seanad Éireann 1965, Seanad Éireann Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965, 10<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 58 No.13, Private Business – Post-Primary Education: Motion (Resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1965-03-03/11/>> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

Senator Ó Conalláin alluded to the lack of consultation by the Minister for Education and outlined that where it appeared that there was some consultation, it was effectively initiated by others rather than at the instigation of the Minister which, he expressed sarcastically, was a feature of the Minister's administration.<sup>184</sup> It certainly did appear that the Minister was being led in his policy directive role and that the agendas of others' cost cutting interests were at play rather than the Minister actually designing and overseeing his own policy processes. Professor Dooge, contributed that there was a need for Ireland to be sure about what the objectives of its education were. He posited that they could be "summed up under three headings", i) The development of the individual; ii) the handing on of a particular culture (its habits and ways of working); and iii) the training of the future work force.<sup>185</sup> Outlining that his goal would not be an easy one he outlined:

*I think, therefore, that if we set out to find an educational system which will allow for the personal rights of each individual to be educated to his full potentiality, on the one hand, and at the same time, the right of the State, which pays the cost of this operation, to have individuals trained in order to be an effective workforce, we can combine all these things. We can produce an educational policy which will be an all-round policy and, if we work hard enough at it and think fundamentally enough on this particular problem, we can without sacrificing any of the objectives of education, go forward with an educational policy and an educational plan which will do all of these necessary things."*

*Senator Professor Dooge, Seanad Éireann debate 3/3/1965<sup>186</sup>*

Clearly the concept of *creating* the education system for all the people of Ireland was being mooted, based on the three ideals already outlined. It was also, however, noteworthy that everybody appeared to be awaiting the outcome of the OECD review which was then imminent.<sup>187</sup> Definitely, frustration was expressed several times in Dáil and Seanad debates at the length of time it was taking to get an answer from the Minister on what was envisaged for the Irish educational system going forward. Equally it was clear that the Ministers of Education at that time were not prepared to provide comment either, which one could interpret as being because they themselves had not actually been informed. Certainly, it looked like the Minister would be following and not leading. The OECD work team consisted of an Executive Officer and Higher Executive Officer from the Department of Education, Dr. Patrick Lynch, the chairman of Aer

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<sup>184</sup> Seanad Éireann 1965, Seanad Éireann Debate 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965, 10<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 58 No.13, Private Business – Post-Primary Education: Motion (Resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1965-03-03/11/>> (last accessed 18/12/2019)

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

Lingus, William J. Hyland, a statistician from the New York office of the United Nations, Martin O'Donoghue, an economist from Trinity College and Maths Inspector Pdraig O'Nualláin from the Department of Education (Hyland, 2014). This process is probably better known nowadays as an accession-stage, where a nation awaits instructions on how they are to bring their internal systems up to scratch in anticipation of full membership referring to legal, administrative, social and educational systems and accounts for the impression that appeared to exist in Ireland from at least 1963, as if it had been in a process of assessment to fit the mould of the EEC in order to become a full member. It appeared that Ireland responded to what the EEC told it in order to join the ranks of members and education was very much at the centre of the process and that educational constructs would be stretched to be cost efficient while at the same time answering to policies effectively directed by external bodies. Why it was needed in such a small economy should possibly have been questioned but that would have been to question those who would direct the purse strings in what was promised as a new beginning – again.

*'Investment in Education'*

The long-awaited report named *Investment in Education* was most definitely a collaboration team project and was one of the first completed by the OECD which had originally been the OEEC, and which took 2 ½ years to produce the eventual report. Its introductory pages outlined that this was a survey (not a report) which had been initiated by the Minister for Education and was “organised in co-operation with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development as a project under the Education Investment and Planning Programme of the Organisation” (OECD, 1965). Additionally, as outlined in the introduction page, the OECD contributed 146,734 Fr. Francs towards its cost which certainly indicated, there was a foreign interest in the outcome of the ‘survey’.

The team appeared to pacify doubts in the first paragraph of its Introduction (OECD, 1965 p. xxxiii) by outlining what it described as “the character and purpose of education and that the term ‘educational system’ has little meaning if it is considered apart from the human needs which it is to serve”,<sup>188</sup> however it went on to say that it did have to examine “those resources which are indispensable to any system of education”.<sup>189</sup> It

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<sup>188</sup> OECD, 1965, *Investment in Education*, OECD 1965, p. xxxiii

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

then immediately undid its clear portrayal of the document as a survey to say that “(T)his Report is essentially a technical study of trends in Irish Education and the use of human and material resources in that system. It also outlined that it was looking at future needs which included “satisfactory participation in education by all sections of the community and an adequate supply of qualified persons”.<sup>190</sup> From that point onwards the document became a Report – effectively it was a report on a pilot survey as outlined later in the Introduction,<sup>191</sup> which actually might well have made it an expansive summary.

Dr. Áine Hyland, who was one of the Irish back-up team to the Survey team outlines that many people have over the years commented that the *Investment in Education* report was produced by OECD experts (Tovey and Share, 2000), but Hyland declares that opinion to be inaccurate (Hyland, 2014 p. 5), and that the OECD role was very limited. Hyland points to the terms of reference of the Steering Committee which had been addressed by Dr. Patrick Hillary Minister for Education on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1962 which she outlines as being “specific and limited”, with the members specifically asked *not* to make recommendations.<sup>192</sup> The terms of reference to which Hyland refers, included, to produce an evidence-based study, to prepare an inventory of the existing position in relation to the existing and projected need for skilled manpower, to frame educational targets, to estimate future enrolments at different levels, to assess future demand for educational facilities, and to consider arrangements for ongoing updating of projections.<sup>193</sup> It is also of interest that Bill Hyland with whom Áine Hyland worked extremely closely, had been in the Central Statistics Office (CSO) and had been sent by that office to Washington in September 1949 “under the Marshall Plan where he studied statistical methods in government departments and non-governmental institutions for a period of nine months” (Hyland, 2014), before being appointed as a statistician in the United Nations Statistical office in New York.

Statistics, in the format required for a projection and stock assessment methodology, was what was needed by the team. This led to a new process of ‘February Census’ which were mid-academic year, and of more detailed relevance to the job in hand, in the time allotted to the team (Hyland, 2014). One notable comment on the relevance

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<sup>190</sup> OECD, 1965, *Investment in Education*, OECD 1965 p. xxxiii

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv

<sup>192</sup> Hyland, (2014)

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7

of the statistics which resulted, was an acknowledgement by Áine Hyland who had worked in the Buildings section of the Department of Education, that until then, she had not been aware that officially, only 50% of schools had electric plugs as Ireland's electrification process was still in progress, despite the Department of Education "discussing the provision of (electrically powered) audio-visual aids in schools" (Hyland, p.12). This very admission appeared to justify the kind of detail actually focused on, within the survey, if only from an efficiency of resources point of view.

From many aspects the *Investment in Education*<sup>194</sup> report was a 'retrenching of education' exercise and the first qualified expression related to a definition of the educational sector as "the various categories of schools and colleges which we regard as coming within our purview, giving the institutional structure and the numbers participating. In line with this we shall for convenience use the term 'education' in the restricted sense of being the service provided by those schools and colleges".<sup>195</sup> This expression should have initiated comment because of its obvious convenience as a way to group schools rather than categorisations of schools and failure to question the wording used allowed for clear demarcations to be overlooked and for vocational schools to become part of the school structure despite over a century of making sure they were separately categorised. A new expression of 'secondary tops' was introduced in relation to those who stayed in primary schools beyond the age of 12 who may not have completed 6<sup>th</sup> class prior to reaching their 12th birthday.<sup>196</sup> This had already been an anomaly between vocational education and secondary education and giving it a specific title with individual statistics did much to create a new and more confusing element of secondary school because rightly, the expenses were allocated to secondary education but this type of education arose within primary schools and the money should have been allocated to the primary schools. More importantly the creation and collation of statistics in relation to vocational education was adjusted by division of students to other categories rather than specifically vocational education. In paragraph 1.15 of the document there is a description of Ireland's education system as consisting specifically of three levels: first level referred to primary education, second level referred to post-

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<sup>194</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p.3

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77

primary education (this included vocational but did not give it a specific place or level) and third level referred to University or advanced courses.<sup>197</sup>

The document is textually complicated and appears aimed at an ‘accumulation’ process. There is, in some parts no explanation of some of the historical nuances in Ireland’s education system: the fact that extra examination marks were awarded to those doing their exams through the Irish language, either totally or partially. Some teachers were paid more for teaching fully or partially through Irish. If students failed Irish as a subject, they failed their examinations and got no certificate, and that, unusually for a country, people were actually given more rewards, if they spoke their own native language. There was a distinction fundamentally between national and primary schools and teachers from many convent and monastery schools, could teach until they retired without having to get a qualification to teach which would have skewed the teachers’ numbers in the statistics. What is obvious also is that much of the information was generated from questionnaires sent to individual schools. There appeared to be a hugely all-encompassing amount of detail required and facilitated by questionnaire to each school. As a consequence there were therefore, inevitably, some confusion in the wording of the questions and possibly best fit details which were returned and relied upon for the baseline detail.

At Paragraph 1.36 there is an acknowledgement that although the higher education courses in engineering, architecture and commerce (Dublin) and engineering (Cork), properly belonged to vocational education and were third level, they were classified “for convenience” as second level.<sup>198</sup> In doing this, however, there is also a blurring of the concept of what vocational education was, and would be, into the future. This ‘convenience’, because it was not later explained or indeed restored to its original classification, became the norm which over time appeared to be unquestioned and has had implications for the way in which decades later the concept is understood and applied. It has also, this researcher posits, served to create a barrier to the acceptance of Further Education as being more than second level when in fact it serves both sides of the divide between second and third levels by virtue of the course structures, content,

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<sup>197</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office p. 8

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p.16

needs and profile of learners. The statement in paragraph 1.39<sup>199</sup> that refers to the existence of other institutions which were excluded from the projection process, states that “this is inevitable when boundaries have to be drawn”.<sup>200</sup> The same paragraph acknowledges that some training courses such as apprenticeship training courses were included as education even though they were actually training.<sup>201</sup> Thus, it did appear overall that the vocational schools threw up anomalies as one would expect, and in response the survey team chose not to create an actual boundary of the vocational education level, but instead chose to effectively carve and slice it mostly within the secondary level. This has never served vocational education well in Ireland and its effect on the subsuming of vocational education into the constructs of Further Education were erroneously based on those decisions, ensuring that Further Education remained in the ‘neither’ regions between second and third level education in Ireland.

Any system of projection is dependent on the reliability of the information collated and the assumptions which underlie the statistics used which effectively makes it an imprecise science. The art of projection in statistical and business application, when done dispassionately, can only be done at a moment in time and the detail of the time would have been what was relied upon by the Survey Team when they outlined that “the population of the State has declined more or less continuously for over a century, from about 5 million in 1851 to 3 million in 1926 and 2.8 million in 1961”.<sup>202</sup> There is however no mention of whether the 5 million included the six counties of Northern Ireland which had been separated and could not possibly have included detail on the thousands of children and babies who were exported without record as we now know. This could potentially have rendered the final projections skewed or erroneous. While some items are quantifiable, the document outlined that the survey team could not take account of impending changes such as raising the school leaving age to 15, changes in vocational courses and extension of the 2-year continuation to 3 years because of the increase in the school leaving age. There was also the introduction of a technical leaving certificate course of 2 years and finally there was the possibility of a new type of comprehensive or community school in less built-up areas (para 3.4).<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 17

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., p. 25

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., p. 35

While it would, at this stage be obvious to the reader of this thesis that the complicated nature of vocational education, as set up in Ireland, would be a challenge for any research team, the allocation of expenses and income was neatly balanced in the OECD document which gave the impression that either it was not complicated or more likely that anomalies were excluded and the latter appears to have been the preferred option possibly.<sup>204</sup> Chapter 6 outlines that the intention of the survey process was to ascertain the ‘stock’,<sup>205</sup> that is the numbers actually in schools through a study of flow patterns of pupils in and out of the educational sector.<sup>206</sup> In relation to vocational schools, the document is specific in stating that the figures were not appropriate to their purposes as they “could not deduce how many entered or how many left.”<sup>207</sup> While this may well have been hard to quantify because of continuation, technical, adult and training numbers, it would have been informative in relation to return on investment, rather than just the exit to manpower. Effectively there was an emphasis, as there still is, on a policy of Recruitment, Retention and Progression (RRP). In relation to the flow pattern in the survey, paragraph 6.10 outlines that the various sections were put in order for presentation, rather than chronologically and this leaves the flow pattern open to an inference of convenience, practicality or even potential divisiveness.<sup>208</sup> It is not the researcher’s intention to imply that the processes were remiss on the part of the researchers, but the quantification was by questionnaire and was therefore at one remove from the researcher as there is no acknowledgement of telephone interviews which might have given more open insights to issues arising, and there does not appear to be a contingency in the projections for margins of error, as would be expected, in an ordered projection process.

The survey introduced social categorisation into the process which would not have been a feature of Ireland’s educational system and would be more about marketing than education. Certainly, it did not fit well into the newly declared constitutional right to equality as a conceptual process. Categories were allocated to different groups; A - farmers; B - professional employers and managers and senior salaries employees; C - intermediate level management and non-manual workers; D - non-manual for example

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<sup>204</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 92

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., p. 68

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p. 111

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., p. 109 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf> > (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., p. 111

Bus drivers, conductors, postmen and others with similar jobs; E - skilled manual workers for example electricians, plumbers etc.; F - unskilled and semi-skilled workers and G – unemployed.<sup>209</sup> More importantly there seemed to be a reliance on the parents' social class to project forward for the child's ultimate social class in so far as the managers could not possibly know where the children would ultimately end up as they might be in transition from one social category to another. In addition to all of this, there were issues around school rolls where schools which were rebuilt got a new roll number. Children who pursued an apprenticeship started at age 15/16 and would not then complete the Leaving Certificate which in turn could imply that if they wanted to be a skilled tradesman, they would not have a Leaving Certificate.<sup>210</sup> Only a 10% sample was requested from managers and this would constitute a small enough sample on which to base hugely significant projections going for the future. The categorisation of the parent was based on the birth certificate of the child, whereas parental status could well have changed before the survey was initiated, depending on the age of the child. As a 10% sample of a school was chosen, there is no indication if it included other children from the same family, particularly since family sizes at the time would have, traditionally, been large.<sup>211</sup>

Additionally, while it outlines that in order to forecast manpower demand and “the amount and composition of future employment”,<sup>212</sup> it must first be decided what the size of the unit being forecast consists of, whether it is a firm, an industry or a sector or indeed for the economy as a whole. It also outlined that “the more usual method is to adopt the individual industry or industry group to be precise, as the unit”.<sup>213</sup> Noting factually, that there are three main approaches that is factual, structural, and comparison, in attempting a projection of employment in total and by occupation or industry, this is somewhat undone in the footnote, which states that “(A)s this part of the art is still in its infancy and as the amount and accuracy of the available data is low in most countries, the description given here may be regarded as in part an expression

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<sup>209</sup> < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019) p. 148, para. 6.87

<sup>210</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 171, para 6.125 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

of intent rather than a report of work systematically performed. The area is however, developing with great rapidity”.<sup>214</sup>

Overproduction of qualified people was recommended, as emigration would exist, because Irish people as a nation, were accepted into Britain and the United States.<sup>215</sup> Knowledge of employer requirements were to be taken from job advertisements or statements from employers, which may well have been dated or aspirational rather than specific. In line with this process there was consideration of further education/training of persons in the labour force while measures might also be considered for persons already in the educational system.<sup>216</sup> Throughout the Survey it seems obvious that the figures being relied upon are merely a baseline which is explained in Chapter 8 para 8.12; “No statistics setting out the existing or historical situation regarding the educational qualifications of the population of Ireland were available to us – it has not been the practice to include questions relating to educational attainment in the various Population Censuses.”<sup>217</sup> This left only the existing employed people as survey subjects. Suggesting measures for those in employment, the survey team outlined (a) introducing imaginative programmes for persons already in the labour force especially the younger people, (b) retraining as a result of redundancy or change of occupation (like a foreboding of things to come), and (c) refurbishing, broadening and updating existing skills as people might need this because of obsolescence of skills they already had in a new highly specialised labour force.<sup>218</sup> The survey also addressed partial qualifications specifically in relation to technicians who might only need specific subjects to secure a job), outlining:

*“It is impossible for a non-specialist outside observer to say to what extent such part qualifications are useful. If a view might be hazarded, it would be that while useful in the short term, in the long term such technicians may experience difficulty in absorbing new knowledge and productivity. It is, however, a situation that is likely to continue so long as there is a failure to delimit and define technician functions and develop formal training courses and recognised qualifications”*

Investment in Education, 1962<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid., OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019) p. 182 footnote 1

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., p 195

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., p. 205

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., pp. 205-206

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., pp. 205-206

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., p. 219

The discourse is that those who did not have full qualification, even though they may have made a pragmatic and even an informed decision that they did not need it, were somehow incapable or might be incapable of absorbing facts and adapting. In reality they may well have already demonstrated every ability potentially to decide if it was suitable for them or not. At the same time, it certainly intimated a specific packaged, - no option if you are to actually succeed - programme going forward. In relation to technical colleges the message appeared to be that unless they were built then there would be “a danger that the ‘backlog’ demand may become so big as to persist through the seventies”.<sup>220</sup> What is not acknowledged is that a backlog, as it was perceived, would in economic terms also put pressure on wages in a supply/demand scenario. Clearly there was a certain narrative used to portray a deficit, but the fact that this deficit could actually prove lucrative to the individual, also from a demand and supply perspective, (and subsequent higher salary) is not actually outlined.<sup>221</sup>

A further potential issue which is not enlarged upon but does raise questions, arises in paragraph 10.6 where it refers to “pupils attending secondary schools at present have to travel long distances to school particularly in Ulster”.<sup>222</sup> There are only three counties which are both in Ulster and also in the Republic and this unexplained detail may well have had the potential to create the impression that what was being undertaken was actually a whole of Ireland approach, when this has not been clearly outlined. Whether this was a further anomaly, or a potential ruse to build in flexibility to the narrative, is left unanswered, not as a suggestion of collusion but more of confusion possibly. Another item included in this section of the survey, which cites its source as February Census 1964,<sup>223</sup> is the inclusion of what is termed “‘juniorate (boarding) schools’ (for aspirants to the religious life)”,<sup>224</sup> which in over a century had not been counted within the secondary system. Chapter 10 outlines peculiarities of the Irish system as viewed by the researchers synthesised as:

- *The concept of full-time equivalents, where part-time and full-time hours are added and divided by 22 hours, to give the equivalent of full-time teachers.*
- *Differing pay procedures which caused confusion.*
- *Science and Maths was often taught by teachers whose qualification was not in mathematics or science.*

<sup>220</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 220 Para 8.60, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., p. 268

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., p. 269

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., p. 269 footnote 4

- *Mobility issues in relation to religious orders and consequent inflexibility of teacher movement.*
- *Pointing out that “our possible entry into the European Economic Community was a factor in all the extrapolations of the report/survey.*
- *A paucity of mathematical ability in relation to girls.*
- *Restrictions on curriculum being based on numbers and qualifications of staff in individual schools.*

**Synopsised from Investment in Education, 1965<sup>225</sup>**

Further specifics were highlighted in relation to what it then termed as vocational and technical education.<sup>226</sup>

- *It introduced the idea of ‘out-centres’, as places where training would take place outside schools.*
- *Administrative differences in relation to the committee basis of organisation.*
- *The fact that because of the committee system, individual schools in vocational education were not autonomous units.*
- *The diversity of needs which were served. In this respect it observed that “(B)roadly, however the activities of the vocational schools fall into two or perhaps three parts. Those are continuation education for young persons, moving on from the national school – this is junior cycle post-primary education – and technical education for apprentices and others in industry or preparing for employment. This is provided mainly at the second level with some third level courses in the colleges of technology. Adult education might perhaps be regarded as a third division, although it has not inconsiderable technical and commercial content, which relates it closely to employment” (para. 10.29 p.282/3).*
- *The survey team limited their study almost exclusively to the continuation cycle.*
- *A vocational school they outlined is in general open to cater for everybody in its area irrespective of sex, religion, linguistic or social background.*
- *Teacher ratios were differently stated and calculated, since teachers taught 25 hours per week, while students averaged 28 hours per week.*
- *There was an absence of regulatory procedures according to the survey team.*
- *All teachers had to be employed full-time and thus there was no full-time equivalent calculation.*
- *Teachers hours were 900 per annum, which could be across continuation and evening classes and could be worked in more than one school within an administrative area.*
- *For apprentices only ‘day release’ courses were included in the survey and part-time education was almost entirely in cities and towns with populations over 1500.*
- *The survey team outlined that they couldn’t work out the costs per course as local authorities did not keep this detail.*

**Summarised from Investment in Education, 1965<sup>227</sup>**

When the survey moved to the Financing of Education (Chapter 11) it outlined that “government activities in the economic sphere are generally classified into three main groups. (1) those aimed at satisfying social or collective wants, (2) those which effect a redistribution of income and/or wealth, and (3) those designed to promote economic

<sup>225</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 270-275 <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 282-301

growth or stability”.<sup>228</sup> It expands that State activities in the case of an educational sphere can be within all three groups and may even be aimed at a combination of these factors and in doing so can have consequential complications for either the individual or the community or collective.<sup>229</sup> In particular the explanations given in the survey may well have been intended as a precursor to budget preparations in the future and an example is given in relation to the redistribution factor at paragraph 11.8 where it outlines that re-distributional activities may be brought about in a number of ways by the State.<sup>230</sup> It may be done by taxing the wealthy and giving pensions or allowances to poorer people, by taxing luxury goods bought by the wealthy and giving subsidies on items bought by poorer people. The survey outlines that re-distribution on a personal basis is preferable but depicts that it might be a double-edged sword as the money provided for the poorer person may be irrationally spent.<sup>231</sup> The chapter goes on to outline some re-distributional activities which could be engaged in by the State such as:

- *Free national school system – this could meet a social need being satisfied or re-distributional of taxes for example.*
- *Compulsory attendance – this can be direct effect to ensure everybody is educated but it could also be an indirect persuasive effect as younger people cannot work and would therefore improve people’s lot or even could ensure there are adequately qualified people for jobs.*
- *Food or grants – they could make sure people are fed but it could also ensure that people are properly able to concentrate in education because they are not starving and can contribute to society in the future*

*From Investment in Education, 1965*<sup>232</sup>

Noting that at post-primary level, most of the subsidies to schools are given to teachers’ incremental salaries and pupil capitation grants as well as student grants would also therefore constitute the process being re-distributional. This concept of appearing to be re-distributional seemed to be of importance to the survey team and they therefore differentiate finance for “the other major type of post-primary education, vocational education which has a different pattern because public authorities take responsibility for almost all of the expenditure involved”.<sup>233</sup> It acknowledged that students did pay some fees but pointed out that this amounted to less than 5% of total revenue, and while this might be a type of re-distribution, it was more likely to be so on a regional basis as

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.304, para. 11.4 <  
<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., p. 305, para. 11.6

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., p. 305 para. 11.8

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., p.305- 306

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., p. 310 para. 11.25

there were more vocational schools in local areas.<sup>234</sup> However in the process the concept of free education either at second level or vocational was being examined.

By Chapter 12 it is clear that while the focus is on Educational Organisation and Development as the chapter title outlines,<sup>235</sup> it is clearly declared that what is of relevance for the future is what is termed ‘certificants’, so that people leaving education would do so with a qualification or certificate of achievement. The fact that the process of projection is imperfect in essence is also reiterated in paragraph 12.4<sup>236</sup> where it outlines that any discussion on possible courses of action “based as it is on quantifiable aspects of educational activity, is necessarily intended to be illustrative rather than comprehensive, both in its selection and consideration of problem areas”.<sup>237</sup> The Report outlined that this survey had to be aligned with the Second Programme for Economic Expansion and that this created a challenge in itself.<sup>238</sup> Other challenges to the process of expansion based on forecasting were outlined and included <sup>239</sup>:

- *If the expansion of the economy were maintained – there could be job shortages at levels of higher specialisation and qualifications.*
- *New skills needing to be developed and others to be more deepened.*
- *There was a challenge in deficits of forecasting being a warning about things in the future and the educational system may be unable to meet a ‘target’ expected of it, simply because the ‘target’ was not specified in time. (p.317)*
- *Manpower forecasting would need considerable development before it can be fully integrated into the general educational framework – “In the realm of highly qualified manpower, limited forecasts can be made and in time such limited forecasts may acquire a high degree of accuracy” (p.317).*
- *Too few going on in education, and also, educational deficiencies of the workforce in general (in relation to this deficiency the survey outlines that figures for adult education and retraining (hinting at VECs) were not forthcoming and did not help the forecasting process (p.318)). A potential solution would therefore be to change “the pattern of education for young persons, since the problem arises from the expected shortfall in the educational status of those leaving school and entering employment in the current decade” (p.318 para 12.12).*
- *There were potentially double the number of handicapped which stood at less than 1% of the population and the percentage may more realistically be double that amount.*
- *One third of entrants to junior cycle courses, dropped out before getting any qualification and this might approximate more to that of continuation students and scholarships were unlikely to help as those students who did drop out would have been unlikely to succeed in the competitive scholarship process – this inherently supposed that drop outs were of lesser ability and not less financially able to continue.*

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<sup>234</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 310 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf> > (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., p 315

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., p.315 para.12.4

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., p. 316

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., pp. 317-318

Given all these potential limitations, the analysis led the team to make the following suggestions for improvement:<sup>240</sup>

- Vocational Schools: (a) provide the already announced 3-year continuation course and charge a standard fee in all schools.  
(b) extend the curriculum  
(c) reduce the minimum age for entry to 12
- Secondary Schools: (a) allow them the option of different pattern or state support to enable them get tuition to junior cycle at the same standard fee that vocational students were charged.  
(b) larger schools (effectively community or comprehensive were still being proposed as a solution to resource allocation).
- National Schools: (a) explore the ‘secondary top’ department in schools where pupil enrolment could be enough to sustain them and provide efficient use of unused resources.

Once again ‘problems’ with vocational schools, were alluded to, and while they were portrayed as being about finding an appropriate balance between central government and local authority finance, they were not expanded upon because the Government had announced plans to look at alternative plans for local authority financing.<sup>241</sup>

Chapter 13 stated that “if the range and level of skills required to convert economic potential into economic achievements are not available a country is unlikely to have the resources needed to provide education of the quality and variety that is being increasingly demanded. As education is at once a cause and a consequence of economic growth, economic planning is incomplete without educational planning. Education as well as having its own intrinsic value is a necessary element in economic development”.<sup>242</sup> There is no specific detail about what is the “quality and variety” in relation to the education that is being demanded – readers just have to take their word for it. At the same time, it does not specifically relate what it says to Ireland, it talks about ‘a country’ – one which is not elucidated further at this stage and it can only be presumed that it is Ireland that is being referred to. Without actually saying how this planning being referred to is to be actually and factually achieved, the survey advocates a new development within the Department of Education – a Development Unit to continue its planning process, outlining that “(T)he existence of machinery for this

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<sup>240</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp 322-324 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf> > (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., p. 345, para. 12.89

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., p. 350

work (the survey) would transform the Department of Education into a development corporation in its own sphere. The shift in emphasis from ordinary administration to active development would also accord more with the positive and dynamic outlook required for the success of the Second Programme for Economic Expansion and of the later economic programmes that will inevitably follow after 1970”.<sup>243</sup> This is a hugely expansive statement and at the same time it bears no teeth, as the survey then goes on to say that there is no need for an actual measure of precisely how education correlates to economic growth. Effectively this is a contradiction in itself, having said already that the economy cannot meet the demands to be put on it and now effectively saying that there is no need to actually “measure precisely the contribution of education to economic growth”.<sup>244</sup>

Advocating for the development unit in the Department of Education, which they were proposing, the survey then presents the justification for such an idea. Saying that the survey had indicated various problems in the Irish Education system, it explained that such a unit was the “only satisfactory operational method by which those responsible for decisions about educational policy can take these decisions in the full knowledge that all the available and relevant facts are assembled and understood and that the implications of decisions are appreciated before decisions are taken”.<sup>245</sup> They were not saying the ‘best’ method, only the satisfactory one, and also that this unit would be able to see the full impact of decisions made but at the same time not being specific either about who exactly was to make those decisions. More importantly, they slightly skipped over the fact that, they, the survey team, were going to decide the baseline statistics, according to the way they had already re-ordered the details themselves, as already seen. Some of the many varied changes both qualitative and quantitative which would confront the Department were outlined as; the composition of curricula, demands of the economic system, demographic changes, changes in national social structure, changes in national social objectives and new knowledge coming to them. Effectively the survey then became a virtual curriculum vitae for a new unit, as it laid out many potential tasks such a unit might undertake. While this was a comprehensive list it did not perhaps address why specifically a whole new structure should be contemplated, or

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<sup>243</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 351 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf> > (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

even what the cost benefit analysis would be. In the annexes and appendices attached to the original survey at Annex F,<sup>246</sup> there is a depiction of how the survey team saw the constitution of the Department of Education and its work, flow. The flowchart is replicated at Figure 17 and in drawing up such a detailed depiction of the workings of the Department of Education. It can only be presumed that it was intended to illustrate the myriad of tasks for what the survey referred to as the Machinery of the Department of Education and where the newly proposed development unit might be able to fit. Even in outlining what is effectively the machinery of the Department of Education, there are some statements which may never have been challenged and which have allowed the actual work of the survey team to take on a much deeper meaning than it might otherwise have if perhaps the whole of the Oireachtas and Seanad were more searching in their reaction to the document. Nowadays in Irish education, the document has been elevated to veritable biblical significance in the development of Irish Education from 1965.

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<sup>246</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 78, Chart F1 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf> > (last accessed 19/12/2019)

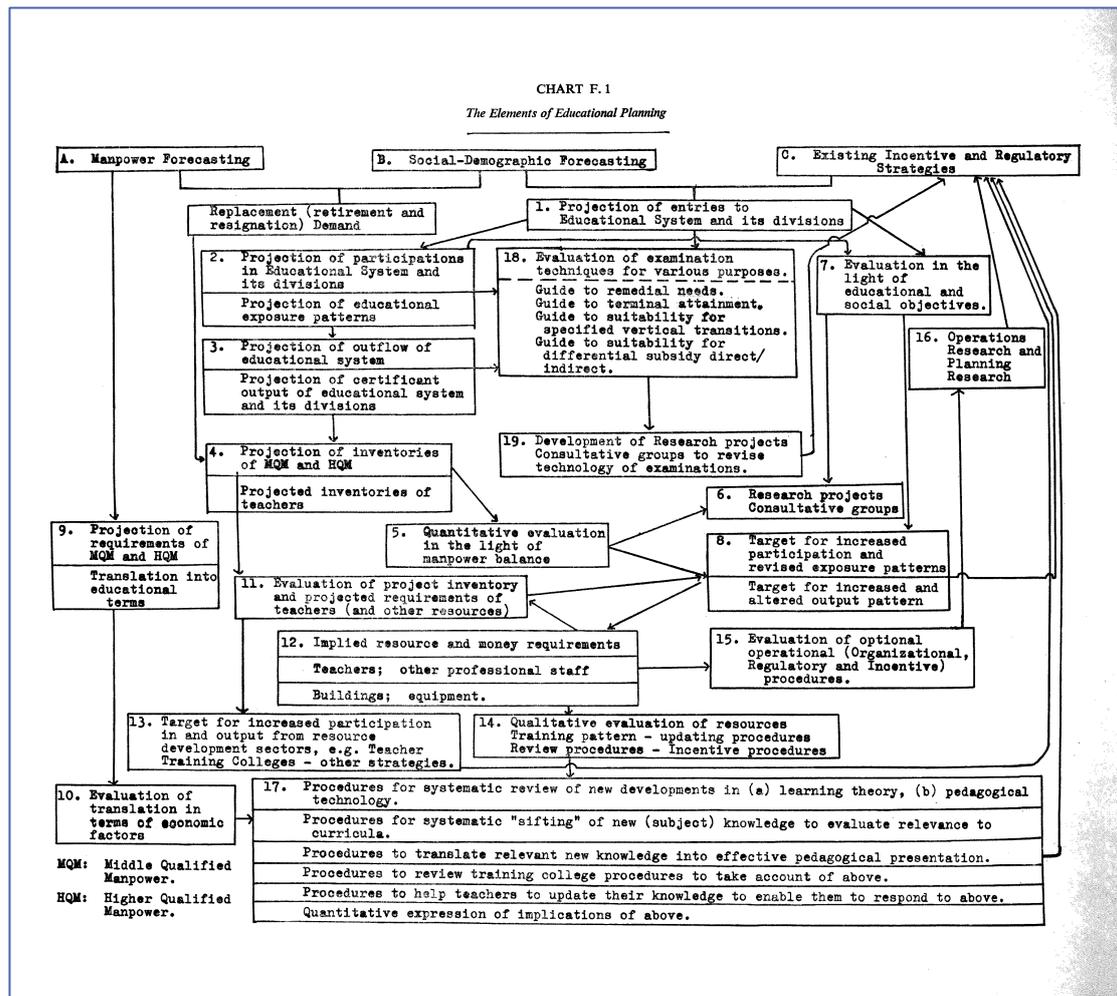


Figure 16 Flowchart of Department of Education from "Investment in Education" 1965

Essentially the job specification for the new development unit included:

- \* Long term planning of education.
- \* Educational statistics and their publication.
- \* Forecasting the developments of the education system.
- \* Evaluation of the implications of the above forecasts.
- \* Strategy analysis and systematic investigation of the chosen strategies.
- \* Offering pointers to different paths for achieving the same objectives.
- \* Regularly engaging in employer surveys of pupils and students they have employed.
- \* Keep policy-makers informed about the effectiveness in reaching its objectives and securing optimal use of the human and material resources included in education.
- \* Run the statistics-intelligence service of the Department of Education as well as a library service as part of what is known in other countries as a Document Centre.
- \* Define data to be collected from schools and elsewhere such as *ad-hoc* surveys.
- \* Executive authority for the actual office work on the analysis of results of such surveys.
- \* As soon as computerised, undertake accounting, examination results and other functions.
- \* Promote, encourage and assist pedagogical research but not undertake it.
- \* Supply data and advise interest groups in education to develop and encourage critical opinion.
- \* Be a two-way flow of information for the department.

Investment in Education Annexes and Appendices, 1965<sup>247</sup>

<sup>247</sup> OECD 1965, Investment in Education Annexes and Appendices to the Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Annexes-and-Appendices-to-the-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 20/12/2019)

What was proposed as the work of the Development Unit, in essence, sought to develop the Department of Education, rather than support the existing structures of that Department.

As the report on *Investment in Education 1965*<sup>248</sup> outlined what seemed to be their own future goals, because they were specifically requested not to make recommendations, the survey team then undertook a veritable synopsis of an economic treatise in Chapter 15, based in the most part, on Keynes' *General Theory*.<sup>249</sup> It outlined that in economic analysis, expenditures could be classified as either consumption or investment depending on the use to which the expenditure is put. An example was given that for a writer that a bottle of ink would be an investment, but for another who just writes a letter, it would be a consumption.<sup>250</sup> It is stated that there is "a substantial literature treating education in 'investment' and 'consumption' terms, however, the 'literature' is neither listed nor referenced specifically. Further, at paragraph 15.5 the team states that "the terminological differences between theory and practice, between consumption and investment need not worry us unduly",<sup>251</sup> while clearly aligning the team with Keynes, in stating that it "does not matter where precisely the line is drawn, provided it is drawn consistently".<sup>252</sup> They point to a number of potential problems in the interpretations of the theory; (i) time factors of investment maturation, (ii) how individuals, within communities allocate investments, as distinct from individuals who are part of the community view them on a personal level. To overcome this they advocated dividing this into 'productive' investment and 'social or redistributive' investment), (iii) they also outline at paragraph 15.10<sup>253</sup> that essentially education and its pricing does not fit into this, as knowledge essentially crosses a boundary in that it can supply the knowledge by which market knowledge is bought, classifying this as an 'imperfection' problem; and the problem of resource allocation.

There is an apparent conceptual distance, between those who advocated the Development Unit and those who worded the synoptic chapter 15, from the point of

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<sup>248</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education Annexes and Appendices to the Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962*, Dublin: Stationery Office, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Annexes-and-Appendices-to-the-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 20/12/2019)

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 370

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., p. 369

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., p. 370, para. 15.5

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., p. 372

view that the majority of the document attempts to set the picture, define the terms, limit discrepancies, advocate the process and create a baseline. The end of the document is however, very much worded by an economist's mind, and one who sought to explain logically and systematically, what would be expected to happen in the future, without actually stating it too baldly. Indeed, one could posit, on examination of the final chapter, that it would actually be better placed at the beginning of the document, where it would have been more enlightening. It is as if the purely economic might have dominated the factual and was therefore left to last. Even more importantly it appears to have been written *in absentia*, to the rest of the document. To illustrate what is meant above, it may be useful to quote paragraph 15.20:<sup>254</sup>

*“Some economists, taking a very limited, but legitimate view, arrive at the conclusion that education is concerned, among other things, with knowledge and information. Knowledge including an acquaintance with abstract, intellectual principles as well as empirical observations and data, is something which people normally wish to acquire. To be available at all, knowledge must in the first instance be possessed by at least one person; to be useful it generally needs to be available to several. Accordingly, there is demand for the transmission of knowledge between persons. A significant part, of this transmission takes place ‘by the organised and systematic processes called education’, though with the development of media of mass communication such as television, radio, newspapers and books, the role of education in this transmission may be less apparent than in the past. Supplying knowledge to people who desire it might be the function of the education industry and in this view, it is the acquisition of knowledge that transforms ‘underdeveloped human resources’ into the finished product of doctor, craftsman and so forth.*

*The knowledge-producing concept of education also throws light on the relationship between education and economic growth. Education can be both a cause and a consequence of economic growth – a consequence because as people become better off they may seek more education for its own sake, for the satisfaction it gives. Education may be a cause in that education or specific aspects of it may be a necessary condition for the production of some goods and services. To the extent that education is a cause of economic growth one must try to ascertain the amount to attain any given level of output. Viewed in this light education as a knowledge-producing process may be thought of as contributing to economic growth in two ways. Firstly, there may be an increase in the total stock of knowledge in a community by the transmission of existing knowledge to a larger number of people; secondly, there may be an increase in the knowledge stock through the discovery or introduction of new knowledge”.*

*Investment in Education, 1965*<sup>255</sup>

What this might well be interpreted as implying, could potentially be, that the original hedge schools of Ireland may well have been economically viable and of more value to the community they served than was appreciated at the time, when the official goal was to eradicate them. Clearly, Ireland had long moved on, and was now decidedly on a new path, and the future seemed destined to be bounded by economic needs, inputs, outputs and financial exigencies which had become the lens through which progress would be judged by those who would control the processes and resources to be allocated

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<sup>254</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 375-376 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf> > (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 376

to education. In using the word ‘cause’ there is also a distance being created between the idea that education was *for* economic progress and the concept that education might actually cause the progress. A demarcation line had been drawn and education had been effectively ‘placed’ in the periphery of economic progress processes. Education would facilitate economic growth not become a driver of it, as that job was reserved for the truly economically astute. It was as if there was a presumption that Ireland could never develop its own economically astute policy governance procedures and would remain within the confines of belonging rather than leading which might well be a nudge at the adequacy of such a small country in bigger economic spheres.

The document outlined three main ways in which such returns could be seen: (a) Direct - comparing the earnings of people who have had different levels of education and applying a correlation equivalent, (b) Correlation – matching a specific level of educational activity to a specific economic level of activity, this however can be complicated as they may actually be inter-related, such as conditional), (c) Residual – identify what amount of Gross National Product (GNP) can be attributed to known inputs and the difference could be education. However there may be a difficulty in ensuring that the improvement of another input is not the cause of the difference and since it is actually a residual, then it is not by definition a valid measure of exact return.<sup>256</sup>

Essentially, the whole of the Investment in Education document portrays a process of establishing a system of accountability, measurability and connectivity between educational inputs with a final goal of responsibility and possibly conformity with non-specific threats in the economic future of Ireland as a community within a larger more unknown or specific community. Looking at the composition of the survey team<sup>257</sup> as a mixture of civil servants and economists, it is not surprising that there appears to be a chasm between the setting up of the procedural process to work with, going forward, and, the explanation of the actions which were to be undertaken.

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<sup>256</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 384-385 <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 19/12/2019)

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxi

### ***Chapter Summation***

Once again, in the period 1950 – 1972, Ireland opted to follow the money rather than develop itself as a financially independent State and in doing so, overlooked the issues particularly in education, which were presenting themselves. To do otherwise would have compromised what were seen as opportunities to become part of the world of economic players although one would have to admire the ambition in light of the size of the country in that bigger world. The period was a time of counting and analysing systems and constructs within Irish education particularly, although it was not just education which was being counted, categorised and compared internationally. The Marshall Plan may well have been part of the reason for the miscalculation as the statistical basis was established, after the loans were granted, rather than after the statistics had been verified.

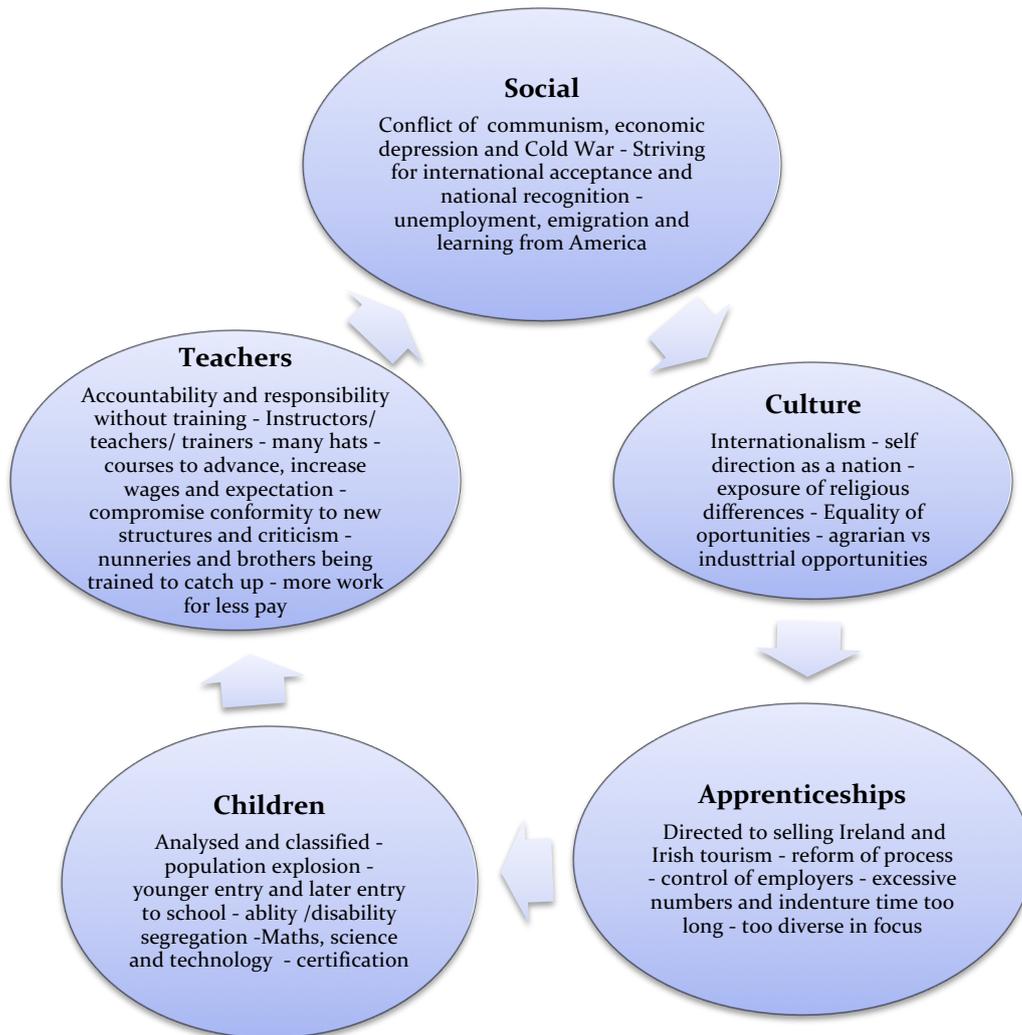
Throughout this period, as outlined in this chapter, there is an emphasis on ensuring that the knowledge acquired is financial and reporting knowledge, which certainly looked ostensibly like a concentration on performativity except that the social element appeared to be about resetting compliance in a European context rather than a finite Irish context. This is a key shift in policy focus which this epoch brought as European-led policies, discourses and practices impinged on Irish educational processes, in this focus however, accountability of teachers was once again to the fore. Now however, the paymaster took on the mantle of Europe and its drive was towards a specific target of full union of Nations. Europe needed to categorise young people in Ireland within education under labels used throughout Europe and this proved difficult as there were so many cultural and nuanced differences in the educational offering in Ireland which were not always understood and in many cases were unquantifiable. Terms used such as training, instruction, continuation, continuing, technical, vocational, industrial, agricultural and academic education had contested confusing, conflicting and competing constructs which belied European equivalence attempts and resulted in selected labels being more approximate than exact. The influence of those approximations appears to repeatedly raise issues of effective and exact interpretation and implementation of changes in educational structures from 1972 right up to today. This particularly revolved around the vocational schools where the people themselves held a vested interest and this would not fit within the new European system of classification for vocational education.

For teachers, partaking in courses to effectively upskill for their own careers was a way to earn an adequate wage to survive in teaching, as qualifications decided the level of education they were effectively entrusted with, and payments followed the level. This fueled a drive towards conformity in teaching methods which was money oriented rather than pedagogically oriented. The training courses were ostensibly promoted as advances in pedagogy for teaching as well as language for European belonging. It was also a period when secondary education was, for the first time, free to all young people in Ireland, which together with Europeanisation led to new social and financial horizons for those same young people. Additionally, there was inclusion of religious orders who had been involved in education without official recognition or indeed official qualification as teachers and had instead been paid up to that point on the categorisation of numbers, rather than individual teacher payment structures. This process facilitated speedy growth in the number of qualified teachers who could service the demand created by free education for all young people in Ireland, but it also increased the teacher payment element in educational budgets. Significantly, those young people being retained in education were now young Europeans and while it was a pragmatic solution it did appear to have a clear bias towards secondary education.

In the period 1900-1950, VECs were also complying with new structures which curtailed their ability to respond to local needs in a purely local way and resulted in the teachers within the VECs coming under the mantle of secondary teachers rather than separate payment structures which would account for the different demands of an older cohort of student as well as a more vocational ethos as seen in the VEC structures. This anomaly, has persisted right up to 2020 when VECs have been reimagined and reconstructed as ETBs. Ireland itself was now a region of Europe and as such it needed to embrace within Europe a regional, rather than a local approach to its educational policies and goals.

Children in this period became the effective custodians of Europe and its ideals but this was a slow process. They were the first to be taught foreign languages while still preserving the Irish language which was not a recognised European language as part of their curriculum. They were also directed through educational constructs towards specific industries involving changes to subjects such as Maths, Science and Technology and taught to see the world beyond Ireland as part of their horizon, in terms of employment. One ironic element of this particular focus was that Ireland did not

have the infrastructure to support such industries particularly when electricity had only reached parts of Ireland during this period and the internet was a thing of the future.



**Figure 17 Components of Irish Education 1950 - 1972**

During this period also under the Marshall plan and the TAP, many industries were welcomed into Ireland. Science, Maths and Technology entered the parlance of teaching within all levels of the education system as those were the subjects which facilitated many of the new industries created under TAP. The new concentration on activities such as tourism and service industries as a result of TAP also facilitated the creation of organisations such as CERT, AnCO and FÁS whose influences are still to be seen in FE in Ireland. These were the new custodians of an apprenticeship rebrand and were focused on providing a ready and contractually obligated cheap workforce for the new industries being attracted or developed in Ireland. This in turn, led to a reimagination of apprenticeships in Ireland and the adjustment of indenture periods which in turn allowed more people to avail of this type of training. In the case of Further

Education this effectively blurred the lines between technical education and technological education and in turn the line between vocational education and continuation education. Young people were implemented in the processes but were not consulted directly as the survey on which changes were based in the period was conducted at a remove from either the parents or children who would be impacted. This started a process which has continued to this day where students are very often not consulted on changes in education which have long reaching effects on their potential to earn a living. Moreover, if the Ministers who should oversee policy changes are dictated to or persuaded in the manner of those policies by vested industrial interests – within and outside the country - then changes wrought will not be understood at ground level where they have the most impact and this applied to vocational education during the period as observed in this chapter.

The need for educational conformity was stated in terms of threats to our sustainability against other well-educated nations in Europe and once again the horizon shifted. In this shift grew a groundswell of training which took the form of Further Education because it appeared expedient to give it that label when in reality it was an effective clone of what existed in Britain specifically. This labelling however was merely that. The duck looked like one, and waddled like one, but it quacked differently. The elusive notion of Further Education appeared to follow the lines of the well-defined and legally supported Further Education which existed in Northern Ireland and in Britain, but did not enjoy the equality of esteem with those other brands of further education, and in this deficit, was found a wanting of clout to stop it being subsumed in the overall offering of education rather than within its own hard fought-for place.

As part of pre-accession developments in Europe, vocational education was comprehensively moved to rest within the second level system in a move which appeared to be devoid of any appreciation of the nuances of Irish education.

## Chapter 7 - Within the European Community (1972-2000)

### *Chapter Introduction*

In the last chapter many new organisational constructs and shifts were outlined as public organisations were re-imagined in readiness for new identities which were within the EEC family. Ireland was now faced with the new horizon which would effectively witness it transform fully to a new community membership situation from one where decisions were made by locally elected representatives who could in many instances be subjected to local influence on a national and international scale. This new reality was to change the way in which policy would be administered and governed, and while changes would be significant, the conceptual changes were less obvious to those who might in a local sense try to influence policy to their own ends.

In relation to education policy and particularly Further Education, the shift in conceptual difference was very much situated in a move towards vocationalist processes and while this might be seen as advantageous to Further Education, its impact was diluted in Ireland because of the schematic constructs which had been implemented as expedience in policy implementation as the following chapter will outline.

### **From EEC to EC**

Ireland officially joined the European Economic Community in 1972. It is necessary, in the interest of clarity, to outline that the initial three countries of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg made up BENELUX, which was formed in 1944. This then became the European Coal and Steel Community when Germany, Italy and France joined forces with the Benelux countries, with legal effect from its formal establishment under the Paris Treaty signed on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1951, (ratified on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1952) and was always intended to be a fifty-year agreement. 1957 saw the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) under the Treaties of Rome on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1957 which also created the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom or EAEC). These two (the EEC and Euratom) commenced on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1958 when the Treaties of Rome came into force (EU, 2017). A Merger Treaty, signed in Brussels on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1965 and effective from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1967, created a merger of Benelux, the ECSC and Euratom, while creating the European Economic Community (EEC), still allowing

BENELUX and the ECSC to retain their individual entities within the EEC.<sup>1</sup> The reasoning behind this process is best illustrated by the Department of Foreign Affairs:

*“EC members set a twelve year transitional period for the introduction of the ‘Common Market’ set out in the Treaty of Rome. This period was to come to an end on 31 December 1969. By 1 July 1962 the Six had reduced customs duties levied between member states on industrial products to 50% of their 1957 level. On 1 July 1968 a full European customs union came into force. Customs duties for intra-Community trade were abolished, and a common customs tariff was introduced as a replacement for national customs duties in trade with the rest of the world.*

*Department of Foreign Affairs (2019)<sup>2</sup>*

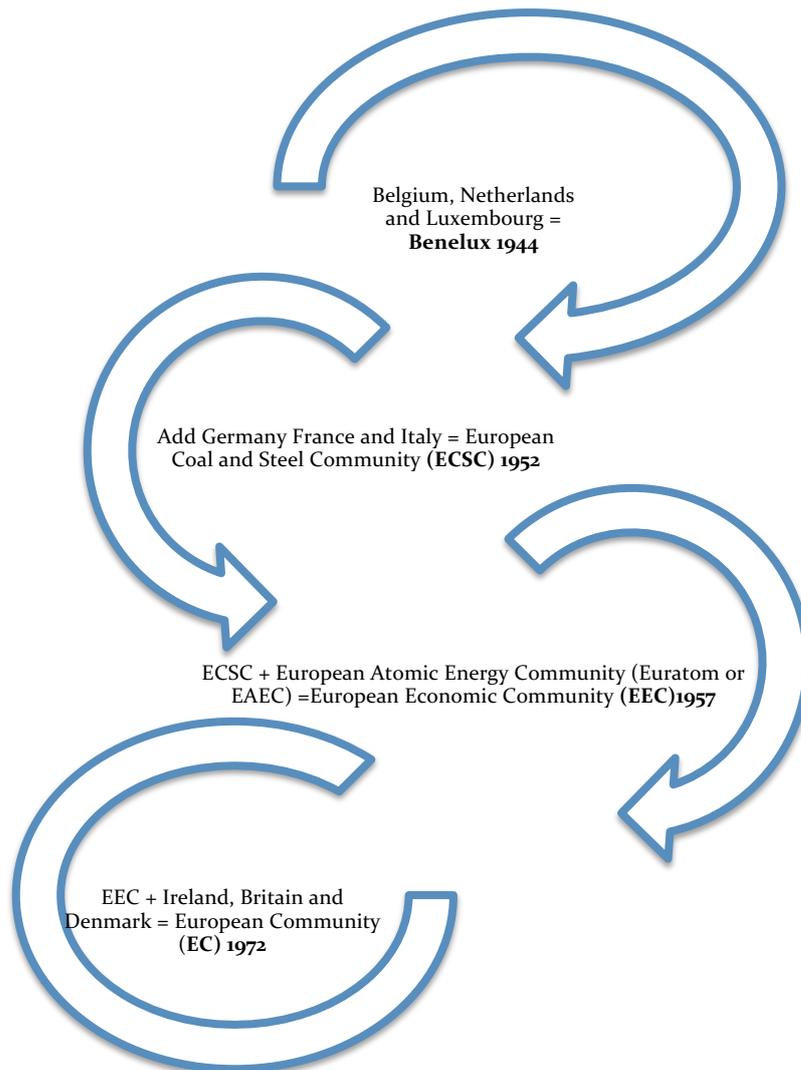
When Ireland, Britain and Denmark joined the EEC in 1972 to make a total of 9 countries, the EEC became the European Community (EC) whose existence was still under the initial fifty-year term of the ECSC (i.e. until 2002). There was however still a retention of some of the previously expressed concerns in negotiations which created allowances within Ireland’s agreement to join.

While this, at first sight, appears a rather complicated procedure because each entity retained its legal status despite additional countries joining, it allowed the 50-year term to remain static, precisely because the older legal entities remained, and each addition created a new entity but did not abandon the initial intent.

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<sup>1</sup> European Integration timeline, <https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/irelandintheeu/ireland-in-the-eu-history.pdf> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 18 From Benelux to EC 1944 - 1972**

Ireland did however make some progress on some of its reservations to joining as the Department of Foreign Affairs outlined:

*Ireland obtained transitional arrangements under which it could gradually dismantle its own trade protection system between 1973 and 1977. Via a special protocol to the accession treaty, Ireland was also able to maintain aids and incentives to industrial development. Ireland would thus participate in a progressive manner with the EC's customs union."*

*Department of Foreign Affairs, 2019<sup>3</sup>*

The European Community became a legal entity on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1973, the same year as France was hit by an oil crisis,<sup>4</sup> the Vietnam war participation by US troops had already

<sup>3</sup> European Integration timeline, <https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebstimedia/ourrolesandpolicies/irelandintheeu/ireland-in-the-eu-history.pdf> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>4</sup>"France Steps Up Inflation Fight", Clyde H. Farnsworth Special to the New York Times" 6<sup>th</sup> December 1973, New York Times

ceased<sup>5</sup> and two years after Nixon had unilaterally terminated the convertibility of the US dollar to gold later referred to as the Nixon Shock.<sup>6</sup> The German Chancellor Willie Brandt had created the German element of the Marshall Plan with an injection of 150m German Marks as a thank you to the American Marshall Plan.<sup>7</sup> The German Marshall Fund went on to set up programmes on land use, conditions of employment and other environmental programmes. It seemed that all over the globe, bilateral and multilateral agreements and movements, were being undertaken in the interests of maintaining peace in Europe and beyond. Chief among these was a series of conferences which led to signing of ‘The Helsinki Final Act (1975)’<sup>8</sup> with the aim of establishing working programmes designed to ensure co-operation between nations of the world. 1975 was also the first meeting of the G6, which took place on 5-17th November in Rambouillet near Paris.<sup>9</sup> This was an unofficial forum which brought together the heads of 6 of the richest industrialised countries (France, Italy, W. Germany, Japan, UK and US); countries in which, coincidentally, the leaders had only attained office the previous year for various reasons. The inaugural meeting discussed productive exchanges on world economy, political and economic responsibilities of democracies, growth of interdependence, fostering international co-operation, inflation and the energy crisis, unemployment and economic recovery, fostering growth of world trade; monetary stability, multilateral trade negotiations, Soviet economic relations and the plight of developing countries.<sup>10</sup> It was effectively a time of putting your flag to the mast in achieving peace and economic prosperity; certainly, that was the narrative throughout Europe in particular.

### *Walking the Talk*

One effect of membership of the European Community, was that the promises, projections and strategies which had been presented to the EEC as part of Ireland’s application, now had to be elevated to incorporation. The actions to make the promises happen were akin to the multiplicity of bilateral agreements which had to be undertaken at the incorporation of the Republic. In Ireland, amalgamation of schools, had been

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<sup>5</sup> President Nixon began to reduce US Troops being sent to Vietnam I 1972, <

<https://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-timeline>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>6</sup> “The Nixon Shock Heard ‘Round the World’, Lewis E Lehrman, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2011. *Wall Street Journal* <

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424053111904007304576494073418802358>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>7</sup> ‘*The German Marshall Fund of the United States: A Brief History*’, Nicholas Siegel, May 2012, Germany:

German Marshall Fund

<sup>8</sup> Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe Final Act, Helsinki 1975, < <https://www.osce.org/helsinki-final-act?download=true>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>9</sup> From Rambouillet to Brussels: The History of the G7, < [https://www.g7germany.de/Webs/G7/EN/G7-Gipfel\\_en/Geschichtlicher-Ueberblick\\_en/historical-overview\\_node.html](https://www.g7germany.de/Webs/G7/EN/G7-Gipfel_en/Geschichtlicher-Ueberblick_en/historical-overview_node.html)> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

stated as a priority goal in order to provide more economic use of school investments and creating comprehensive schools particularly in areas where separate small schools could be incorporated into one bigger school.<sup>11</sup> The Minister was encouraging the initiative to come from the schools themselves rather than have it forced upon them. Unfortunately, there was a problem with this suggestion in relation to the financing of any developments with the Vocational Schools. It was found necessary to create a new legal Act as the Vocational structures did not allow VECs to pay costs and expenses of any other school other than the VECs. This would have been part of the actual set-up of Vocational Education Committees and the fact that they were run by committees and part of their expenditure was funded by the local rates. Secondary schools had been traditionally under the ownership of private convents but were now funded by the Government under the Free Schools Scheme announced by Donagh O'Malley T.D. and Minister for Education in 1965.<sup>12</sup> Effectively there was a mis-match in relation to ownership and more importantly the legal duties of Vocational Education Committees as originally enacted as being to provide continuation education and some technical education. In effect the system now needed to set up the structures whereby there could be joint ownership and joint management of the resources which were to be funded.

The *Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 1970* was aimed at this process of administrative and legal structure. The Act provided that the Minister could ensure the structures of the co-operative amalgamation process were compatible with the legal requirements of the Vocational Education Committee structures. It was clearly not envisaged that there would be compulsory amalgamation, but that agreeable and strategic co-operation could be facilitated. While effectively putting the onus for initiating any negotiations between individual schools, in order to ensure there was no element of compulsion, the Minister had already made it known that he was favourable to such moves. The Act provided at Section 1 that: "Subject to the consent of the Minister and to such terms and conditions as may be agreed between the parties, a

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<sup>11</sup> OECD 1965, *Investment in Education*, Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Investment-in-Education-Report-of-the-Survey-Team-appointed-by-the-Minister-for-Education-in-October-1962-20mb-PDF-.pdf>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>12</sup> 'Donogh O'Malley's speech announcing free secondary education recreated by son', Carl O'Brien, Irish Times 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2019, < <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/donogh-o-malley-s-speech-announcing-free-secondary-education-recreated-by-son-1.3835245>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

vocational education committee may, jointly with a person maintaining such a school as may be recognised by the Minister for the purposes of this section –

(a) establish and maintain in its area in accordance with the Vocational Education Acts, 1930 to 1962, a suitable system of continuation education and provide for the progressive development of that system, (b) establish and maintain in its area continuation schools and technical schools, (c) establish and maintain in its area such courses of instruction in the nature of continuation education as it considers necessary.”(Vocational Education (Amendment) Act, 1970 Section 1)<sup>13</sup>

The real change however was that the Minister altered the wording of Section 108 of the Vocational Education Act, 1930<sup>14</sup> to read as Section 4 of the newer Act as follows:

*“(4) (a) The Minister shall by regulations provide for an election (in this subsection referred to as a new election) of members of a vocational education committee (in this subsection referred to as a dissolved committee) which has been dissolved under this section, to take place at any time not later than the end of the second election year after the dissolved committee has been so dissolved, and upon the completion of such new election all the properties, powers and duties of the dissolved committee shall vest in the committee so elected notwithstanding that the same may have been transferred by the Minister under this section to any other body, bodies or person.*

*(b) Section 9 (2) of the Principal Act shall not apply to a new election.*

*(c) Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, no election other than a new election shall take place in respect of a dissolved committee.”*

***Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 1970, Section 4<sup>15</sup>***

The very brevity of the Act, might have been because negotiations were at a very advanced stage in relation to EEC membership, and there was a consequent reluctance to overly complicate the Nation’s qualification before ratification of acceptance into the EC.

The Minister for Education of the day, Pádraig Faulkner in a Seanad Debate on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1970, explained that Section 1 was “an enabling one that it would be for each committee to consider the circumstances of each particular case and decide for themselves whether they wished to participate or not”.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the decision was also given to the secondary schools involved. He further outlined the difference

<sup>13</sup> *Vocational Education (Amendment) Act, 1970, Section 1*, <  
<http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1970/act/15/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>14</sup> *Vocational Education Act 1930, Section 108*, <  
<http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1930/act/29/section/108/enacted/en/html#sec108>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1970, 12<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 68 No. 16, Vocational Education (Amendment) Bill, 1970: Second Stage <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1970-07-29/4/>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

between Section 1 and Section 2 saying that “Section 2 is both mandatory and enabling: it provides for the mandatory reconstitution of a dissolved committee and enables such reconstitution to be effected at any time up to the end of the second election year after it has been dissolved. Under existing legislation, reconstitution of a dissolved committee could take place only after the next local authority election after its dissolution.”<sup>17</sup> Once again, the flexibility was effectively provided for, on the part of the VECs. Also, the co-operation envisaged could only structurally include secondary schools which had opted *into* the Free Schools scheme and were consequently being subsidised by the State. The debate brought about some discussion on the fact that some secondary schools had already opted *out* of the scheme and were charging fees for secondary education, with various reasons cited including snobbery, academic excellence, better futures and certainly selection by some parents to ensure their children were bound for university by the direct route from Secondary School. Senator Professor Quinlan was very direct in describing the attitude of the time as snobbery on the part of the secondary schools as well as a gulf between what happens in the county areas, pointing out that “(V)ery often there is a gulf of misunderstanding between the central authority view in the big city and what is seen to be feasible at local level.”<sup>18</sup> This disconnect appeared to be developing between the secondary schools and the vocational schools themselves where teachers with a degree began to act as if those without were not proper teachers if you did not have such a qualification. This need for everybody to divest themselves of what Senator Russell in the July 29<sup>th</sup> Debate, named “snobocracy”<sup>19</sup> was in his opinion, overlooking the work of all teachers, pointing out:

*“Our objective should be to combine the best of both systems so that every child in the State can be educated in the full sense and develop his natural talents for his own personal benefit in later life and for the benefit of the nation. Education does not consist of producing only technocrats, any more than it means producing academic scholars divorced from the realities of everyday life. We need both academic scholars and people skilled technically. We should not play one against the other. Our ambition should be to have every child begin life with the essential basis of a broad education and then to develop his natural skills whether academic or technical.”*

*Seanad Éireann Debate 29<sup>th</sup> July 1970*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1970, 12<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 68 No. 16, Vocational Education (Amendment) Bill, 1970: Second Stage < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1970-07-29/4/>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

A new focus on adult education as a national entity in its own right was also apparent and the founding of Aos Oideachas Náisiúnta Trí Aontú Saorálach (translated as National Adult Education through voluntary unification), (AONTAS) in 1969, established by Fr. Liam Carey of the Dublin Institute of Adult Education (Fleming, 2012 p.1). Aontas had by 1976 become a non-governmental organisation which received funding from the government and set in place a framework for a national policy context for adult education as a distinctive sphere.

Thus, the educational start of Ireland's EC membership allowed for bigger and more efficient schools to be developed in areas where there might be possibilities for better industrial development, or certainly that appeared to be the motivation. In the process, however, the system of Vocational Education was once again, required to cede some of its basic legislative makeup, so that something new could be introduced into the educational system in Ireland. The discourse was about inclusion and facilitation so that public interests or more particularly public budgets could facilitate growth, economic expedience and social acceptance. When viewed together with the division of vocational education already undertaken by the OECD within *Investment in Education 1965*, it certainly looked as if an economic agenda rather than an educational one was being enacted. The developing status element of how vocational education was portrayed as the lesser offering in the educational system has never really been addressed in Irish education, whilst its purpose was constantly being stretched to fulfil other economic and political objectives. This division, while national in essence, has unquestionably persisted.

#### *Figuring it out*

It is interesting to examine the statistical returns of the Department of Education around this time, as there is a change to the baseline of the statistics used. Having changed the system of publishing explanations to go with educational statistics in 1963, the Department of Education appeared to again change the baseline after EC membership had been ratified. The Department's *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/75-1975/76*<sup>21</sup> was produced as an amalgam and within it explained that there was now a new system being applied to the analysis process. Specifically, the statistics

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<sup>21</sup> Department of Education (1975/75-1975/76), Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/74-1975/76, p. 1 <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1974-1975-1976.pdf>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

were now classified using The International Standard Classification of Education<sup>22</sup> (ISCED), *as well as* the traditional national categories. The reasoning was explained in the report, as being to facilitate international use of the publication. The report outlined that “ISCED was sponsored by UNESCO and was designed as an instrument for assembling, compiling and presenting statistics of education both nationally and internationally”.<sup>23</sup>

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was a development following on from the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IICI).<sup>24</sup> The IICI had been set up as an agency of the League of Nations in 1945 by the Government of France.<sup>25</sup> It was intended to be a secretariat and its aim was to promote international culture/intellectual exchanges among groups such as scientists, teachers, researchers and other intellectual groupings. (IICI, 1925-1946). This led to the setting up of UNESCO in 1945 after WWII.<sup>26</sup> Originally made up of 37 founders, it now has 195 Member States and 10 Associate States and focused on promoting peace through international co-operation in education. Ireland joined UNESCO on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1961 which also coincided with the time of the country’s first application for EEC membership. UNESCO’s ISCED was formally recommended as a suitable instrument for the task of comparing statistics on education at a meeting of member states of UNESCO in Geneva in August 1975 and was also accepted by the Statistical Office of the European Communities (SOEC).<sup>27</sup>

The *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/75-1975/76* also noted that “the structure of the Irish system of education is such that relatively few difficulties are experienced in adapting our educational statistics to the framework of ISCED” (DoE

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<sup>22</sup> < <http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>23</sup> < <http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>24</sup> United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organisation, <https://digital.archives.unesco.org/en/collection/iici-documents/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&sort=random%7B1577044846678%7D%20asc> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>25</sup> History of the league of Nations (1919-1946), [https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/\(httpAssets\)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/%24file/Historical\\_overview\\_of\\_the\\_League\\_of\\_Nations.pdf](https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/%24file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf) (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>26</sup> United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organisation, <https://digital.archives.unesco.org/en/collection/iici-documents/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&sort=random%7B1577044846678%7D%20asc> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>27</sup> IICI, (1925-1946). *Introduction of IICI*, Inventory of archives 1925-1946 (UIS 90/WS.1), AG 1/1

1974/4-1975/76).<sup>28</sup> Essentially the ISCED classification involved a 3-stage process of providing successive subdivisions from ‘levels’ or what the Department of Education termed ‘steps’, through to ‘fields’ or subject areas and on to ‘programmes’.<sup>29</sup> The report outlines that ISCED used an 8-step process where:

- 0 related to infant or kindergarten classes of national schools (primary schools).
- 1 The rest of the national/primary schools with the exception of secondary tops.
- 2 Junior Cycle up to Intermediate Certificate stage.
- 3 Higher or senior cycle i.e. up to the Leaving Certificate
- 4 Not used**
- 5/6/7 Third Level
- 8 Not used**

Neither 4 or 8 are actually classified and were reserved for future classification levels. The fact that they were there in the first place, however, indicated that at the preparation of the classification system there was an expectation of their use in the future. There is a decided lack of mention of a specific ‘level’ for vocational education and this may well be the reason the *Investment in Education 1965* survey chose to change the combinations which made up secondary level in particular. Certainly, the result of doing so, appeared to facilitate the use of the ISCED methodology in order to allow for international comparisons. This would conceivably allow EC member countries to compare themselves with other member States and certainly would augur well, where conformity might be sought. We were committed to comply with this contingency under the commitments already acquiesced to on entry to the EC. Sceptics might even surmise that we were effectively part of the creation of a comprehensive franchise document for other EC members, but so also were they.

ISCED methodology from 1978 used specific criteria for deciding what constituted ‘literate’, ‘illiterate’, ‘functionally literate’ or ‘functionally illiterate’ when comparing a people’s educational levels using the ISCED classification system as can be seen in **Appendix 3** of this thesis. Given Ireland’s complicated differences in usage of Irish language throughout the country this certainly raises questions on the samples used and how they were obtained, how they were summarised and how they were verified. They may well have been provided by questionnaire from Managers of schools in Ireland but at a time of change this could be questionable in Ireland, depending on which criteria some of the schools were recorded under. Certainly in the carving of Vocational

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<sup>28</sup> Department of Education, 1974/75-1975/76, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/75-1975/76*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>29</sup> Department of Education, 1974/75-1975/76, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/75-1975/76*, Dublin: Stationery Office, introductory notes

Education this was likely to have caused some difficulties which would not be evident as they would be unique, but possibly critical in Ireland's figures. The lack of legislation in Ireland, to specify the exact categories within the Irish context, would also have created a chasm of legal direction towards the cut-off points of vocational education.

An additional challenge to analysing figures in the Statistical Report was that the incomes, expenditures and budgets were now in decimal format. In the May 1969 Budget speech, the Minister for Finance had announced that the Government was to introduce, on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1971, the IR£, and new penny decimal system of currency.<sup>30</sup> This followed the June 1968 set-up of the Irish Decimal Currency Board which was intended to facilitate the changeover to decimalisation with a process of familiarising the Irish public with the new currency and by finding solutions to any problems that would arise.<sup>31</sup> In the Dáil the Minister outlined that "(T)he Department of Education has been planning to phase out the teaching of 'shilling-and-pence' arithmetic and to have decimal currency calculations taught". Two new 'pence' equated to five old 'pennies' and contributed to a perception afterwards that things appeared cheaper, when in fact they more or less stayed the same but were recorded differently. This change was also part of the difficulties of comparison of like-with-like, evident in the *Statistical Report for 1974/75 – 1975/76*,<sup>32</sup> as the accounting medium, was now decimalised. While the financial sign was still £ it was not the same as the £ which had appeared in earlier reports, and in fact the £ sign itself, to a certain extent, belied the comparisons between one report and any other earlier one. A final change was noted within the report itself, the figures now related to the academic year from September and were not based on the 'February Census', which rendered it a further challenge in terms of comparison.<sup>33</sup> Shifting of conceptual recording may well have facilitated errors in interpretations on which later decisions were made such as return on input, however these fundamental questionable equivalences were not openly questioned and were accepted as givens.

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<sup>30</sup> RTE archives, < <https://www.rte.ie/archives/2016/0209/766548-decimalisation-daydecimalisation-day/>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Department of Education, 1974/75-1975/76, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/75-1975/76*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Even in the layout of the Statistical Reports from one period throughout the 1970s to another, the actual classification of schools and sections within education changed. In the *Report of the Department of Education 1972/73 – 1973/74* for example there were 7 sections: General Education, Primary Education, Secondary Education, Comprehensive and Community Schools, Vocational Education, School Transport Service, and, Residential Homes and Special Schools.<sup>34</sup> In the *Report of the Department of Education 1974/75 – 1975/76*<sup>35</sup> there were 6 sections: General Education, Primary Education, Secondary (general) Education, Post Primary Education which had subsections (1. Secondary, 2. Comprehensive and Community, and 3. Vocational), Residential Homes and Special Schools, and Student Aid. In the *Report of the Department of Education 1977 – 78*<sup>36</sup> the 6 sections were: General Education Statistics, Primary Education, Secondary (general) Education, Post Primary Education whose subsections consisted of (1. Secondary, 2. Comprehensive and Community, 3. Vocational), Residential Homes and Special Schools, and Student Aid. The *Report of the Department of Education 1978-79*<sup>37</sup> continued with those 6, by then established, sections. If nothing else, the actual comparison processes were complicated in the 1970s, and it certainly appears, that there was possibly the semblance of a new conformity being imposed in terms of international reporting comparisons in the future. Unquestionably, it did also appear as if the process undertaken was either intended for, or had the unintended effect of obfuscation, which, contingent on the view you take, either left room for manoeuvre, or could just as easily, have distorted the perceptions of the Irish education system.

### ***British and Irish differences in implementation***

At this time there was a focus on the narrative of comprehensive schools as a more efficient education concept with larger classes and resultant economies of scale. Margaret Thatcher as Minister for Education<sup>38</sup> refused to direct British schools to become comprehensives and allowed Local Authorities to decide for themselves

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<sup>34</sup> Department of Education, 1972/73-1973/74, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1972/73-1973/74*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>35</sup> Department of Education, 1974/75-1975/76, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1974/75-1975/76*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>36</sup> Department of Education, 1977-78, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1977-78*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>37</sup> Department of Education, 1978-79, *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1977-78*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>38</sup> 'Margaret Thatcher's education legacy is still with us – driven on by Gove', Peter Wilby, The Guardian, 15 April 2013, < <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/apr/15/margaret-thatcher-education-legacy-gove>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

whether they wanted comprehensive schools in their area (Circular 10/70).<sup>39</sup> Edward Heath, the then Prime Minister portrayed the position taken, as being where the local authorities were free to independently make the choice for their areas (Heath, 1998).

While Ireland brought in a 'Development Unit' as part of its apparent acceptance of the notion of larger classes this was not the case in Britain. Instead in Britain the 'Planning and Research Branch of the Department of Education was set up to begin work on a White Paper. '*Education: A framework for expansion*' was produced as a result (HMSO, 1972). This report suggested raising the school leaving age, providing nursery provision for parents, providing in-service training for teachers, reduction in student teacher ratios (STR), and expansion of Further Education Colleges and Polytechnics. These suggested changes were followed by more detailed and work-focused changes and legislation, including:

- *Teacher Education and Training* (also known as *The James Report*)<sup>40</sup> which advocated a 2/3 years degree for teachers together with a pre-service year;
- *Continuing Professional Development (CPD)* courses for teachers and one term of study leave for teachers every seven years;
- *Education (Work Experience) Act, 1973*, aimed to enable education authorities arrange for children under school-leaving age to have work experience as part of their education and in doing so, effectively removed the prohibition on child employment for this purpose.<sup>41</sup>
- *Employment and Training Act, 1973* which allowed for training specifically for employment, set up an employment services agency and the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) who eventually took over the oversight of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) in a move which very much married vocational and technical education with those who needed to be assisted in to employment.<sup>42</sup>

It is interesting that in Britain, where the concept of Further Education had already existed for a long number of years, it was not mentioned in this context. There certainly appeared to be a direct connection being created between vocational and technical education and the world of work, with young people being inculcated to the habit of work from a young age and indeed, even before they were legally entitled to work.

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<sup>39</sup> Having cancelled Circular 10/65, Thatcher presided over Circular 10/70, Department of Education and Science, London, HMSO, < <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/des/circular10-70.html>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>40</sup> Teacher Education and training, *Report by a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, under the Chairmanship of Lord James of Rusholme 1972*, London: HMSO, < <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/james/james1972.html>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>41</sup> *Education (Work Experience) Act, 1973*, < <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1973/23/enacted>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>42</sup> *Employment and Training Act, 1972*, < <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1973/50>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

## **Ireland and the New Community**

The new Irish Republic (1949), carried some of its issues into the EEC (1973), at a time when new processes were being incorporated and where accountability standards were being institutionalised. For 24 years the new Statesmen had been concentrating on protectionism and had to change perspective to pursue this new internationalisation. Some difficulties and challenges were to be expected. The requirement for a Constitutional Referendum was almost overlooked, but eventually passed by a large majority in October 1972. The process had to be transparent under the relatively new Irish Constitution, and involved: a) agreement of the majority to allow membership – achieved by the Referendum, b) Dáil approval to the treaties governing the European Communities, c) passing of the European Communities Act, 1972, and d) lodgement of ratification documents in Rome and Paris where the treaties had been signed by the original members.<sup>43</sup>

1973 also saw a change in Irish Government, following Fine Gael's success in the General Election and Garret Fitzgerald became Minister for Foreign Affairs. As a Doctor of Economics, he was well informed and had been involved in the negotiations on Ireland's accession to the EEC, as part of a Summit Conference of leaders where a meeting of Heads of State or Government in the nine countries had met in Paris on the 19/20<sup>th</sup> October in 1972. On his first presentation to Seanad Éireann under Section 5 of the European Communities Act, which required twice yearly reports to the Houses of the Oireachtas, Fitzgerald on Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> June 1973, outlined what was contained in the *'Developments in the European Communities – First Report'* which outlined what was expected to happen as well as what had already commenced as part of the process of entry to the EEC:<sup>44</sup>

**Common Agricultural Policy:** In relation to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) the goal was to effect common pricing, and raise the standard of living for farmers in line with those in other employments.

**Common Fisheries Policy:** The goal of the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) was that the fishing rights to the seas within the European Community would be retained and Ireland constituted 20% of those seas, which made this an important consideration.

**Network relations** where “member states no longer conclude bilateral trade agreements but the Commission negotiates with third countries on the basis of mandates agreed at the level of the Nine” (Seanad Éireann, 1973);

**Developing Countries** - liberalising relations with developing countries by “improving the system of preferential access to its markets for exports of manufactures from these countries and by increasing the volume of official development assistance to them” which would involve acceding to the 1971 Food Aid Convention.

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<sup>43</sup> European Integration timeline,

<https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebstimedia/ourrolesandpolicies/irelandintheeu/ireland-in-the-eu-history.pdf> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>44</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1973, 13<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 75 No. 2, Developments in the European Communities: Motion, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1973-06-20/21/>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

**Common Customs Tariff** - phasing into the Common Customs Tariff of the Community as already established.

**Free movement of workers** - to be applied from 1978 along with “complex provisions on right of establishment and recognition of diplomas. This is an extremely difficult area, especially in regard to professions, and along with other member states our purpose is to ensure that in realising the aims of the Treaty of Rome, no essential interest of any profession is damaged”.

**Competition Policy** – such as not to distort trade between member states.

**Industrial Policy** to “develop Community industry by, for instance, encouraging co-operation between firms through the so-called ‘Marriage Bureau’ recently set up” to foster links between small and medium enterprises.

**Company Law** – possible creation of companies under a law common to the member states.

**Environment** – international co-operation on environmental issues.

**Science and Technology** – involvement with up to 19 European countries in relation to co-operation in Science and Technology.

**Economic and monetary union** to be well on its way by the end of the 1980s.

**Regional Policy** – to ensure that regions were not neglected and there would be even development throughout all the members

**Community Social Policy** – basically a better ‘human face’ for the community separate to the European Social Fund for “the retraining and resettlement of workers to which we have made application for sums in the region of £3.5million in respect of various projects” – also in the process of forming a basis for a **Community Social Policy** by means of action aimed at full and better employment, improvement of living and working conditions and participation of the social partners in economic and social decisions.

**Transport** – Ireland was not too enamoured with the idea of ‘Juggernauts’ and suggest that road costs be taken into account in relation to this aspect.

**Energy Policy** – this noted that “(T)he Community has already decided to take measures to guard against a short-term oil supply emergency”

*Garret Fitzgerald, Seanad Éireann debate 20<sup>th</sup> June 1973<sup>45</sup>*

That the changes to be wrought were significant and all-Ireland changing, was evident. Many T.D.s and Senators during this debate were sceptical of the success, and indeed the scale, of the whole package in relation to Ireland as such a small part of the wider community now. Senators worried about whether there would be adequate representation in committees which were being proposed to ratify many programmes envisaged as part of the wider European Community. What is obvious, however, is how topics were couched in all-world or social discourses which addressed the social benefits that would be supported once all the member States were in a position to ensure funds were available. There would be compensation for things like, dislocation from agriculture, supporting price controls and other economic moves which were unlikely to succeed because of changes to export markets resulting from EEC membership.

### ***Employment, Unemployment, Underemployment and Re-employment***

In keeping with the stated focus, under Article 235 of the Treaty establishing the EEC, and Article 128 of the Treaty Ireland had signed to implement a common vocational training policy; Regulation (EEC) 337/75 was passed by the European Council in February 1975.<sup>46</sup> This regulation established the non-profit European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP), which was signed into effect by

<sup>45</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 20<sup>th</sup> June 1973, 13<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 75 No. 2, Developments in the European Communities: Motion, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1973-06-20/21/>> (last accessed 22/12/2019)

<sup>46</sup> Regulation (EEC) No.337/75 of the Council of 10 February establishing a European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (OJ L 39, 12.2.1975,

Garret Fitzgerald (later Taoiseach of Ireland), and was to function within Community Law. The aim of Cedefop was “to assist the Commission in encouraging, at community level, the promotion and development of vocational training and of in-service training” (COJ, 1974).<sup>47</sup> The tasks of Cedefop were to:

- *Compile selected documentation about the state of vocational education as it was, along with any research being done around vocational education.*
- *Contribute to the development and co-ordination of such research.*
- *Disseminate relevant documentation and information.*
- *Encourage and support initiatives which would encourage development of a system of mutual recognition of certification within the community attesting to completion of vocational training.*
- *To provide a forum for all involved in vocational education.*

*Adapted from Regulation (EEC) 337/75<sup>48</sup>*

While this task list may appear summative and concise, what was shaped showed more nuances with potential to distort the stated aims. Some insight into the issue may well be held in the European Commission’s systems and a potential failing to properly communicate the intentions which were contained in the Articles of the EEC that have facilitated the diversion of funds from one EC fund to another, pragmatically rather than logically. An illustration of this may be seen in a European periodical ‘*Towards a European education policy*’ (EEC, 1977/2) which outlined that there were issues in trying to co-ordinate the integration education systems throughout the nine members of the EC and that:

*“(W)hat references there are to educational matters come in piecemeal form. The ECSC Treaty, for example, makes provision for the vocational retraining of workers (Article 56), the EEC Treaty for the mutual recognition of diplomas (Article 57), and the vocational training of workers (Article 118) and farmers (Article 41). The Euratom Treaty refers more directly to education by stipulating that an institution of nuclear science and technology should be set up (Article 9), but in none of the treaties are there any guidelines as to the possible objectives of a European policy on education”<sup>49</sup>*

The document also outlines; “European educational policy is concerned mostly with education of the young, but it cannot afford to ignore the serious problems posed by vocational training and adult education”.<sup>50</sup> This was mentioned under the heading of ‘Adult vocational training and further education’<sup>51</sup> but this same paragraph did not actually explain what was meant by using throughout the document the term ‘further

<sup>47</sup> COJ, (1974). *Council Resolution* no. C 13,12.2.1974

<sup>48</sup> Regulation (EEC) No.337/75 of the Council of 10 February establishing a European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (OJ L 39, 12.2.1975,

<sup>49</sup> *Towards a European education policy*, Periodical 1977/2 p.1

<<http://aei.pitt.edu/14199/1/EUR%2DDOC%2D1977%2D2.PDF>> (last accessed 23/12/2019)

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

education' specifically and its association with adult courses, particularly in the context of language courses in relation to migrant workers. It may well have been interpreted as being a synchronicity between further education and adult vocational education which has allowed the distinctions between both, to be occluded since then. Interestingly there is also an expectation stated that "Member States will be expected to look into ways of using the staff and equipment at their disposal to set up various types of language courses open to everyone".<sup>52</sup> This to a certain extent also presumed that wherever the most convenient place within the education sector was, would be used as it did seem only confined in relation to the staff and equipment available. Further reference to the ability of the European Social Fund, which was "set up to promote employment in the Community as also empowered to contribute towards some types of educational expenditure"<sup>53</sup> certainly points in no specific direction within the educational sector for delivery. Additionally, the Social Fund could be used to fund language courses for migrant workers but also for the teachers who would be teaching them and indeed, the children of migrants, to be trained,<sup>54</sup> appears to have allowed a certain fluidity of funding which could also have been similarly entrenched.

This is further discussed in the EC Bulletin Supplement (12/76) '*From education to working life*'<sup>55</sup> which outlined concisely the issues that arose for young people in education throughout the European Community, at that time. Unemployment, lack of preparation for employment and lack of foresight for re-employment were issues that taxed the minds of those charged with the responsibilities for education in the EC.<sup>56</sup> This particular document effectively explains how it was possible to implement changes in such a way as to fit within the European Social Fund regulations so that funding could be released to tackle potential unemployment or underemployment of young people at that time. The report points out that changes to the European Social Fund were made in 1971, when its scope had been widened allowing it to intervene in relation to certain trades in order to protect workers.<sup>57</sup> Further expansion came by way of Council Decision on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1975<sup>58</sup> (OJ L 199 of 30.7.1975), when the way was

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<sup>52</sup> Towards a European education policy, Periodical 1977/2 p.1  
<<http://aei.pitt.edu/14199/1/EUR%2DDOC%2D1977%2D2.PDF>> (last accessed 23/12/2019)

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 15

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 12/76, '*From education to working life*, Belgium: European Communities Commission, <<http://aei.pitt.edu/4576/1/4576.pdf>> (last accessed 23/12/2019)

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.17

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 16

<sup>58</sup> Council Decision on action by the European Social Fund for persons affected by employment difficulties OJ L 199 of 30.7.1975

cleared for the Social Fund to be used to “contribute to specific operations to facilitate the employment and the geographical and professional mobility of young people under 25 who are unemployed or seeking employment”,<sup>59</sup> and that first priority should be given to first-job seekers. Throughout the EC the focus was on the huge numbers of young people who needed to be assisted to get a first job, but also there was a stated concern that young people would not be assisted into a job that had potential only for redundancy in the future for those young people – sustainability, growth and development of young people was paramount. The EC itself had the economic development goals of the Community and the sustainability of the economies of the member states to consider, so there was a practicality to the expansion of the capabilities of the Social Fund to assist the educational and employment goals of the under 25s.

In all discourses on employment, descriptions have the potential to create misleading assumptions in the absence of appropriate examination of the terms being used. An example of this subtlety was obvious in a Seanad Debate on the White Paper ‘*Programme for National Development, 1978 – 1981*’ on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1979.<sup>60</sup> Professor O’ Donoghue explained that the targets for reduction in the ‘number out of work’ included in the White Paper:

“... is expressed in terms of a "reduction in the numbers out of work" as being the most accurate and least controversial description available. Part of the 25,000 annual reduction for example will take the form of increased numbers of young people in training programmes. Such people are thereby not "unemployed" in the sense of being available for work, but equally it might be regarded as confusing to describe them as being in employment. Hence a reduction of 25,000 in the numbers out of work would be associated with an increase in employment as normally measured of somewhat smaller amount. I would also emphasise that of course this target does not refer to changes in the live register. While the live register is a useful indicator of unemployment trends, it is not an accurate measure—indeed some research work suggests that on average an increase in employment of 100, is associated with a fall of between 53 to 67 in the live register.”

*Seanad Éireann, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1979<sup>61</sup>*

For this very reason during any discussion of EC Bulletin Supplement 12/76 *From education to working life*<sup>62</sup> it is notable that a number of times it uses the term ‘further education’ which is perhaps, indicative of the expression becoming a new operational

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<sup>59</sup> Council Decision on action by the European Social Fund for persons affected by employment difficulties OJ L 199 of 30.7.1975 p. 16

<sup>60</sup> Seanad Éireann, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1979, 14<sup>th</sup> Seanad, Vol. 91 No. 4, White Paper “Programme for National Development, 1978-1991”: Motion

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 12/76, ‘From education to working life, Belgium: European Communities Commission, <<http://aei.pitt.edu/4576/1/4576.pdf>> (last accessed 23/12/2019)

word for education which happened after compulsory education and was geared towards making the young people alluded to, prepared and resilient in the jobs market and robustly equipped for the world of work. This usage of the expression ‘further education’ brought the concept into the realm of what the document called ‘continuing education’ while not meaning in any way that it equated to the concept of continuation education, which people in Ireland, have been familiar with, since the Industrial Revolution. The need to distinguish seems obvious, but in the reading of the detail and the use of the expression ‘further education’, where it is used, the use seems innocuous. However, this may not actually have been the case.

Ireland had in 1974 introduced the ‘Transition Programme’ (*in Irish* ‘Idirbhlian’ meaning ‘between year’) in schools on a pilot basis in 1974<sup>63</sup> with the goal of introducing young people to the concepts of work while at secondary school and providing a break in the course of education between the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate courses (Jeffers, 2008). The discourse was that students would get work placement and learn the ways of work. This potentially could also have provided a way of extending schooling without the need for thousands of extra teachers, and doing it in this particular way, may well have given the overture of compliance with Article 118 of the EC treaty. The results of these Transition Year pilots were positive, and more schools did implement the idea gradually after 1974.<sup>64</sup> The EC did not fund the initial project so the cost was borne by parents, which had a double sting as the students were foregoing earning their own income, leaving them dependent on their parents. One less obvious advantage though, was that it conveniently provided a break in the child’s education to the leaving certificate stream, giving students time to decide if they wanted to continue to the Leaving Certificate, and covered an older school leaving age without the need to legislatively reset the compulsory school leaving age.

### **Creative Pragmatism or Shape-Shifting**

The transition year project, while still encouraged and supported in secondary schools, was followed by the introduction of Pre-employment Courses (PECs), between 1977

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<sup>63</sup> Three schools piloted the programme in 1974 - St. Joseph’s College, Garbally, Co. Galway; the Municipal Technical Institute in Limerick, and the Holy Child Comprehensive School, Sallynoggin, Co. Dublin. See also (Jeffers, G., 2008)

<sup>64</sup> In 1975 five more schools experimented with Transition Year Programmes; Newpark Comprehensive, Blackrock, Co. Dublin; St. Louis High School Rathmines; St. Mary’s Convent of Mercy, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary; Convent of Mercy Secondary School, Roscommon; Presentation College, Athenry, Co. Galway

and 1980,<sup>65</sup> a total of 1,898 students were registered within the Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1977-78 with 1,743 of those being within the Vocational Education student cohort.<sup>66</sup> The European Social Fund supported the establishment of these pre-employment courses in over 120 schools. These targeted young people who had completed the junior cycle leading to the intermediate certificate and aimed to provide social, general and technical education combined with work experience, the concept of work experience or work simulation being at the heart of all such courses.<sup>67</sup> The courses were initially confined to vocational and community/comprehensive schools, which made sense, as vocational teachers coming from different backgrounds, were actually familiar with a range of work experiences and individual industry practices and had much to offer. In 1984, these PEC courses were redeveloped as Vocational Preparation and Training (VPT) courses, and eventually became VPT1 and VPT2 as distinct courses as well as two-year courses and were extended to secondary school.<sup>68</sup> The programmes incorporated vocational studies, work experience and general studies. In 1985 a second year was added to the courses, and VPT2 courses became commonly known as Post-Leaving Certificate (PLC) courses (ESRI, 2014).

It is interesting that Minister for Education Gemma Hussey in her Dáil Statement on the Programme for Action in Education on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984<sup>69</sup> outlined that the Department was examining “rationalisation and co-ordination of facilities at second-level. Not alone, must I do so in the interest of better value for money, more importantly, from the point of view of providing the best possible level of facilities in any given centre”.<sup>70</sup> The question arises as to whether there was presumed rationalisation within the secondary system or throughout the education system. The difference would be significant in light of severe budgetary constraints in Ireland, but if viewed in relation to the EC agenda it takes on a very different context. As already outlined in this research, the EC’s focus under Article 118, was to be on vocational education, but nowhere had this been stated openly or highlighted to people in Ireland

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<sup>65</sup> Richard Burke T.D. was replaced as Minister for Education in 1976, and took up a position in the EEC in Brussels. The TY had been his creation and it was left unchanged after his tenure.

<sup>66</sup> Department of Education, 1977-78, Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1977-78, Table 1 p. 2, p.76, Dublin: Stationery Office. <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1977-1978.pdf> (last accessed 26/12/2019)

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> ESRI, (2014), *Further Education and Training in Ireland: Past, Present and Future*, Research Series Number 35. Dublin: ESRI

<sup>69</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No.8 p.16 Programme for Action in Education: Statements, <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/15/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>70</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No.8 p.16 Programme for Action in Education: Statements <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/15/>> (last accessed 27/12)

by politicians or certainly by successive Ministers for Education since 1973. This had the potential to cast a very different light on spending within secondary education, from 1973 to 1984. Explaining that a Special Working Group had assisted in creating the plan being presented, Hussey outlined that:

*“(T)o be successful, all concerned in education must play their part as without the maximum co-operation it will not be possible to achieve our goals. This is extremely important. We must all share in common purposes so that our young people may gain the greatest benefit possible. To this end we must ensure that sectional interests are not allowed to dictate events. Our collective efforts must avoid this possibility at all costs.”*

*Hussey, G., Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> March (1984)<sup>71</sup>*

It would be reasonable to question if it was, then the case that what was allocated to vocational education, had to be pragmatically used in creative ways to facilitate the amount of spending being incurred across all education. If this was the case then there could have been the possibility of a type of placation on the part of the Department of Education, but more importantly it also held the potential to deprive the vocational system of resources which could have been exclusively used for vocational education and the young people within it. Interestingly Ms. Hussey added:

*“It is a truism to say that when resources are scarce the concept of choice arises. In the context of scarce resources if a service is to be funded it must be done at the expense of another perhaps equally meritorious service. There will never be enough money for education to satisfy all. Therefore, priorities must be ordered. That is precisely what I have done and been enabled to do as a result of last year's economies. I have transferred resources so as to enable me to implement what I regard as my main priority”*

*Hussey, G., Dáil Éireann, 6<sup>th</sup> March (1984)<sup>72</sup>*

Blurring the line between secondary education and vocational education in such a way certainly held the potential to create a fluidity of funding once again, where it may not have been strictly correct, but may have, at the time, seemed justified. Hussey outlined that she was “committed to a greater delegation of authority and responsibility”<sup>73</sup> and was “committed to achieving a partnership with all interests involved in the educational process”.<sup>74</sup> In light of her statement in relation to the proposal to create a new curriculum and examination board, Hussey outlined that “(I)n particular, the board has been asked to bring forward a new unified junior cycle assessment system to replace

<sup>71</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No.8 p.16 Programme for Action in Education: Statements <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/15/>> (last accessed 27/12)

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

the intermediate and group certificate examinations”.<sup>75</sup> The stated aim she outlined, was to ensure that all students had “certification of their achievements available to them”<sup>76</sup> (*one of the aims of the EC*). In relation to the senior cycle level there was to be a new “assessment system for selection to third level courses”<sup>77</sup> (*an aim of the EC*), as well as “the development of alternative senior cycle courses, more closely related to the world of work (*another aim of the EC*), including the extension of pre-employment courses to selected secondary schools”<sup>78</sup> (emphasis added).

The Minister was questioned by Mary O’Rourke T.D. a former teacher and later a Minister of Education herself, on how the programme was being presented and the fact that it appeared to be more focused on vocational education at the expense of second level, where she said, investment was needed.<sup>79</sup> This, Hussey included in a reply to Mr. Cosgrave T.D. on the same day, when she outlined that she had

*“indicated in the Programme for Action in Education 1984 -1987 the review of the European Social Fund and the adoption of new guidelines have enabled my Department to consider an expansion of activities in the area of vocational education for young persons. Proposals are being made for additional European Social Fund assistance which, if approved, would enable my Department to (i) **expand** existing pre-employment courses and **extend** them to selected secondary schools; (ii) **adapt** existing pre-employment secretarial courses to **increase their relevance** to changed technological needs in the general employment area; and (iii) **provide** one-year and two-year **vocational** courses for young persons who have completed compulsory education and for whom an **academic senior cycle course is seen to be unsuitable**”*  
*Hussey, G., Dáil Éireann 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984<sup>80</sup> (emphasis added)*

The highlighted words appear carefully selected and not just innocuously used. They are verbs for the most part but also indicate that the actions are not just generally intentional but are specifically intentional and while they appear as a discourse on inclusion and provision for social equality they are just as easily interpreted as economically motivated. Applying philological examination in terms of explaining the exact expressions and their meanings, both in the way they are used and their exact meanings to the above statement would lead one to surmise that not only was literary licence being applied to European Social Funding applications, but also that more than one government department found it convenient to engage in the process. The wording

<sup>75</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No.8 p.16 Programme for Action in Education: Statements < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/15/>> (last accessed 27/12)

<sup>76</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No.8 Programme for Action in Education: Statements < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/15/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

also allows for a potential inbuilt bias being possible where at (i) above there is the intention to expand ‘to selected secondary schools’ rather than to do so to all secondary schools (or even second level schools rather than secondary schools particularly in light of the different pedagogic practices in secondary where there is a more didactic approach rather than a dialogic approach as would be expected in Further Education). This concept of difference to selection and application endures in the concept of Irish Further Education today and is an area where Further Education retains an advantage that is not necessarily evident in the ‘teach to the exam’ approach occasioned by the university points race which still dominates the secondary school system today.

One of the charges posited by Mary O’Rourke T.D. in questioning the action plan when first presented, was that everything was to happen in the future and it was not based on actions which were being undertaken immediately.<sup>81</sup> This to a certain extent was a reasonable comment. A careful analysis of Hussey’s presentation to the Dáil certainly shows that there appeared to be a sort of time-delay before things were to happen and this was not lost on O’Rourke.<sup>82</sup> O’Rourke in her questioning used the potential two-year delay as indication that there was no real intent at reform when in fact that two-year delay may well have been obvious because of the application for funding from the European Social Fund (ESF) which was due to come on stream two years later.

### *The European Social Fund*

The Minister for Labour (Mr. Ruairi Quinn), was requested to outline what projects had received approval from the European Social Fund in 1983 (which had until mid-1984 to make their final claims), which in actuality amounted to a total of £123.52m and for which Mr. Quinn provided the following detail:<sup>83</sup>

<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Amount Approved (£m)</i>	<i>Type of Programme</i>
AnCO	53.43	Training of unemployed and redundant workers, apprentices, Community Youth Training, Itinerants
IDA	10.17	Training of workers for new industry.
Youth Employment Agency	2.70	Training and job creation programmes for young persons
CERT	1.76	Training of workers for hotel, catering and tourism
Department of Education	15.39	Apprentices and pre-employment courses for school leavers
Department of Labour (National Manpower Service)	5.67	Job creation and work experience programmes
National Rehabilitation Board	22.77	Training and rehabilitation courses for handicapped, operated by health boards and voluntary bodies

<sup>81</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No.8 Programme for Action in Education: Statements <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/15/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No. 8 p.516 <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/81/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

Udarás na Gaeltachta	0.99	Training of workers for new and existing industries
SFADCo	0.58	Training of workers for new and existing industries
Department of the Environment	0.74	Job creation (environmental improvements scheme)
Department of Justice	0.21	Vocational training for prisoners prior to release
ACOT	0.15	Training courses in landscape gardening. Maintenance of agriculture machinery.
Bord Iascaigh Mhara	0.20	Training of unemployed fishermen and skippers
Irish Management Institute	0.49	Management training
Kilkenny Design Workshop	0.08	Training of unemployed persons in design
ESB	0.21	Retraining of workers for higher skills
Aer Lingus	0.29	Training of aircraft engineers
CIE	0.05	Training of unemployed workers
AnCO (in co-operation with the IDA)	7.64	Training of workers associated with the Re-equipment Grants Scheme

Figure 19 Approved Projects for European Social Funding 1983

It might also seem co-incidental that in that Dáil Éireann Debate on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Mr. Ruairi Quinn (Minister for Labour), outlined that Section 4 of the Youth Employment Agency Act 1981, set out the objectives of the youth Employment Agency as being “to establish, develop, extend, operate, assist, encourage, supervise, co-ordinate and integrate, either directly or indirectly, schemes for the training and employment of young persons, being principally persons over the age of 15 years and under the age of 25 years”<sup>84</sup> and that the Deputy would “appreciate that the purposes of the levy are not confined to financing direct employment creation”.<sup>85</sup> More insight on this possibility, was actually confirmed, by Minister Hussey on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1984, where she outlined:

*“(A)s pointed out in the Programme for Action in Education 1984-1987 the joint meeting of EEC Ministers of Education and Labour in June 1983 has led to new emphasis on the provision of vocational training for young people. The opportunity thus afforded for providing expanded courses of vocational training designed to cater especially for those who would otherwise drop out of full-time education is being followed up in conjunction with the Department of Labour”*  
*Dáil Éireann Debate 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1984<sup>86</sup> Vol 349 No. 2 p.20)*

Somewhat more cryptically, the Minister, Ms. Hussey, outlined on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1984 that in relation to the future of education that “there are many areas covered by very distinct rules and regulations – rules of the national schools, rules and regulations for secondary schools and the Vocational Education Act 1930”.<sup>87</sup> It potentially could have been that the legislative standing of Vocational Education was what distinguished it, and may have been why it was necessary to effectively dissipate its reach in order to maximise ESF funding. In doing this, however, it appears to have created several dimensions both in vocational education and within second level education whereby the second level

<sup>84</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 6<sup>th</sup> March 1984, Vol 348 No. 8 p.516 < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-06/81/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1984, 24<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol 349 No. 2, Oral Answers – Full-time Education Incentive, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-03-22/20/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>87</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1984, 24<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 349 No. 6 p. 6, Oral Answers – Education System Legislation, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1984-04-03/6/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

system needed to incorporate vocational programmes which would supplement their funding, and the vocational system had no voice to prevent it.

Another stated objective of the EC was to increase the number of people who would access university. An increase was actually expected in Ireland following the introduction of free secondary education and this goal therefore began to materialise gradually as university education was not free of charge and there was therefore still a financial barrier to access. One fundamental action in Ireland in the mid 1970s was the establishment of the Central Applications Office (CAO) in Galway in 1976.<sup>88</sup> The CAO was set up to handle applications to Irish universities and appeared to be a service aimed at streamlining the huge numbers of applicants from schools throughout the country and further afield which might well have contributed to fulfil the stated aim of encouraging mobility among young people in the EC. What is interesting about this process is the actual organisation of the CAO which was set up as a company limited by guarantee and does not have a share capital; its membership is representative of the higher education sector; its board of directors is drawn from the membership; and is financed by student application fees. The higher education institutions who participate in membership “retain full control over their admission policies and admission decisions” (CAO, 2001 p. 2). It is an essential condition of the Board (i.e. membership) that “courses for inclusion in the CAO Handbook should have statutory recognition in Ireland” (CAO, p. 3). The Director’s report also outlines that “(U)nder its constitution the company may not remunerate its Directors nor distribute any surplus to its Members. Operating surpluses go towards a contingency reserve and a provision for equipment replacement” (CAO p.3). Income according to the 2018 Report from CAO is €3,049,118 and while expenditures such as leasehold, refurbishment and computer upgrades at different times may exceed income, there are reserves, certainly in pensions, and a net asset value of €6.5m, within the control of the membership. The application process now includes courses which are below degree level, but are still run under the auspices of the Universities, bringing applications overall from 14,845 in 1977 when allocations started to 77,785 in 2018 where the ‘normal’ application fee is €45 with some variances of €30. It is interesting that vocational education, which itself *was* statutorily recognised in Ireland, has for the most part been excluded from membership of CAO where it is classified under the second level system and engages

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<sup>88</sup> ‘The hidden face of the CAO’, Grainne Faller, The Irish Times, Jan 27 2009, <<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/the-hidden-face-of-the-cao-1.1237253>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

in direct recruitment of students by teachers and without reserves of registration fees which are refunded to unsuccessful applicants. The anomalies are financially immeasurable.

From 1977 onwards the effect of the CAO system has been evident in its infamous 'points' race, created as a means of nonpartisan, nonbiased selection of high achievers at Leaving Certificate. Each grade is allocated 'points' that accumulate to a final score on the basis of which, students are subsequently allocated places on individual courses within Irish universities. Portrayed as a fair selection process, with computer programming at its centre, this process does have the potential to follow the rules to the very  $n^{\text{th}}$  degree. However, those rules are set by the universities themselves and the process facilitates selection of the most academically successful for places in the universities, potentially creating another form of educational stratification never openly challenged in Ireland. This disadvantages Vocational (now Further) Education's own academically able students who are limited in the number of points allowed for Level 5 or Level 6 courses and in some universities the actual number of students who will be accepted from the Further Education route in progression possibilities. The limiting of points applicable (Level 6 points = Level 5 points) has limited choices for many years for candidates who followed Vocational courses.

### *1980s Ireland*

The 1980s was a time of political upheaval in Ireland, which, impacted on Irish Education. The 1980s saw no less than 5 general elections in just nine years. This obviously boded badly for policy processes and implementation with frequent changes of ministerial personnel. This fuelled political unrest, high unemployment, high prices and industrial unrest in the country. It was also a time when the Irish people were told in a 'State of the Nation' address by Charles Haughey, the then Taoiseach, broadcast on national television, that what was needed was to "tighten our belts" and that as a nation Irish people were "living beyond our means" (Haughey, 1980). It was a surprise afterwards, that the government actually delivered a high spending budget and focused some of the expenditure on leisure and youth rather than directly on education although more contemporary analysis might equate this with a promise of youth centred funding from funds directed from EU sources possibly.

Examining the actual wording used by Haughey raises questions about what he said and why he said it that way. He outlined that “the figures which are *just now* becoming available to us”<sup>89</sup> (emphasis added). Did he mean that these were new figures and did not belong to the government of the day or that they were given to them as a government by the European Commission and he was therefore relaying a message from the EC – either way it appears to create a distance from his Department of Finance who would be expected to control spending, and it is also of note that Charles Haughey was a qualified self-employed accountant well versed in understanding expenditure in accountancy terms. He also said “as a community we are living away beyond our means” – did he mean the EC as the community, or Ireland, as he later said “at home the government’s current income from taxes ... .”<sup>90</sup> This speech was made on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1980 which, given the fact that Ireland’s financial year was from 6<sup>th</sup> April to 5<sup>th</sup> April, would have allowed assessment well before January the following year. Additionally, he outlined “I don’t mean that everyone in the community is living too well, clearly many are not”<sup>91</sup> which could also have been an EC macro statement rather than a wholly Irish national statement.

Charles Haughey appointed Mary O’Rourke as Minister for Education whose memoir, outlines how she set about promoting multid denominational education initially started as an isolated Dalkey project to which Áine Hyland who had assisted in the initial CSO work on education had developed. O’Rourke outlines that she personally promoted the establishment of the Educate Together school patron organisation (O’Rourke, 2013 p.67). O’Rourke also championed Regional Technical Colleges at third level (O’Rourke p.70), which fitted into the goals of the European Community at that time, indeed her stated support of Erasmus for students did likewise (O’Rourke, p.81). The idea of a green paper on education grew with the assistance of Secretary General for Education Noel Lindsay who had spent time in the United States at the World Bank working on education (O’Rourke, p. 87). O’Rourke depicts how Lindsay produced the document but it “was a load of civil service twaddle” (O’Rourke, p.88), at which stage she enlisted the assistance of John Coolahan who worked on bringing shape to it by focusing it on teacher education (O’Rourke, p.89). This process illustrates how policy

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<sup>89</sup> See: <https://speakola.com/political/charles-haughey-beyond-our-means-1980>, quoting <http://www.politics.ie/forum/history/69891-haugheys-living-way-beyond-our-means-speech-worth-closer-look.html> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

and its administration can be at a remove due to political positions or preferences and how one person can affect outcomes of the process. This may well also be of significance in what became of vocational education since John Coolahan was a former secondary school educator who became a university academic with a specialism in history of education. His focus on the administration of education was clearly influenced by this background, focusing on teachers and school systems rather than the diverse actors of instructors, trainers, and tutors and employers within vocational frameworks.

Under the Finance Act 1983 income tax rates, which had been high, began to decrease as can be seen in Figure 21 below.

1982/83	1983/84	1987/88	1992/1993	1993/1994
1,000 @ 25%	1,000 @ 25%	4,700 @ 27%	7475 @ 27%	7,675 @ 27%
2,000 @35%	3,000 @ 35%	2,800 @ 48%	Balance @ 48%	Balance @ 48%
2,000 @ 45%	2,000 @ 45%	Balance @ 58%		
2,000 @ 55%	2,000 @ 55%			
Balance @ 60%	2,000 @ 60%			
	Balance @ 65%			

Figure 20 Ireland's Income Tax Rates 1982 - 1994 Source: Revenue.ie

This effective tax burden depicted in Figure 21 together with local authority rates, property tax, car tax and other burdens, served to minimise disposable income and incited industrial unrest which appeared to prompt Haughey's address to the Nation at that time. There was an 'opportunity cost of working', where actually working and paying for childcare, travel, and subsistence, made it cheaper to stay at home and receive social welfare benefits. People choosing not to work became the prominent discourse in EC comparisons of Ireland, but there appeared to be very little investigation of the reasons for the high tax burden on individuals when businesses were being attracted to Ireland with the promise of tax incentives like 10% Corporation Tax. Disposable income funds educational choices and this fuelled a perception in Ireland that only the well-off could fund education, which was pertinent in the divide between those who could afford University and others, which is still evident today.

The *Local Government (Reorganisation) Act 1985*<sup>92</sup> set the scene for further changes in education, as the direct connection between the Vocational Education Committees was being changed in these processes. Additionally local authority boundaries were re-created and in some cases town authorities were divided to create independent county and city elements. As Vocational Education Committees were committees closely aligned to the local authorities, the split in some authorities had a knock-on effect on the VECs. The new VEC structures took a while to get established and the shifting identity of vocational education continued unabated when it should have been cushioned in light of European structural changes.

### **The Single European Act 1986**

1986 saw the passing of the Single European Act<sup>93</sup> (applicable from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1987), when the European Community moved further towards freedom of trade, customs and movement of people. This Act had been foreshadowed by a White Paper, “Completing the Internal Market”,<sup>94</sup> from the Commission to the European Council as a result of negotiations at Fontainebleau in June 1984 (Com (85), (1985). The White Paper outlined the overall objectives as:

*“Unifying this market (of 320 million) presupposes that Member States will agree on the abolition of barriers of all kinds, harmonisation of rules, approximation of legislation and tax structures, strengthening of monetary cooperation and the necessary flanking measures to encourage European firms to work together. It is a goal that is well within our reach provided we draw the lessons from the setbacks and delays of the past. The Commission will be asking the European Council to pledge itself to completion of a fully unified internal market by 1992 and to approve the necessary programme together with a realistic and binding timetable”*  
*Completing The Internal Market, White Paper 1985, European Commission p. 4<sup>95</sup>*

These negotiations culminated in the ‘Fontainebleau Agreement’; itself addressing issues left in abeyance at a Brussels meeting from March 1984. (Europa.eu, 1992). This agreement adopted “new guidelines for the reactivation of European Co-operation”, in light of some disparities regarding VAT rates and Budgets of the EC. There is significance in the concept of ‘reactivation’ and it appeared that some of the members

<sup>92</sup> *Local Government (Reorganisation) Act 1985, Number 7 of 1985*, <<http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1985/act/7/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>93</sup> Europe Doc. A2-169/86, Single European Act, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/single-european-act>> (last accessed 27/12/2019) also <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/files/in-the-past/ep-and-treaties/single-european-act/en-resolution-on-the-single-european-act-19861211.pdf>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>94</sup> Completing the Internal Market 1986, Commission to the European Council, June 1984 (Com (85), <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A51985DC0310>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>95</sup> Completing the Internal Market 1986, Commission to the European Council, June 1984 (Com (85), <<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A51985DC0310>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

of the EC were in disagreement about the perception of concessions available to France and Germany. Britain led the way in voicing its disagreement about ‘co-operation’ and might more truly have reflected equalisation. The process led to the Single European Act 1986 with its stated goal of ‘adding new momentum to the project and completing the internal market to free movement of goods, persons, services and capital’, (Eur-Lex., 2018). The Act set out four specific pillars:

- Title I;            *rules common* to political *cooperation* and the European Community
- Title II;           *devoted to amendments* of the treaties establishing the European Community
- Title III;          *concerned European cooperation* in the field of foreign policy
- Title IV;          *concerning* general and final rules

The somewhat cryptic wording of the pillars (italicised above), had the effect of stating new goals without actually outlining specifics, and left room to manoeuvre.

The Single European Act 1986 did have to be ratified in Ireland by constitutional referendum in what proved to be a contentious process as President Patrick Hillery signed the European Communities (Amendment) Act 1986 to give effect to the Single European Act in Ireland but an injunction was imposed by the High Court on this process. In the case of *Crotty v An Taoiseach* [1987] 1 IR 713 S.C., the Irish Supreme Court ruled that as the Single European Act “was a significant and decisive step along the path to a Single European foreign policy” it had to be ratified by referendum under the Irish Constitution. In his judgement in the *Crotty* case Walsh. J. and the other judges, put emphasis on the ambiguous wording being used and while the issues were complicated the decision sought to protect Irish citizens from the ambiguity being incorporated within it, with Walsh J. writing:

*“The Treaty does not purport to commit the State to agreeing to the establishment of a European Union of which Ireland would be a part. That is manifestly something to which the Government could not commit the State. What the Treaty does is to commit the State to pursuing a policy which has, inter alia, as one of its objectives the transformation of the relations of Ireland with the other Member States of the European Communities into a European Union. If this were simply a unilateral statement of policy on the part of the Government or part of a multilateral declaration of policy to the like end it could not be called into question in this Court. As was pointed out by Budd J. in *Boland v. An Taoiseach* [1974] I.R. 338 at p. 366 it would, as such, be outside “the purview of the Courts in that it makes the Government responsible to the Dáil which can support or oppose those policies and review them.” The present Treaty provisions go much further than that and, notwithstanding that, they have been approved by Dáil Éireann. As was pointed out in the decision of the Court in the first part of this case the essential nature of sovereignty is the right to say yes or to say no. In the present Treaty provisions that right is to be materially qualified.*

*Walsh J. in *Crotty V An Taoiseach* [1987] IR 713*

The judges clearly formed the view that what was being proposed would materially affect Ireland in the future and that it was being presented as something which was complicated in its very legal construction, which did not appear to be appreciated by the politicians who were advocating for its acceptance and had already at that stage overlooked significant legal implications within:

*The Single European Act ("the SEA") is something of a misnomer, for it is a treaty rather than an instrument with the legislative connotations usually attaching to an Act. As a treaty it has a dual purpose: (1) to amend and supplement the Treaties on which the European Communities are founded; and (2) to put on a formal basis co-operation between the Member States in the field of foreign policy. It is with the latter objective, which is dealt with in Title III of the SEA, that we are concerned in this part of the plaintiff's appeal*

**Henchy J. in** *Crotty V An Taoiseach* [1987] IR 713

A referendum took place, on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1987, and was passed by the Irish people. The court process, had delayed the entry into force of the Single European Act across the whole of the EC, but the ambiguities, noted by the judges, certainly do appear to have been aimed at allowing much more movement of positions than had been noticed by most Irish people prior to the Crotty case.

In Ireland, 1985 had seen the creation of the concept of Vocational Preparation and Training (VPT) or what eventually became the Post Leaving Certificate Courses (PLC), after VPT2 was added to VPT1. These appear within the Vocational Education sphere, as a way to engage adults after they had completed the Leaving Certificate, with skills and training that was intended to serve them in the pursuit of employment. PLC courses were lauded by Mary O'Rourke who negotiated them as being the very best thing to ensure that people who had missed the opportunity earlier in their lives, got another chance at education. This PLC classification has sometimes been included in the concept of what Ireland began to refer to as the Further Education sector, along with other socially constructed initiatives, which date from that time, such as Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme (VTOS) for those over 21 years of age and registered as long term unemployed and the Traveller Education; the latter discontinued in 2012.<sup>96</sup> This narrative of missed opportunities however, has disserved the concept of Further

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<sup>96</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 8 February 2001, Dáil Éireann 28<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 530 No. 2, Adjournment Debate – VTOS funding, <https://www.oireachtas.ie/ga/debates/debate/dail/2001-02-08/19/> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

Education ever since as ‘second chance education’ instils a presumption that there is a failure associated with the pursuit of Further Education to this day. These developments, while situated within the Vocational process were discussed in terms of social and labour activation constructs and discourses. However (VTOS and Traveller Education), were set up to target specific groups in society, and were actually facilitated under European Social Fund constructs negotiated by Mary O’Rourke who expressed her pride in bringing it to fruition (O’Rourke, 2013 pp. 106-107). The discourse may well have appeared to be a social discourse but there was also an equality agenda. The interesting limitation to the progress of the PLC sector particularly was the limit placed on the numbers participating, which also applied to VTOS, Traveller Education, and Back to Education Allowance in what were obvious budget allocation processes.

#### *Statistics and the application of the European Social Fund*

The *Statistical Report from the Department of Education 1987/88*,<sup>97</sup> followed this judgement in *Crotty v An Taoiseach*<sup>98</sup> and it is therefore interesting to note within the report that the section on Secondary (General) Education is stated as also having qualifications to the figures presented: i) some schools did not return the forms and in order to account for this there was some estimation, ii) twelve schools (7 Secondary and 5 Vocational) were returned as being five schools under Community Schools details because they operated a system of common enrolment (it does not say they amalgamated to become Community Schools however), iii) The form asked about specific subjects and “many schools confined their return to the list of subjects printed on the form” (DOE, 1988, p 33). These ambiguities might well have altered the factual information the report was trying to convey. It was very clear in the report that despite the EU advocating that young people learn a European (‘modern continental’) language, a very clear point is made that the vocational schools were not meeting this requirement.<sup>99</sup> An unanswered question arises also in this report in relation to the classification of the number of teachers which included ‘walking principals’ as teachers when in fact ‘walking’ denoted that such principals held an administrative position and did not in fact teach.<sup>100</sup> The effect of such a decision had the potential to distort student

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<sup>97</sup> Department of Education 1987/88, *Statistical Report from the Department of Education 1987/88*, Dublin: Stationery Office < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1987-1988.pdf>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>98</sup> *Crotty v An Taoiseach* [1987] 1 IR 713 S.C.

<sup>99</sup> Department of Education 1987/88, *Statistical Report from the Department of Education 1987/88*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 79 < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1987-1988.pdf>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27

teacher ratios as it potentially showed more teachers teaching, than were actually teaching. The issue of the Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) as Mary O'Rourke outlines was contentious at that time due to a reduction in the PTR and the issue of Circular 20/87 which had drawn the wrath of the teachers' unions in Ireland in 1987 (O'Rourke, pp. 46-47). There is no similar qualification note in relation to the classification of teachers in what was termed 'post-primary schools' but there is a possibility that it did exist.

As already outlined Vocational Preparation and Training (VPT) courses had been introduced and were established by the time the *Statistical Report of the Department of Education 1990*<sup>101</sup> was published, and VPTs became a new classification in relation to the number of students in full-time education. The figures, though, were spread across all sections of the system, secondary, community, comprehensive and vocational<sup>102</sup> which effectively transferred the concept of work-preparation, out of the exclusive realm of Vocational Education where it had been, and dispersed what had been the specialism of vocational education in the process. This was clearly after the SEA had been signed into force, leading to the possibility that the European Social Fund had assisted this process or indeed initiated it. Evidence for this was not freely discernible, as demonstrated in 1994 by the then Minister for Education, Niamh Bhreathnach T.D., who in answer to a question on the manner in which the Social Fund money was allocated, in the Dáil<sup>103</sup> explained that:

*"It would take an inordinate amount of time to carry out an analysis of the proportion of ESF receipts attributable to the budgets of individual institutions. The overall amount of ESF aid generated by programmes funded by my Department since 1985 is as follows:*

1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993*
£m	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m
37.35	42.53	47.04	50.51	53.73	106.78	106.23	136.42	139.48

\*Subject to verification in the claims process which is underway at present."

*Dáil Éireann Debate 24th February 1994*<sup>104</sup>

There had unmistakably been an injection of approximately £40m from 1990 onwards, however, the lack of detail, leaves the application of those extra funds, hard to unambiguously track. Whether they were ever directed to Vocational education as large

<sup>101</sup> Department of Education 1990, *Statistical Report from the Department of Education 1990*, Dublin: Stationery Office, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1990.pdf>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 4

<sup>103</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate 1994, Dáil Éireann Debate 24 February 1994, 27<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 439 No. 4, Written Answers – EU Educational Funding, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1994-02-24/119/>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

portions should have been, cannot be ascertained but this anomaly may well have hidden the contributions made within schemes in secondary education at that time at the expense of Vocational and later Further Education in Ireland.

### **Green, White and Discussion Papers of the 1990s**

This 1990s time period saw a huge emphasis on proposals to change the overall construct of the Irish education system, starting with the publication of the Green Paper by Minister for Education, Seamus Brennan T.D., entitled *Education for a Changing World*,<sup>105</sup>, which did as it said in the title; concentrated on a changing world even though its application was supposedly on the education in Ireland specifically. Emphasising the world view, Mr. Brennan T.D. outlined in the Foreword:

*“Throughout the developed world at present, including the OECD countries there is a widespread consensus on the need for a radical reappraisal of traditional approaches to education policies, to take account of the complexities of modern living and the extension of education to all and for a longer period of life, Ireland cannot stand apart from these developments. .... Certain of the proposals involve radical reform, in order to introduce a spirit of enterprise in our young people and to prepare them for a new world. They are intended to initiate a wide national debate – among education professionals, parents, and all who have a commitment to the quality of education.*

*Education for a Changing World: Green Paper 1992 Foreword*

The paper outlined that discussions and interactions would take place over a six-month period, but the wording above, had the potential to create a blueprint for what would be discussed, and how, but when research is approached in this manner it has a potential to get answers it seeks rather than answers which might realistically come about naturally. Indeed, the report of the INTO response to the process<sup>106</sup> hints that discussions took place around themes given to groups to discuss rather than encouraging organic discussion. This is also illustrated in the synoptic introduction to the Green Paper<sup>107</sup> which appears to have been written after the content had been agreed to. This may well have been written by somebody who was not actually involved in the research process and was included after the process had been concluded to facilitate the process as the inclusion of a specific date for the introduction highlights. In this, the

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<sup>105</sup> “Education for a Changing World’: Green Paper on Education 1992, Dublin: Stationery Office, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Education-for-a-Changing-World-Green-Paper.pdf>> (last accessed 27/12/2019)

<sup>106</sup> Coolahan J. (Ed.) Report on the National Education Convention, Dublin: Stationery Office, 1994 as cited in Walshe J. (1999), *A New Partnership in Education: From Consultation to Legislation in the Nineties*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration

<sup>107</sup> “Education for a Changing World’: Green Paper on Education 1992, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 3-4<<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Education-for-a-Changing-World-Green-Paper.pdf>> (last accessed 28/12/2019)

Green Paper depicts both what is being proposed using a social discourse, and the limitations of the system as it existed, where an economic discourse is applied within which is couched a decentralisation theme. The shortcomings included; disadvantage, life chances, unsuitability of the system, and criticism in relation to technology when ironically Ireland did not have a high incidence of computer ownership or even network capability at the time, European language performance, biased curriculum and examination system, over-centralisation of the system, management skills shortfalls, teacher training, data shortfalls, inadequate, quality structures, and closed structures preventing parents getting involved in the running of the structures.<sup>108</sup> In contrast some other things were required. Students needed to think and solve problems towards an enterprise culture; preparation for life and work in a changing world; adequate preparation for work; elimination of disadvantage; make European citizens of the Nation's young people; provide 'second-chance' education; increase the responsiveness of teachers to change; effectively accept less return on expectations in education; ensure gender equality; allow parents and others in society get involved in education. The list was effectively followed by a 'how to' description with the encouragement of ways in which the goals could be achieved within the system.<sup>109</sup> After School proposals, for paths following compulsory education, were to involve upgrading PLCs and facilitation of progression of "high-achievers, with time credit given where appropriate" and "the thrust of vocational training would be moved towards a dual system, in which employers would play a much greater role".<sup>110</sup>

This Green Paper was chronologically followed by the *Report of the National Education Convention*<sup>111</sup> which was expected to lead to a White Paper after a consultation process. Presented to Seanad by Niamh Bhreathnach, Minister for Education on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1993, this heralded a period of partnership with the Programme for Partnership<sup>112</sup> allowing for stability in the economy and politics, following a period of unrest. The Minister outlined her motivation in launching the National Convention as being to "provide the participants with a major opportunity to influence the Government in formulating future educational policy and in making final

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<sup>108</sup> "Education for a Changing World": Green Paper on Education 1992, Dublin: Stationery Office, pp. 5-6<  
<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Education-for-a-Changing-World-Green-Paper.pdf>> (last accessed 28/12/2019)

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp.3-5

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 15

<sup>111</sup>Coolahan J. (1994) (Ed.) Report on the National Education Convention, Dublin: Stationery Office,

<sup>112</sup> Boyle N, (2005), "FÁS and Active Labour Market Policy 1985-204",< [https://www.tcd.ie/policy-institute/assets/pdf/BP17\\_Boyle\\_FAS.pdf](https://www.tcd.ie/policy-institute/assets/pdf/BP17_Boyle_FAS.pdf)> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

decisions on the White Paper”<sup>113</sup> (Seanad, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1994). Following the Minister’s speech, Senator Cotter was the first to reply and levelled praise at the Minister but did have some tacit criticisms of the proposals for vocational schools and more specifically for employers complaining that young people did not have the skills they needed. Outlining that there was political patronage “rampant in the appointment of teachers in the vocational system”<sup>114</sup> which was resented by teachers, and that the practice would have to be rooted out, to bring in teachers from the voluntary sector, Senator Cotter proceeded to address the issue of job preparation for industrialists saying

*“that is not the task that education is supposed to carry out. The education system should produce students who are capable of coping with adult life in all its intricacies and difficulties. It should assist individuals to recognise their own attributes and deficiencies. It should assist them in developing their intellectual and physical powers to the maximum of their capabilities, and the employers who want an electrician or a bookkeeper will have to train one themselves”*  
**Senator Cotter, Seanad Éireann Debate 10<sup>th</sup> February 1994<sup>115</sup>.**

Cotter highlighted that the examination system and the associated ‘points system’ was opening or closing opportunities for students and had led to an unfair bias towards cramming for examinations, while Senator Farrell compared the system of points to “pony jumping”<sup>116</sup> and an “elimination”<sup>117</sup> system between students. Senator Ormonde along with other Senators on the day, queried the newly proposed ‘intermediate tier’ of management which would relieve the department to develop policy as it did. Perhaps the most direct observation, however, was made by Senator Daly who outlined:

*“our education and training policies needed to be reviewed. The complex and varied systems which are in operation at present must be examined as they tend to confuse the community generally, and even parents, teachers and other educators. The maze of community initiatives in the vocational area, the escalation of post-leaving certificate courses, which indicate that people view third level as being the best prospect for access to a long term education, and the demand which parents are making for an extension of grant aid into that area indicates the necessity to link together more closely the relationship between second level, third level and the area of training and training schemes”*  
**Senator Daly, Seanad Éireann Debate, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1994<sup>118</sup>**

It certainly appeared from the Seanad Debate that all parties realised that the job of education was expansive, and that all parties involved in education, expected the anticipated White Paper to be a revelation which would take on board all the comments

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<sup>113</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate 1994, 20<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 139 No.4, National Education Convention Report: Motion, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1994, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1994-02-10/4/>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate 1994, 20<sup>th</sup> Seanad Vol. 139 No.4, National Education Convention Report: Motion, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1994, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1994-02-10/4/>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

made throughout the consultation phase and which would be incorporated into the next stage.

It is interesting to examine this commentary in light of the European Commission's White Paper "*Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century*"<sup>119</sup> in 1994 which outlined the very things that were being proposed in Ireland's White Paper in 1993. The Commission's White Paper outlined that there had been a process of consultation with all members of the European Community - the individual countries were requested to submit their opinions and they were collectively summarised. Acknowledging there was a feeling of dissatisfaction within the Community at that point, and that the Commission wanted to advocate a push forward with "building a unified Europe which will increase our strength through cooperation and through the benefits of a large area without frontiers of any kind"<sup>120</sup> while not definitively stating that there was a finite end to the European Community in 2002, the original Treaty was limited to fifty years as already outlined in this thesis. The paper, while throughout maintaining a comparison between the USA, Japan and Europe in relation to all resources, motivations to action and measurement of success, clearly outlined in the preamble, that its aim was to "foster debate and to assist decision-making – at decentralized national or Community level"<sup>121</sup> and that "recovery must be achieved by developing work and employment and not be endorsing basically Malthusian solutions".<sup>122</sup> This referred to the Malthusian Theory that population growth exceeds the ability to increase agricultural production to feed the population, resulting in war, famine and other inevitable means of reducing the population.

Against this philosophical stance the paper outlined in Chapter 7, the position of the 'adaptation of education and vocational training systems'<sup>123</sup> and how "Education and training are expected to solve the problems of the competitiveness of businesses, the employment crisis and the tragedy of social exclusion and marginality – in a word they are expected to help society to overcome its present difficulties and to control the

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<sup>119</sup> *Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century - White Paper. Parts A and B. COM (93) 700 final/A and B, 5 December 1993. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/93.* [EU Commission - COM Document] <<http://aei.pitt.edu/1139/>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3

<sup>121</sup> *Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century - White Paper. Parts A and B. COM (93) 700 final/A and B, 5 December 1993. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/93.* [EU Commission - COM Document] <<http://aei.pitt.edu/1139/>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133

profound changes which it is currently undergoing”.<sup>124</sup> Outlining the “dual role played by the system of vocational training”,<sup>125</sup> agreed by the Member States it defines this:

- (i) *Training is an instrument of active labour market policy; it adapts vocational skills to market needs and is therefore a key element in making the labour market more flexible; the training system plays a major role in combating unemployment, making it easier for young people to enter the labour market and promote the re-employment of the long-term unemployed;*
  - (ii) *Investment in human resources is necessary in order to increase competitiveness, and especially in order to make it easier to assimilate and spread new technologies.*
- White Paper European Commission 1994*<sup>126</sup>

Pointing out that the Member states highlighted the need to “promote continuing training in various forms (sandwich and supplementary training, systems of rotation and training leave)”.<sup>127</sup> There appeared to be a certain distancing of blame to the collective Member States rather than to any individual member States specifically. It is intriguing in the process to understand why there is no real ownership within the document for the suggestions and analyses throughout. The paper in general outlines that future economic activity would be aimed at Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). These are defined as those businesses employing less than 500 employees, who would be able to produce future potential growth despite many business closures during the late 1980s. The SMEs were being relied upon to provide services and flexibility rather than large scale industries in the processes of mechanisation and rationalisation. There is a suggestion that people in employment needed to accept a little sacrifice in relation to their jobs in order that “those now deprived of gainful employment”<sup>128</sup> would be “given a real chance”.<sup>129</sup> This possibly hinted at part time work rather than full time active participation in the labour market to ensure that all, in preference to some, could avail of some employment. The SMEs were specifically favoured also as they had the potential to “play a major role in providing young people with their first jobs, thereby being instrumental in the training of the labour force, and they also help to provide productive employment for the less sought-after categories of individuals on the labour market since they recruit disproportionately large numbers of

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<sup>124</sup> *Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century - White Paper. Parts A and B. COM (93) 700 final/A and B, 5 December 1993. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/93. [EU Commission - COM Document]< <http://aei.pitt.edu/1139/>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

young people, women and unskilled workers and operate wage and productivity structures of their own”.<sup>130</sup>

The wording above along with several other expressions in the paper, appear to indicate that there was a keen scepticism of the ability of SMEs to do the job within the limiting constraints of the Community structures. A need to improve managerial skills was identified in order to remedy structural weaknesses of SMEs which it was hoped could be overcome by training, information campaigns and direct advice on aspects of management.<sup>131</sup> It was surprising then that, despite SMEs holding a key to unlocking employment potentiality for young, marginalized and gendered future labour market participants, it certainly appeared they fell short of the ideal solution but were strategically relevant as a conduit for rolling out new structures to the development of a new approach to education and training.<sup>132</sup> It was clear that suggestions aimed to provide market solutions needed including involvement of businesses in the work of vocational training systems, allocate monies to training measures, potentially reducing training delays in filling gaps particularly for the long-term unemployed and for young people entering the labour market without skills. Training credits or training vouchers were also suggested to increase flexibility in the management of education systems, and to increase mobility of teachers, students and others within Europe. The stage was clearly being set for the new European Union (EU) structures on education and training and within that, a reassessment of the function of vocational education. Still the definition or actual concept of Further Education in Ireland had not been attempted and yet the language and narrative appeared to be one of post-compulsory education.

### **The Emergence of Further Education**

The UK *Further Education Act 1992* became law in 1993, and Section 11(3) of the Act defined further education as:

“a) full-time and part-time education suitable to the requirements of persons over compulsory school age (including vocational, social, physical and recreational training); and  
b) organised leisure-time occupation provided in connection with the provision of such education.”

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<sup>130</sup> *Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century - White Paper. Parts A and B. COM (93) 700 final/A and B, 5 December 1993. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/93. [EU Commission - COM Document]< <http://aei.pitt.edu/1139/>> (last accessed 30/12/2019) p. 85*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137

This Act clearly stated that in Britain, Further Education, included the concept of vocational, although it is not obvious whether this vocational relates to vocational education or vocational training as the whole sentence in point a) above, could be interpreted as meaning. The Act also went on to say precisely what further education **was not**, in respect of which it said, that ‘further education’ “*does not include higher education or secondary education*”.<sup>134</sup> Later, in Section 14 of the Act, it clearly delineated between secondary pupils and further education pupils.<sup>135</sup> This effectively expanded the division between Irish Vocational Education and Further Education as practiced in the UK in so far as there was now a category of Further Education which was separate to both secondary and tertiary education. The Act however was crafted with the intention of removing vocational education from the local authority remit within which it had been created in the 1800s (Cedefop, 1992 p.44). It was envisaged in Britain that Further Education would be carried out by bodies corporate, and would then be run more like businesses than educational institutions. The intention appeared, also, that academic and vocational qualifications would be held in equal esteem and it was intended to be centred on the way in which accreditation could be combined and extended (Cedefop, p. 61). The Cedefop document also outlined work done by SCOTVEC (the Scottish Vocational Education Council in relation to different elements of vocational partnership methodology outlining that there were several;

- *The 'shared delivery' model, in which the college and the employer's personnel each have their own distinct areas of responsibility within a jointly-planned training programme;*
- *The 'contracted-out' model, in which the employer contracts the college to deliver a pre-defined programme;*
- *The 'umbrella' model, in which the college coordinates a programme involving a number of different employers or places of work;*
- *the 'flexible training' model, in which the college provides support for open learning and work-based learning;*
- *The 'college as industry training centre' model, in which the college acts as the training centre for a particular employer or industrial organisation.*

*‘Vocational education and training in the United Kingdom’, Cedefop, 1992, p.69*

<sup>133</sup> Further and Higher Education Act 1992 <<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1992/13/section/11/enacted> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., subsection 4

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., Section 14

There was clearly a logical thought-out approach in Scotland where, what was intended appeared to have been analysed with forethought, and while Britain's position was a little less succinct in its outline, it also appeared to have received some forethought.

In contrast, the search to pinpoint where Further Education actually originated in Ireland, emanates from Ireland's *Education Act 1998*,<sup>136</sup> and is complicated to say the least. The Education Act 1998 described itself, in its preamble as "an Act to provide ... generally for primary, post-primary, adult and continuing education and vocational education and training....".<sup>137</sup> Within the Act the concept of adult education was referred to in Section 6 (d) where one of the described objects of the Act was "to promote opportunities for adults, in particular adults who as children did not avail of or benefit from education in schools, to avail of educational opportunities through adult and continuing education".<sup>138</sup> What then became evident, was a coupling of 'continuing' and 'adult education' but they were both still referred to separately as there was still the specific word 'and' in the wording, rather than 'or'. This coupling however, has been used, since first addressed in the Green Paper, both to associate Adult Education with continuing education at the expense of the original concept of continuation education, and to deduce that there is an element of 'second chance' education to both 'continuation' education, in the guise of vocational, and adult education, that is not work-based. This, in itself allows for generic presumptions to guide the work of many in the areas of adult, community and vocational education. There may even be a semblance of this blending being beneficial for those who need those boundaries, between all the concepts, to remain opaque, allowing funding to be cumulative rather than specific, sharply targeted and siloed.

Following the *Education Act 1998* the attempt to agree an all-encompassing definition of Further Education becomes, to say the least, very complicated and interwoven. The government published its *Green Paper on Adult Education: Adult Education in an Era of Lifelong Learning*.<sup>139</sup> In the foreword of the *Green Paper on Adult Education: Adult Education in an Era of Lifelong Learning*, Willie O'Dea, the then Minister for

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<sup>136</sup> Education Act, 1998, No. 51, 1998 < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1998/act/51/enacted/en/html>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., Preamble < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1998/act/51/enacted/en/print#sec6>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., Section 6

<sup>139</sup> Department of Education and Science, 1998, Green Paper: Adult Education in an Era of Learning, November 1998, Department of Education and Science, Dublin: Stationery Office < [http://www.onestepup.ie/assets/files/pdf/green\\_paper\\_on\\_adult\\_education\\_1998.pdf](http://www.onestepup.ie/assets/files/pdf/green_paper_on_adult_education_1998.pdf)> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

Education, or more specifically the Minister for Education and Science (DES) as the title had been changed in 1997 by *Statutory Instrument 430/1997*,<sup>140</sup> described the paper as, “a blueprint for the future development and expansion of adult education for a strengthened focus on access, quality, flexibility and responsiveness, and for the establishment of national and local structures which will help provide a coordinated and integrated approach”.<sup>141</sup> In the Executive Summary of the later *White Paper on Adult Education: Learning for Life July 2000* there is no doubt that there was a ‘coupling process’ when it defined adult education as “systematic learning undertaken by adults who return to learning having concluded initial education or training”.<sup>142</sup> Expanding further it states; “As such, it includes aspects of further and third-level education, continuing education and training, community education, and other systematic deliberate learning by adults, both formal and informal”.<sup>143</sup> In doing this however the White Paper accentuates further confusion by effectively distancing itself from the earlier 1998 *Green Paper on Adult Education: Adult Education in an Era of Lifelong Learning* which used “the definition of Adult Education used in the earlier *Report of the Kenny Commission on Adult Education (1984) Lifelong Learning*”.<sup>144</sup>

*"Adult Education includes all systematic learning by adults which contributes to their development as individuals and as members of the community and of society, apart from full-time instruction received by persons as part of their uninterrupted initial education and training. It may be formal education which takes place in institutions e.g. training centres, schools, colleges, institutes and universities, or non-formal education which is any other systematic form of learning including self-directed learning. "*

*Report of the Kenny Commission on Adult Education: Lifelong Learning (1984, p9)*<sup>145</sup>

It is therefore, finally within the *White Paper on Adult Education: Learning for Life, July 2000*, that the first official ‘mention’ of the concept of Further Education is made in any formal sense. This was in sharp contrast to ‘*Charting our Education Future: White Paper on Education*’,<sup>146</sup> launched by Niamh Bhreathnach Minister for Education, in April 1995, which described itself as a ‘policy framework’,<sup>147</sup> had a full

<sup>140</sup> Statutory Instrument 430/1997, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1997/si/430/made/en/print>> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Department of Education and Science, 2000, *White Paper on Adult Education – Learning for Life July 2000*, November 1998, Department of Education and Science, Dublin: Stationery Office, p 12 (italics in original),> [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/fe\\_aduled\\_wp.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/fe_aduled_wp.pdf)> (last accessed 30/1/2019)

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> *Report of the Kenny Commission on Adult Education: 'Lifelong Learning', (1984)*, Dublin: Stationery Office

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, p. 9

<sup>146</sup> Department of Education and Science (1995), *Charting our Education Future: White Paper on Education*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 4

section of Further Education where in 24 pages it described the background of the numbers who have not completed ‘upper second level’ or ‘lower second level, difficulties in combining ‘earning and learning’, existing supports and infrastructure, the considerations in shaping a programme of Second Chance and Further Education, but failed to actually define in any precise terms what Further Education actually is . Even at that stage there appeared to be a mismatch between other terms used such as ‘upper secondary’ and ‘lower secondary’ which had not existed in isolation from the overall description of ‘secondary’ before that.

It was not until the *Qualifications (Education and Training) Act 1999*, that the first reference to a definition of what further education and training actually was. Even that was sufficiently obtuse as to be almost non-existent, when it said that the Authority which was set up under that Act would determine it by means of the level of “knowledge, skill or competence to be acquired by the learner” or that “it would not be lower than the NCVA (*National Council for Vocational Awards*) level which decided the matter before the date of the coming into effect of that 1999 Act”.<sup>148</sup> Effectively the quality overseer would decide the standard when they saw it rather than determine if the standard set was being met. Whether it was deliberately chosen not to define Further Education at that stage is something which might have been asked at that time, certainly it appears strange that a new term being brought into effect was done without some adequate and definitive definition of what that term referred to.

The White Paper undertook to address “itself to the policy framework that can best embrace the diverse and multiple requirements for educational action in the future” outlining in the process that “(T)he need for and importance of such a framework are widely accepted. In setting out a framework, it is important to provide a philosophical rationale which, far from being merely a theoretical or ceremonial exercise, systematically informs policy formulation and educational practice” (p.4). However, in this attempted policy framework, the paper effectively reworks Ireland’s Constitutional provisions on education in favour of an extended statement on the concept of the need for education: “*Living a full life requires knowledge and skills appropriate to age, environment, and social and economic roles, as well as the ability to function in a world of increasing complexity and to adapt to continuously changing*

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<sup>148</sup> *Qualifications (Education and Training) Act 1999, Number 26 of 1999*, <<http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1999/act/26/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

*circumstances without sacrificing personal integrity. This requires the development of a sense of individual responsibility to oneself and to the different dimensions of community – to the family, to local and work communities, to the State, and to the European Union. It entails the full, holistic and lifelong development of the person. The policy-making framework should embrace the intellectual and cultural heritage of the past – the knowledge, beliefs, values and traditions transformed and transmitted through succeeding generations” (White Paper, Charting our Education Future, 1995 p.8)*

Amazingly the *White Paper, Charting our Education Future* discussion of the policy framework, quoted Article 42.1 of Ireland’s Constitution (Bunreacht Na hÉireann),<sup>149</sup> but did so in a manner which allowed it to effectively restate what it chose to apply to it in terms of an explanation and in the process, uses it to outline a new reality. Describing that there is a stated inalienable right and duty of parents as directly stated in Bunreacht na hÉireann, it explains that “the role of the family in the child’s development remains central up to and into adulthood”<sup>150</sup> this is not what is said in the Constitution as it specifies that it is the Family that is the primary and natural educator of the child.

The right and duty of parents to *provide for* their child’s education is transposed to a role they have *in* their children’s education. In fact, the second two paragraphs quoted from the White Paper actually appear to re-write the rights of parents to be active *in* the schools of their children. The White Paper, does not for instance, mention the child’s siblings. It appears to involve parents, not the whole family as provided for in the Constitution. In addition, the wording does not actually take account of the child’s rights to also be included as part of that constitutional ‘Family’ which has traditionally included the wider family of grandparents, aunts, uncles and so on. This lack of insight into the nuances which mattered specifically to children and families is illustrative of the manner in which the White Paper was perceived by many to be instrumental when in fact it may well have been divisive in relation to education in general and appeared to create a distance between teachers and the taught which in the document also

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<sup>149</sup> Bunreacht Na hÉireann: Constitution of Ireland, Dublin: Stationery Office, [http://www.supremecourt.ie/supremecourt/sclibrary3.nsf/\(WebFiles\)/28CD6947F5021BCB802580A6005D1F09/\\$FILE/Constitution%20of%20Ireland.pdf](http://www.supremecourt.ie/supremecourt/sclibrary3.nsf/(WebFiles)/28CD6947F5021BCB802580A6005D1F09/$FILE/Constitution%20of%20Ireland.pdf) > (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>150</sup> Department of Education and Science (1995), *Charting our Education Future: White Paper on Education*, Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 11

included vocational educational education as it still straddled the age cohort 17 - 70+ which included those still officially deemed to be children (17 – 18 years).

*The 1990s – a new decade globally*

The end of the 1990s, constituted a time of expansion of the European Community. A careful path was also being laid towards making the concept of a European Union (EU), a reality. The Amsterdam Treaty came into being in 1999,<sup>151</sup> in advance of the largest increase in membership of the European Community when it was proposed that ten new countries, Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, were about to join the EC, which would then become the EU. It followed a path which had proven successful under the Single European Act insofar as the new Treaty appeared to be an effective ‘tidying up’ of various treaties and agreements which had been incorporated into the European process to that date. To all intents, it was the creation of a new blueprint for how the new member countries would understand the concept of the European Union. Effectively Ireland had joined the EEC which then became the EC.

Also in the 1990s, the Maastricht Treaty<sup>152</sup> had created three pillars: the European Communities, the common foreign and security policy (CFSP), as outlined in Title VI of the Treaty, and cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs (JHI) under Titles V and VI<sup>153</sup> (European Parliament, 2019) . However within its wording the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty increased the community methods in relation to things like “asylum, immigration and crossing external borders, combating fraud, customs cooperation and judicial cooperation in civil matters” (European Parliament, 2019), and was in general more an expansion of the processes of union formation. A new instrument was created in the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and a new structure called the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit (PPEWU), was established (European Parliament, 2019). An amalgam of the council and parliament was authorised to co-legislate by qualified majority, rather than absolute majority, with the exception of cultural policy. A further facility was incorporated to allow some member states to create their own co-operation processes, albeit with oversight built in. It set a

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<sup>151</sup> Treaty of Amsterdam 1997, < <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/treaty-of-amsterdam>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>152</sup> The Treaty on European Union, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992, < [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf)> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>153</sup> The Treaty on European Union, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992, < [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf)> (last accessed 31/12/2019) pp. 22-44

limit of 700 members of the European Parliament, removed obsolete provisions which had already existed and were now defunct, and in the area of education, the Treaty called for greater cooperation in relation to the concept of life-long learning by way of employment measures, co-ordination and pilot projects. Article 117 which outlined that in relation to fundamental rights as set out in Turin in 1961 and later still in the Community Charter of the Fundamental Rights of Workers, the Council would implement measures to create dialogue, harmonisation, social protection and dialogue between management and labour, the development of human resources with a view to maintaining lasting high employment and reducing the effects and practice of exclusion. The EU would envisage an agreement that when drafting and implementing European Union policies the concepts of fundamental rights would be high on the agenda, annual reports would be produced and each government would provide annual reports on their activities and make those reports available to EU leaders for consideration and would, in addition, provide to those EU leaders, annually, information on what actions had been taken towards a high level of employment.<sup>154</sup>

Member States were, under Article 109, required to: a) develop a coordinated strategy for employment and particularly for promoting a skilled, trained and adaptable workforce and labour market responsive to economic change, b) promote employment as a matter of common concern, c) contribute to a high level of employment by encouraging cooperation between Member States and by supporting, and, if necessary, complementing each other's actions, d) follow guidelines set by the European Commission in relation to employment. Article 118 called for coordination of member state action in all social policy fields particularly in matters relating to employment, labour laws and working conditions, basic and advanced vocational training, social security, prevention of occupational accidents and diseases, occupational hygiene, and the right of association and collective bargaining between employers and workers. What is of significance in these considerations is the fact that what is being referred to, is not vocational education, but vocational training. More importantly human capital/human resources are very much the preferred titles used in relation to the

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<sup>154</sup> < [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf) > (last accessed 31/12/2019) pp. 22-44

significant direction of the Commission within the concerted actions of the Member States.<sup>155</sup>

A changing focus from vocational education to training appeared to fit better into the social interaction agenda which would include the newer member states. Why this might happen in this manner could well have several explanations. Perhaps it is easier to amalgamate systems without the full and complex ideologies of a member state's education agenda, history and peculiarities, or because there was a need not to commit to extensive costs as would be required in the case of an explicitly educational agenda.

There seemed to be an ideology developing of enabling those who were unable to pay their share to be facilitated in acquiring the means to do so. This might even be the perceived best way to quell potential conflict over low wages and in the process ensure a vast supply of labour with market forces of supply and demand consequentially lowering wages, as well as creating a bigger pool of potential replacement workers. If one were to take a purely neoliberal view, the latter suggestion, may be a logical conclusion, though in the process of accepting this as a likely explanation, one would be assuming that power was effectively being wrested from the labour supply in favour of those who would make the commercial preferences to allow that to happen. Whichever option is accepted, the reality was, that the agenda was being set, in relation to lifelong learning within an employment umbrella for subsequent action by existing and new member states.

Ireland had at this stage already started to incorporate a work element into some courses pursued by students within secondary and vocational schools. 1995 saw the introduction at second level of Leaving Certificate Applied which is a two-year leaving certificate course, that includes work experience or work simulation so that students can avail of a working experience before they are actually looking for work in the market.<sup>156</sup> Those following the LCA Programme could not qualify for direct entry to University which fact has supported indirectly the notion that those who undertake the LCA are less academically able and while it has not facilitated, segregation, then possibly marginalisation in Irish education. In tandem with the development of the

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<sup>155</sup> The Treaty on European Union, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992, < [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf)> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>156</sup> Leaving Certificate Applied Programme, < [https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Curriculum-and-Syllabus/Senior-Cycle/Syllabuses-and-Guidelines/lca\\_programme\\_statement.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Curriculum-and-Syllabus/Senior-Cycle/Syllabuses-and-Guidelines/lca_programme_statement.pdf)> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

LCA, the Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme (LCVP) was introduced in 1994 which included two elective modules called linked modules which were preparation for the world of work and enterprise education which facilitated the learning of work concepts in relation to some chosen subjects, but also satisfied the requirement to advance to university.<sup>157</sup> Currently the link modules still require a portfolio of learning to be prepared but do not actually require the student to engage in work itself. Students taking the LCVP sit the same examinations as students following the traditional Leaving Certificate and earn points based on examination outcomes as is done in the traditional Leaving Certificate programme. In this way there had already been a move towards ensuring that young people in Ireland had a concept of the world of work within education, but this new conceptual basis introduced in the Treaty of Amsterdam was specifically training, rather than education, and consequently Transition Year, LCA or LCVP would not fit within those parameters.

It is interesting that during the 1990s when the Minister for Education Mary O'Rourke was seen according to Walshe, 'as a catalyst for change', there was a Green paper and a White paper (albeit a second version according to Walshe, 1999, p.7) and indeed two Education Bills (No. 1 and No. 2) before the Education Act 1998 was eventually passed. Walshe outlines a change in government but asserts that the fundamentals of Mary O'Rourke's proposals for education formed the basis of the Green Paper as 'it was she who prepared the initial draft' (Walshe, 1999 p.7). In hindsight it appears that notwithstanding a change of Ministerial responsibility occasioned by a change in government at the time, that until the final version of the Treaty of Amsterdam was passed, nothing which was intended to relate to education could be finalised, as to do so might alter the eventual outcome of the envisaged changes under that Treaty. Of more interest perhaps, is the introduction of the Education Bill (No. 2) delivered by Micheál Martin Minister for Education and Science in the Seanad on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1998 when he outlined:

*"The essential purpose of the Bill is to provide a statutory underpinning for the education system at first and second levels and at the same time to set out clearly the rights, roles and responsibilities of all those involved in the education system. .... Against the background of an education system which has operated without any statutory basis and which is by any measure an outstanding success the most obvious question is why the Oireachtas should now seek to legislate for it. The answer lies in the increasing complexity of the education system against*

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<sup>157</sup> Leaving Certificate Applied Programme, < [https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Curriculum-and-Syllabus/Senior-Cycle-/Syllabuses-and-Guidelines/lca\\_programme\\_statement.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Curriculum-and-Syllabus/Senior-Cycle-/Syllabuses-and-Guidelines/lca_programme_statement.pdf)> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

*the background of constantly changing economic and social circumstances. .... The Bill gives statutory recognition to the patrons of schools who normally establish schools out of a desire to educate students in a particular tradition and environment. The Bill uses the term “characteristic spirit” to capture those concepts, which may encompass cultural, educational, moral, religious, social, linguistic and spiritual values and which inform and are characteristic of the objectives and conduct of the school.”*

*Seanad Éireann Seanad Debate, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1998<sup>158</sup>*

Minister Martin (also a former teacher) outlined that the Act was necessary as “the structural administration of the current education system at first level derives from a letter written in 1831 by the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Stanley, to the Duke of Leinster, .... much has changed since then. The Partners in education, and particularly the parents, wish to see their role in the education system, and their involvement with the education of their children, given formal recognition”.<sup>159</sup> The Bill had been originally presented to the Dáil on 4<sup>th</sup> November,<sup>160</sup> and, in that debate, there had been some questioning around the concept of ‘characteristic spirit’, as a phrase used in the Bill and led to debate on its exact meaning. It certainly appears that the Minister, by the time the bill was presented to the Seanad, was better prepared to quietly skip over this notion (which actually related to ethics and patronage), without too much debate in the Seanad. Of interest also in that Dáil debate on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1998 is the statement of Minister Martin that if he could get the notion of a teaching council passed it would be a big achievement, as if the notion held further meaning than appeared from the Bill.<sup>161</sup> The agreed Education Act 1998 was passed on 14<sup>th</sup> December 1998 and certainly appeared to put an effectively negotiated focus on what Ireland’s education system would tackle going forward: special needs, disadvantaged students, stakeholder involvement, refusal to sanction league tables of schools in any guise, schools were to present 5 year plans rather than reports, (this was argued in the Dáil),<sup>162</sup> rejection of regional education boards which had not been successful in England. Yet it did not refer in detail to Vocational Education as there was a white paper expected on adult education. Senator McDonagh in the Seanad Debate on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1998, expressed his disappointment at what he described as “an anaemic attempt at reforming the education system. The Bill is timed to make valid

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<sup>158</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1998, 21<sup>st</sup> Seanad Vol. 157 No.4, Education (No. 2) Bill, 1997: Second Stage, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1998-11-18/7/>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1998, Dáil Éireann 28<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 496 No.1, Education (No.2) Bill, 1997: Report Stage (Resumed), < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1998-11-04/23/>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

retrospectively many of the regulations on which the education system is based rather than being a blueprint for the future”.<sup>163</sup> Senator McDonagh also aimed his criticism “at the scant reference to vocational education committees”,<sup>164</sup> and referred to the awaited white paper, which he said would deal with vocational education committees and adult education boards in anticipation of the distinction between VECs and Adult Education Boards. Senator Costello made the observation that it might be a consolidation Bill but it was not comprehensive which he felt it should have been.<sup>165</sup>

The subsequent White Paper mentioned in the above debate; *Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education*,<sup>166</sup> was published in July 2000 and presented by Willie O’Dea who had replaced Micheál Martin in the role of Minister for Education and Science. As already outlined in this thesis, both it, and the prior Green Paper; *Adult Education in an Era of Learning*,<sup>167</sup> November 1998, very certainly took the lifelong learning agenda of the Treaty of Amsterdam to be the focus of education going forward and in doing so appeared to just plaster over the cracks that might have presented themselves within the existing education framework. Definitely, in Ireland, Government Ministers appeared anxious to create a good impression of consulting with all stakeholders which resulted in what might be portrayed as a great forward-thinking policy devised by the Government, when in fact it had already been outlined as the policy of the European Union.

Of perhaps more significance to those working in PLC colleges with VTOS, BTEA, BTEI (which was a part-time option for the unemployed), and Traveller Education, was the eventual publication of what was known as, *The McIver Report 2002*,<sup>168</sup> which discussed Further Education in detail and posited possibilities of extending the concept. McIver Consulting were commissioned to carry out “extensive research and consultations” on PLCs and prepare a report on behalf of a steering group established by the Department of Education and Science (McIver, 2002, p.2). The report

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<sup>163</sup> Seanad Éireann Debate, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1998, 21<sup>st</sup> Seanad Vol. 157 No.4, Education (No. 2) Bill, 1997: Second Stage, < <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1998-11-18/7/>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Department of Education and Science, 2000, White Paper on Adult Education – Learning for Life July 2000, November 1998, Department of Education and Science, Dublin: Stationery Office, p 12 (italics in original),> [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/fe\\_aduled\\_wp.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/fe_aduled_wp.pdf)> (last accessed 30/1/2019)

<sup>167</sup> Department of Education and Science, 1998, Green Paper: Adult Education in an Era of Learning, November 1998, Department of Education and Science, Dublin: Stationery Office> [http://www.onestepup.ie/assets/files/pdf/green\\_paper\\_on\\_adult\\_education\\_1998.pdf](http://www.onestepup.ie/assets/files/pdf/green_paper_on_adult_education_1998.pdf)> (last accessed 30/12/2019)

<sup>168</sup> *Interim Report of the Steering Group to the PLC Review Established by the Department of Education and Science*, Dublin: McIver Consulting

recommended both organisational changes and changes to programmes and processes in PLCs. Without a doubt, in relation to the organisational changes it recommended, The *McIver Report* appeared to be well versed in the new European Union (Post Amsterdam Treaty) agenda:

*“In the main, PLC colleges provide courses to full time students, who study for a standard academic year. If they are to contribute properly to the development of lifelong learning into the future, and if they are to contribute to industrial development by providing courses to industry, they will have to change quite significantly. They will have to devote significant resources to understanding industry and social needs. They will have to respond to this understanding by delivering courses at times that suit industry and part-time students.*

*This will require an increase in management and administrative resources, and an increased professionalization of college managers as managers. It will also require a major increase in flexibility among teachers. More broadly, it will mean that each college will require access to outside expertise more frequently, and must become more networked with external bodies. It also means that development of academic and non-academic staff will become progressively more important”*

*McIver (2002),<sup>169</sup> p.7*

The report recommended a separate identity and status of the sector and in doing so outlined that the “Department of Education and Science should establish further education formally as a distinct sector of education with a key element of that sector being post second level provision in a number of settings”.<sup>170</sup> The rationale for such a suggestion was a very marked recognition that the PLC provision was different from second level provision and the “resources and organizational approaches required to service those needs, are very different to those of second level and should be addressed separately”.<sup>171</sup> There was also a recommendation that the terminology of ‘PLC college’ should be changed to ‘College of Further Education’, the rationale being that a good number of students did not actually have a Leaving Certificate and in that regard the Post Leaving Course was effectively a misnomer. In this suggestion, the report acknowledged that many colleges of PLC origin had started to use the suggested College of Further Education as was used in Northern Ireland and Britain “for colleges with a role broadly comparable to that of PLC colleges”.<sup>172</sup> In this then there is a certain recognition that the ‘sector’ had been self-evolving using other legally established constructs in Britain and Northern Ireland and had thereby developed its own parallel identity. There was recognition that unifying adult education with FE provision could

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<sup>169</sup>Ibid., p. 7

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 9

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> *Interim Report of the Steering Group to the PLC Review Established by the Department of Education and Science*, Dublin: McIver Consulting p. 11

prove problematic and should be decided upon by the school itself and in this there is a recognition that the concepts of FE and adult education were not one and the same.<sup>173</sup>

There were also recommendations which caused immediate industrial relations reactions, such as the provision of twilight, evening, weekend and off-peak times for courses, access for lifelong learning and for employer access and indeed the modularisation of courses to allow for flexible delivery. Integrating with employers and international organisations and indeed the division of FE and VECs, was recommended to be based on a written policy framework, allowing the colleges implement more flexibility and freedom to do what they were already doing.<sup>174</sup> One overlooked potential within this suggestion, was the fact that VECs had effectively part-funded their own colleges and resources which was not quite the same arrangement in second level schools, as already seen. Thus the people themselves, actually had part ownership of VECs through the historical local rates set-up. Detail of management structures and resource allocations were posited in the newly suggested FE settings and these were honed in on by overworked and under resourced teachers through their unions and are still to this day being debated in staffrooms without resolution.

### ***Chapter Summation***

The period 1972-2000 saw massive structural changes as Ireland badgered for inclusion within the structures of a new emerging Europe. Protection from communism was sold in the earlier decades as a strong and emotive threat and posited as reason to combine and face this perceived acrimonious threat to all the nations of Europe. Membership, among the rebuilding process was possibly Ireland's best option to advance from the perception of being a non-entity which it had endured for several centuries. However, this ambition required Ireland to make many changes.

Once again Ireland had to conform, albeit within a group rather than having the focus directed on its people in isolation. Culture drove change in education but the difference in this period was that absence of any religion was encouraged through non-partisan structures. Additionally in the case of language, bilingualism was preferred so that seamless transition of multiple nations could be facilitated, however, in the case of the Irish language this was not beneficial as Irish was not an official language of the EC.

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 13

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 46

The overall policy director, in control of the policy reins was now the EC with the longer term goal of total integration within a European Union during a short finite time before the lapse of the 50-year Paris Treaty on the formation of the original EEC.

Structures were prepared, including statistical analysis of existing systems without consultation on the very important nuances which existed in Irish education that had already affected distinguishable cohorts in education. This preparation phase, which was in turn interrupted by political changes, also led to a palpable lapse in action particularly on vocational education, which latterly in this epoch looked like it was being geared towards embracing a Further Education identity, but without clear internal policy processes driven by Irish Ministers. Instead it appeared that the Ministers were waiting to be shown what their policies could embrace.

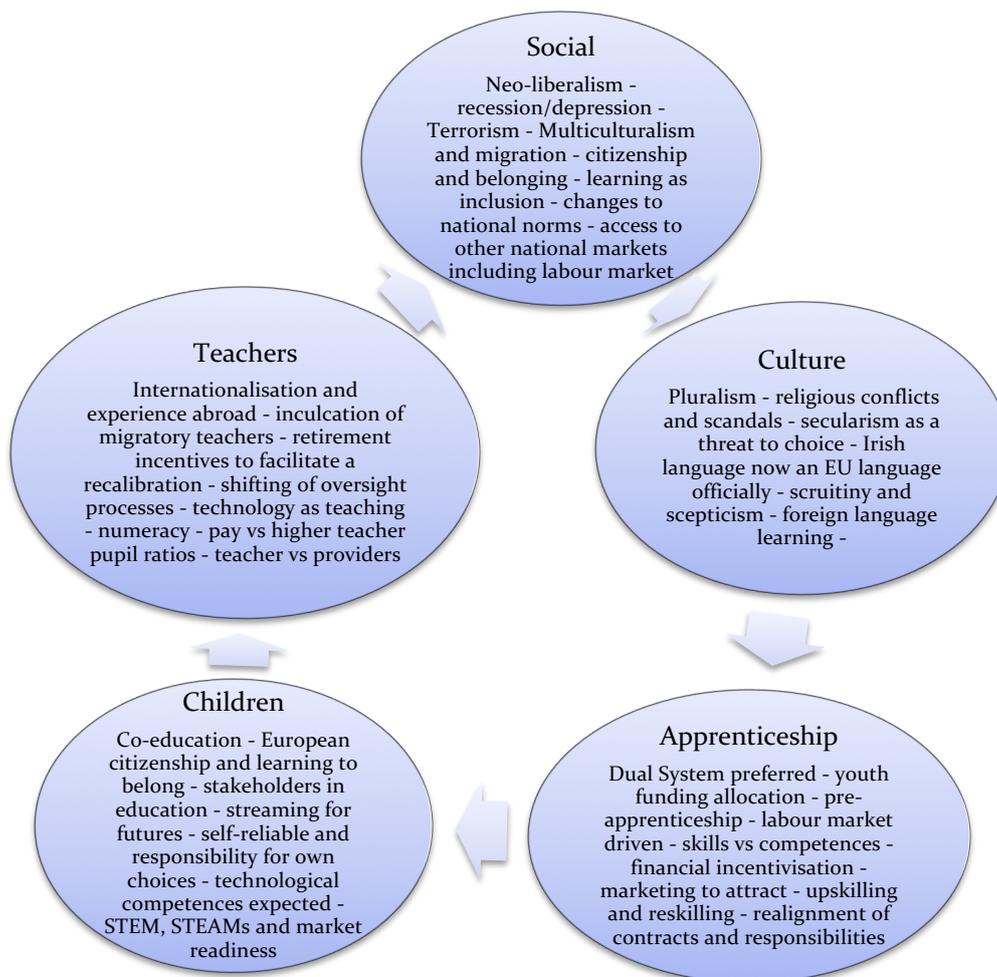


Figure 21 Components of Irish Education 1972 - 2000

The components of education, were still clearly distinguishable under the five categorisations of social, cultural, apprenticeship, children, and teachers. However these were internally altered with a goal of integration, and were clearly driven by the new policy directors, albeit one which Ireland itself had sought out by virtue of its EC membership goal. Another significant factor in this period was the exposure of many instances of corruption, abuse and cruelty within Ireland's cultural history which contributed to a diminution of national pride and respect for many social structures which had bound people to a notion of statehood and effectively gave Europe a 'clean slate' to bring about conformity in line with other European counties. This left a void which European accession appeared only too willing to fill.

Teachers continued to be excluded from influence over their own career destinies and were expected to adjust their curricula to include education in and about Europe. Travel was supported by funding so that teachers could be exposed to the methods employed in other countries within Europe. Providing, firstly VPT1 then VPT2 and finally Post Leaving Certificate, created a category of education for students who were in danger of leaving education at a young age. This process, along with the introduction of the Transition Year programme also facilitated a change in school leaving age without actually legally providing for this, instead the young people were being offered something to do that would extend their leaving age but the choice to stay on was not without expense as we saw in this chapter. The support of the ESF assisted this move and it also provided work for teachers during a very severe depression, cushioning Ireland's exposure to potential financial ruin in the process.

Students were now immersed in a new project of European citizenship and learning to belong. For Future Education as also in schools, this was framed in terms of the technological competences, market readiness and the centrality of STEM and STEAM subject areas, as well as an emphasis on learners as self-reliable and responsible for their own choices.

Apprenticeship continued to satisfy the creation of convenient cheap labour to the entities which were supporting the changing social structures in Ireland and embraced more contractual differences from previous iterations of apprenticeship. This was done under new organizational entities whose connection to Irish education was at a remove and that remove facilitated a purposeful training focus, which did not have to

countenance teaching unions, budgetary constraints or the hierarchical positions which existed in an educational sphere. This also allowed for a purely training dimension which has now been reconnected to Further Education to create the new Further Education and Training (FET) sector in what might be identified with a 'division to create diversion' process.

In this epoch, the building blocks of belonging and nationalism were torn down for rebuilding as part of the European Union brand. Once again an opportunity existed to restructure the concept of Further Education in Ireland, certainly along the lines used in Britain which defined the concept, particularly in regard to the focus on creating a community of practice, a bounded entity and more particularly, a bounded entity recognisable as such, which could then be integrated and reimagined using the existing structures as the basis for such a move. However, the lack of a recognisable, structure disregarded the need to adjust the process so that statistically, the process was hard to control and more relevantly, hard to mesh with others in a logical way.

Throughout this period 1972-2000 there was a clear blending of educational systems across Europe, and within Ireland we adopted the creation of schemes which were socially driven but were incorporated into the Further Education landscape through the vestiges of the vocational education structures specifically, leading to further dilution of any semblance of identity. As a theme this continued to undermine an unstable structure and was further complicated by competition for budgets and movement towards the Union of Europe with competing diverse contributors to the process. Lack of clear structures colluded to expose inefficiency rather than celebrate it, but change which might have actually rectified the issues, was neither recognised nor actioned.

## Chapter 8 – Another Century – a different Europe (2000- 2020)

### ***Chapter Introduction***

This chapter examines developments in Ireland within the new European framework which saw changes in treaties as a conduit for change in the way in which education was to be funded to ensure that labour and youth were to prepare for work as part of engagement as contributing European citizens. This was part of a broader political project of the European Union which endeavored to create unified policies, legislative structures and ways of working to guide national policy levels. The chapter looks at how Ireland interpreted those concepts and exposes how political, or dominant education parties interpreted and facilitated the changes by altering the educational structures.

This resulted in a reimagining of the landscape of vocational education which had been overseen by locally controlled entities and created a chasm between those local interests in a process that once again required vocational education, now under the remit of Education and Training Boards to embrace a new position in the education landscape in Ireland.

### **The Amsterdam Treaty as a conduit towards a European Union**

The concept of the creation of a European Union was realised within the *Treaty of Amsterdam amending the treaty on European Union, the treaties establishing The European Communities and certain related acts* (97/c 340/01). Article 2 of the Treaty of Amsterdam outlined the essence of what was envisaged by the creation of the Treaty:

*“The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and an economic and monetary union and by implementing common policies or activities referred to in Articles 3 and 3a, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of economic activities, a high level of employment and of social protection, equality between men and women, sustainable and non-inflationary growth, a high degree of competitiveness and convergence of economic performance, a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment, the raising of the standard of living and quality of life, and economic and social cohesion and solidarity among Member States.”*

*Article 2 Treaty of Amsterdam<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing The European Communities and Certain Related Acts 1997, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

The stated aims of the Treaty in relation to creating a community were outlined as:

- promote economic and social progress, a high level of employment and balanced and sustainable development;
- assert the EU's identity on the international stage;
- strengthen the rights and interests of EU nationals;
- maintain and develop the EU as an area of freedom, security and justice;
- maintain and develop the corpus of EU law (known as the *acquis communautaire*)

(Treaty of Amsterdam)<sup>2</sup>

Cooperation became a fundamental part of the process of aligning Member States within the European Union. Policies were aligned to create the concept of a Union of all states rather than individual States bound by mutually acceptable multilateral agreements. What was required now was that Member States would accept their full commitment to the concept of the Union and would follow common strategies on social policies, legislative instruments, and overall co-operate to create and implement a unity of Member States which would in effect create a more tightly bound single entity called the European Union. Interestingly however, the Amsterdam Treaty was a parts-based treaty rather than a single treaty and therein lay some complications. It adjusted those treaties which already existed and, in the process, it re-numbered the Treaty articles.<sup>3</sup> In taking this approach it also effectively retained some close allegiances of some Member States such as the BENELUX countries who had started the European journey in the first place.<sup>4</sup> The Union was to pursue its aims by:

- “defining the principles of and general guidelines for the common foreign and security policy;
- Deciding on common strategies;
- Adopting joint actions;
- Adopting common positions;
- Strengthening systematic cooperation between Member States in the conduct of policy”.

*Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997*<sup>5</sup>

As the European Community effectively morphed, along with additional new members,

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<sup>2</sup> Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing The European Communities and Certain Related Acts 1997, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf>> (last accessed 31/12/2019) pp. 7-8

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Fact Sheets on the European Union, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/home>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

into the European Union, there was ongoing disappointment in Ireland (TUI, 2004), that the Green and White papers appeared to have been shelved in relation to ongoing educational policy development. A series of rolling workshops and presentations had ensued, to elicit input from teachers in relation to the *McIver Report*, continuing until 2004. This to a certain extent, may have facilitated the stagnation of policy decisions, as the process was countrywide and not centred in Dublin where the Department of Education and Science was located, and more importantly, where the highest numbers availing of VECs had been traditionally situated. What the process did, however, was to garner the opinions of a very large number of teachers, politicians, parents, and commentators, as to what was possible in education. It also, to a certain extent, built up expectations in all such stakeholders, that change was on the way in relation to education, and in particular, to the newly labelled Further Education sector. Those consulted were working on the presumption of funding priorities in second level education without recourse to the fundamentals of Further Education and in that oversight the Further Education notion was subsumed into an in-between existence between secondary and third level education where it has rested.

#### *The Treaty of Nice*

Following on from the Treaty of Amsterdam, the *Treaty of Nice Amending the Treaty on European Union, The Treaties establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts (2001/C 80/01)*,<sup>6</sup> entered into force on 1<sup>st</sup> February 2003. This particular Treaty extended the qualified majority by way of weighted votes - each Member Country was given a weighting which would determine their effective portion of a full votes which was not just one vote per country. Now a qualified majority would ratify decisions and this had the effect of diluting the proportion of power each country effectively had in changing things within the vote. Two thirds of the majority of the votes cast was a departure from the established concept of value of a Member Country's vote. Security and defence agreed policies became a stated object of the new Treaty (Article 2).<sup>7</sup> So too did "closer cooperation between judicial and other competent authorities of the Member States including cooperation through the European Judicial Cooperation Unit ("Eurojust")",<sup>8</sup> cooperation in respect of which envisaged matters in relation to cross border crime, organised crime extradition and other cooperation.

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<sup>6</sup> Treaty of Nice, , *Official Journal C 080* , 10/03/2001 P. 0001 - 0087

< <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-nice>>, official text, < <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12001C/TXT>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Article 29

Perhaps of more significance in the Treaty was the three-stage process laid out in Articles 100, 111, and 123 which outlined a process that the ECB could effectively be imposed on a Member State by a qualified majority, where that Member State found itself in “difficulties or is seriously threatened with severe difficulties caused by natural disasters or exceptional occurrences beyond its control”.<sup>9</sup> Support was to be provided by the Community with the following goals:

- (a) improvement in particular of the working environment to protect workers’ health and safety;
- (b) working conditions;
- (c) social security and social protection of workers;
- (d) protection of workers where their employment contract is terminated;
- (e) the information and consultation of workers;
- (f) representation and collective defence of the interests of workers and employers, including co-determination, subject to paragraph 5;
- (g) conditions of employment for third-country nationals legally residing in Community territory;
- (h) the integration of persons excluded from the labour market, without prejudice to Article 150;
- (i) equality between men and women with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work;
- (j) the combating of social exclusion;
- (k) the modernisation of social protection systems without prejudice to point (c).

While the Treaty of Nice was seen as perhaps less dynamic than the Treaty of Amsterdam, both “focused on institutional reforms. Compared with previous reforms, the political will to deepen European integration was relatively weak”.<sup>10</sup> The two Treaties were instead based on creating a new format of a singular concept and entity which was to be the European Union, rather than trying to fit the specificities of ten new Member Countries within an existing entity. Of interest in the protocol is the provision that “All assets and liabilities of the ECSC, as they exist on 23 July 2002, shall be transferred to the European Community on 24 July 2002.” (Protocol on the financial consequences of the expiry of the ECSC Treaty and on the research fund for coal and steel, Article 1)<sup>11</sup> which was to effectively lead to the liquidation of the assets of the ECSC and for the proceeds to be ringfenced for research activities under the European Union in relation to coal and steel. The combination concept of the two

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<sup>9</sup> Treaty of Nice, , *Official Journal C 080* , 10/03/2001 P. 0001 - 0087  
< <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-nice>>,  
official text, < <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12001C/TXT>> (last accessed  
31/12/2019)

Article 100.2

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Treaties (Amsterdam and Nice), allowed therefore, for a focus on vocational skills education and employment provisions and the prioritisation of the labour market, but more importantly it now meant that the European Union, by qualified majority, could act directly in respect of any Member State in relation to both. The Final implementation of the Nice Treaty came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> February 2003.

*Accomplishing Europe through education and training*

Interestingly, before the finalisation of the Nice Treaty, a European study group had been convened in July 1995 under the stated objective of “bringing Europe and its citizens closer together” in response to a *White Paper on Education and Training: ‘Teaching and Learning: towards the learning society’*<sup>12</sup> which had been adopted in November 1996. The members of the group were “experts selected to represent a variety of concerned constituencies: companies, trades unions, schools, vocational training bodies, adult education and universities”.<sup>13</sup> These experts were not nominees of individual member states but of the Commission itself, which was intended to extend an emphasis on independence according to the report.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, the commission was also in a position to nominate some of the themes for the terms of reference of the group, and to organise ‘an agreed plan’, which appears incongruous to the presumed independence of the experts chosen.<sup>15</sup> Interestingly the report Foreword outlines that it “considers the report to be a major contribution of high intellectual ambition, which will enrich further reflection on the part of all those concerned with education and training”.<sup>16</sup>

More significantly if one were to accept that the process undertaken was not just a talking exercise, but did, perhaps, portend for developments in European education and training systems as envisaged, articulated, argued, narrated and summarised by a group of well-respected experts, then the contents are worthy of examination. Any such examination reveals that even in the notes to the report it qualifies the contents by outlining that “(t)he Group’s views have been synthesized from the views expressed by its individual members. The report therefore reflects a majority consensus within the

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<sup>12</sup> White Paper on Education and Training 1984, *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society*, <[https://europa.eu/documents/comm/white\\_papers/pdf/com95\\_590\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf)> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Group, but not necessarily unanimity on all matters.”.<sup>17</sup> While the report was umbrellaed under youth funding it envisages, probably not surprisingly to the reader at this stage, that much is in the process of change in Europe:

*If Europe is to remain at the driving edge, economic and political progress must be complemented by offering an “European vision” to her young people. Education and training efforts must mobilize themselves around this emerging picture.*

*The task is an urgent one: whilst the European population is stabilizing, and the proportion of young Europeans within the total is continually diminishing, the world’s population will almost double in the space of the next generation. Mobilizing education and training effort is also urgent in the interests of those adults with low levels of education and qualifications, and those who must renew their personal competencies on a lifelong basis. Finally, this task is an urgent one in order to facilitate the best adaptation possible to new employment conditions and the development of the learning society”*

*European Commission, 1997<sup>18</sup> (emphasis added)*

Contextually, this statement is confusing with its mix of statements of supposed vision (emerging picture), threat (urgency, and the diminishing population of young people), need, (new employment conditions being facilitated), and intent (must renew their personal competencies). It is clearly agenda focused rather than student or even educationally focused and augers for multiple changes in response to expectations of impending challenge but gives almost no specifics about the threats it suggests that Europe is facing.

It was outlined that the changes being suggested required envisioning four aims which were intended to produce results by the year 2000. The aims were:

- Constructing European citizenship through education and training
- Reinforcing European competitiveness and preserving employment through education and training
- Maintaining social cohesion through education and training
- Education and training in the information society

While outlining that this would be done through the “actors who are entrusted with this task, in particular schoolteachers and heads of education establishments”.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting at this stage to note that the ‘actors’ were confined to schools and education establishments which did not exactly pin the accountability on specific groups of actors

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<sup>17</sup> *Accomplishing Europe through education and training: Study group on education and training.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997 p 13

<sup>18</sup> *Accomplishing Europe through education and training: Study group on education and training.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997 p 13 p. 15 (emphasis added)

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16

and appears to shy away from a pure allocation of responsibility in favour of a general absolution of corporate answerability on the part of the European Commission.

The report very much lays out a structure for the construction of the concept of European Citizen through education and training:

*European citizenship is above all a humanist concept, founded in the construction of a greater Europe characterized by cultural differences, by different economic conceptions, and by different natural realities – but united by the sense of belonging to a common civilization. It is on the basis of a shared democratic culture that this greater Europe will construct itself and in which Europeans will recognize themselves as citizens of Europe. They will not regard themselves as citizens of Europe because they belong to a common culture, or on the basis of a particular dimension of belonging. Rather, they will do so because they will construct themselves as citizens of Europe on the basis of new relations which they will establish between themselves. This is the first element of a European vision to propose to young people.*  
*European Commission*<sup>20</sup>

The wording outlined five specific “essential dimensions” towards developing a programme of citizenship education, listed as “(i) the recognition of the dignity and centrality of the human person, (ii) social citizenship, social rights and responsibilities, the struggle against social exclusion, (iii) egalitarian citizenship, that is, the rejection of discrimination and prejudice based on gender and ethnicity; understanding the value of equality, (iv) intercultural citizenship: the value of diversity and openness for a plural world. (v) ecological citizenship.”<sup>21</sup> What is clear is that the task had very little to do with education for education’s sake but more to do with a democratic and egalitarian notion of education for Europe’s sake and more particularly for Europe’s citizenship sake. Further the report outlines that the goal of such education and training for citizenship is “in order to filter out the best means of acquiring the elements of European citizenship, and by initiating experimental projects which permit concrete forms of implementation”<sup>22</sup> and outlined that “citizenship pedagogy must be developed”.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, ‘border pedagogy’ was to be included in this and was outlined as “a strategy for learning about the cultural Other, by looking critically at how images, representations and texts are constructed and at their hidden messages”,<sup>24</sup> drawing on an intellectual tradition from critical theory (Giroux, 1981; Apple, 1996).

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<sup>20</sup> *Accomplishing Europe through education and training: Study group on education and training, 1997, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, p. 16*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19

This whole report in fact appears to indicate a change in tone for education and training for the future, and in presenting it prior to the culmination of both the Treaty of Amsterdam and the Treaty of Nice, it certainly could have informed the emphasis of education and training as Europe moved into a new era and a new century. Furthermore, it did outline that teachers effectively bore responsibilities to engage in the process of creating or at the very least the facilitation of citizenship for citizens of the new Europe envisaged as the European Union. In this, languages, cultures, modernisation of history and geography as a process of ‘disarmament’ of education content,<sup>25</sup> facilitating teacher mobility in Europe following investment in training of those teachers and “heads of establishment”,<sup>26</sup> and supporting democratic styles of governance of educational establishments were specifically outlined. The Study Group, recommended that “Europe should contribute to improving: (i) relations between general and vocational education and training; (ii) the definition and the comparability of acquired competencies/skills; the definition and the acquisition of new occupational profiles”.<sup>27</sup> This was much more than education and training certainly as envisaged by Ireland and was even more importantly much more than the European project being about peace and ensuring that war was never repeated. Definitely, there is an outline of what was envisaged as being part of the change process being envisaged when the report outlines:

*“In the first instance, improving the relations between general and vocational education and training entails retention of the following principle: ‘general education must provide preparation for a vocational skill, and vocational training must continue to develop the basic competencies provided by general education’”.*  
***Accomplishing Europe through education and training: Study group on education and training, 1997***

What the report then outlined, was the creation of a very work-focused agenda which outlined that basic competences were to be acquired in the general education system, the pedagogic practices were to foster problem-solving, group working to encourage this type of working method. Interdisciplinarity was to be developed at second level and university level and simple technical competences should be taught at all levels of secondary education.<sup>28</sup> What does appear obvious from the report, is that education, and more specifically vocational education, was to become a key player in a process of establishing citizens of the new Europe. This role would be central, particularly in

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid. *Accomplishing Europe through education and training: Study group on education and training*, 1997, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, p. 19

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 21

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 22

relation to work and the integration of work, citizenship, belonging and contribution of new migrants.

*The McIver Report Roadshows*

Returning to the Irish political stage during this time, the Dáil Joint Committee on Education and Science in its deliberations on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2004 included contributions from the IVEA, TUI and DES.<sup>29</sup> The IVEA, represented by Michael Moriarty, outlined the huge scale of what was now being presumed to be the sector of education which was now to be known as Further Education:

*“Further education embraces mainstream PLC provision, the vocational training opportunities scheme, Youthreach, adult literacy programmes, adult guidance and counselling, community education programmes and a range of formal and informal part-time programmes for adults which are supported by funding from the Department of Education and Science or are self-financing programmes, PLC provision is one aspect of this provision”*

**Michael Moriarty, IVEA, 2004<sup>30</sup>**

This explanation shows how much was being expected of what was merely *labelled* the Further Education sector without any specific legal definition of what Further Education actually was. More explanation of the restrictive landscape that further education was expected to operate in, was provided by John Ryan, Chief Executive of Dun Laoghaire VEC who outlined how capping (or regulation of student numbers) was being used in the VECs and had the effect of stifling the sector’s expansion:

*“The first of the current issues that need to be addressed is the capping of PLC enrolments. Since its inception in 1985, each VEC, on behalf of its schools and colleges sought approval to run PLC courses on a yearly basis in accordance with a set of criteria set out by the Department of Education and Science. The Department approved the courses and the number of students to be enrolled on the courses in a given year. Where schools and colleges exceeded the approved numbers, they returned the additional students on the October Returns. The VECs generally informed the Department of Education and Science that the numbers had increased beyond the approved numbers.*

*The additional numbers attracted grants in the current year, an additional teacher allocation in the following year and became the approved numbers in the following year. .... As the teacher allocation and approval was to a VEC and not an individual school, VEC courses of two years duration could also be developed”*

**John Ryan, Dáil Joint Committee on Education and Science, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2004<sup>31</sup>**

Figure 1 of this thesis presents the 2004 Department of Education and Science’s

<sup>29</sup> Dáil Joint Committee on Education and Science debate 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2004, 29<sup>th</sup> Dáil, <[https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/joint\\_committee\\_on\\_education\\_and\\_science/2004-06-03/](https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/joint_committee_on_education_and_science/2004-06-03/)> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

depiction of the Irish Education system which shows that secondary and further education were depicted under the ‘senior cycle’ of the second level classification of the education system at that stage. There is no actual distinction allied to it being a separate Further Education classification and, in some ways, this has also served to further obfuscate where it really is that the Department of Education and Science envisaged the sector should be incorporated. However it may just as logically be the case, that the Department of Education and Science, while not expanding on the Green Paper or the White Paper and potentially holding off on the implementation of the McIver findings, knew at that stage (certainly by 2004) that the landscape, was not to be created, but dictated, in the processes of European Union constructs and the Department could not influence the outcome as much as it might initially have envisaged.

*The Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 2001*

Moreover, *The Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 2001* had also been passed in this ongoing debating period on the constructs of what was to be the Further Education Sector. Thus, where the 1930 Vocational Education Act provided:

*“Section 38. – (1) A vocational education committee for a borough vocational education area may, subject to compliance with the next following sub-section of this section, establish and maintain in its area a school (in this section referred to as a day technical college) having for its main object the provision of education in the general principles of science, commerce, or art suited to the requirements of persons employed in positions of control or responsibility in trade or industry.”*

*Vocational Education Act 1930<sup>32</sup> (emphasis added)*

Section 34 of The Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 2001, provided:

*“Section 38 of the Principal act is hereby amended by the substitution of the following subsection for subsection (1):  
(1) A vocational education committee may, subject to **there being compliance** with subsection (2) of this section, establish and maintain in its vocational education area, schools (hereafter in this section referred to as ‘day technical colleges’) having as their main object the provision of education in the general principles of science, commerce or art suited to the requirements of persons employed in positions of control or responsibility in trade or industry.”*

*Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 2001<sup>33</sup> (emphasis added)*

<sup>32</sup> Vocational Education Act, 1930, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1930/act/29/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>33</sup> Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 2001, 37 of 2001< <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2001/act/23/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

While the wording appears similar, the difference in the specific words used (highlighted), are significant. The change appears subtle, and may well have been intended to appear so, and while the impact was subtle to begin with, it has since provided a veritable noose for the vocational education committees and the courses they offered for the future. The specific difference is that instead of the vocational education committees for a specific borough establishing a school in its area, it was instead under the 2001 Act allowed to do so only in the vocational education area it covered – there was an effective limiting of area in which provision was to be made, and this may be viewed in the light of the Dublin City ‘borough’ being changed with the amalgamation of Dun Laoghaire and Rathdown, the creation of South County Dublin, and indeed Fingal, along with Dublin Corporation changing to Dublin City Council.

### *Changing the landscape*

These area changes occurred as a result of the *Local Government Act 2001*<sup>34</sup> which had begun life in 2000 when initiated in Dáil Éireann as the Local Government Bill 2000<sup>35</sup> on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2000. Described as “An Act to make further and better provision in relation to Local Government and, in particular, to consolidate certain enactments relating generally to local authorities”. What was clear from the text of this Bill and the subsequent Act was also that some change had taken place in how the State now viewed its involvement in Local Authorities, or what was, under Section 10 (1) of the Act, now referred to as ‘local government areas’. Another example was that what had been Tipperary North Riding and Tipperary South Riding now became just North Tipperary and South Tipperary (this one initiated in 1998). Another provision within the *Local Government Act 2001*<sup>36</sup> was that an effective process of compensation was provided for in Section 12, allowing payment to those who had provided service to the local authorities, which were being abolished and such payment to take into account the period of service of those involved.<sup>37</sup> Following the passing of this Act, Section 26(1) provided there was to be an election of members of every local authority “in the year 2004 and in every fifth year thereafter”,<sup>38</sup> while Section 29(2) provided that “the year 2004, and every year after 2004 which is a year in which local election are held, is an

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<sup>34</sup> Local Government Act 2001, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2001/act/37/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>35</sup>Local Government Bill 2000, Preface, < <https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/bill/2000/23/eng/initiated/b2300d.pdf>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>36</sup> Local Government Act 2001, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2001/act/37/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., Section 12

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., Section 26(1)

election year for the purposes of the Vocational Education Acts 1930 to 1999”.<sup>39</sup> Sections 48 – 50 set out new structures within local authorities which were to have Strategic Policy Committees,<sup>40</sup> Municipal Policy Committees,<sup>41</sup> and Area Committees.<sup>42</sup> Additionally, the Vocational Educational Committees were effectively now committees of the Local Authorities,<sup>43</sup> and there were to be alterations of boundaries of various councils.<sup>44</sup> There was a clear movement in the 2001 Local Government Act towards altering the reporting structures of each local authority within its own set-up, indeed a hierarchical structure was being clearly outlined which also, by association, included the structures of the VECs within those changes.

Gradually the landscape of the VECs was altered, and, to a certain extent their autonomy also seemed to be compromised with the requirement, under the *Education Act 1998*, and the *Local Authority Act 2001*, to produce, not only overall future plans for going forward, but also for an effective five-year plan on a rolling basis – certainly the structures of surveillance appeared to be in progress. The concept of ‘local government’ was being replaced by ‘local authority’ and in the process, the reporting to government was being rigidly structured. It is interesting at this stage to note that a five-year financial plan is a staple of business accounting procedures for funding and projection processes, and that within these constructs, business plans are produced and monitored constantly, but are re-drawn and re-envisaged usually on a five-year basis. There is therefore some justification for the idea that the processes of neoliberalism were being imposed on education in general within the processes being undertaken (Lynch, Grummell, and Devine, 2012, p.10), certainly within the VEC or newly labelled ‘Further Education’ lens. This concept of neoliberalism is however, based on the presumption of power being in the hands of those imposing the reporting and analysis requirements since power is the contested variable in a neoliberal construct (Foucault, 1979). However the power is being over-presumed to rest with the Irish government in such a depiction when in fact it was a removal of power or certainly of autonomy, which was at the source of the process. The Irish Government was now part of a much larger number of members and the vagaries of the mass were possibly

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<sup>39</sup> Local Government Act 2001, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2001/act/37/enacted/en/print.html>> (last accessed 31/12/2019) Section 29(2)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Section 48

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Section 49

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., Section 50

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Section 51

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., Section 56

becoming obvious.

*Not hidden but altered*

Casting a backward glance to put changes in context and to grasp what had changed at this time, it is necessary to understand the impact of the final shaping of the European Union concept on the whole of the European Community. It is just as necessary to look again at some of the notes to the statistical report produced by the Department of Education and Science to see how the figures were actually being reported, as within the actual statistics, there were still anomalies. Additionally, while not technically an anomaly, it is interesting to note that the ISCED system had been adjusted in 1997 and affected the Statistical Report of the Department of Education and Science 1998/1999 when the effect of this new classification was beginning to show itself in how some statistics had been altered, so that direct year-on-year comparison was still not strictly applicable once again as major changes were contemplated. ISCED explained as follows:

*“In order to facilitate international use of this publication, data on student enrolment are provided according to ISCED97 (The International Standard Classification of Education) as well as by traditional national categories. ISCED was designed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in the early 1970s to serve as an instrument suitable for assembling, compiling and presenting statistics of education within individual countries and internationally. It has also been accepted by EUROSTAT (Statistical Office of the European Union) and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development). ISCED was revised in 1997 and the following represents the new categorisations decided upon under ISCED97”.*

***Statistical Report of Department of Education and Science 1998/1999<sup>45</sup>***

There were now seven stated levels in ISCED, coded as follows:

**ISCED 0** (Pre-Primary Education)- Programmes at level 0 comprise pupils aged 3-6 years in non-aided Private Primary Schools.

**ISCED 1** (Primary Education)- Programmes at level 1 comprise pupils enrolled in all standards in National School (Inc. Junior and Senior Infants) and in Special Schools.

**ISCED 2** (Lower Secondary Education)- Programmes at level 2 comprise students enrolled in the Junior Cycle of second level.

**ISCED 3** (Upper Secondary Education)- Programmes at level 3 comprise students enrolled Senior Cycle of second level including Transition Year.

**ISCED 4** (Post-Secondary, Non Tertiary Education)- Programmes at level 4 comprise students enrolled Post-Leaving Certificate (P.L.C.), Teagasc and Secretarial courses.

**ISCED 5** (First Stages of Tertiary Education)

**ISCED 5B** - Programmes at level 5B lead to an award not equivalent to a primary university degree (for example NCEA National Certificate or National Diploma courses).

**ISCED 5A**- Programmes at level 5A lead to a Primary University Degree, a Post-Graduate Diploma or Master's Degree.

**ISCED 6** (Second Stage of Tertiary Education)- Programmes at level 6 lead to an advanced research qualification i.e. a Doctorate (Ph.D.).

What had been an 8-category system (albeit with two categories unused), now became

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<sup>45</sup> Department of Education and Science 1998/1999, *Statistical Report of Department of Education and Science 1998/1999*, p. 9

what was stated to be a 7 category system but one category is sub-divided and certainly the process even in doing this, appears to facilitate a categorisation being given to students who completed partial qualifications, where a student might do two years and get a certificate but would not have completed enough to get a full degree for instance. One might even be forgiven for finding it intriguing that a process that had been agreed by UNESCO, OECD and EUROSTAT, could be so obfuscating as to create an impression of more activity than one would expect and yet it really did not make the demarcation of categories any clearer than they were from 1970, for instance. Indeed, trying to fit the Irish system into a codified framework, such as ISCED, possibly succeeded in making those demarcation points, more misleading in the process. What it did do, however, was highlight that international comparisons did not really work in the complicated Irish educational landscape.

Within the statistics there were also anomalies in relation to schools which co-operated on certain subjects. For example, where a boys' school had a teacher qualified to teach a subject such as Applied Maths and a girls' school did not – the two schools would co-operate and students would undergo instruction in the subject, at the school, where the qualified teacher was situated.<sup>46</sup> The complication explained in notes of the returns, show that both schools were classified as providing that subject even though the reality was that only one was.<sup>47</sup> Further, there is no mention, within the statistics for the Leaving Certificate section of the report, that several hundred students undertook the Irish Leaving Certificate in Tripoli, Libya, at the International School of the Martyrs (ISM) which had offered the examination from the mid 1990s (Irish Times, 8<sup>th</sup> May 2013). Yet the inclusion of 129 candidates for Arabic was counted in the statistics without this explanation. Once again the detail created its own complications and if this was the case in Ireland where the ISCED was being used, it also raises questions over other countries who also applied the ISCED system where it might have served, if not to mislead, certainly to fudge the figures and shift them from one category to another in order to fit into an externally agreed framework which served to distort specifics that were of relevance to each county in relation to their systems of education.

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<sup>46</sup> Department of Education and Science 1998/1999, *Statistical Report of Department of Education and Science 1998/1999*, p. 55, < <https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Statistical-Report-1998-1999.pdf> > (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

Reporting on education in Ireland, then adopted a different hew, from the *Department of Education and Science Annual Report 2001*.<sup>48</sup> Introducing the report, Minister Noel Dempsey, outlined in the Foreword:

*The range, scale and complexity of the issues covered in this document reflect very clearly our education system in today's Ireland. Education can no longer be viewed in its traditional narrow sense. It is now a central instrument of social and economic policy and we are challenged, therefore, to have clear, focused objectives under these headings and to deliver on them. It is nowhere more important than education to measure progress and success through evaluation of outcomes.*

*Noel Dempsey T.D. Minister for Education 2001*<sup>49</sup>

This report was in response to *The Strategy Statement 1998-2001* debated in Dáil Éireann on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1999,<sup>50</sup> which effectively created a distance from previous reports as part of what would become more business-like cyclical reporting based on pre-stated goals and measurement of achievement. Described by The Taoiseach in that debate the goals of the Strategy were: the efficient functioning of Government, lasting peace on the island of Ireland, realisation of a new agreed three-strand political settlement, a strategic focus for this country's interests and image internationally, working with social partners to implement social and economic development programmes and ongoing development of efficient public services.<sup>51</sup>

More significantly the Education reports from the Department of Education and Science were obviously part of what were referred to as “divisional business plans”<sup>52</sup> to departmental goals, presented “to the management advisory committee”,<sup>53</sup> referred to in the debate as the SMI. Thus began the system of education plans from 1999 which are now subject to quarterly review statements about the achievement of the goals set out in those plans rather than a systematic and all-encompassing report on the education sector which Ireland had traditionally used. Each yearly plan now begins with a reminder of the mission statement of the Department of Education, and is

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<sup>48</sup> Department of Education and Science 2001, Department of Education and Science Annual Report 2001, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Corporate-Reports/Annual-Report/Department-of-Education-and-Science-Annual-Report-2001.pdf>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>50</sup> Dáil Éireann Debate, 15<sup>th</sup> December 1999, 28<sup>th</sup> Dáil Vol. 512 No. 7, Ceistanna -Questions. – Strategy Statement, <<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1999-12-15/10/?highlight%5B0%5D=freedom&highlight%5B1%5D=information&highlight%5B2%5D=information&highlight%5B3%5D=information&highlight%5B4%5D=bill&highlight%5B5%5D=bill>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

followed by what is described as “High-level goals”<sup>54</sup> of equity and inclusion, quality outcomes, lifelong learning, planning for education which is personal, social, cultural and economically relevant and enhancing the service delivery capacity of the Department of Education and Science.<sup>55</sup> Four of those very areas had been outlined in the EU Treaty, the exception being the delivery capacity of the Department. What was certainly being outlined albeit indirectly, was that the Irish education system was now to be directed under the goals and budgets of the EU, and in such a conclusion it would not be unreasonable to expect that the process of changing any of the variables would be much harder since the lead on such matters rests outside Ireland in the EU itself.

### **Systems, Sectors, Schemes, Stagnation and Strangulation**

Within the realisation that Further Education in Ireland has never actually been legislatively bounded, but bore the tasks of education for those who effectively did not operate within the expected trajectory of primary school-to-secondary school-to university lies a very socially divisive process. Those who ended up in the ‘in-between’ space, that has been presumed to be further education for over a century, may well have chosen or had it chosen for them, by circumstance whether economic, social, place or intellectually. This might indeed have been their plight or destination but it was not that of the system which created the void that has over many years danced in the space they found, and more importantly, allocated the monies relevant to the shadowy sector as they appeared to find politically or economically expedient without a thought for the social stratification which they created in the process.

The animal that is further education, has straddled, for varied and multiple reasons, the guises of Vocational Education, Reformatory Education, Industrial Education, Technical Education, Technological Education, Care systems, lifelong learning, community action, secondary education and indeed fosterage. This shifting has often been occasioned by requirements of labour supply to industry. This identity shifting has created a chasm which has allowed those who choose to oversee the process, control its progression, its processes and its outcomes over time. This however has not been done by some non-descript Foucauldian neo-liberal processes which are encompassed

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<sup>54</sup> Department of Education and Science 2001, Department of Education and Science Annual Report 2001, <<https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Corporate-Reports/Annual-Report/Department-of-Education-and-Science-Annual-Report-2001.pdf>> (last accessed 31/12/2019)

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

in external power whether outright, partial, implicit or explicit. It has however certainly served to direct the progress and eventual educational trajectory of at least a good portion of the Irish population even though the extent of that portion has probably never been accurately and concisely quantified.

To observe how this has been achieved over a fifteen year period it is useful to look at a synopsis of the figures returned for Further Education by the Department of Education, whether in the guise of promoter of ‘science’ or ‘skills’, as if education were not enough of itself but needed an added message to make it acceptable to some outside process that was ‘trending’ at specific periods. The table, (Figure 23) compiled by this researcher from the published Annual Reports of the Department of Education and Science/Skills<sup>56</sup> depicts the selectivity of the allocation of places, finances, priorities and outcomes for what is conveniently labelled Further Education over that time-scale.

Analysis of the figures unveil a number of anomalies including the fact that there was no classification of further education in the first place, as PLC may well have been the preferred label. However, what is being overlooked in such a presumptive analysis is the fact that PLC itself is a scheme. It appears to focus around the constructs of Further Education in Ireland and it might appear logical to presume that it is Irish Further Education, but as has already been outlined in this research, it was effectively constructed as a realignment of education after the Leaving Certificate at a time when population numbers fluctuated. As a Scheme PLC is not a distinct stand- alone level of education within Ireland’s education system. Schemes are attached to funding streams and this may well have explained why some confusion arose but it does not account for the preferring of one scheme over another. Fluidity within sectors. but particularly the PLC sector by effectively removing the second level students who do PLC as the tables illustrates, comprises within the statistics what is still called second level, but is not Further Education and is essentially a divisional classification within the PLC sector. This then is made up of schemes; PLC itself which replaced VPT1 and VPT 2 as a result of ESF funding as we have seen, Vocational, Community & Comprehensive, core VTOS, Youthreach, Senior Traveller Training and what is called

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<sup>56</sup> The Department of Education and Science changed its name to the Department of Education and Skills by Statutory Instrument, SI No. 184/2010. This followed a reorganisation of responsibility for skills training from the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment under Statutory Instrument, SI No. 187/2010. Research was transferred to the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment in the same process under Statutory Instrument SI No.188/2010

other courses (393 students) in the year 2006/7 without narrative. Perhaps one might explain that there was an attempt to curtail the structures into more manageable confines but without this explanation it has the appearance that the figures were being adjusted for every other potential reason and in doing so had the effect of making every figure questionable.

Also, noticeable on close examination of the table, is that there are potential numerical caps on the number of places within each classification as evidenced within each section. This would certainly appear to authenticate the notion that what is actually depicted is a series of schemes which allowed for upper limits on those who could benefit from the funding associated with each schematic funding stream. This then would support the notion that what was involved was categorising the learner rather than the type of education offered. The discourse might well have been about bringing much needed resources to individual categories of citizens but that is at odds with the concept that there was an actual further education system where teachers had generic professional boundaries, collegial certainty or could even depend on a teacher's status towards becoming leaders or system experts at what they specialised to teach.

Curiously some figures are at various times either excluded or certainly overlooked in the statistical table for example there is no figure at all for 2001/2003/2004/2005 for secondary, vocational or Community & Comprehensive, which is curious. It is as if the Department of Education and Skills, or its predecessor, the Department of Education and Science, who were accountable for the return of such figures, were never the subject of audit or forensic accountancy scrutiny. This defies the idea that managerial structures existed, or else presumes they were used to create a preference in some years for schemes which may well have produced more funding to the PLC sector for example. It is highly unlikely that such omissions were the subject of collusion between colleges, as what is also exposed by this process is the fact that whatever number of colleges included in those figures, were actually in competition for a finite number of students. It certainly would be logical to conclude that such fluidity of numbers and categorisations could only have been incorporated above individual college level, but it is not within the scope of this particular research to question the justification for such fluidity.

School Statistics from Dept of Education																
LEVEL		2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/10	2010/2011	2011/12	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015
<b>FIRST LEVEL</b>		<b>443720</b>	<b>441065</b>	<b>443720</b>	<b>446029</b>	<b>449298</b>	<b>457889</b>	<b>477078</b>	<b>486444</b>	<b>498914</b>	<b>505998</b>	<b>509652</b>	<b>516458</b>	<b>526422</b>	<b>536317</b>	<b>544696</b>
Primary	Incl special classes	432436	434083	436913	439311	442677	451262	464941	479825	492261	499093	502474	509038	518757	528562	536747
Special Schools		7178	6982	6807	6718	6621	6627	6578	6619	6653	6905	7178	7420	7665	7755	7949
Non Aided Primary Schools		0	0	0	0	0	0	5559	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Secondary Level (excluding number of PLC students)</b>		<b>321116</b>	<b>340078</b>	<b>339231</b>	<b>337851</b>	<b>335162</b>	<b>332407</b>	<b>306371</b>	<b>306768</b>	<b>308863</b>	<b>313136</b>	<b>356107</b>	<b>359047</b>	<b>327323</b>	<b>333175</b>	<b>339207</b>
Secondary		319974	192436	189093	187563	185026	183766	303527	305156	307944	312159	186622	186409	187012	188791	190587
Vocational			96467	98233	98134	97693	96903	0	0	0	0	114761	116839	85196	88247	91612
Community & Comprehensive			51175	51905	52154	52443	51738	0	0	0	0	54724	55799	55115	56137	57008
Aided by Other Departments		1142	0	949	0	0	0	614	806	918	977	0	0	0	0	0
Non Aided / Commercial		0	0	0	0	0	0	2230	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Second Level Students in PLC Courses</b>		<b>32653</b>						<b>30584</b>	<b>29967</b>	<b>43447</b>	<b>47338</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>36528</b>	<b>35524</b>	<b>34003</b>	<b>33089</b>
Secondary		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	858	697	655	557
Vocational		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34495	33664	32226	31466
Community & Comprehensive		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1175	1163	1122	1066
Post Leaving Certificate (PLC)		25410	0	28649	0	0	0	30191	29967	33368	38528	0	0	0	0	0
Core VTOS		3518	0	3776	0	0	0	5377	0	5568	4338	0	0	0	0	0
Youthreach		2947	0	2859	0	0	0	2863	0	3441	3452	0	0	0	0	0
Senior Traveller Training		716	0	955	0	0	0	1054	0	1070	1020	0	0	0	0	0
Other Courses								393	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Third Level</b>		<b>121183</b>	<b>124589</b>	<b>130424</b>	<b>133887</b>	<b>133691</b>	<b>136719</b>	<b>149502</b>	<b>141640</b>	<b>148197</b>	<b>157946</b>	<b>161647</b>	<b>163068</b>	<b>164863</b>	<b>169254</b>	<b>173649</b>
Universities		65112	72168	70082	77491	78970	80801	0	78577	82298	87623	89273	89928	90341	93023	95120
Institutes of Technology		48360	49890	51507	53586	52229	53386	0	51572	54464	59832	62885	63874	65039	66490	68324
Teacher Training Institutes		4606	4282	5454	4616	4501	4795	0	6761	6973	6732	6691	6428	6454	6703	6953
Other Aided Institutions		1913	1508	2240	1640	1402	1340	0	2224	2333	2783	2798	2838	3029	3038	3252
Aided by other Depts (Justice/Defence)		1192	0	1141	0	0	0	0	2066	2506	2129	973	0	0	0	0
Non-aided?		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9074	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 1 Source:www.education.ie

Figure 22 Irish Education Statistics 2000 - 2015 Source: www.education.ie

There does appear to be a fallout of approximately 10,000 children who start first level but do not appear to progress to second level eight years later as one would logically expect – this is a consistent fallout throughout the period, which is intriguing. These 10,000 could not have entered the PLC sector as that has an entry age limit of 17, in which case it may be logical to suppose that the figures for primary level in that period were overstated by approximately 10,000 each year and to question why this might have consistently happened throughout the period from 2000 to 2015. The removal of Senior Traveller Training from the section when the scheme was abolished shows how easy it would be to continue the presumed ‘sector’ and just eliminate one ‘scheme’ without affecting the overall category. This would not be possible for either First Level or Secondary Level as they are not categorised under schemes but by type of school – ostensibly based on ethos and certainly in the secondary sector based on final Leaving Certificate.

Interestingly, there is also no potential to actually relate the sections or schemes with exactly similar figures in other countries as they are specific schemes to deal with Irish issues such as high unemployment in Ireland during the period of 2008 – 2013 particularly. Potentially, part of this type of lacuna of real detail may have justified the fact that the Further Education sector could only have been an amalgam of temporary schemes which were conveniently clustered towards a semblance of order so that it could follow the funding which might be allocated from Europe. However, to presume this is also to presume that either Europe was complicit or that the Department of Education was informed enough to follow the European discourses around

unemployment, which, while pragmatic in terms of keeping the education system operational in times of great financial pressure, may not be thoroughly ethical.

In all of this analysis, there is therefore a possibility that what has been described as Further Education in Ireland could easily be strangled, stagnated or just as easily moved to different categories within, but also outside, the education system, either option making it disposable on demand. However, one must wonder how in the light of such numbers, there was ever any possibility of getting resources, teacher number or even student teacher ratios correct and in such a situation then it is likely that the supposed Further Education, did not do the students within it any justice in terms of having fair and reasonable teacher ratios, student resources or even funding to achieve their best potential when the priority was to follow the money.

More significantly, the teachers within Further Education continued to operate in a non-existent, under resourced or non-resourced vacuum which everybody was prepared to ignore while producing certification for students who passed through their classes. In such case there was actually little or no justification for continuing to classify Further Education as coming under the Secondary Level which affected the ability of students within it to avail of full grants for their educational advancement. In fact, the schemes had criterion for inclusion within them and this appeared to ensure that they did not fit within the second level system, yet continuing to classify those schemes as being within second level would not expose them to as much scrutiny. This was reminiscent of the application of vocational changes to boards, rather than within an overall needs-based provision nationally.

One would understandably question whether students are best served, even now, within an undefined sector which is Further Education in Ireland, particularly since an incentivising inducement of a €20 per week training allowance is currently being made to young people who have been means assessed for a smaller Social Protection payment than somebody over 25 years of age based on their age, is being used to effectively add another layer to this scheme-based Further Education sector which ostensibly allows for the undefined Further Education sector to begin to be reimagined as the Further Education and Training sector (as described in the following section) and in the process bestows European uniformity on young people within the age category of more funding streams from Europe which are now being managed by budgets under the control of

Social Protection and employment focused constructs such as Solas and the reincarnation of FÁS from obscurity brought about by its own ineptitude, within the fold of ETBs as the reincarnation of successful and respected VECs throughout Ireland. This revisioning of failed constructs does not auger well for young peoples' participation in education for education's sake. There is a clear repositioning of policy formulator in this construct from education to employment and in the process, there is also an apparent loss of choice for the young people involved as lack of money strengthens the inducement as evidenced by the use of money incentives to undertake training rather than education and training in FET.

*The mystery endures*

Expanding on the *Vocational Education (Amendment) Act 2001*, it is interesting that the *Qualifications And Quality Assurance (Education And Training) Act 2012*<sup>57</sup> may well have provided illustration of what might have been significant about what was intended to happen to this non-existent further education sector. This Act, in Section 2 explained that a “programme of education and training” means a process by which a learner acquires knowledge, skill or competence and includes a course of study, a course of instruction and an apprenticeship”, it did not refer to a further education sector but to all intents side-stepped the issue. The Act was intended to disband the Further Education and Training Accreditation Council (FETAC) and replace it with a Quality and Qualification Assurance body which would also replace the Higher Education and Training Accreditation Council (HETAC). This move created a space for the unification of awarding bodies under one umbrella group and had potential to ensure a seamlessness to the progression of qualifications whether a student completed a qualification either in what had been presumed to be Further Education which really did not conclusively exist and a qualification achieved in the Higher Education (HE) sector. This however did also provide a new contested space; that of Further Education and Training (FET). However that contestation is more likely to be of intention also, given the history of the Irish education system. Providers of education were to negotiate contractual relationships with the national awarding body QQI and that process is currently being developed with individual providers which are not actually all Irish based.

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<sup>57</sup> Qualifications and Quality Assurance (Education and Training) Act 2012 <  
<http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2012/act/28/enacted/en/html>> accessed 20/2/2020

The later *Further Education And Training Act Board 2013*<sup>58</sup> (which set up what is known as An tSeirbhís Oideachais Leanúnaigh agus Scileanna or Solas as it is known in English), was another example of the ignoring of ‘the elephant in the room’ that was presumed to be FE and marking its new nomenclature and identity as FET. The Act provided for the transfer of responsibilities for the administration of Further Education and Training (FET) and required that a strategy statement (duly delivered by Solas<sup>59</sup>) be drawn up for FET. Within that Strategy Statement FET was ‘defined’ as providing

*“education and training and related supports to assist individuals to gain a range of employment, career, personal and social skills and qualifications at Levels 1-6 on the NFQ (National Framework of Qualifications) or equivalent and is aimed at jobseekers, school leavers, labour market returners, employees, those interested in new career direction, those wishing to access ‘second chance’ education, those wishing to re-engage in learning and to prepare school-leavers and others for higher education. FET also plays an important role in helping people to lead fulfilling lives, supporting some of the hard-to-reach individuals and groups to achieve their potential and reducing the costs to society of exclusion”*

*Further Education and Training Strategy 2014-2019*<sup>60</sup>

To understand why this is such an expansive definition, one only has to put it in simple terms; that Solas (an executive agency of the Department of Education and Skills) itself, was created from a failed semi-state organisation which was involved in training and apprenticeship administration that was An Foras Oilúnas (FÁS). This has now been re-invented as the overseeing body of Further Education and Training through its oversight of the Further Education constructs and has at this stage been developed in such a manner that often the FÁS hierarchy which was scattered following its disbanding, is now being reconstructed within the ETBs which were created by the *Education and Training Board Act 2013*<sup>61</sup>:

*“To provide for the better coordination and delivery of education and training, and, for that purpose to provide for the establishment of bodies to be known as education and training boards; to provide for the dissolution of vocational education committees; to provide for the transfer of assets, liabilities and staff of vocational education committees to education and training boards; to provide for the repeal of the vocational education acts 1930 to 2006, the amendment of the unfair dismissals act 1977, the national development finance agency act 2002 and the education act 1998, the revocation of certain statutory instruments and the consequential amendment of certain other enactments; and to provide for related matters.”*

*Education and Training Board Act 2013 (preamble)*<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Education and Training Board Act 2013, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2013/act/11/enacted/en/html>> (last accessed 5/1/2020)

<sup>59</sup> Further Education and Training Strategy 2014-2019, Dublin: Solas

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Education and Training Board Act 2013, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2013/act/11/enacted/en/html>> (last accessed 5/1/2020)

<sup>62</sup> Education and Training Board Act 2013, < <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2013/act/11/enacted/en/html>> (last accessed 5/1/2020)

A mammoth task to ‘better’ coordinate something which ostensibly did not exist! Additionally, the FET constructs have now been given the role of tendering the process to Education and Training Boards throughout the country. These rapid shifts of fortune for further education means it is wearing the new clothes of the FET sector, but more importantly the budget being provided for those purposes lie within inclusion activation, and development goals as outlined by the EU. Within that fact, however the priority is bounded by the concentration on the concept of human capital focus. Human Capital as a notion was introduced by Schultz (1960) and Becker (1962) and constitutes a very significant concept within neoliberal constructs, and was identified in public policy discourses from the early 1960s. It is essentially a process which aligns education, training and economic growth in such a way that traces economic development and “lays considerable stress on the education of individuals as the key means by which both the individual accrues material advantage and by which the economy as a whole progresses” (Gillies, 2011, p.225). Rather than a finite concentration on social inclusion *by* the education system, the priority is labour activation to ensure economic return *on* the investment input in the education system. Effectively the actions are now reimagined without actually admitting that there was no Further Education sector in the first place and what was unchallenged as a Further Education sector was actually a non- defined construct of schemes which were built in such a manner as to make them easy to dismantle when the ESF might be withdrawn.

Apprenticeship has again been reimagined under the FET constructs and the re-emergence of the services and construction industries using apprenticeships in the past decade. Apprenticeships for bricklayers, electricians and carpenters had been an integral part of the construction industry in Ireland prior to the 2008 recession with many further education colleges and institutes of technology responsible for the administration of the apprenticeship contracts. Thousands of apprentices were forced to abandon their apprenticeships or fight to have their training continued at the expense of FÁS, which impacted on the reduced budgets of FÁS during the austerity period. The reimagined apprenticeship programme now emerging imposes legal and financial involvement in the apprenticeship process on the employer, and it appears that in so doing, the focus is on creating a ready labour force which will be primed for migration should the need arise. Thus, trained human capital will bear the responsibility of ensuring they are continually fully active, a notion succinctly summarised by Hurley as

“likely that access to educational opportunity tends to lead more directly to social mobility for the individual than to a concern with the issues confronting society” (Hurley, 2015, p. 77) who further highlights that when cheaper human capital resides elsewhere the businesses whose flexible franchise based constructs find it easy to move towards the cheaper labour which “reduces the members of the workforce to the status of expandable foot-soldiers in a battleground dominated by the rallies and retreats of market forces” (Hurley, 2015, p. 81). They can then be easily incorporated into any other country within the EU, or further afield, which will have need for the services for which they have been trained. Failing this there is a focus on upskilling and re-skilling to ensure the EUs investment in human capital is ready to remove the dependence on individual member states resources to the benefit of others across the EU.

#### *Chapter Summation*

The period 2000-2020 has in social, legal and economic terms, been defined as a period of consolidation of structures to achieve the ultimate union of Europe. For Ireland, and indeed for other members of the newly established European Union, this has entailed a consolidation of laws, social structures, integration and support systems and above all, education. Irish decision making, in relation to policy is now firmly based in the constructs required for full and participatory contributions within the larger European agenda where budgetary oversight, reporting and agreement requirements are now European semester-based and at a remove from regional and even national influence. The bigger picture requires the lesser parts to be placed in a wider context and this impacts on the influences which can be brought to bear. In this context Irish policies take on a European agenda-based focus. The funding of the process of such integration impacts on existing constructs, and in order to create a uniform understanding and start point, it requires for those structures to be commonly bound.

Creating a Further Education and Training system within Europe, which allows for the development of human capital approaches to integration, migration and belonging, has been the result of such a journey to integration. In order to create such an all-inclusive European system particularly in relation to Further Education in Ireland, it was necessary to examine the concept of Further Education and add on to it, the strictures of training since the mandate in relation to Europe was not particularly based on changing citizenship, ability to integrate and the need to get vast numbers of young people skilled with the competences for work. The money followed the motivation,

and funding became that of youth activation, rather than social integration under the ESF in particular. In Europe where many member states have more developed industrial bases than Ireland that augured a change in approach. Rather than an Irish agricultural base which has focussed educational goals the approach to education and activation now moved rapidly towards a Human Capital approach, which has transformed our socially evolved constitutional approach to systems and labour supports.

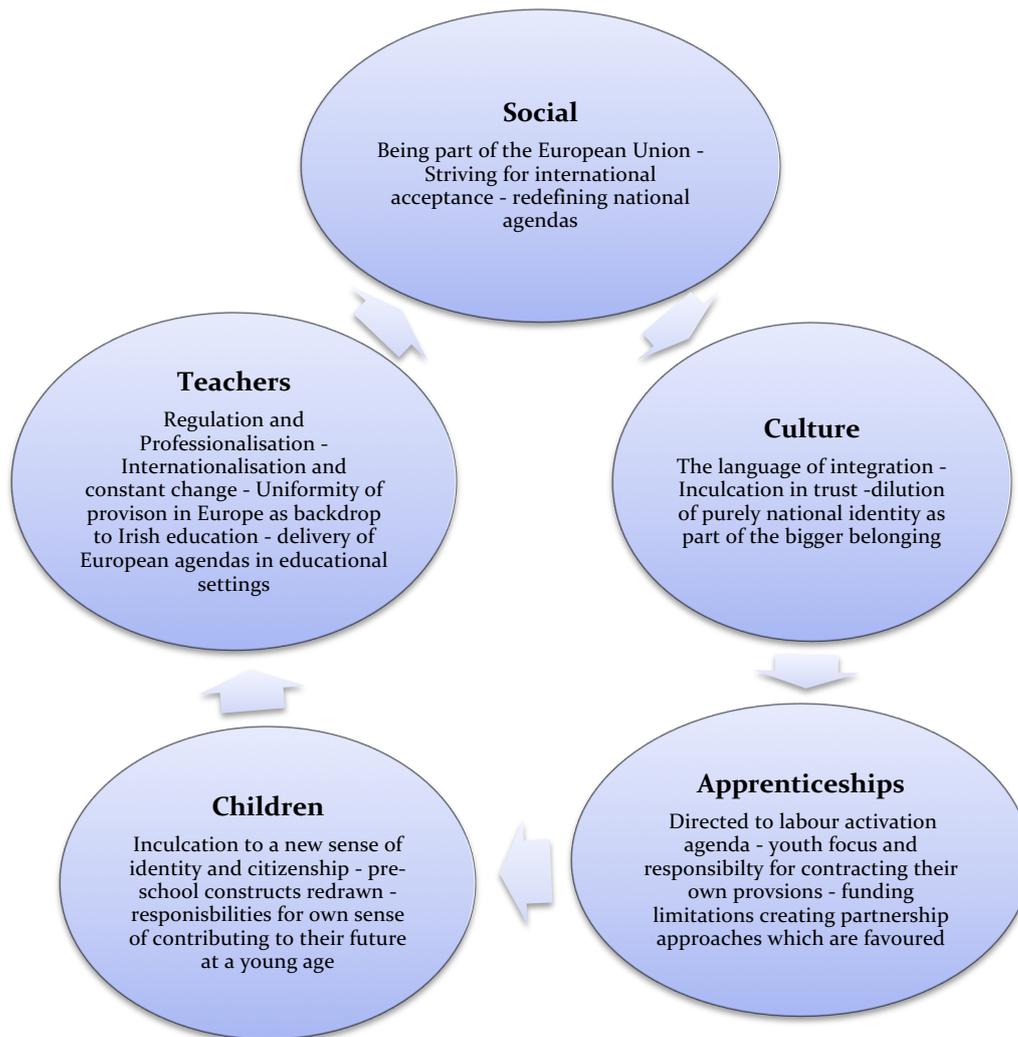


Figure 23 Components of Irish Education 2000 - 2020

What has emerged almost silently and invisibly is a sense of another system coming into being which really is more an adjunct rather than a creation, and which might well satisfy those who might have had potential to create dissention in light of changes being imposed. The real difficulty however is that in order to add something to Further Education and, indeed this researcher would posit, to put ourselves in a position to defend Further Education , we need to know what our notion of Further Education is,

and this has not been defined, bounded or consolidated at all. We appear in Ireland, to have perhaps blatantly created confusion over a long number of years either nationally or regionally, which has allowed the Further Education system to present itself as worthy of inclusion in a European Further Education and Training system so that we now have a more complicated and resource-contending system which may well fall short of creating a sustainable future for our young people beyond migration to more industrially demanding countries within Europe or beyond. We will however pay our young people to partake in this system while observing the consequent demise of the 'Further Education' within 'Further Education and Training' (the FE of FET).

Language has become that of labour activation, labour motivation and labour mitigation, in the sense that where someone has no work they are engaged in the processes of seeking work either at home or throughout Europe. Lifelong learning has supplanted the drive to ensure a European standard of basic education and now there is a new vocabulary of upskilling, reskilling, lifelong learning, while all the time the decisions are becoming personal rather than social and processes of formal and informal learning fill the agenda. Recognition of Prior Learning has become the new trend, and in this there is the potential to correctly account educationally for learning which occurs in places that are not designated as learning centres such as schools or colleges. Responsibility is therefore person-centred, but recognition and validation is currently college or school facilitated.

The national basis of culture and in particular religion within culture, has been removed in favour of interculturalism, multiculturalism, integration and inculcation of a sense of belonging to the new structure that is Europe. Religion, which in Ireland had been a centre of contention is now a matter of choice where once again decisions for children will be made by the parents but without an expectation of retribution. Adulthood and adult decisions on lifelong learning are encouraged in the process of assuring children that they take responsibility for their own education decisions in the inculcated knowledge that if the adult fails to engage in the readily available processes of lifelong learning, they have also made a decision on their employability.

Apprenticeship has been redrawn once again and the processes are administered within the new convenient structure that is now labelled FET. Now the student is required to negotiate the contract themselves, the master is responsible for the employment

elements and the input of ETB is the oversight of this process and conveniently only partial funding. Clustered within these developments are pre-apprenticeships, internships, specific skills developments, and traineeships which resemble prior schemes that can be readily altered to respond to market changes. However the policy realities are that there is no defined continuity to the actual offering that includes FE, and these developments are clearly internationally constructed towards a unified approach to labour migration in order to satisfy industrial interests where they lie.

## Chapter 9 - Conclusion

The journey for this researcher began with the task of answering a self-posed question: What effect does a period of substantial change have on the collegiality, professionalism and leadership of a group of Further Education teachers? This however led to a further exploration of what Further Education actually was, prompted by the obvious lack of a clear description of what Further Education was when interviewing a group of practitioners in a specific Further Education College in Dublin. The examination of the concept as outlined in historical, legal and economic contexts over two hundred and twenty years was undertaken to unearth where Further Education originated, how it changed and what it actually was and even where it might go in the future. The researcher did set out to uncover the history of Further Education from a perspective of its origins in order to unearth a workable definition of what Further Education in Ireland was. In the process the researcher has been able to contribute to the paucity of research into Further Education particularly from a practitioner's perspective with a particular focus on the legal, social and economic aspects. The research has used a unique policy focus through a legal, economic and historical lens to examine Irish education and how it was constructed, deconstructed, moulded and reconstructed at various times over a period of two hundred and twenty years from 1800-2020 specifically.

### Ireland's shifting status

During that time period the status of Ireland itself altered several times, and with it the level of influence Irish people had over their own education system through the epochs of:

Ireland as a subject State 1800-1900

Ireland as an emerging State 1900-1950

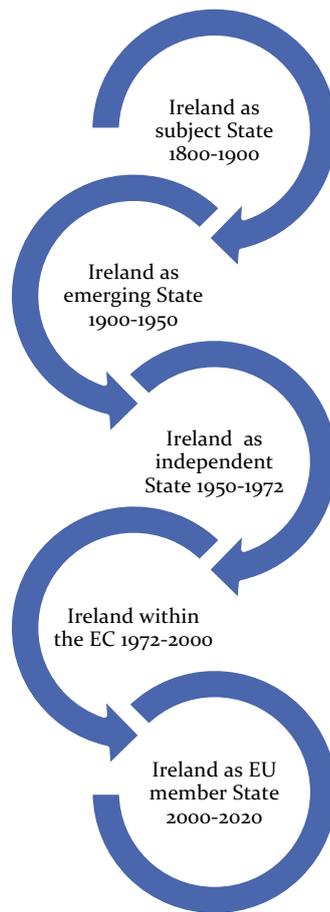
Ireland as an accession State 1950-1972

Ireland within the EC 1972-2000

Ireland as EU member State 2000-2020

Significant social, economic and legal implications resulted from each of the status changes outlined, and have in the process, contributed to a very complicated and contested place inside education for Further Education in the context of those who engage with learning within Further Education and more especially for those who teach

within it. The passage of time however, has not actually unveiled the reconfiguring of the precise concept of Further Education within that wider Irish education system. The researcher does however identify what she refers to as the policy constructors of that education over time, both within and without those specific Irish State shifts, when the focus of the paymaster/funder/franchise-holder changed.



**Figure 24 Ireland from 1800 - 2000**

The research uncovered, that from 1800 (chosen as a convenient starting point because of the 1801 Act of Union) onwards, educational systems strove to replicate the perceived successful structures that existed elsewhere in Britain and beyond, while overlooking, for instance, the significant detail such as the fact that the First Industrial Revolution began in Britain and had actually been the catalyst for education of the masses worldwide once industrialisation took hold. The legal structures which facilitated the transposition of this revolution were actually based on the transposition of copyrights that had originally belonged in Britain, across to the United States and

further afield. Social developments fed the demand for alternative employment and from this grew an educational system that was constantly scrutinised, with what appeared to be a preconception that the best and in particular Ireland's best, could always be better with a little more push, and ensuring that people could change their life chances by making the 'right' decisions towards conformity within an agreed structure.

Ireland was an enigma as it did not actually benefit from either the First or Second Industrial Revolution and at no stage could have been described as an inherently industrialised nation. It retained its neutrality in both WWI and WWII and in all that time from 1800 – 2020 it was in total charge of its own destiny for approximately fifty years only. Its education policy development and administration processes were funded by firstly Britain, then for a short time by itself, followed by the Marshall Plan process, by pre-accession structures outlined by the EEC and finally by the European Union. In what was a veritable rollercoaster scenario, education policy was only briefly within Ireland's own ownership.

Ireland's unique small country status, with ready access to France, Britain and even the European continent, resulted in a specific approach to its people based on the presumptions larger countries made about a small nation such as Ireland. This small nation with its own culture, beliefs and traditions which strove to educate its children the best it could even if that was in 'hedge schools', left those other countries exposed to invasion potentially. Class and religion and even the Irish language became the central powers wielded against the Irish people and formed part of the structural shifts of the period from 1800-2020. It appeared that these potential power contestations eventually extended to education and were inflated by the presumption that other nations were better at systemic educational procedures which would advantage them in international situations. Those other nations could ensure that education reached all their citizens, giving nationals of those far-off countries a perceived privilege to change their lot in life, unlike the 'poor' Irish. This presumption always carried then, the stated underlying threat, that other countries had the potential to usurp Ireland's chances for survival in industrial terms specifically. This was a powerful message.

The Marshall Plan era after WWI and WWII appeared to facilitate the transposition of industries into Ireland, where demand for education was as a result very much directed towards fulfilling the need of people to work in the resultant industries created or

facilitated to locate in Ireland. In the process, Ireland's people were educated just enough to satisfy the demand for affordable labour which those industries created. Discourses appeared to tackle potential shortfalls in labour preparation by means of entreaties towards changing the education on offer, specifically the teachers who taught within it, the training of those teachers and the resources allocated to them. However this left teachers in the spotlight while their conditions deteriorated with ever increasing demands for little pay or prospect of being valued as a contributory part of the great investment. They were expected to be the conduit of change but only within their own unchanging conditions. This theme runs throughout the entire period of 1800-2020.

Examining the evidence through the lens of experiential learning using Kolb's learning cycle (1984) and Argyris and Schön's single loop and double loop reflection (1978), it became obvious during the research that there was reflection from the point of view that the component elements within the educational concepts were being reviewed as Kolb described and were being incorporated into the constructs, albeit driven by the expediency of financial and franchise control. What was happening however, was single loop reflection within Argyris and Schön's model, but the missing element was the double loop reflection which could potentially have highlighted that what was missing was an actual bounded, reflective definition of what Further Education was to be in a specifically Irish setting. Throughout these reflective processes there was also a lack of robust consideration of the statistical basis of what was being described and may well have facilitated the continuation of reflection on the basis that the framework was presumed to be established, which was not actually the case as has been seen. The lack of this double-loop look back resulted in a chameleon existence for what has been presumed to be Further Education and this has never been resolved.

### ***Historical Critical Discourse Analysis***

Throughout this research, the depth of understanding unearthed by engaging with historical critical discourse analysis using a documentary approach allowed for comprehensive study of developments over the 220 years of this examination into Irish Further Education, in a manner which backgrounded the significant historical commentary around development, power situatedness and economic developments which have directed education in Ireland since 1800. As a research approach it required constant vigilance to wider historical developments and theoretical influences and how those changes impacted on the political and economic domain within Ireland, which in

turn illuminated historical choices and how they were politically situated and responded to, at the time they were actually made. This in turn requires the researcher to examine specific commentary of the time, to analyse time specific developments which in turn requires constant review to ensure that current interpretations and motivations are freed from present day accepted knowledge bias. This approach challenges current thinking and theoretical positions by requiring the researcher to effectively 'other' the present and in doing so, presents a constant challenge to perceived wisdom in favour of the informed logical understanding which research of social, economic and education analysis requires. However the resultant sense of understanding of choices made within the social constructs of the time they were actually made, allows for a really deep understanding of the topic and its resultant developments. This is a powerful tool in research akin to a mirror on time.

Using philology alongside Historical Critical Discourse Analysis changed the analysis from that of understanding of the reasoning made obvious, to one of how those changes were facilitated by wording and the power of the manner in which words were meaningfully part of the vocabulary of understanding in this research. However this researcher would advocate using philology in a comparative manner in order to illustrate the distinctions between what was said and not said, and indeed, what was understood and why it was understood in the manner in which it was intended to be understood.

Allied to this, the use of policy analysis, particularly the work of Colebatch (2009), situated as it is in the messiness of policy understanding, added a valuable analytical framework for this researcher. It highlighted the changing influences which were revealed in the historical CDA approach and became a valuable tool in mapping changes and explaining why they took place when they did. As a theoretical approach this allowed the researcher to position change not just in terms of its influence but also the influence of change on change, the actors involved, their motivation for change and the resultant hidden agendas which might have eluded examination without such situatedness in theory. The usefulness of the juxtaposition of horizontal, vertical and scene setting dimensions illuminated the processes not just as a tool of criticism but also as a tool of explanation and understanding. Together with the synoptic competence and capability model of Howlett and Ramesh (2016) this provided a valuable magnifying element to the process of understanding and grounding of the

concept and the procedures and expectations, as well as the limitations of ability of those involved in policy processes. This had the effect of deepening this researcher's appreciation for the positions of those who were influential in our educational developments in Ireland and more specifically those involved in the development of Irish Further Education.

The combination of approaches allowed the researcher to position the analysis of component factors in Irish education within an epochal umbrella which facilitated ready analysis and examination between epochs and status changes in Ireland.

### *Component Factors*

As documented throughout the earlier chapters, five component factors were identified which drove education's development in Ireland; (i) social, (ii) culture, (iii) apprenticeship, (iv) children, and (v) teachers

### *Social*

Both social forces and conflict in the period 1800-1900 revolved around the concept of subjugation of the Irish nation which was seen as having a position of advantage in case of perceived invasion of Britain, France and other European countries. This included the potential of influence from Rome on Irish Catholics and resulted in a very controlled, impoverished and undermined people who lived for the most part in a state of abject poverty. Famine and its aftermath as well as paid emigration of the poor resulted in a reduction in population but it also spread families to all corners of the world. In the later 1900-1950 period social forces resulted from World War I, World War II and Civil War in Ireland as well as a process of developing a Constitution for the new State. Character formation and a sense of belonging to the new Free State was a particularly strong influence in that period which straddled the conflicts of war and the sense of contributing to the new concept of citizenship where equality and contribution were valued.

Within a short time of becoming a Republic, Ireland was in pursuit of a bigger goal of being part of Europe. Consequently, in the period between 1950-1972 when the mantle of accession State was eventually achieved and people began to return to Ireland from imposed emigration. The Marshall Plan although given to Ireland in loan rather than

grant format put structures in place which allowed social development in a world where the threat of communism was portrayed as ever present. This then became the incentive for industries to develop albeit in areas favoured by TAP. This period saw huge unemployment create dependence on social supports and to a certain extent raised Ireland's horizon to include European belonging. This led to a period when we had eventually overcome reluctance to our joining the EEC and became part of the EC which included Britain.

Fitting in within these EC constructs led Ireland as a nation, to address many factors which had been obscured up to that point. The truth about industrial schools and the effective fraud which had been perpetuated on young people and parents, was among the issues exposed and led to changes in cultural norms and accountability for every expenditure, became a new form of belonging. This also meant, that within educational constructs there were changes envisioned which would support distance learning, multiculturalism, interculturalism, migration and inclusion, from where, once again there emerged a new Ireland. Finally from 2000 to 2020 as a result of changes to Treaties and the focus on creating a new European Union of States or the EU, Ireland adopted the mantle of European State with a national focus replacing its previous regional focus. In turn, EU funding and the policies that imposed, moved towards creating youth opportunities for the huge under 25 years age cohort which was emerging in the period throughout Europe and this currently affects the notion of youth employment and education in Ireland within which Irish Further Education as a concept exists.

Throughout the two hundred and twenty years covered in this research, five components of education have been constant; social, cultural, apprenticeships, children and teachers. Policy thinking shifts throughout the period reflected on changes to these components that were wrought in each epoch within the time frame. Those policy shifts resulted in obfuscation of the chameleon practices of what was conveniently labelled Further Education but had at various times been continuation education, and even technical education.

#### *Culture*

Religion, and more particularly religious contestation, within Irish culture is often not understood but was a prominent feature of the periods from 1800-1900 and 1900-1950, when in the former period the Protestant religion dominated while in the latter period

the Catholic religion became the national religion of the new Irish State. 1950-1972 changed the focus to one aimed at pluralism as befitted a more diverse belonging in Europe. While the issues of a religious nature became less clearly focused on the contested religious beliefs of Ireland and her people because of an outward focus, the concept of changing focus to varied religions ensured that religion was still a component part of education and educational provision. Following this, in the period 1972-2000 pluralism was the focus for religion but in the process there was a dilution of the place of religion in influential terms within Ireland as a result of many scandals the exposure of shortcomings and what was effective treachery of the faith Irish people had, certainly in the Catholic, but not exclusively, the Catholic religion. Secularism was now an effective threat to the free will and choice of a new internationally accepted Ireland. Further afield, religion began to be portrayed as a threat from radicalism with devastating consequences throughout the world. Discourse drove doubt and entrenched stances were questioned. From 2000 to 2020 this driver has effectively become layered with other discourses from a European perspective where a melding of nations has served to effectively blur the edges of Ireland's stance on almost every component part of Irish society. However, it still exists in elements of our education system, and while the strength of this driver may have been diluted, it has not yet been eliminated.

Language played a divisive part in Irish education from 1800-2020 but did so in various juxtapositions. During the period 1800-1900 it formed part of continuous contentious relations between Britain and Ireland. During that time period, elimination of the Irish language was paramount in education as a form of resetting of what it was to be a citizen in Ireland, where being good British subjects transcended being Ireland. By the time of the next period from 1900-1950 there was a sea change and the Irish language became not just the language of a new nation but also a preferred language as evidenced in the stated preference of Irish in our Constitution written in that time period. Irish speaking schools benefited from preferred status within education. During the period from 1950-1972 it was clear that Ireland was following a path towards integration into a bigger external grouping within Europe and this appeared to lessen the focus on clear demarcation positions in relation to the Irish language. Civil servants undertook classes to learn foreign languages and the teaching of a European language was incorporated into all education in Ireland. By the time Ireland reached the period 1972 -2000 that focus on language was not just about dialects but was added to by vocabularies of learning within Maths, Science and Technology became a new language of direction

within education. From 2000-2020 when Irish was recognised as an official language of the EU some of the contestation between English and Irish dissipated in Irish education but has ensured that many young people in Ireland are well placed with three European languages within their education.

### *Teachers*

Teachers in Ireland have, it appears, never actually enjoyed a position of respect within the Irish educational landscape throughout the two hundred and twenty years of research within this thesis. Initially from 1800-1900 they were the conduits of the Realm which sought to exert influence and were themselves subjected to expectations which were examined, teased out, criticised and in some cases ridiculed for want of perfection during public displays of their pupils achievements. They were poorly paid no matter how many children they taught and they had huge numbers of children in their classes. In the newly emerging State period from 1900-1950 those same teachers were expected to change their whole focus in relation to the establishment of Irish values in their teaching. They were the effective custodians of Irish culture, language and new State citizenship but their own conditions never improved. Those who taught were expected to invest in their own pedagogic improvements and failure to do so had implications for their remuneration. While there had been many untrained religious brother and nuns involved in teaching during this period, their qualification was prioritised as a result of which the numbers of teachers quickly increased without the need to incur expensive long term training.

The period 1950-1972 added a focus on accountability and responsibility within an accession process for which teachers were not specifically trained. Teachers in Ireland became many things in this period with the advent of CERT, AnCO and other training entities and in this process wore the mantle of instructors, educators, trainers, and teachers without clear recognition of the differences in each label and its implications for the job being done by those same teachers. Quality systems encouraged conformity within new structured frameworks which would facilitate integration across Europe, while doing so in a process of comparing the achievements of other nations, without acknowledging what Irish teachers had actually achieved and the hurdles they had scaled.

This effective accession period gave way to the period 1972-2000 when frameworks for comparison and interweaving of education in all European countries became the tool of integration under specific pillars of development within the EC. Funding in Ireland, especially using ESF funding, created opportunities for specific pillar related schemes within our educational structures which became the visible face of a strategic label which was Further Education in Ireland. Travel was seen as a new educator for teachers so that they could witness how things were done elsewhere in Europe with an almost implied presumption that those experiences would motivate Irish teachers to change their outlook. Certification to facilitate seamless migration within all regions of Europe became a priority, and with it accountability for quality verification and qualification of citizens as part of integration processes with a shifting of oversight and reporting processes to facilitate Europe itself. Boundaries were expected to be seamless within Europe, but these processes also led, to our educational system becoming boundary-fluid. The extent of that blurring of boundaries, particularly in what was portrayed as Further Education, resulted in what really is an amalgamation of schemes and the portrayal of Further Education as being something which exists in a 'between' state within the education sector rather than being a bounded sector.

Later when European union was effected in the period 2000-2020 it is obvious that the lack of cohesive sectoral recognition has created a category of teachers/trainers/tutors/facilitators/instructors that at one stage went under the guise of teachers, and in that process their sense of identity was subsumed into a vacuum.

#### *Children*

Children, within the component of Irish education, were more on the receiving side than the delivery side, yet their education was predicated on constantly shifting structures and inculcation to compliance with resultant changing demands. They were educated throughout the two hundred and twenty years from 1800-2020 to comply with the strictures expected by what this research has exposed by often absent policy design, administration and governance hierarchies, be that the British realm (1800-1900) and its annihilation of all things Irish, the Irish in their attempts to establish an Irish State (1900-1950), the Marshall Plan redevelopment of Europe to which the Irish State set its sights (1950-1972), Europe as part of integration (1972-2000), to a new belonging or the European Union whose goal is European citizenship and belonging (2000-2020). Children's education at each stage was geared to a *for* rather than a *being*, it changed

frequently and without those very children having a say in the processes. From a position of being held hostage to their parent's religion (1800-1900), to their being a hostage to their nation's goals of independence (1900-1950), through a period of change towards a new national goal (1950-1972), towards integration with international focus (1972-2000) to a new reality of belonging to a completely different society as a region of the European Union (2000-2020).

Irish children were programmed, constantly counted, exhibited, exposed and had their education and schools moulded to each policy maker and resource owner so often that even their parents were often not aware of the real extent of the changing educational landscape within which they were taught. This extended to the expectations on their learning of firstly self-reliance, citizenship, language, conformity and even their future potential as human capital. In all the education policy shifts over the time period of 1800 – 2020 have resulted in changed education practices and have changed the sense of what children in Ireland are being educated for.

#### *Apprenticeship*

Apprenticeship has, throughout these identified periods, been reimagined several times without ever taking a lookback to see why it does not actually work well in a country which never actually had an established industrial base such as Ireland. In the period 1800-1900 it was the focus of ensuring that apprentices learned the way to be good Protestants and could only be supervised by good Protestant gentlemen who would guide the apprentice, along a perceived right path. During the period 1900-1950 it became a method by which those who could not, would not, or did not have a viable means of support could comply, and in the process, either earn the right to emigrate or find basic employment while it was centred and focused within the Department of Agriculture. 1950– 1972 reimagined apprenticeship, again with contractual obligations for a set number of long years, but did not reward the experience until the long apprenticeship was complete. 1972-2000 saw responsibility for the apprenticeship process move to a labour activation focus and attract close critical comparison with the dual system which existed in Germany. In the case of Ireland FÁS became the controller of apprenticeships until the system effectively imploded in the more recent period of 2000-2020 following a severe downturn in Ireland's economy following the banking collapse of 2008 as outlined in this research. The latest version of apprenticeship in Ireland, albeit in a European context, has transferred responsibility

for the continuation of the apprenticeship to the employer and to the contractual relationship between the employer and the employee apprentice. It now rests within the constricts of labour activation and attracts a ‘training’ allowance of €20 per week. The training element positions itself outside the constraints of education alone, and in so doing has reimagined the role of educators in the process, while also creating and labelling it in a more European Union constructed sector that is FET. This development is hugely significant as essentially in the process, it does away with the recognition of any significant contribution of education; essentially the ‘E’ in the original ‘FE’ which is now ‘FET’.

### ***Answering the research question***

Each of the component factors of education development nudged the other and together created a momentum which affected education decisions in the relevant epochs. These component factors, while not all policy related, did both drive and in turn contribute to policy and more importantly, drove how the actors in education responded to the challenges they faced. Responses to these component factors guided or drove the contested positions of each element of Ireland’s education system and led to the implementation of what eventually were clear demarcation positions between one level of the education system or another. It has however, now been unpicked using an approach which examined the interpretation of texts and reports using linguistic practices which facilitate understanding, as outlined in Bröchk’s explanation of philology (Bröchk, 1877). Allied to this, a close examination of the meanings and discourses used throughout two hundred and twenty years of Irish education, provided enlightenment, while underlining the need to be aware of the usefulness of critical discourses in research. Both of these approaches within this research, have helped unpack a very complicated sector within our educational system which up to this has been subjected to an in-between classification, and in the process has opened up the tenets of that system, to scrutiny.

Further Education, has been constructed and is described by the Department of Education and Skills to this day as covering

*“education and training which occurs after second level schooling but which is not part of the third level system. There are number of providers of Further and Adult Education and Training and a wide variety of schools, organisations and institutions, are involved in the delivery of continuing education and training for young school leavers and adults”*

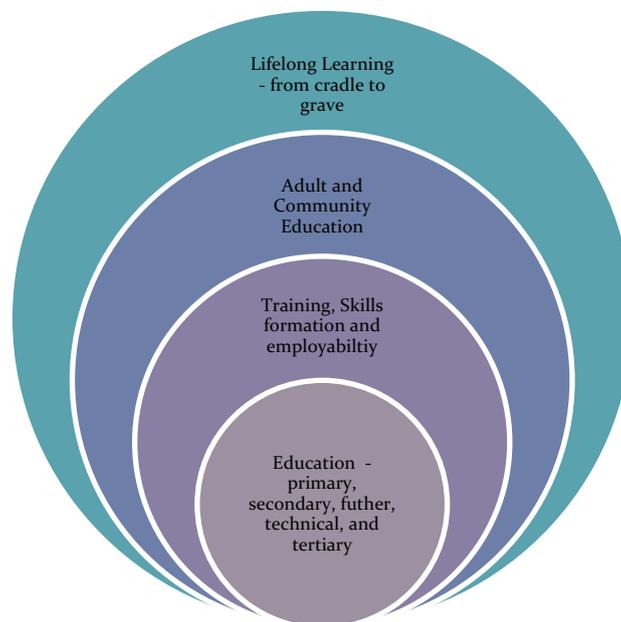
*(DES, 2020).*

This in-between existence, with some strategic add-ons of adult and continuing education and even training has endured from the very beginning and the very simple fact is that in the many shifts, reports, examinations, and evaluations both statistical and administrative, that Further Education has never actually been legally defined in its own right in Ireland. It has no boundary, no finite start or finish and as a result of its partial footing in secondary education it also has no sense of belonging in any sense where collegiality, professionalism or leadership could be clearly quantified or teased out. Neither does it have its own body of research which might assist in an identification process. It is effectively all things to all people, and nothing to most. That said, it is, to this researcher's mind, the most amazing, intriguing, invisible, enduring and successful non-existent sector within our education system which is actually worthy of study.

It definitely does not exist in isolation within Irish education as the diagrams featured early in this thesis depict and certainly does form part of the concept of Lifelong Learning as outlined by Europe. It was constructed in the convenient places between new policy shifts during the last two hundred and twenty years from what was in turn the remnants of the Irish Vocational system owned and administered by the Irish people. As such it still retains a favoured but financially resented place in the heart of Irish people who often profess not to understand what exactly it is, certainly at policy level. It is underfunded, under-resourced, under recognised and over this entire time from 1800-2020, has been able to shift its existence to confirm itself while still being able to remain virtually hidden in the Irish education landscape.

That is not to say that it was invisible, as its effects are seen in every corner of Ireland where the schemes which became its defining feature reached almost every city, town, village and family. Those touched by its influences have valued its contribution and have ensured its continuity despite continual policy shifts and diverse policy implementation and governance approaches outlined in this research. It clearly has allowed for an implied equality of education in Ireland when social and financial segregation were attempted and it has eluded change by being able to shift its boundaries within its shifting circumstances.

As a part of the Lifelong Learning agenda, Irish Further Education sits more snugly than one might imagine when examining Figure 1 and Figure 2 in this thesis and because of its cultural acceptance, initial community origins, ability to service diverse communities and age cohorts it embraces all parts of lifelong learning. Figure 25 is a more robust depiction of the Irish education system within this lifelong learning continuum and exposes some of the earlier depictions as being potentially current policy maker focussed, rather than informed by all the parts of Irish education which have always been embraced by Irish people whatever the policy thinking popular in each epoch as outlined in this research.



**Figure 25 Ireland's education in a lifelong learning construct**

This also has implications for what is now termed as Further Education and Training as the Further Education part is still not defined in a move which again appears to indicate a selective reflection and a conceptual shift towards the funding stream of youth activation in the 2000s. It also has implications for an even newer categorisation of Further and Higher Education used by the Department of Education and Skills<sup>1</sup>, where the 'Further' has always existed but is, to say the least, ambiguous for want of definition.

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<sup>1</sup> What was the Department of Education and Science changed its name to the Department of Education and Skills by Statutory Instrument, SI No. 184/2010. This followed a reorganisation of responsibility for skills training from the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment under Statutory Instrument, SI No. 187/2010. Research was transferred to the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment in the same process under Statutory Instrument SI No.188/2010

Against this backdrop it is virtually impossible to comment on the collegiality, professionalism or leadership of teachers within further education, as the teachers who work within it do not actually themselves know what it is, while the shifting sands of changes imposed facilitate the perpetuation of the cycle. Yes those teachers have an abundance of experience of change, but what kind of change, and to what goal, has never been decided upon. The presumption of the conditions and constraints of the second level system which are imposed on this group of teachers keeps them confined to the boundaries imposed by a Leaving Certificate bounded system when what they actually work within, is a system that covers both pedagogic and andragogic prerequisites. This researcher would contend that they are constrained firstly within a porous silo and secondly an unstable one. Whether European constructs can actually understand these issues has yet to be revealed, but the financial implications are potentially significant in a European context where conformity and the establishment of a new type of citizenship and belonging is in the process of being supported with the expectation that students will engage in wider European movements and certification procedural shifts.

The uniqueness of the Irish Further Education system may not be tolerated in a situation where uniqueness is being usurped by ubiquity such as in standardised, mass produced and online platforms for teaching. That very ubiquity will provide opportunities for world-wide educational consumption in a race to find the cheapest offer available among competing countries.

Irish Further Education appears to have suffered this fate of diminishing into obscurity, but even now, the root and causes of this development are eroded by obfuscation of the fact that there is, and was, no actual entity that was Further Education in the first place. The partial quote of Dewey earlier in this thesis, in expansion, is even more revealing and relevant to the concept of Further Education as has been outlined in this research and it is hoped that what has been examined within the research will add to the body of knowledge which will shape the understanding of the issues going forward.

***“The nature of the issues cannot be understood save as we know how they came about. The institutions and customs that exist in the present and that give rise to present social ills and dislocations did not arise overnight. They have a long history behind them. Attempts to deal with them simply on the basis of what is obvious in the present are bound to result in adoption of superficial***

*measures which in the end will only render existing problems  
more acute and more difficult to solve”*

*Dewey, 1997. p77*

The lack of boundaries to Further Education, causes complications in relation to ensuring for instance that there are meaningful communities of practice and a sense of professionalism where there is stock of the essential elements of profession such as “autonomy, authority and trust” (Hafez, 2015 p. 157). The teachers’ voice, a sense of bounding, belonging and being part of the process, have been excluded in return for some form of eventual contractual obligation, yet that very contractual obligation is shrouded in non-existence of the contractual body in the first place, which legally could have repercussions for those who depend on the presumed bounding elements of those contracts. What is lacking throughout over two hundred years, as outlined in this research, is the students’ and the teachers’ voice, as if Further Education is imposed on the student and teacher, rather than the student and teacher belonging in Further Education. This is perhaps the most regretful element of Further Education in Ireland – that lack of a sense of belonging and not a sense of being involved in what Freire calls “a mere exercise in adaptation to the world”:

*“The more education becomes empty of dreams to fight for, the more the emptiness left by those dreams becomes filled with technique, until the moment comes when education becomes reduced to that. Then education becomes reduced to training, it becomes pure transfer of content, it is almost like the training of animals, it is a mere exercise in adaptation to the world”*

*(Freire, 2004 p.84).*

It is time for Further Education to take its place in Ireland, Europe and more specifically within the categorisation of Further Education and Training. It has, throughout two hundred and twenty years, delivered for people, and, as has been demonstrated in this research, allowed itself to go unbounded until it was reduced to a series of schemes which can be systematically eliminated. This erosion is palpable to those working within Further Education including the researcher, and it is time that those within Further Education go back to state the confines, as only then can the real benefits be proven. Those availing of Further Education and those who work within Further Education are deserving of this review and not in a piecemeal process as is currently taking place where PLC, VTOS, Youthreach and other schematic elements of the offering are being examined in isolation from the bigger picture as otherwise Further

Education, and in turn Further Education and Training, will continue to be less than its cumulative parts.

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School Sites Act 1841

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Factory Act 1844

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## Appendices

*Appendix 1: Breakdown of Trades listed in Technical Education 1928-1928*

**Category A: Makers of Foods, Drinks and Tobacco**

Grain Mills  
Bread and Flour Confectionery Factories  
Biscuit Manufacture  
Sugar, Sweet and Jam Manufacture  
Creameries  
Bacon Curing  
Breweries  
Distilleries and Mineral Water Factories

**Category B & Category C: Textile Workers and Makers of Apparel and Textile Goods**

Tailoring  
Dressmaking  
Boot and Shoe Manufacture  
Sewing  
Weaving

**Category D: Workers in Hides and Skins and Makers of Leather Goods**

Boot and Shoe makers  
Saddlers

**Category E: Workers in Wood and Furniture**

Cartwrights  
Coachbuilders and wheelwrights  
Sawyers  
Coopers  
Cabinet-makers  
French Polishers  
Upholsterers and Coach Trimmers

**Category F: Metalworkers**

Smiths  
Motor Mechanics  
Mechanics and Fitters  
Plumbing  
Sheet metalwork  
Foundry work

**Category G: Electrical Apparatus Makers and Fitters**

Electrical engineering  
Electricity  
Applied Mechanics

**Category H: Workers in Chemical Processes**

Self-explanatory

**Category I: Printers, Bookbinders etc.**

Linotype  
Typography

Lithography  
Lithographic Art  
Monotype  
Machine Ruling  
Photo-Mechanical Process  
Etching or Photo Engraving  
Book-binding  
Machine Printing Work  
English and Calculations  
Pure Photography  
Chemistry for Photographers

**Category J: Builders, Bricklayers, Stonecutters etc.,**

**Masons**

Plasterers  
Bricklayers  
Structural Engineering  
Quantity Surveying

**Category K: Painters' and Decorators' Work**

House and General Painters  
Vehicle Painters

**Category L: Other Producers, Makers and Repairers**

Watch and Clock Making  
Makers of Bricks and Earthenware  
Makers of Glassware  
Workers in Gas Works  
Brush-makers

Appendix 2: Ministers for Education from 1921 to Date

Minister	Political Party	Duration in months.	Dates
J.J. O'Kelly	Sinn Féin pre FF	6	26/08/1921 - 09/01/1922
Michael Hayes	FG	3	11/01/1922 – 01/04/1922
Fintan Lynch	Sinn Féin pre FF	5	01/04/1922 – 30/08/1922
Michael Hayes	FG	2	17/07/1922 – 30/08/1922
Eoin O'Neill	Sinn Féin pre FF	4	30/08/1922 – 24/11/1925
John M. O'Sullivan	Cumman Na nGaedheal	77	28/01/1926 – 09/03/1932
Thomas Derrig	FF	90	09/03/1932 – 08/09/1939
Sean T. O'Ceallaigh	FF	0.5	08/09/1939 – 27/09/1939
Eamonn De Valera	FF	9	27/09/1939 – 18/06/1940
Thomas Derrig	FF	92	18/06/1940 – 18/02/1948
Gen. Richard Mulcahy	FG	40	18/02/1948 – 14/06/1951
Sean Moylan	FF	36	14/06/1951 – 02/06/1954
Gen. Richard Mulcahy	FG	31	02/06/1954 – 20/03/1957
John Lynch	FG	27	20/03/1957 – 24/06/1959
Patrick J. Hillery	FF	70	24/06/1959 – 21/04/1965
George Colley	FF	15	21/04/1965 – 13/07/1966
Donagh O'Malley	FF	20	13/07/1966 – 10/03/1968
John Lynch	FG	0.5	11/03/1968 – 26/03/1968
Brian Lenehan	FF	16	27/03/1968 – 02/07/1969
Padraig Faulkner	FF	44	02/07/1969 – 14/03/1973
Richard Burke	FG	57	14/03/1973 - 01/12/1976
Peter Barry	FG	8	02/12/1976 – 14/07/1977
John P. Wilson	FF	47	15/07/1977 – 30/06/1981
John Boland	FG	8	01/07/1981 – 09/03/1982
Dr. Martin O'Donoghue	FF	7	09/03/1982 -06/10/1982
Charles J. Haughey	FF	1	06/10/1982 – 27/10/1982
Gerard Brady	FF	2	27/01/1982 – 14/12/1982
Gemma Hussey	FG	38	14/12/1982 – 13/02/1986
Patrick Cooney	FG	13	14/02/1986 – 10/03/1987
Mary O'Rourke	FF	56	11/03/1987 – 13/11/1991
Noel Davern	FF	4	14/11/1991 – 11/02/1992
Seamus Brennan	FF	11	12/02/1992 – 12/01/1993
Niamh Bhreathnach	Lab	22	13/01/1993 – 17/11/1994
Michael Smith	FF	1	17/11/1994 – 15/12/1994
Niamh Bhreathnach	Lab	30	15/12/1994 – 25/06/1997
Micheál Martin	FF	31	25/06/1997 – 26/01/2000

Dr. Michael Woods	FF	5	27/01/2000 – 05/06/2002
Noel Dempsey	FF	27	06/06/2002 – 29/09/2004
Mary Hanafin	FF	44	29/09/2004 – 07/05/2008
Batt O' Keeffe	FF	22	07/05/2008 – 23/03/2010
Mary Coughlin	FF	12	23/03/2010 – 09/03/2011
Ruairi Quinn	Lab	40	09/03/2011 – 11/07/2014
Jan O'Sullivan	Lab	22	11/07/2014 – 06/05/2016
Richard Bruton	FG	29	06/05/2016 – 16/10/2018
Joe McHugh	FG	9	16/10/2018 – 8/2/2020

*Source: Department of Education and Skills 2019*

### *Appendix 3: Extract from Classification Processes - ISCED November 1978*

#### **I. STATISTICS OF ILLITERACY**

##### **Definitions**

1. The following definitions should be used for statistical purposes:

(a) A person is literate who can with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life.

(b) A person is illiterate who cannot with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life.

(c) A person is functionally literate who can engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own and the community's development.

(d) A person is functionally illiterate who cannot engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own and the community's development.

##### **Methods of measurement**

2. To determine the number of literates (or functional literates) and illiterates (or functional illiterates) any of the following methods could be used:

(a) Ask a question or questions pertinent to the definitions given above, in a complete census or sample survey of the population.

(b) Use a standardized test of literacy (or functional literacy) in a special survey. This method could be used to verify data obtained by other means or to correct bias in other returns.

(c) When none of the above is possible, prepare estimates based on:

(i) special censuses or sample surveys on the extent of school enrolment;

(ii) regular school statistics in relation to demographic data;

(iii) data on educational attainment of the population.

##### **Classification**

3. The population aged 10 years and over should be classified first into two groups: literates and illiterates. Where appropriate, functional illiterates should also be distinguished.

4. Each of these groups should be classified by sex, and also by age in the following groups: 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65 years and over.

5. Additional classifications should be made, where appropriate, for:

(a) Urban and rural population.

(b) Such ethnic groups as are usually distinguished within a State for statistical purposes.

(c) Social groups.

#### **II. STATISTICS ON THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE POPULATION**

##### **Definition**

6. The following definition should be used for statistical purposes. The educational attainment of a person is the highest grade completed and/or the highest level of education attained or completed by the person in the system of regular, special and adult education of his own or some other State.

##### **Methods of measurement**

7. To measure the educational attainment of the population, the following methods could be used:

(a) Ask a question or questions pertinent to the definition given above, at a complete census or sample survey of the population.

(b) Where this is impossible, prepare estimates based on:

(i) data from previous censuses or surveys;

(ii) records over a number of years of school enrolment, of examination, of school leaving certificates, and of degrees or diplomas granted.

#### **Classification**

8. The population 15 years old and over should be first classified by educational attainment, expressed preferably in terms of highest grade completed, but at the least in terms of level of education attained or completed. Whenever possible, distinction should also be made among different fields of study at each level.

9. Each of these groups should be classified by sex and also by age in the following groups: 15-19, 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65 years and over.

10. Additional classification should be made, where appropriate, for:

(a) Urban and rural populations.

(b) Such ethnic groups as are usually distinguished within a State for statistical purposes.

(c) Social groups.

### **III. STATISTICS OF ENROLMENT, TEACHERS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

#### **Definitions**

11. The basic statistical unit for which educational data are to be collected is the programme. The programme is defined as follows:

A programme is a selection of one or more courses or a combination of courses usually chosen from a syllabus. Such a programme may consist of one or a few courses in a specific field or, more commonly, of a number of courses most of which will be classified within a specific field but some of which may be classified in other fields. Each programme has an expressed or implied aim such as qualification for more advanced study, qualification for an occupation or a range of occupations, or solely an increase in knowledge or understanding.

12. In addition to definitions contained in the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), the following definitions should be used for statistical purposes:

(a) A pupil (student) is a person enrolled and/or registered in a programme of education.

(b) A teacher is anyone employed, even part time and/or without remuneration, to communicate knowledge, skills, etc. :

(i) a full-time teacher is a person engaged in teaching for a number of hours customarily regarded as full time at the particular level of education in each State;

(ii) a part-time teacher is one who is not a full-time teacher.

(c) A grade is a stage of instruction usually covered in the course of a school year.

(d) A class is a group of pupils (students) who are usually instructed together by a teacher or by several teachers.

(e) A school (educational institution) is a group of pupils (students) of one or more grades organized to receive instruction of a given type and level under one teacher, or of various types and/or levels under more than one teacher, under the direct supervision of the head of the establishment. (The school or educational institution is often the unit from which statistics may be secured.)

(i) A public school is a school operated by a public authority (national, federal, State or provincial, or local), whatever the origin of its financial resources;

(ii) A private school is a school not operated by a public authority, whether or not it receives financial support from such authorities. Private schools may be defined as aided or non-aided, respectively, according as they derive or do not derive financial support from public authorities.

(f) The compulsory school-age population is the total population between the age limits of compulsory full-time education.

#### **Classification**

13. Education should be classified into the following major sectors:

(a) Regular education.

(b) Adult education.

14. Regular and adult education should be further subclassified to distinguish regular special education and adult special education.

15. Education should be classified as far as possible by the level- categories and fields of study of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).

16. To the extent possible, adult education should be further subclassified by ISCED programmes.

#### **Tabulations**

17. Regular education

Tabulations by ISCED level-categories 0, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, and ISCED fields of study should be made where appropriate for:

- (a) Number of schools by public and private and number of classes.
- (b) Number of teachers by sex and by qualification (according to the practice in each State), classified, where appropriate, as full-time or part-time teachers.
- (c) Number of pupils by age, sex and grade, classified, where appropriate, as full-time or part-time pupils.
- (d) Number of pupils by sex who, during the year, obtained diplomas upon completion of this level and stage of education.
- (e) Number of foreign students by sex and country of origin (ISCED levels 5, 6 and '7).

18. Adult education

Tabulations by ISCED level-categories, fields of study and programmes should be made where appropriate for:

- (a) Mode and duration of programmes, and whether formal or non-formal.
- (b) Number of participants, enrolled by sex, and, to the extent possible, by age.
- (c) Number of teachers by sex.

19. Special education

Tabulations by ISCED level-categories 0, 1, 2, 3, 5 and 9, regular/adult, and where appropriate ISCED fields of study should be made for:

- (a) Number of schools (educational institutions).
- (b) Number of teachers by sex and by qualification (according to the practice in each State).
- (c) Number of pupils (students) by sex, type of handicap, and, to the extent possible, by age.

20. Population data

The population 2-24 years of age should be tabulated, by single years of age and by sex, according to the latest available census and current estimates. If this is not possible, census data and current estimates should be reported at least for the age groups 2-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19 and 20-24 years, and separately for the compulsory school-age population.

#### **IV. STATISTICS OF EDUCATIONAL FINANCE**

##### **Definitions**

21. The following definitions should be used for statistical purposes:

- (a) Receipts refer to cash received by or made available to or for schools, including appropriations, subventions, fees, cash value of property received as gifts, etc.
- b ) Expenditures refer to financial charges incurred by or on behalf of schools for goods and services.
- (c) Current expenditures include all expenditures except those for capital outlay and debt services.
- (d) Capital expenditures refer to expenditures for land, buildings, equipment, etc.
- (e) Loan transactions refers to the payment of interest and the repayment of the principals of loans.

##### **Classification**

22. Statistical data on educational finances, for a given fiscal year, should, as far as possible, be classified

as follows:

(a) Receipts:

(i) from public authorities, such as: central government or federal government; provincial, State or similar governments; county, city, district, or other local authorities;

(ii) from other sources (including tuition fees, other receipts from parents, endowments, etc. ).

(b) Expenditures:

(i) current expenditures (not including payments of interest): for administration or general control; for instruction, classified where possible as follows: salaries to teachers and other directly supportive professional staff, other instructional expenditures; all other current expenditures;

(ii) capital expenditures (not including debt service): instructional, non-instructional (residence halls, cafeterias, bookstores, etc. );

(iii) loan transactions.

**Tabulations**

23. Tabulations should be made of receipts by source, and expenditures by purpose, with subclassifications corresponding as nearly as possible to the classifications given in paragraphs 13 to 15 and in paragraph 22 of the present recommendation, consistent with the administrative and financial practices in each State. If possible, distinction should be made between expenditures for public and private schools, between expenditures for instruction and other accounts and between expenditures for education at the third level and education at other levels.

*Source: portal.unesco.org (last accessed 6/08/2019)*