

**Tertiary Sector, Binary Divide:
National policy and local experiences
of higher education in the 1960s and 1970s**

Peter Cunningham

In my academic career I've been fortunate to live and work in the new university buildings of several innovatory and visionary designers, including Powell and Moya, James Stirling, Denys Lasdun, and Chamberlin, Powell and Bon. So I begin with humble appreciation, on a purely personal level as user and spectator, of the enormous contribution of these architects, not just to the daily conduct of teaching and learning, but also, to the experience, understandings and status of university and higher education. (Not without some regrets and questions about the way the outward appearance of some of these buildings has fared, questions of materials and maintenance no doubt).

National institutions, local contexts

But I write here as an education historian and my remit is to reflect on the opportunities that were opened up, the confluence of economic, social and political circumstances that enabled these working monuments to be created. What we call educational policy is a succession of responses by governments of the day to perceived social need. It can be read by historians in the buildings and campuses that provide one kind of archaeological evidence, a highly visible outcome of educational policy. But policy historians are more likely to be found in the archives, tracing over the enormous paper trail of documentation that modern polities and state bureaucracies leave in their wake. The task of the policy analyst is largely directed at unravelling and critiquing the motivation and intentions, political debates and manoeuvrings that generate such phenomena as the enormous expansion of higher education in the 1960s. Historians will also want to evaluate how these intentions were fulfilled, achievements, and levels of success or failure of particular policies. Mostly this is done through a macro lens, on a national scale, measuring

outcomes in quantitative terms of costs and benefits, financial expenditure, throughput of students, economic contribution of skilled labour and impact on Gross Domestic Product. In keeping with the nature of this conference, however, and in keeping with my own inclinations as an historian, I want to focus eventually less on the national and quantitative, but rather more on the local and qualitative.

So I have two aims:

First, though the purpose of this conference is to understand and celebrate the architecture we need also to remember that the national policy of expansion in higher education resulted in a lot of institutions that were not graced by such prestigious schemes. I want to explore aspects that did not generate, at least not initially, such impressive architectural heritage.

Secondly, I want to observe that although the great campuses will stand for posterity as archaeological evidence of a great educational achievement, the significant outcomes of university expansion include also human ones that are more concealed from the historian's gaze. This is where local contexts become important.

In this second aim I find my interests and methods as an historian relate to the work of Gerard Byrne in 'The New Monumentality' exhibition, its concern for experiences and values, and its use of fragmentary evidence.

To fulfil my aims I need to delve back in historical time, if only briefly, to the origins of universities. In the 12th century at various locations in what we would now call western Europe, but not forgetting important precedents in the Arabic and Islamic world, independent scholars gathered together to pursue their interests and to teach. They were essentially 'independent' of the state though the skills and knowledge they developed were very useful to the state, and so they acquired royal protection and patronage in a mutually beneficial relationship. Academic interests were closely related to concerns of the Church, in theology and canon law, leading to the distinctive denominational context following the Reformation in England where the ancient universities of Oxford and

Cambridge became the exclusive preserve of the Established Church. Hence the evolution of a socially exclusive and academically conservative model, against which, accompanying the success of the commercial and industrial revolutions in various provincial centres from the 17th to the 19th centuries, alternative conceptions of a university had to be carved out, catering for dissenters, as in the Nonconformist Academies, and more importantly for an innovatory curriculum that would recognise science and technology and their applications in the industrial world.

From continental Europe it was the Prussian model of the research university propagated by von Humboldt that probably most influenced the English, along with Cardinal Newman's ideal of university education as an end in itself, pursuing 'pure' rather than 'applied' knowledge. An alternative existed in the French *écoles supérieures* and Napoleon's *école polytechnique* committed to advancing primarily the technical skills needed by a modern industrial state.

Although the French model was a highly centralised national scheme, we might bear its approach in mind as we come to consider the local context of new civic universities that emerged in England at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the six that received their charters before the First World War. One such was the University of Leeds chartered in 1904 and tracing its origins to the Leeds School of Medicine founded in 1831 and subsequently the Yorkshire College of Science founded in 1874. In this foundation, as described by Brian Thompson in his (1971) *Portrait of Leeds* there was already some tension between on the one hand its practical potential for local industry, and, on the other the purely academic ideals of the university. The first Vice-Chancellor was an Oxford classicist, Nathan Bodington, and as Thompson puts it 'The town of Leeds was not unsuspecting of the intrusion of some "high-minded" staff who were "not local" in the damning phrase' (p.78). But there was huge generosity to the institution from local benefactors, such as Riley Smith the brewer, Montague Burton the clothing manufacturer, and Beckett the banker. Frank Parkinson paid for housing the Brotherton library in recognition of his days as a poor student at the college, on which his vast electrical business was built. By the mid 20th century the University had large and successful departments of civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, and in other areas of science

and technology serving local industrial and commercial interests, as well as its faculties of arts and humanities.

Universities in England were traditionally independent of the state but this independence was increasingly undermined by mechanisms of government funding from the First World War onwards. Military as well as commercial demands were made on the scientific and technological research potential of universities as a result of the First and Second World Wars. The aftermath of the Second World War saw political demand for university education both in terms of a welfare state programme of social reconstruction, and in national aspirations for technological progress and economic development in the context of post-war economic recovery and Cold War military tension.

In 1956 not long before the Suez crisis, and the shock it gave to any complacency that might have underlined Britain's imperial and military might, Prime Minister Anthony Eden told a meeting in Bradford:

'Prizes will not go to countries with the largest population. Those with the best systems of education will win. Science and technical skills give a dozen men the power to do as much as thousands did fifty years ago.' [Simon 1991 p.198-9]

But a good deal of scientific and technical education was taking place *outside* the established universities in institutions that would have been designated 'further' rather than 'higher' education, as not sufficiently fulfilling the academic criteria required to be matched in status with the traditional elite universities. It is not insignificant to the present conference that architectural training had little standing within the established universities, and that Chamberlin, Powell and Bon were all three teaching architecture at Kingston School of Art (and outside the circle of the most prestigious architectural schools such as the AA and the Bartlett).

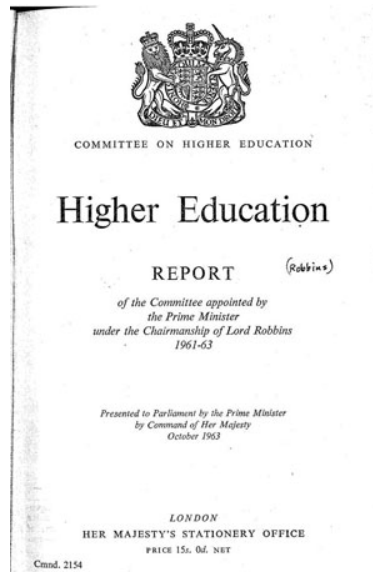
A subsequent White Paper on *Technical Education* offered a rationalised structure for six designated Colleges of Advanced Technology including Bradford, Aston (in

Birmingham) and Loughborough, which, despite their narrower focus than conventional universities would sit alongside them with equal status, and awarding degree level qualifications. These CATS were allowed to 'join the university club'. A Scientific Manpower Committee recommended radical expansion in science and technology at universities and technical colleges, expressing a panic that was ratcheted up in 1957 when Soviet Russia launched Sputnik, the first successful space satellite. The key point for our purposes is that understandings were beginning to turn from a homogeneous concept of 'university' to a greater diversity of institutions within a 'higher education' sector.

Governments of the 1950s also had to respond to increased social demand for university education that resulted from increasing prosperity and aspiration at personal and family level. In 1959 the Crowther Report noted a 'crisis' of pressure for university places from increasing demand and by July 1961 the University Grants Committee had authorised seven new universities (to be located on green field sites in York, Lancaster, Warwick, Norwich, Essex and Sussex).

Higher Education, binary divide: Robbins, Polytechnics, Reaction, Contraction

Robbins



October 1961 saw the opening of the first new university, Sussex, and active preparations for the other six new universities. Meantime, the Prime Minister, now Harold Macmillan, appointed a committee of enquiry on Higher Education chaired by Lord Robbins. This committee was very much dominated by the Vice Chancellors who recognised the social and political demand for more Higher Education, but, supported also by the Association of University Teachers, they recommended only cautious expansion based on a unitary model of the established universities.

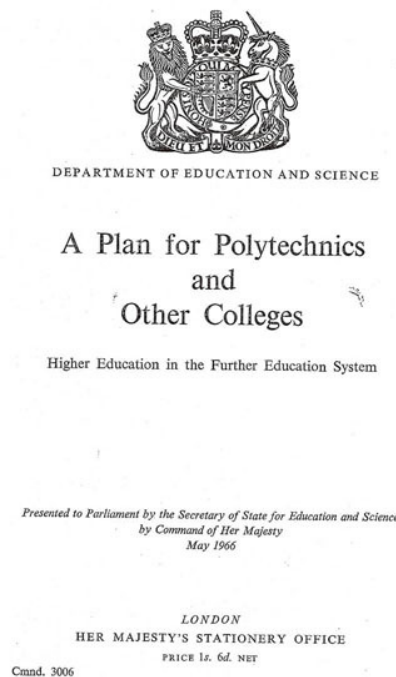
By contrast, in evidence to Robbins the Trades Union Congress made radical criticisms of existing educational opportunity, including its social class bias. Also commissioned to give evidence were the prominent psychologist P.E. Vernon and leading sociologist Jean Floud. Both opposed measured intelligence (IQ) as a criterion for determining the supply of university students. Vernon thought there seemed little reason why something like 15 per cent of the population should not be capable of work of university standard

(expansion to 15% would have doubled numbers of students). Floud saw the idea of 'intelligence' for determining future attainment as 'scientifically virtually valueless'; according to her, the supply of potential students was a function of 'social change and social policy' -- 'What only the few could do yesterday, the many can do today'. 'There is no iron law of national intellect imposing an upper limit on educational potential of the population.' [cited by Simon 1991 p.235]

Sir Alec Douglas Home was by now Prime Minister and gave an instant and very public (televised) welcome and acceptance of the Robbins Report on the day of its publication (23 October 1963). Just one year later, in October 1964 there was a General Election, which Labour leader Harold Wilson fought by confronting what he called the 'white heat of technological revolution'. Labour took the high ground as a 'modernising' party in terms of science and technology and its application through education. A Labour study group report ('Labour and the Scientific Revolution') added the social dimension: 'Higher Education should be a right for all able young men and women, regardless of their families' class, income or position.' [Simon 1991 p.229] Human capital theory was expounded in popular terms: 'Economic expansion is only possible if university and technological education expands rapidly and continuously to provide the necessary brainpower and skill'. New universities must be deliberately sited where they are in close and continuous touch with the life and needs of the nation' ... should be sited in industrial areas 'where they can in some way reflect the pulsating throb of local industry'. Also proposed was a 'university of the air' – which materialised as the Open University, a prescient perception that perhaps in the future, a university might not need a local habitation.

Following Labour's general election victory in 1964, the former Ministry of Education was upgraded to a Department of State for Education and Science. The radical socialist thinker Anthony Crosland was soon appointed Secretary of State and envisaged a 'binary system' of, on the one hand, autonomous universities, and on the other, a public sector of technical and other further education colleges. The policy was aimed at meeting manpower requirements of industry through upgrading the status of technical education

so that it equalled that of the universities. This policy was also accompanied by strong egalitarian rhetoric, however; on 27 April 1965 Crosland made his provocative 'Woolwich Speech': 'Let us now move away from our snobbish, caste-ridden hierarchical obsession with university status'. Universities were presented as 'pursuing learning for its own sake' and contrasted with 'relevant', vibrant 'public sector' deserving of public support.



The following year saw publication of a White Paper entitled *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges*. It announced the intention of developing 'a distinctive sector of higher education within the *further education* system to complement the universities and colleges of education'. It recommended the designation of 28 colleges with the most potential as regional polytechnics to form a nation-wide network for technical education. The polytechnics would be 'large and comprehensive' providers of full-time, part-time and sandwich courses of technical and vocational higher education.

The binary model proposed a quite distinct parallel model of Higher Education, breaking the monopoly of the traditional universities. But inevitably a status distinction and

hierarchy remained, maintained in different levels of funding and forms of control (accountable to local rather than national government, and subject to validation of its degrees by an outside body), but also in deeply embedded cultural attitudes, and hence also perhaps perceptions of local population? Other differentiating factors included the kinds and levels of research conducted, categories of student (part-time as against full-time, many mature students alongside school-leavers, locally recruited as much as nationally), the quality and employment value of qualifications on offer, and, most significantly for our concerns at this conference, the quality of physical plant (buildings and facilities).

The 1960s, as Brian Simon has observed, must be evaluated as a formative, and indeed unique, 'moment of change' within British education; between 1960 and 1970, educational expenditure, calculated as a proportion of GDP, increased by nearly 50 per cent.' By 1960 'the bulge' (as demographers described the post-war increase in birth rate) was about to hit higher education and was enhanced by 'the trend' (an ever increasing proportion of each age range staying on at school). The scale of expansion in student numbers over the 1960s was phenomenal. In 1957-58 students in full time higher education numbered 103,000 in universities, 33,000 in colleges of education (training to be teachers), and 13,000 in further education institutions. Thus there was a total of 148,000 nationally (of whom 69 percent were in Universities). By 1967-68 these figures had risen to: 200,000 in universities, 106,000 in colleges of education, and 71,000 in further education institutions, a total 376,000 (of whom however only 53 percent were now in universities). Thus over the decade, universities had doubled, colleges of education had trebled, but the public sector institutions had expanded fivefold.

By 1971 there were around 400,000 students in full time higher education in England and Wales, of whom about one half in university, one third in Colleges of Education, and less than a quarter in Polytechnics and other local authority colleges, but the latter also accounted for a further 100,000 part time students.

Leeds Polytechnic (now Leeds Metropolitan University) was established in 1970 and its first director was Patrick Nuttgens who should be of particular interest to this conference, as an educational thinker and administrator who was a trained architect, who researched in architectural history, and whose whole experience and thinking was influenced by this practical and applied approach to higher education.

The earliest predecessor college claimed by Leeds Met (on its website) is even older than those claimed by Leeds University; the Leeds Mechanics Institute, founded in 1824, became Leeds Institute of Science, Art and Literature in 1897, and later the Leeds College of Technology. By the late 1960s the College of Technology prepared for City and Guilds and professional courses, was recognised by London University for external degrees in engineering and science and had 700 FT and nearly 5000 PT students. Another early component of Leeds Poly was Leeds College of Art founded in 1846 (later to include amongst its students Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth) and by 1969 enjoyed a fine reputation with over 500 full time and nearly 1000 part time students, and included a School of Architecture. Leeds College of Commerce founded in 1845 was another fore-runner, with 831 Full time and 5000 part time students in 1969, as was The Yorkshire Training School of Cookery (affectionately known as 'the Pud School'), founded in 1874. , but from the mid 1950s developed a 'campus' in modern buildings, in the shadow of the university and slightly closer to the town centre. Leeds Polytechnic was subsequently centred on this site in Calverley Street, but only since its elevation to university status as Leeds Metropolitan in 1992 has it developed monumental architecture of the quality of the recent Broadcasting House and Rosebowl projects.

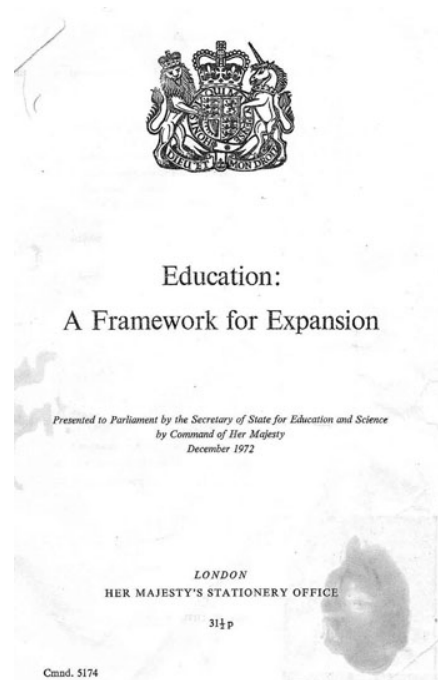
Later, in 1976 the Poly was joined by City of Leeds and Carnegie College with well over 1000 full time students, founded in 1907 and 1933, with its campus in Headingley. So, like Leeds University a century earlier, Leeds Polytechnic therefore emerged from local enterprise in vocational and professional forms of education, but with some significant distinctions of status between the kinds of profession, trade and craft represented. Leeds also had an impressive range of further education provision that did not immediately come within the polytechnic, such as the College of Building, Jacob Kramer

College (art and design), Kitson College of Engineering and Science, Park Lane College (commercial and secretarial) Thomas Danby College (nurses and nursery nurses etc) and Music Centre (later Leeds City College of Music).

Both the University and the Polytechnic in Leeds enjoyed distinguished but significantly different figures at their head. Sir Edward Boyle had been a Conservative Minister of Education, well networked within the political establishment and Oxbridge educated, with great interest and skills in music. Nuttgens came from an Arts and Crafts background, had trained as an architect in Edinburgh, and drew significantly on his less conventional but highly varied experience of higher education. Of his appointment in 1970, he later reflected: 'Where was the Poly going? There was a perpetual tension between academic respectability and the world of work'.

If there was to be serious change... the polytechnics must be not just second-choice institutions but the key to the future. That meant recognising that vocational education and training to the highest possible level must be as estimable as... the conventional studies that are regarded as having the highest status. To put it more simply than the academic mind likes, a production engineer or an industrial designer must be regarded with every bit as much respect, and educated with every bit as much care, as a specialist in English literature, a researcher in chemistry or an historian. But that has never happened since the early nineteenth century. We needed more of the oil can and less of the inkwell. [Nuttgens 1988 pp.35-6]

But a polytechnic and a university so close side by side, was bound to provoke comparison of and competition for resources, in danger of being seen as a threat to the university from the poly.



The heady confidence of exponential growth in the 1960s was soon to hit the buffers in the early seventies. Grumblings of reaction, that ‘more means worse’, inspired in part by the student unrest of 1968, was but an ideological spat compared with the harsh demographic and economic realities that dawned in the next decade. Against a background of recognition that since 1965 the birth rate was slowing dramatically, and the looming problems of rising inflation and declining balance of trade, the 1972 White Paper: 'A Framework for Expansion' was seen by most in higher education as a recipe for contraction. The local responses of Nuttgens and Boyle reflect conflicting attitudes and competing interests across the binary divide.

An article in *Leeds Student* in February 1973 reported Nuttgens taking the view that 'universities are making people as useless as possible to society', whilst Boyle echoed Robbins' more elitist caution against too much expansion in higher education. Cuts that were emanated from the White Paper included mergers of colleges of education with polytechnics as at Leeds, where teacher training was subsequently dropped, though

elsewhere in the country, for example at Warwick, and UEA, local colleges of education did merge with universities.

There remained across the binary division, a status and social differentiation in higher education: between epistemologies ('pure' and 'applied' knowledge), between pedagogies or methods of teaching and learning (independent enquiry and heuristic learning on the one hand, apprenticeship on the other), between the material rewards earned by graduates (and by the teachers) of the two different kinds of institution, and by the social class of the students they recruited. And important for us to remember in our present discussion, this distinction was also reflected in their buildings, which provided visual statements in the context of the urban landscape.

Experience: local and personal

It is a central concern of mine that we should seek to understand higher education policy not only in terms of the state and priorities of the government of the day, but also in terms of the impact those policies have in practice on the everyday life of communities and individuals. That is, for me, what makes Gerard Byrne's work for 'The New Monumentality' so compelling.

A useful source for historians trying to trace the relationship between the university and its community is the local press, so we could go to the *Yorkshire Evening Post* (YEP) in the first three months of 1965. These were still the early days of Wilson's Labour government, elected the previous October on the slenderest of majorities, controversial proposals were in the air for reorganisation of secondary schools on comprehensive lines, and Anthony Crosland's 'Woolwich Speech' would be made in April.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1965 9



THE mathematics-geology block showing the high-level bridges linking the building with the electronic computing laboratory and the lecture theatre block. The architects are Chamberlin, Powell and Bon, of London.

Students will be walking on air

Evening Post Reporter

LEEDS UNIVERSITY students of the future will be walking on air between lecture-rooms. High-level pedestrian bridges are to link upper storeys of new buildings now going up.

And eventually the system will spread over the entire Leeds campus university site, so that students will be able to walk on the same level to their buildings as though as a quarter of a mile apart.

The bridge system was described by Mr G Wilson, resident architect and planning officer at the University, as "unique in the world."

Mr Wilson said this was the first time anybody had "co-ordinated university buildings" in this country and highlighted the whole of movement between buildings so as to save time.

Under cover

The first of the high-level bridges will be built this summer between the new mathematics building now under construction on a five-acre site in the old Theatre of Peace area and the computer block.

It will be followed by bridges between the mathematics-geology block and a new medical centre towards the school.

"The idea of the bridges is to save time and effort in moving over the site," said Mr Wilson. "Colour systems will be used to guide pedestrians. The bridges will be part of the old route, and new ones will be used to connect the new buildings with the old."

Buildings now being built on the site of the new university building and development. The latter, only 400 yards from the city centre, is being built at the cost of £1,500,000 a year.

Between the mathematics-geology block and the electronic computing laboratory will be a wide concrete stairway linking different levels to north and south of both these buildings.

Four storeys high

A SECOND ROYAL DATE FOR YMCA



THE house of the Y.M.C.A. at Huddersfield.

FORTY-THREE years ago the Princess Royal went to Huddersfield to open the town's Y.M.C.A. premises in John William Street. Next month she will return to open the

Yorkshire Evening Post, 27 January 1965

Tertiary sector, binary divide

What can we learn of the university's impact on local life? There is evidence of some pride in the grand new architectural plans illustrated in the *YEP* for Wednesday 27 January: 'Students will be walking on air'.(p.9)



Yorkshire Evening Post, 28 January 1965

And the very next day *YEP* announces a significant contribution to civic cultural life, not by the university as an institution, by university *students* on their own initiative, launching an arts festival for the benefit of the city as a whole. (*YEP* 28 Jan 1965 p.6) On a modest budget of £500 financed exclusively by the Students' Union, a rich programme is promised including prestigious classical musicians, and more radically, the first ever production in Leeds of Bertold Brecht's 'Fear and Misery in the Third Reich' and the film première of 'Cuba Si'. There would also be modern jazz from Poland, folk and blues music, poetry readings by former Gregory Fellows, and, a promising sign of cross binary collaboration, visual art to be represented by Leeds College of Art. The aim, as they put it, was to 'fill the cultural vacuum in Leeds' during the two years when the triennial music festival was not running.

As it developed, this artistic entrepreneurship however also reveals certain tensions between gown and town (students and citizens). Just two weeks later the *Post's* front

page reveals the embarrassment generated by students dressed as Nazis in The Headrow. (YEP 13 Feb 1965 p.1). Never mind that they were advertising the forthcoming Brecht production, the police were forced to remind them of their offence under the law and made them cover up. Moreover that same issue of YEP reports that the concert by the English Chamber Orchestra has had to be cancelled through lack of support, accompanied by the somewhat tactless observation of the student festival secretary that this is 'a reflection on the culture of Leeds people and Leeds students'; the Vice Chancellor more diplomatically thought it failed because scheduled for mid-week and not the weekend' (but perhaps even that innocent fact reflects a gap between students' and workers' lifestyles!). (YEP 13 Feb 1965 p.3)

They look after themselves
400 STUDENTS IN NEW BLOCK OF FLATS

THE exterior of the Henry Price building in Rembrandt Street, LEEDS.

TAKE 200 men and 200 girls, put each section into 20 flats in the same building and you have an experiment in communal living believed to be the first of its kind in an English university.

This experiment has begun at the new-opened Henry Price building, a multi-story block of flats in Rembrandt Street at Leeds University.

There are 40 students. They have a kitchen, a bathroom, a living room and a bedroom. They have a television set, a radio, a washing machine and a refrigerator. They have a desk and a chair. They have a bookshelf and a lamp. They have a window with a view of the city.

By BARRIE FARNILL

IT HAPPENED TO ME

THE students will be commencing their first term in the flats on Monday.

Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 June 1965

The opening of Henry Price flats as reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* (YEP 1 June 1965 p.6) is of interest in this respect for what it has to tell us about the changing expectations and lifestyles of a 1960s generation of university students. The assertion of youth culture, and the student unrest of 1968, was accompanied by an official review of the age of majority (the Latey Report) which was in 1969 lowered from 21 to 18. Concept and discourse rapidly shifted from 'halls of residence' to 'accommodation'

implying abandonment of moral supervision and social control of students. (Silver 2007 pp.83-104)

NOW MUM HAS A DEGREE



FORMER LEEDS CLERK GETS 12 MONTHS' JAIL

DAVID JOHN BARRINGTON, a former clerk to Leeds solicitor Mr. Neville Glick, was found guilty at Leeds Assizes today on nine counts, including forgery and fraud.

Why Davies is in Hanoi—by Premier

THE PRIME MINISTER, addressing the Foreign Press Association in London today, said the purpose of the visit of Mr. Harold Davies to Hanoi was to get the co-chairmen to call a conference under the aegis of the 1954 agreement, leading to a just and honourable settlement.

"If the current discussion in Hanoi of any which may follow, however unconvincational, can advance by one day the date when representatives of all the parties will be able to get around the table, it will have been worthwhile."

'Inaccessible party'

He added: "What passes my comprehension is the belief that this can be settled on orthodox terms when one of the parties in the fighting is inaccessible."

Of the European situation, Mr. Wilson said: "No one in Britain, head of all the Government, can find any cause for rejoicing in the strains that have developed in the European Economic Community. We believe that the survival of the E.E.C. is vitally important for the stability, cohesion and Europe as a whole."

"It is our earnest desire that means should be found as soon as possible to bring dialogue between EFTA and the Common Market countries with a view to mitigating and ultimately ending the harmful and costly economic divisions of Europe."

Asked if he was satisfied with the support his Government had received from the trade unions, Mr. Wilson replied: "Yes."

DEATH OF YORK MAN

A man who collapsed and died as he was about to board a plane at Southampton (Essex) Airport last night, was today named as Mr. ...

Yorkshire Evening Post, 12 July 1965

Local newspapers are also valuable for documenting personal stories as they evolve, and a telling example is the story: 'Now Mum Has Degree' (YEP 12 July 1965 p.1) which was evidently striking enough at the time to command the front page in a way that would hardly be the case forty years on. The inside story on p.4 offers moving details that were clearly novel for the time:

Baby Annette Munn played happily with her father today in a corridor at Leeds University while upstairs in the Great Hall mummy was receiving a degree.

Mrs Carole Anne Munn (23) wife of Mr Ian Munn, also 23, a machine operator at Yorkshire Imperial Metals factory at Stourton has been at university for five years with a break for having Annette.

She received her B.Sc just two weeks before her second child is due. She hopes to go on studying and eventually work with computers [how prescient was that?].

It isn't a very spectacular degree really' said Mrs Munn as she played with her daughter afterwards 'but it hasn't been easy'.

Her husband had been marvellous, she said, helping with the housework while she was studying. (*YEP* 12 July 1965 p.4)

The *Yorkshire Evening Post*, then, offers us some rich insights, from the perspective of the local community, into the relationship between the university on the one hand and the life of the city and its citizens on the other. This same relationship may be viewed through the eyes of university students in the pages of the student newspaper, and Leeds was highly fortunate in the outstanding quality of its student press in the early 1970s. I have chosen the early seventies to illustrate my points as this was the time that the Polytechnic was formed, and significantly but almost uniquely, I think, for any English city, a high degree of collaboration between students of the university and of the polytechnic, immediately emerged. (The new paper was successor to the University's own *Union News* which Gerard Byrne draws on from the later 1960s in his installation).

This collaboration was epitomised in the creation of *Leeds Student*, a paper which went on to win national student press awards in 1970 and 1972. Three successive editors of *Leeds Student* were university student Paul Vallely (1971-73), now Associate Editor of *The Independent* and campaigning journalist on development issues, polytechnic student Ian Coxon (1973-4), editor of the *Sunday Times* Rich List and a managing editor until recently of the that paper, and university student Nicholas Witchell, now royal and diplomatic correspondent for the BBC. *Leeds Student's* most prolific cartoonist at this time was Chris (aka Kipper) Williams, who won a New Statesman/NUS Student Journalist Competition in 1974 and subsequently became a leading contributor to *New Society*, *New Statesman*, *Private Eye*, *The Guardian* and many more. In these three cases we can immediately identify the potential impact of higher education, at a given point in history, on personal careers. But the contents of the paper offer many insights on student life and culture.

The kinds of cultural shift that were embodied in individual paths from local working class communities to higher education became especially sharp in the period of the 1960s and university expansion. Examples of individual lives in the earlier twentieth century include Henry Moore himself, who attended Leeds School of Art just after the First World War, and the eminent cultural critic Richard Hoggart, a Hunslet orphan who won a City Scholarship to the University just before World War Two. I'll end my reflections with one personal story that might help us in exploring the significance of higher education policy in those expansionist years of the 1960s. In this instance it is the poet Tony Harrison, a working class 'loner' from Beeston who progressed from Leeds Grammar School to study classics at the University. To quote Professor Rick Rylance:

His poetry explores themes representative of his generation's experience of increasing social mobility through education that was a feature of post-war life. Typically, this takes the form of meditations on exclusion, like that of Harrison's own family whose origins did not permit much cultural mobility.

Much of his work, then, concerns the tension between working class life and higher education, in this respect following the footsteps of Richard Hoggart whose classic study *The Uses of Literacy* was published whilst Harrison was a student at Leeds, on the threshold of the sixties with its revolutions both in mass communications and higher education.

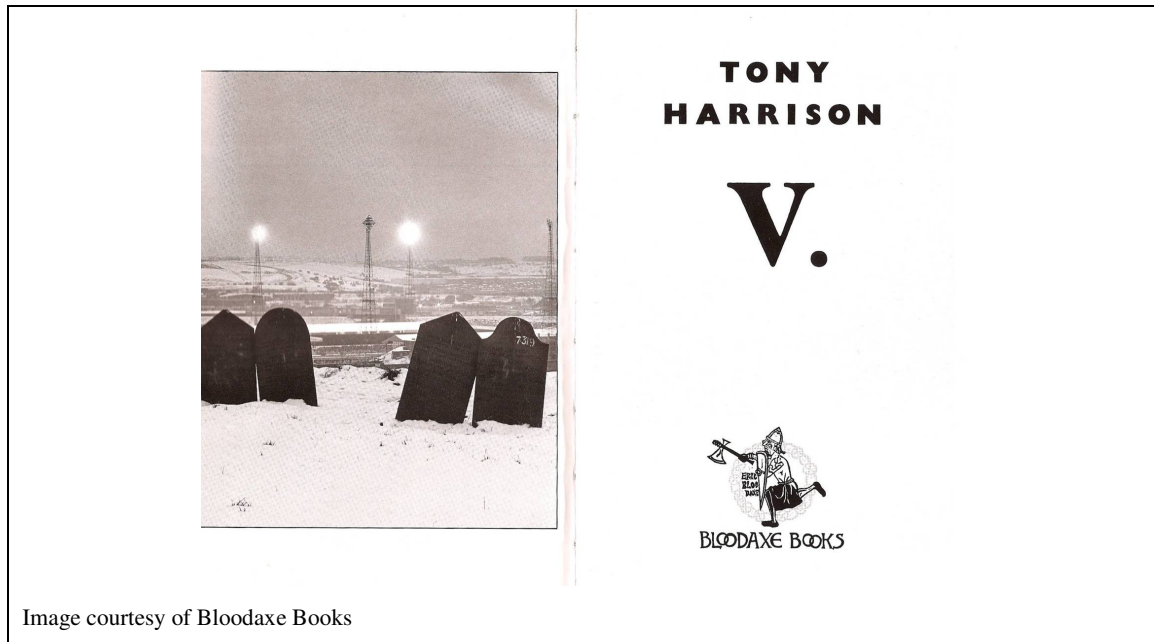


Image courtesy of Bloodaxe Books

Harrison's poem 'V.' became a *cause célèbre* when it was televised in 1987 by Channel 4, dividing the nation on standards of literary taste and moral rectitude. The cultural rift between his origins and his university education is encapsulated in imagined dialogue with the Beeston skinhead who sprays racist graffiti in his ancestors' graveyard and addresses the poet in a rich and blunt vernacular.

Conclusion:

The 'New Monumentality' exhibition offers a good deal of reflection on the university and its local community. The premise of the New Monumentality was that architects should embed the fine arts in a wider context of social interpretation (Catalogue p.36), whilst an *AJ* review of Chamberlin Powell and Bon's development plan in the mid 1960s was that 'cleverly and impressively they are creating a new order, correct as a stand against the surrounding chaos of Leeds' (Catalogue p.46). Lance Wright's 1974 critique of the university campus included the observation that 'Though physically near to the city centre, it is socially a thousand miles away' (Catalogue p.34), compared with a Spanish review of the new architecture of the university as a 'city within a city' (Catalogue p.47).

Whilst exploring and enjoying the 'New Monumentality', we need to:

Firstly, see the new campus architecture of the 1960s in a wider context of expansion in higher education, acknowledging especially the 'other half' across the binary divide, more or less unrepresented by the new monumentality or by architecture of great distinction, until they too achieved the status of 'new universities' in the early 1990s; and secondly reflect on the wider social implications of this newly expanding 'tertiary sector' recalling the rich local experience on which historians might draw. We need to delve into the archive but also into personal memory to document these outcomes. Gerard Byrne in his exhibition piece for 'The New Monumentality' quotes a reflection of the historian E.P.Thompson, apt indeed for researching the impact of higher education policy in the 1960s:

'The question, of course, is how the individual got to be in this 'social role', and how the particular social organization... got to be there. And these are historical questions. If we stop history at a given point, then there are no classes but simply a multitude of individuals with a multitude of experiences.'

Bibliography

Patrick Nuttgens (1988) *What should we teach and how should we teach it? Aims and Purpose of Higher Education* (Aldershot: Wildwood House)

Harold Silver (2007) *Tradition and Higher Education* (Winchester: Winchester UP)

Brian Simon (1991) *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990* (London: Lawrence and Wishart)

Brian Thompson (1971) *Portrait of Leeds* (London: Robert Hale)