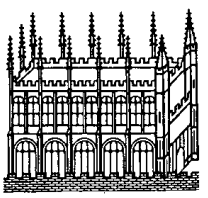

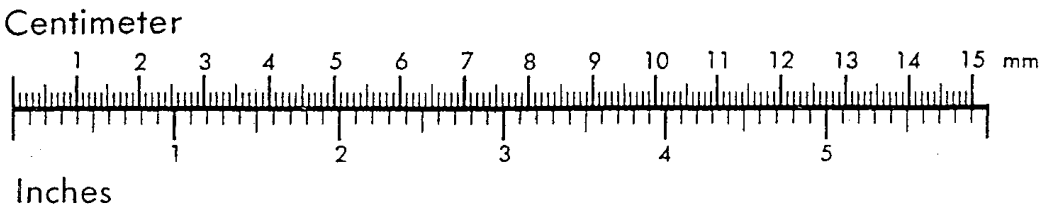

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REPORT OF
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

REPORT OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

I · REPORT,
RECOMMENDATIONS, AND
STATUTORY APPENDIX

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
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PREAMBLE

1. On 3 February 1964 the Hebdomadal Council appointed a committee comprising the Provost of Worcester College (chairman), the Rector of Exeter College, and Professor Sir Lindor Brown 'to consider the recommendations and criticisms in the Robbins Report and arising out of it which particularly affect Oxford; to establish how many of these are, or have recently been, the subject of investigation and the present state of such investigation; and to consider whether further investigations should be put in hand, and, if so, how they should be conducted'.

2. This Committee recommended (Supplement* No. 7 to *Gazette*, vol. xciv) the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry with the following terms of reference:

To inquire into and report upon the part which Oxford plays now and should play in the future in the system of higher education in the United Kingdom, having regard to its position as both a national and an international University:

And *in the light of its findings on this subject* to consider in particular:

I. Whether the present powers, composition, procedure, and mutual relation of the central institutions of the University—Congregation, Council, General Board and faculty boards, Curators of the Chest—are such as to ensure that the making of decisions upon future policy and the conduct or control of administration can be carried out with adequate speed and efficiency.

And specifically,

(*a*) whether the location, delegation, and distribution of powers, including the power to control finance, are satisfactorily arranged;
(*b*) whether the machinery for the execution of decisions is effective; and
(*c*) whether the organization and staffing of the administrative and executive services of the University require review.

II. Whether the present arrangements concerning the appointment and term of office and the present functions of the Vice-Chancellor require reconsideration.

III. Whether with its present organization the University is equipped adequately to make its proper contribution to the discussion and formulation of policy in relation to national institutions concerned with higher education, as for example the Government, the University Grants Committee, and the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals.

* See note on p. 16.

IV. Whether the University and the colleges have available for themselves and for each other the information (including statistical information) needed for internal and external purposes, including the effective formulation of policy and the conduct of administration.

V. Whether in general present relations between the autonomous colleges and the University require reconsideration.

And specifically,

(*a*) whether the position concerning holders of university posts who do not hold college fellowships requires further consideration;
(*b*) whether the present position about the emoluments of persons holding university posts along with college fellowships on the one hand and of persons holding university posts without college fellowships on the other is satisfactory;
(*c*) whether the present obscurity about the emoluments of college fellows and the disparity of these emoluments should be removed;
(*d*) whether colleges might devise methods through which they could co-operate with each other in the use of their financial resources for the greater benefit of Oxford;
(*e*) whether the present system of college contributions to the University is satisfactory;
(*f*) whether existing arrangements by which colleges admit students are sufficiently co-ordinated with the requirements of the faculties and departments of the University.

VI. Whether the present finance, staffing, and organization of research (including libraries) is adequate, and, if not, what changes should be made.

VII. Whether the methods of teaching in the University and colleges are effective and economical, and, if not, what changes in the structure should be made.

VIII. Whether the present methods of selecting undergraduates, including the system of entrance scholarships and exhibitions, are justified on educational grounds.

IX. Whether the present organization of the First and Second Public Examinations in the University is satisfactory, and, if not, what changes should be made.

X. What proportion of postgraduates to undergraduates Oxford should aim to achieve over the next fifteen years, and whether the present methods of selecting and supervising postgraduate students need further consideration.

And to make recommendations on these matters and on such other matters as in the opinion of the Commission are relevant to this inquiry.

3. Council adopted this recommendation, and on 18 March 1964 appointed the following members:

Lord Franks, M.A., Hon.D.C.L., Provost of Worcester College (*Chairman*).
Professor Sir Lindor Brown, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Waynflete Professor of Physiology.
Mrs. J. Floud, M.A., Fellow of Nuffield College.
Sir Robert Hall, M.A., Principal-elect of Hertford College, Visiting Fellow of Nuffield College.
Miss M. G. Ord, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Dean of Lady Margaret Hall, University Lecturer in Biochemistry.
Mr. M. Shock, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Estates Bursar of University College.
Mr. J. Steven Watson, M.A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church.

Mr. B. G. Campbell, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, a Deputy Registrar of the University, was seconded to be Secretary to the Commission.

4. We held our first meeting on 28 April 1964. In June we issued a general invitation to any person or organization to submit in writing evidence or opinions which might assist us in dealing with any of our terms of reference, and we also sent specific invitations to a number of bodies and individuals outside Oxford to submit memoranda either on our terms of reference in general or on particular topics within them. In July we sent questionnaires on teaching and research to a number of bodies within Oxford, including Council, the General Board, the faculty boards and faculties, the colleges, and the heads of the science departments. At the beginning of Michaelmas Term 1964 we sent questionnaires to organizers of tutorial work, the whole teaching and research staff of the University and colleges, a sample of those in their second or subsequent year reading for a higher degree, and a sample of undergraduates in their first, second, or third year. In November further questionnaires on the organization of the University were sent to a number of university bodies, including Council, the General Board, and the Curators of the Chest, and to colleges, the Senior Tutors' Committee, the two Committees of Bursars, and the Committee of the Oxford Collegiate Society. Members of Congregation were also invited by notice in the *Gazette* to submit memoranda on the first three articles of the Commission's terms of reference.

5. We made it clear that all written evidence, other than replies to questionnaires addressed to individuals, would be made available to the public, and Council made arrangements for them to be published by the Delegates of the University Press, who generously contributed £5,000 towards the cost. Thus most of the written evidence received before 31 December 1964, and a considerable part of the written evidence received between then and 19 June 1965, which we announced as the last date for the receipt of

uninvited evidence, has been published and may be obtained from the Oxford University Press. Publication took place as the evidence became available, and in all fourteen parts were published:

Evidence received before 31 October 1964:

Part I	The Hebdomadal Council, the General Board, and the Committee for Advanced Studies.
Part II	University officials.
Part III	Organizations (including university bodies not in Part I).
Part IV	Individuals.

Replies to questionnaires on teaching and research:

Part V	Faculty boards and the Committee for the Advancement of Medicine.
Part VI	Faculties, sub-faculties, etc.
Part VII	Colleges and other societies.
Part VIII	The Heads of the Science Departments.

Evidence received between 1 November and 31 December 1964:

Part IX	University officials (including certain ex-Proctors and Assessors).
Part X	Organizations (including some university bodies).
Part XI	Individuals.

Replies to questionnaires on the organization of the University:

Part XII	University and college bodies.
Part XIII	Colleges and other societies.

A selection of the evidence received between 1 January and 19 June 1965 was published in one further part (Part XIV) together with indexes to the contents of all the parts.

This evidence is referred to throughout this report as *Written Evidence*, Parts [I–XIV].

6. We also published the results of two surveys. The first, *Statistics on Teaching* (*Gazette*, vol. xcv, p. 459), was based on replies to the questionnaires to individuals sent out at the beginning of Michaelmas Term; the second, *Emoluments* (*Gazette*, vol. xcv, p. 1077), was based on replies to the questionnaire sent to colleges in November and on information on university emoluments made available by the Registry and the Chest. The most important of the results of these surveys have been incorporated in the Statistical Appendix to this report. References to Tables [1–372] refer to tables in this appendix; Tables A–K are in the report itself.

7. Throughout the three terms of 1964–5, we held public hearings in the Examination Schools twice a week to receive oral evidence from bodies and persons from whom we had received written submissions which we considered it would be helpful to discuss. In all, 103 sessions were held.

Transcripts of these hearings were not published, but arrangements were made whereby sets could be obtained by those who wished. These are referred to throughout this report as *Oral Evidence*, Parts [1–103].

8. We wish to express our thanks to all those who submitted written evidence to us. We are also grateful to the many persons and bodies who came before us to discuss their submissions.

We owe a deep debt to our staff. Our secretary, Mr. B. G. Campbell, who was seconded to the Commission from the University Registry, brought a wide knowledge of the University and great organizing skill. He gave us devoted service, as did also his assistants, Mr. P. H. Brown and Miss J. S. Watling.

We had to carry out many statistical inquiries. For this we were fortunate to secure the services of Mr. P. Vandome, who was seconded from the Institute of Economics and Statistics throughout our work, of Mr. D. Robinson of the same Institute for part of the time, and of Mrs. E. R. Kilbourn of the Institute's computing staff. The high quality of the Statistical Appendix is a measure of our debt to Mr. Vandome. We wish also to acknowledge the generous help of Dr. J. Howlett, Director of the Atlas Computer Laboratory at Harwell.

Mr. W. E. Parker, F.C.A., a partner in Messrs. Price Waterhouse & Co., assisted by Mr. J. S. Price of the same firm, helped us in our financial work. We owe much to their skill, especially in relation to College Accounts. This work was aided by a group of college bursars, in particular Dr. C. A. Cooke of Magdalen College, Dr. R. A. Fletcher of Trinity College, and Mr. R. C. P. Bryan of Worcester College, who, with Mr. H. Barrett of the University Chest, unstintedly gave us of their knowledge.

Lastly we wish to thank Mrs. E. D. Silk, Mrs. A. Jones, and Miss H. C. Donaldson who were responsible for secretarial services and worked with accuracy and good temper under heavy pressure.

9. We have met on 189 days, 144 of them for private discussion and 45 of them for the taking of oral evidence. The cost of our work has been:

	£	£
Provision for certain of the teaching that would otherwise have been given by members of the Commission		3,200
Staff salaries and wages		21,500
Office expenses*		7,300
Statistical advisers and staff		6,500
Financial advisers		4,800
Legal advisers		500
Publishing the written evidence	6,500	
less donation by the Delegates of the Press	5,000	
		1,500
Transcription of the oral hearings	8,800	
less paid by subscribers	600	
		8,200
Printing of report		5,000
		£58,500

* Not including £2,269 for the rehabilitation and equipment of 74 High Street as the Commission's offices; this was met by a grant from the University Grants Committee.

10. We have arranged our report in two volumes, of which the second contains the statistical tables with such commentary as is needed for their elucidation. In the first volume our main recommendations are summarized chapter by chapter and then listed together at the end of the volume.

11. We accordingly submit our report.

(*signed*) FRANKS (*Chairman*)
G. L. BROWN
JEAN FLOUD
ROBERT HALL
MARGERY G. ORD
MAURICE SHOCK
J. STEVEN WATSON

26 *March* 1966

Note to p. 11.

* The asterisk is used to distinguish Supplements published in a separate series of demy 8vo booklets and linked with the *Gazette* by a system of cross-referencing. These are listed in the annual index to the *Gazette*, but (by reason of their format) are not contained in the bound volume.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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1. The development of Oxford* over the past seven centuries has been shaped both by active groups within it and by the pressure of forces from outside. Energetic members of Oxford have been able from time to time to effect reforms as far-reaching as those which changed the methods of undergraduate instruction in the early nineteenth century. But the reconstitution of its basic organization has more often been the work of the State: this is exemplified by the activities of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs when they transferred power to the heads of the colleges, a system which, through the Laudian statutes, determined the Oxford way of life for several centuries. The same principle of intervention has appeared more recently in the Royal Commissions of 1850, 1872, and 1922 and the changes which followed them. Not only were ancient practices such as religious tests, celibacy, life tenure, all swept away, but the way was opened up for the University to enter new fields of learning.

2. We do not find it easy, however, to find a parallel to our own activities in these past precedents. Our terms of reference, as will have appeared from the preamble, are as wide as those of any of the Royal Commissions. They are, indeed, wider than those of the Commission of 1922 in that they extend not only to the organization and activity of the University but also to the teaching arrangements of the colleges. This wide commission was issued, however, not by a government but by the University itself. Moreover, though our experience of other places and other occupations is various, we are all of us active present members of Oxford. This had both advantages and disadvantages. In our inquiry we were greatly helped by

* In this report the word 'Oxford' is used to refer to the whole university which people outside Oxford generally have in mind when speaking of Oxford University: the word 'University' is used to refer to the University in contrast to the colleges, while 'Colleges' is used to refer to the colleges of Oxford in contrast to the University.

our local knowledge and experience. But the requirement to see Oxford 'in the system of higher education of the United Kingdom' and to bear in mind the needs of 'a national and an international university' (see Preamble, para. *2*) implied an examination from a detached standpoint. To take a long hard look at Oxford we had to stand back from our working lives and to bring the judgement of strangers to bear upon the knowledge gained by close association.

3. We considered it important that everyone should see the evidence on which our judgements were formed. This was the reason for our decision that all written submissions should be published and that all oral evidence should be taken in public. It also enabled us to arouse Oxford 'to a reflective and constructive dialogue within itself' (our Chairman's statement to Congregation, 2 June 1964—*Gazette*, vol. xciv, p. 1203); and it ensured that voices from outside were widely heard. The argument which was stimulated has already resulted in a variety of new initiatives during the two years in which we have sat at the centre of the debate. But the most important result of the one million words of written submissions and the one and a half million words of oral exchanges has been the discovery of the facts about Oxford in the twentieth century. They present a picture of the structure and working of a university with a completeness which, we believe, cannot be paralleled. We hope that it will be of interest and use to many concerned with teaching and research in universities.

4. One thing is at once apparent. The last half century has been one of varied experiment in Oxford: in the course of these experiments important choices have been made which have altered its nature. But such choices have been taken one by one and often under pressure. As a result Oxford has not fully understood the change in direction which has been involved: nor has it fully appreciated its own part in the scheme of twentieth-century education. In consequence its efforts have too often been incoordinated and its explanation of itself has lacked coherence.

5. Obscurity of this kind was criticized in para. 687 of the Report of the Committee on Higher Education (the 'Robbins Report'—Cmnd. 2154, 1963). The Robbins Report was the point of departure for our Commission: we were appointed on the advice of a committee to which the Hebdomadal Council had referred its implications for Oxford. But in the course of our proceedings we heard and read much which went far beyond the observations of the Robbins Committee, and were led to critical views on matters which were not submitted to that committee.

6. We received much adverse criticism of Oxford and also a great deal of favourable comment. The body of our report will, we think, show that we would agree, if we had to give a simple 'yes' or 'no', with the verdict of

Lord Heyworth when he said (*Oral Evidence*, Part 5, p. 3) that 'it is a fine place'. But Lord Heyworth immediately went on to call attention to the points which, from his prolonged observation of Oxford as a member of the University Grants Committee, he thought needed urgent attention. He obviously believed, as many of our other witnesses did, that radical changes were called for if Oxford was to continue to play its part as one of the great universities, not only of Britain but of the world.

7. In the body of our report, in discussing the purposes, the performance, and the prospects of the University, we have taken into account all the criticisms we received, those which seem to us ill founded as well as those which have substance. But Lord Heyworth's analysis of the need for reform went so directly to the fundamental points involved in such a discussion, that it is convenient to summarize, without delay, the main heads of the adverse charges which he made.

8. His first point was that the administration of Oxford was less effective than that of most other universities and that it showed lack of decision. In saying this he was, of course, defining more closely the complaint of 'slowness' made by the Robbins Committee. This point has to be met at the outset. It is true that the system of government in Oxford is difficult to understand and we have had to explain it in some detail (Chapter VI) before we could discuss its reform. An effective administrative system which combines democracy with decision is the first need of Oxford. Unless this is secured, other reforms cannot be undertaken with real hope of success.

9. Lord Heyworth then dealt with the second point raised by para. 687 of the Robbins Report—that of obscurity. Oxford, he said, seemed incapable of explaining what it was doing in terms which would enable its performance to be compared with that of other universities. From the standpoint of the University Grants Committee this was made apparent in Oxford's inability to present statistical and other information in the form generally adopted. At times, Lord Heyworth told us, the University Grants Committee had had difficulty in dealing with submissions from Oxford. 'To make the system work, Oxford required more attention from the Chairman of the U.G.C. than other places, and it was very fortunate for Oxford that he did know the ins and outs of its system and was able to help in times of difficulty.... He did understand the system and could explain it to the troops around the table perhaps better than a memorandum that might have come from this University' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 5, p. 8).

10. It became clear to us from other witnesses that the mists through which Oxford permits itself to be seen can obscure much more than its statistics. The 1922 Commissioners (Cmd. 1588, 1922, para. 19) commented that many people seemed to think that members of the University were still

living as they had seventy years before 'when the first Commissioners penetrated into their midst'. We, in our turn, at many points of our inquiry were struck by the persistence of erroneous ideas about Oxford. These misconceptions seriously prejudice the causes for which it has been working. They arise from Oxford's failure to take the trouble to explain itself. From this point of view, the more a criticism seems misdirected, the greater the force of the charge against the University and the colleges that they are too self-satisfied to explain themselves.

11. Lord Heyworth's next point was that Oxford was, in many respects, a privileged place. He said 'Salaries . . . are better at Oxford'—'there is a higher proportion of senior positions'—'the fees at Oxford University . . . are higher than elsewhere'—'Redbrick is not so attractive in its amenities for getting students and staff' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 5, pp. 9 and 10). He added: 'There is one impression one does get: that Redbrick respects Oxford. It looks to it to set standards, and believes generally, I would have thought, that its standards are higher.' These points reappeared in one form or another in the evidence of many witnesses. Behind them lies the distinctive nature of a collegiate university. We propose to define that term and to describe the colleges later in this introduction. It must be recognized that autonomous colleges, ancient buildings, a tutorial system, and a complex organizational structure cannot be cheap. It is, therefore, the more important that Oxford should avoid, and be seen to avoid, extravagance. For this reason, in Chapters V and VIII, we explore how standards of judgement can be applied and how the real costs of what is valuable in the system can be separated from accidental or careless accretions.

12. Lord Heyworth's final points were connected with what may be called Oxford's academic efficiency. He attempted to set this in perspective by discussing it as part of the problem facing all universities. A university, it was his contention, needs to be so orientated that it seeks new ideas, welcomes them with grace, whatever their source, and then sifts and tries them. Its structure should be such that any idea which seems promising can be turned into a concrete proposal upon which a decision can be taken. A second need of all universities is to find a way of ensuring that, in teaching, 'standards should be high and methods good' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 5, p. 17). Lord Heyworth suggested that a research unit should be established in an effort to assess the performance of Oxford in these matters. In our chapter on Academic Life (IV) we weigh present practice and make recommendations for the future. It will be seen that we do not follow Lord Heyworth's suggestion, but we believe that we have faced the problem he indicated. We have also examined complaints about the rigidity of Oxford's courses and their narrowness: in this we had the assistance of the valuable work of the Committee on the Structure of the First and Second Public Examinations (the 'Kneale Committee'—Supplement* No. 3 to *Gazette*, vol. xcv).

13. There are three other important heads of criticism in addition to those mentioned by Lord Heyworth. The first is that Oxford does not draw, through its admission system, upon the full range of ability which is to be found in the many and various secondary schools of the country. This, it has been represented to us, results in injustice to some sections of the community and in a loss to Oxford itself. We have investigated the extent to which this criticism remains valid in spite of recent attempts to meet it, and (in Chapter III) have formulated proposals to rectify the position without damage either to the schools or to the standards of the University.

14. A second important criticism is that Oxford has not yet contrived to give to postgraduate education the care and resources which it puts at the disposal of undergraduates. This is a criticism advanced from both inside and outside Oxford. From outside it comes with particular force in a period when the need for training after the first degree is increasing. Such training requires specialized skills and resources which are expensive to develop but which already exist in the older universities (Lord Robbins, *Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 179). Oxford, therefore, it is argued, has a duty to admit many more able men at this stage of their careers; having admitted them it must develop the techniques of caring for them: anything less would constitute a failure to live up to its duty as a leading centre of learning in the country. This criticism therefore goes to the centre of Oxford's claim to be an 'international' university.

15. This brings us to the third criticism. It concerns the merits of the college system. Oxford's collegiate system, as it was in the past, introduced an unfair distinction into academic life between those who shared in it fully and those who lacked college attachments. It has also been argued that the college's preoccupation with undergraduate tuition has so upset the balance of academic activity that research has suffered. Professor Darlington (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 44) went so far as to state that the colleges were corrupt and self-perpetuating oligarchies inimical to original thought. Less extreme critics were worried that Oxford's teaching staff had too much security and that it was 'in-bred'.

16. The criticisms which we have been summarizing, and the many more which we will consider as they arise in the detailed exposition of succeeding chapters, cannot usefully be examined until we have established the context within which we considered them. This involves some general theory and some local history.

17. A university is concerned, on the one hand, with the advancement of knowledge, and, on the other, with the training of young people. These two purposes, it is usually agreed, should be complementary to one another. But though research and teaching enrich each other, their combination in

the one centre produces problems of balance and proportion about which we shall have much to say. There are possibilities of variation in the mixture, not only as to quantities but as to persons: the research may be done by one group and the teaching by another; or each member of the staff of the institution may undertake both research and teaching so that interaction is daily and personal. But behind such differences are principles to which all universities, by their nature, are attached: these include academic freedom of thought, the bringing together of many intellectual disciplines, the balancing of public needs and disinterested curiosity, and that combination of research with teaching to which we have already referred.

18. Variation in the pattern can be found not only between university and university, but in the history of any one university. And this is strikingly exemplified by Oxford. Medieval Oxford grew from groups of scholars whose philosophical and theological learning attracted pupils. The emphasis which they put upon disputation and lecturing gave an impetus to intellectual discovery as well as providing the necessary teaching: the training was primarily intended for those who would pursue ecclesiastical and administrative careers. In the Renaissance period the character of the University changed. It became as important to educate laymen as to train the clergy. The organization of academic life altered. The halls of residence, to use the modern phrase, lost ground to the colleges as the latter took over responsibility for the undergraduates. The walls of the college shut out some of the distractions of the world outside; but when they had become nurseries of the nation's leaders, the Tudor and Stuart monarchs intervened to direct them by exercising control of their heads. The direction of the University fell to these heads with their awareness of political needs. Later still the balance shifted again. It was a consequence of the revolution of 1688 that the King's government ceased to interfere with the great corporations within the State. The colleges were no longer controlled by the central government; they remained powerful and the University was weak. In these circumstances their awareness of the educational needs of society grew dim. In the eighteenth century the fellows of the colleges turned, according to temperament, either to research or to idleness while teaching was largely neglected. For occupations other than the Church it was better for young men to seek training in Scotland or in Holland rather than among the learned pedants of Oxford.

19. In the nineteenth century the colleges, of their own motion, returned to the problems of teaching in which they were to win an international reputation. The first signs were the reorganization of examining on a university basis for the members of all the colleges and the development of the tutorial system. Then, as the influence of the German universities was felt, the University began to reassert itself against the colleges: it did so in the cause of the systematization of learning. In Germany the professors organized

the departments of knowledge. In Oxford the professors could not aspire to such power. But a system of organization by faculties, accompanied by modernization of the syllabus, was introduced alongside the ancient and powerful colleges.

20. Since 1922 yet another of these fundamental changes of pattern, which have marked its history, has been taking place in Oxford. Its effects are to be seen on every side. It is impossible to understand, much less to prescribe for, modern Oxford without appreciating the new conditions. Nor can they be understood by looking at Oxford in isolation; they flow in large part from changes in the world outside.

21. In 1922 it would, perhaps, have seemed natural to study Oxford and Cambridge by themselves because of their historical position among English institutions of learning, though even this would have involved neglect of the flourishing nineteenth-century foundations in the great cities. It is now self-evident that Oxford is only one among a large and growing group of universities in the country. Many of these have produced new ideas for meeting the problems of research and education, and Oxford's own experiments should be compared with them. Oxford's courses are, in any case, compared with those of other universities by the growing number of intelligent boys and girls who look for a university education. All universities exist to serve the same basic purposes and to pursue the same objectives; like other British universities, Oxford accepts the responsibilities, opportunities, and limitations which flow from its membership of this family of institutions of higher learning.

22. It was in 1922 that Oxford first began to draw upon public funds. This was to bring it fully into 'the public sector'. The same process brought about an internal revolution of steadily increasing momentum. Oxford, the 1922 Commissioners reported, had recently expanded its activities: the development of scientific studies, the new School* of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics, and the extension lectures programme, were cited as evidence of growth which deserved encouragement. The major result of the Commission's work was the injection of public funds and, in consequence, a rise in the importance of the University as contrasted with the colleges. The closing of the surviving old college laboratories and the growth of the great university departments were only the most obvious manifestations of a general tendency. In 1922 the University was still poor and weak: it sat uneasily over its brood of richly endowed and independently minded colleges. By 1963 the University's income had risen to more than £6 million while the income of the colleges was (excluding board and lodging fees)

* 'School' at Oxford is normally used, as here, to describe a course of study culminating in an examination (the 'Honour School') leading to a first degree; sometimes, as in para. 23 below, it is used more widely to describe all the persons working in a subject.

about £2,500,000. Even the most richly endowed and prudently managed of the colleges could not maintain from their own resources the full range of activities upon which, with the blessing of the 1922 Commissioners, they embarked. They needed common services provided by the University and the payment by it of part of the stipends of their fellows. In areas such as postgraduate studies where the Commissioners believed there had been neglect, it was the University, not the colleges, which came forward to remedy deficiencies and to lead the way forward.

23. Under this leadership, the most remarkable, though not the only, advance was in the natural sciences. Between 1922 and 1964 the number of first-degree students in natural science increased more than threefold: in this period the only comparable gain was in social studies which increased two and a half times. The Chemistry School at Oxford is the largest and one of the most distinguished in the country: Oxford's achievements in medicine and in physics are praised by those who, in another mood, think of it as an arts university. Students in arts, in fact, no longer form the majority at Oxford. This shift in the balance of subjects had consequences for the pattern of life. The scientists brought into Oxford a departmental organization which, though not quite like that found elsewhere, provided nevertheless a centre for loyalty and a system of administration to rival that dominance of the colleges which had lasted from the sixteenth century. This swing to the sciences, allied to the changed financial position, gave the University a new significance and new powers. These were soon exercised in dealing also with the arts. But the final result was not a revolution replacing the colleges with a strong central authority: instead, by a series of compromises, the collegiate university began to be recognizable in a form hitherto unknown (see para. 33 below). The novelty of this organization means that the proper balance of academic activity within it has yet to be established: its complexity produces many of Oxford's peculiarities and so is at the root of some of the complaints about obscurity. We had to determine whether the difficulties arising in the collegiate university had been needlessly aggravated and were susceptible of amelioration: we had to go further and decide whether it conferred real advantages which made desirable an effort to preserve and improve it.

24. We must now describe in some detail what is meant by the college system in Oxford, for it is unlike many others which go under the same name. Moreover, it has changed so significantly in the last forty years that even those who live in it are apt to use the language of a past period, unconsciously translating it, as they talk, to fit the facts of the present time. This does not make for clarity of argument.

25. In the college system, the life of Oxford is broken into small units, each endowed with powers of initiative, decision, and management in educa-

tional and social matters. In particular, the college takes prime responsibility for undergraduate teaching, and this is discharged through the tutorial system. Oxford has thirty-one colleges of varying size, almost all within the range 200–500 taking fellows (the academic staff) and the students together. Twenty-three are for men (undergraduate and postgraduate), five are for women (undergraduate and postgraduate), two are for men and women (postgraduate only). The remaining college, All Souls, is for men, but its membership is restricted to its fellows: it has no junior members. When we refer specifically to the twenty-eight colleges which admit both undergraduates and postgraduates, we use the term 'traditional' colleges.

26. In addition to the colleges properly so called, there are three new societies (Linacre, St. Cross, and Iffley Colleges) for men and women graduates, which are at present constitutionally departments of the University but which the University hopes will become full colleges in due course; until that time, their heads and fellows are allowed as much independence as possible in the management of their day-to-day affairs. There are also five Permanent Private Halls. Like the colleges they are legally independent of the University, but they are subject to a greater degree of regulation by it. All are smaller than any of the colleges. They were founded for members of particular religious orders or denominations, and are under some measure of control by the bodies which originally sponsored them.

27. The distinctive feature of the colleges is their status as legally independent and autonomous corporations. They are legally subject to the University only in those respects in which their statutes specifically bind them, though they cannot alter their statutes without the consent of Her Majesty in Council, and this consent will not be given to an alteration which affects the University unless the University's consent has first been given. Their governing bodies, which consist of the head and fellows of the college, have full control over the affairs of the college. The autonomy of the colleges is real, though subject in practice to certain limitations of fact or convention. A college chooses the person who is to preside over it.* Its government rests solely with its fellows, that is, with the academic staff. They are elected by this governing body at its discretion, subject to the legal requirement to elect certain professors of the University *ex officio* and to the practical consideration that it is usually essential, for financial reasons, that the majority of the tutorial fellows should also hold a university post.

28. Though fellowships are of various kinds, the largest single class consists of tutorial fellows. It is they who act for the college in the choice of undergraduates. It is true that the University fixes the minimum requirements for

* Only in Christ Church is the head, who is also Dean of the Cathedral, appointed by the Crown instead of being elected. There are also minor restrictions on the choice of the head of one or two other colleges.

admission, but it will matriculate only those who have been admitted by a college. Thus, in practice, the colleges choose how many undergraduates, and in what particular subjects, are admitted to Oxford. In the admission of postgraduates, the University has a more positive power since it decides which candidates are qualified to do advanced work.

29. The colleges have also control over their own finances, subject to the provisions of their statutes and their obligation to make a contribution for university purposes. But prices have risen faster than college incomes and the colleges have had no direct relief from public funds. They are not eligible for State grants through the University Grants Committee, though the fees paid by their students come, in large part, from local education authorities. For some colleges, therefore, 'control over their own finances' has come to mean merely the obligation to exercise the most rigid economy; but most colleges still have some freedom of choice over the disposal of their revenues and a few still have a great deal. They are, however, restricted in the amount they may pay their fellows by way of salary, since the University has indicated maxima for the joint salaries of those, the great majority, who also hold university posts, and these maxima have been observed.

30. College autonomy in these fundamental matters sustains a corporate life and spirit quite unlike that of a hall of residence or a department. All who belong to such an independent self-governing community, whether fellows, postgraduates, or undergraduates, are full members of it; they constitute it and share its life in a complex network of relationships. The fellows are responsible for the government, teaching, and general supervision of the community. They decide the issues of their society on the basis of one man one vote, and they have the power to make the decisions so taken effective in their society. The social and academic lives of the students, if they are undergraduates, largely revolve round the college, whether they are living in college or in lodgings. The great majority receive tuition from the fellows or have their tuition arranged by them, and they normally enjoy easy and sometimes close relations with their tutors.

31. It would be a mistake, however, to take this picture of the colleges as self-contained and self-sufficient communities at its face-value, despite the reality of their legal identity embodied in their statutes, the vigour of their internal life, and the persistence of the loyalties they attract. For they must be seen in their natural and indispensable context, the University. It was made abundantly clear to us, in the evidence of each of the groups of colleges as they came before us, that college independence is no longer as freely asserted as it was before the revival of the power of the University. Colleges have come to see that their choices should be taken within a framework of common aims and national needs, and that the improvement of the machinery of the University was necessary to make the operation of

the colleges more effective. They have begun acting together and with the University. Members of the colleges have accustomed themselves 'to wear two hats' and to act both as lecturers paid by the University and as fellows paid by their colleges.

32. The University in this context does not mean just a central office, the bureaucrats. The ultimate sovereign power is in Congregation, the assembly of teaching masters, where the college fellows are in the majority. The administration consists of a great number of committees manned by members drawn from different colleges. The head of it all is the Vice-Chancellor who is one of the heads of the colleges, nominated in agreed rotation for two years. Thus in the collegiate university the lives of most senior members are shot through with dualities of interest, loyalty, and workplace. Since the fellows of the colleges are the demonstrators, lecturers, readers, and professors of the University, the same men, according to the way they are assembled, govern both the University and the colleges. Each college in its governing body is a cross-section of the faculties of the University; each faculty is a cross-section of the colleges.

33. We have only to look at a few figures to see how this constitutes a new phase in the life of Oxford. This unity by interpenetration, as yet imperfect, is the growth of the years since the last Royal Commission. In 1922 there were 357 academic staff in Oxford, 60 per cent. of these being fellows of colleges who held no university position whatsoever. By 1965, of the 1,127 academic staff in Oxford, 86 per cent. held a university post. In that year Congregation decided that in future all senior academic posts would carry the right to a college fellowship. In 1922 the University was a confederation of independent colleges who looked to a central authority only for the conferment of degrees, the provision of supplementary teaching, and for such common services as major libraries and laboratories. By 1966 it can be seen that a federal community, the 'collegiate university', has been developing: it is inhabited by a new type of academic, the 'fellow-lecturer', who has double loyalties, joint functions, and composite remuneration.

34. A federal system has its advantages and disadvantages. When the main heads of the criticism indicated by Lord Heyworth and others (paras. 6–15 above) are recalled, it is evident that some of them are the weaknesses to which a federation is particularly susceptible. Dilatory and Delphic utterances are the stock-in-trade of a government which is not sure of its hold over the constituent members of the union: unwillingness to have a positive policy in foreign affairs is characteristic of a federation which fears centrifugal forces within itself. The complexity of Oxford's government is in part the result of hiding from itself the facts of its own constitutional development. By not facing the facts Oxford has allowed many of the necessary balances of academic life to be upset. On the one hand, some

college fellows are overloaded with teaching to the detriment of their research, while, on the other, some university staff have had time for research but, without a college post, have been cut off from the main current of life in the federation. The colleges have elected teachers concerned with the main lines of knowledge useful for teaching, while fringe subjects, important to future growth, have been neglected. To grapple with problems of this kind the appropriate question must be posed: not 'how far can any college go it alone?' but 'how far can the colleges, while retaining their separate identities, co-operate to form the policies of Oxford?'

35. Though there are difficulties in any federal union, there are also great benefits. Oxford's college system, in the first place, makes possible really close personal contact between members of the staff who are occupied in different intellectual disciplines. It is not just that they meet or eat together, but that they act together day by day in running the college's affairs. They feel the consequences of their own decisions directly and speedily. This increases their sense of collective responsibility and their need to understand one another. This intimate democracy of the college underpins the democracy of the University. It gives to a member of Congregation, the Parliament of the University, the strength which comes from membership of a vigorous group, and which in other assemblies may be derived from membership of a state, of a party, or of an organized social movement. The college fellow approaches university problems not as an outsider nor as a subordinate member of a team, but as one accustomed to dealing with such matters at a practical level and with authority. This is an advantage which is not only of interest to a theorist of government. It is important, as the Association of University Teachers told us in their evidence (see *Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 31, and *Oral Evidence*, Part 16, pp. 27 ff.), as a factor making for vitality in academic work. The existence of these many cells within it gives to the University a flexibility it would otherwise lack. It makes possible experiment and initiative.

36. The subdivision of university life in this way benefits the senior members, but its advantages are even clearer for undergraduates. It provides a favourable background to their education, since the tutorial system is at its best when the tutor moves in the same small community as his pupils, knows them personally, and takes responsibility for their being there and hence for the success of their university career. We believe that closer contacts of this sort would benefit the postgraduates.

37. We have now outlined the types of criticism which were presented to us, and we have sketched the main features of the situation within which these criticisms should be considered. It is more difficult for a collegiate university than for simpler organisms to meet the requirements which Lord Heyworth outlined, but we are convinced that it can do so if it devotes thought and skill to that end. Before, however, we summarize the heads of

our recommendations, it is necessary to indicate some of the guiding ideas which have emerged from our inquiry. For these ideas are the assumptions behind our reforms: our attitude to critical arguments has been conditioned by them.

38. We begin with the indisputable fact that Oxford is like all other British universities in its basic purposes and large objectives, and like them is accountable financially and morally to the public. But it is unlike most of the other universities in that it enjoys a large private endowment income which amounts to some 20 per cent. of total income. Nevertheless, it is not free to do exactly what it likes with its private income because, first, its use must be consistent with the position of Oxford as an educational charity and, second, the preponderant share of total income flowing from public funds carries with it a general responsibility and accountability for the use to which the whole income is put. At the same time, the possession of private endowment income legitimately gives a freedom of choice which Oxford, thanks to past benefactors, is fortunate to be able to exercise, within the limitations stated, to the public benefit.

39. All universities have a duty to develop their own individual quality, in accordance with their beliefs and traditions, so that each may make its own characteristic contribution to that enriching variety in the pursuit of common purposes which, as the Robbins Report notes (paras. 36 and 39), is a chief aim to be encouraged in a system of higher education. Oxford therefore should be encouraged to do those things for which it is best fitted by its past experience, offering one of several methods of approaching the world of learning and teaching.

40. Oxford has duties and obligations that extend beyond national boundaries, for it is an international university, comparable to the great centres of learning in Europe and across the Atlantic, attracting scholars and students of the highest quality from all parts of the world. A university which is international in this sense must exhibit research and teaching of distinction, not in one branch alone but over a wide field. Such distinction cannot rest upon the achievement of a few outstanding individuals, but must be widely enough spread to ensure the continuous generation and maturation of creative ideas. We agree with the Council of the Senate in Cambridge that the existence of a few such centres of research is a national necessity. If those which exist were to be reduced in status or stunted in development 'then we think that the consequences for the whole programme outlined by the Robbins Report would be extremely grave. British higher education would thereby be deprived of one of its main sources of additional teachers; and any restraint on the development in Cambridge of new lines of research would endanger Britain's place in world science and scholarship' (*Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 37, reproducing the statement sent to

the University Grants Committee). In this case at least, what is true of Cambridge is true of Oxford also.

41. But this conviction that the existing university centres of international attraction should be cherished is allied so closely with a second that the two are interdependent. We are certain that the university system of Britain must be enabled to derive full benefit from such centres. We do not believe that the Robbins Committee fully explored the problems created by the existence of a number of established major centres of learning within an expanding university system.* Nor has Oxford begun to reflect on what is involved in the position which it has inherited and should wish to maintain. Yet it must do so on pain of accepting a lesser role. In the general plan for higher education the major centres must be financed to allow for reasonable growth: equally they must not only train staff for other institutions but open their doors more widely both to graduates and to visitors from other universities so that their special services or knowledge may be available for the advancement of learning in the whole academic community of Britain.

42. In a university, research and teaching can never be separated without loss. In the last hundred years at least, the contention of the President of Trinity (*Oral Evidence*, Part 76, p. 50) that the reputation of the University rested upon its teaching of undergraduates has been true. In Oxford outstanding teachers have been held in equal repute with those famous for research, and many devoted researchers have been active tutors. In considering complaints that postgraduate work and research have been insufficiently fostered in Oxford, we always kept in sight this fundamental principle in academic life that there should be a proper balance between teaching and research.

43. Another point on which our inquiries have convinced us is that the democratic system in academic life is an essential element in the organization of a university like Oxford. The right to share in the major decisions of university policy resides in the academic staff as a whole, meeting to debate and decide in Congregation, the assembly of the resident teachers and researchers. The academic staff also elect their own members to administer the University, so that the schism which can occur elsewhere, between 'they' who administer and 'we' who are administered, cannot arise. There is, indeed, more than just democracy here. It is, in a sense, egalitarian also, since there is little trace of any chain of command.

44. We have explained the charges against Oxford, the circumstances in which it is placed, and the convictions with which we have undertaken our

* Recommendation 2 of the Robbins Committee contains, as the Cambridge Council of the Senate put it, ambiguities. But its approach—'to reduce the relative attraction of Oxford and Cambridge'—seems at best to be superficial and timid.

study. We now turn to the changes we propose. We argue the case for our recommendations in detail in the following chapters, but we now summarize their main lines so as to exhibit their relevance to the considerations we have adduced by way of introduction.

45. In the body of our report we move from questions of size and shape to those of admissions; and, after dealing with the research and teaching life of Oxford, we finally come to administrative reforms. But in a summary of our proposals we think that the administrative reforms should come at the beginning. This is not because we consider the constitution more important than the academic work of a university, but because an efficient organization is the essential condition of most of the other reforms which we wish to advocate. We believe that this was the reason why Lord Heyworth put it in the forefront of his criticisms. If the administration is reformed, much may be done: if it is not, the University is likely to remain a chaos of ineffective good intentions. We are satisfied that, by heroic efforts, the machinery of Oxford has been made to move more quickly than it did twenty years ago; but it is a bizarre achievement to show great skill in avoiding obstacles of one's own creation. We have no doubt that Oxford's machinery of government needs radical revision. But in this revision we have drawn heavily on the experience of recent years to select those methods best suited to the nature of the collegiate university.

46. The administration of a university is not like that of a business enterprise. It is important to both that there should be a point of decision, and a recognized means of putting decisions into effect. But the mind of a university cannot be made up as simply as that of a business. We have devoted as much time to consideration of how 'the mind of Oxford' can be discovered as to the way it can be expressed. We have, in this connexion, seriously debated but ultimately rejected the proposal for a permanent Vice-Chancellor to speak in the name of the University. We propose to alter the method by which a Vice-Chancellor is selected and to lengthen his tenure in office. But we rely for continuity in policy upon a Hebdomadal Council with a new General Purposes Committee, the latter being chosen in part by the Vice-Chancellor. In the Hebdomadal Council thus strengthened we believe we have a body sensitive to opinion current in the University and yet capable of forward planning and quick decision. We make it the unquestioned chief administrative body, speaking for Oxford as a whole, University and colleges, to the outside world. Under this chief administrative body we propose two main committees, a new General Board responsible for the academic policy of the University as a whole and a Council of the Colleges which we explain more fully below (paras. 51 ff.). Under them are subordinate authorities, some as at present but some greatly amended. We propose that there should be only five faculty boards, for instance, both for administrative reasons and to remedy the present fragmentation of academic studies.

47. In all our administrative reforms we posit that there must be, as there has not been in the past, real devolution and delegation. To avoid the dangers of delegation it is essential that there should be a structure of officials with a clear chain of responsibility, under a head official working to the Vice-Chancellor. Taken together with our constant pressure to make all committees as small as possible, we believe that this will result in the saving of much valuable time. We believe also that the mind of the academic community will be made up where it is at present often only pieced together. The underlying conviction which sustains all these reforms of machinery is that efficient administration by part-time academics is possible only when they are well served by an adequate structure of officials.

48. Though the Vice-Chancellor and the reorganized Hebdomadal Council should become an effective administration, the ultimate legislative body should continue to be the resident Masters of Arts meeting in Congregation. We believe that the powers of Congregation have been in danger of perishing as those of the more ancient assembly, Convocation, have already perished. It is important to revitalize them and it is important to do so at once. We have set out proposals (Chapter VII) by which Congregation can be given new life. Their general purport is that it should have its powers redefined so that it does not attempt things which cannot be done in a popular assembly, but will be able to assert itself in areas where the considered view of the University on matters of fundamental importance is required.

49. At present the relationship of Council and Congregation is shrouded in protocol and further obscured by a complicated terminology involving statutes, decrees with or without preamble, and regulations. We intend to substitute a defined relationship: on terminology we propose to use 'statute' only for the legislative acts of Congregation, and to reserve 'decree' and 'regulations' for the exercise of power delegated to the administrative bodies.

50. In the light of this distinction, we put forward a method by which our main constitutional reforms can be made effective without undue delay. So many of the reforms in academic life which we are soon to mention depend upon the more effective operation of bodies like the General Board, that it is desirable to embark on their reconstitution as soon as possible. It is for this reason that we have annexed to this first volume the drafts of all the statutes necessary to get the system started. When these statutes have been accepted by Congregation, the rest of the work of reorganization will need careful attention to detail. It will be undertaken by the Hebdomadal Council, within a clearly established pattern, issuing decrees but referring to Congregation for further statutes if they are found necessary.

51. So far we have been talking of the instruments and parliament of the University. But the government of a collegiate university cannot be reformed without giving proper weight to the college point of view. If this were neglected, the central administration would continue uncertain in its representation of the views of Oxford as a whole. A great defect in the working of the collegiate university up to now has been the way in which the colleges, active on many small matters, have been largely inert on the great questions of common concern. They have often responded sensibly and with public spirit to pressure from the world outside transmitted through the university machine. But they have been slow to take any collective initiative. As a result they have been infected by parochialism; they have had a distrust of general schemes, even when propounded by those of their own members who have been elected to university office. They have put their right to dissent too high among their privileges. This disjunction between the University and the colleges is dangerous to both, for so long as it persists the University must either remain ineffective or seek to by-pass the colleges. It is possible that the colleges 'will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle'. The remedy, as Edmund Burke knew, is 'association'.

52. One obvious form of such association is financial, for this lies at the root of the independence of the colleges. While variety is desirable as between colleges, there are limits to the variation that is possible if they are to act together. Extremes of riches and poverty if carried beyond a certain point would make of some patrons and of others clients; some fellows would be thought inferior to others. Our proposals for a new college contributions system are based upon the idea that there is a minimum level of endowment below which a college cannot adequately function as a 'state of the union'. It therefore seemed to us just to devise a scheme (see Chapter VIII) by which all the well-to-do colleges will contribute to raise the endowments of the weak to a level at which they can live a decent college life. But it should be noted that we do not advocate absolute equality. We wish colleges to manage their own finances and have an incentive to solicit benefactions: then they can make choices and have the possibility of experiment.

53. A more significant form of college association is to be found in one of our main constitutional recommendations which involves an active partnership of all the colleges. It is an essential part of our reforms that a Council of the Colleges should be formed. This will enable the colleges to speak with the University in a strong collective voice, and to take the initiative when they so desire. Their chosen representative will sit of right on the chief administrative body of the University. The task of the Council of the Colleges will be to determine policies and practices common to all colleges. It will not introduce uniformity but, on the contrary, will provide the framework within which variation can be preserved. It will help to make

a strong and creative reality of the collegiate university, which at present is weak because its constitutional forms are at variance with its experienced needs.

54. We are confident that these recommendations for a new machinery of government taken together will enable Oxford to be more truly democratic. They will also enable Oxford to join effectively in the common discussions with other universities in Britain and abroad. It will be possible for the Vice-Chancellor to speak for Oxford, University and colleges, in discussions about higher education: Oxford will put its own case for funds more effectively to public and private bodies. These are some of the direct benefits. But, as we indicated in para. 45 above, there will be the further result that a means will have been created to bring into effect the other policies which we advocate.

55. It will be possible, for example, to control the size and shape of Oxford. It is of prime importance, if Oxford is to retain its corporate identity as a collegiate university, that the growth of numbers, so marked a feature of the last twenty years, should be carefully limited. We have set a planning figure for the total student population of about 13,000 to be reached during the next fifteen to twenty years. We propose a large increase in the number of postgraduates, but there will also be a rise in the number of undergraduates in science and social studies and of women undergraduates. This means that the number of men reading arts must be held stable or reduced. Decisions on policy will have to be taken of a kind which Oxford has hitherto been unable to take.

56. The selection of which young men and women shall fill these places is obviously a point of the greatest importance. We have considered how best to secure that all shall have, so far as is practicable, the same opportunity to come to Oxford if they wish. This is in the national interest and required by social justice. It is also in the interests of Oxford itself: it wants those students who can get most out of it and to whom it can give most. Many schools have, hitherto, not believed that Oxford was for their pupils, and the form of the entrance examination itself has proved an obstacle. The result has been that Oxford colleges, which can select only from those who offer themselves, have not succeeded in getting a fair sample of the abilities of the country.

57. In the long run we favour a national university entrance examination, but such a scheme will be a matter for lengthy discussion. We believe that Oxford, reorganized as we suggest, can play a leading part in such discussions. For the interim, we have devised an Oxford scheme for a two-stream entry: this allows for the fact that in secondary education pupils are brought forward at rates which differ from school to school. It is not,

however, a scheme for discriminating between types of school. Making opportunity equal for individual candidates is what matters; we have avoided an artificial discrimination which would perpetuate social differences and is irrelevant to the detection of promise. We believe that our proposals will enlarge the social representation of the nation in Oxford's student body without lowering standards of work. We also put forward proposals for a far-reaching reform of the scholarship system.

58. The admission of undergraduates illustrates the need for close co-operation between the University, which should establish the policies, and the colleges, which should select the persons. The revision of the curriculum and the shape of the courses calls for consideration by the reorganized university bodies, General Board, faculty boards, and sub-faculty boards. In Chapters IV and VII we put forward a number of principles that should govern their considerations. One is that all universities should not aim at the same sort of excellence. For Oxford we are confident that the right course is to retain the system of education in depth but we do not argue that syllabuses should remain unchanged. The present range of subjects studied in Oxford is artificially narrow, and we hope that the University will devise more courses which consist of twin subjects, as does the new Engineering Science and Economics School and as a conjunction of Modern History with Modern Languages could do.

59. We are clear, also, that in a large number of fields technological studies have for some time been at a stage in which systematic bodies of knowledge exist appropriate to serve as academic disciplines and capable of expansion by research. At Oxford there is a flourishing School of Engineering Science, a small School of Clinical Medicine in a Teaching Hospital rapidly gathering distinction, and some important institutional activities in the social studies. We do not believe that Oxford should aim to cover all applied science. But it should add to its distinguished work in science a selective, but rapid, development in a number of fields of advanced technology. No university has ever remained for long out of touch with the life around it and stayed great.

60. Nor, in modern conditions, can any university remain great which does not encourage strength in postgraduate studies. Though we believe that there is a limit to the size to which Oxford should be allowed to grow, we have no doubt that it must expand and improve its postgraduate work. Its resources, its experience, its prestige, make it, as Lord Robbins told us (*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 180), the 'manifest destiny' of Oxford to play a leading part in advanced training and research. But it is not our view that Oxford should be reorganized so as to separate great Graduate Schools from undergraduate teaching. On the contrary, we believe that the supervision of postgraduates should be a middle term between research and

undergraduate teaching for the academic staff. It will keep a balance of life possible for them at a time when the frontiers of knowledge are being pushed outwards very rapidly. It must be confessed that the care of postgraduates has hitherto been the blurred panel in the triptych of academic activity at Oxford. In the sciences, thanks to their departmental organization, it has been adequate. But there has been a weakness in the arts. Postgraduate studies must have parity of esteem with undergraduate studies: to give reality to this view involves large changes. But though the University should take the lead in these, college co-operation will be essential since, in the collegiate university, those who are not fully brought into college life inevitably suffer.

61. In our earlier account of the collegiate university, we explained that its academic inhabitants are unlike those found elsewhere in the duality of their allegiances: they are almost all fellow-lecturers or professorial fellows. Until recently there existed alongside the fellow-lecturers senior members of the staff without full college membership who had been appointed by the University to fill gaps in the research and teaching staff. But Congregation decided on 1 June 1965 that all permanent senior members were entitled to college fellowships. A serious defect in the collegiate university is now being put right by this regularization of the position of the fellow-lecturer. We propose that in future all permanent appointments to the staff should be the joint concern of a college and the University, both having to agree to the appointment.

62. It is one of the most important elements in our proposals that members of the academic staff should be given the opportunity to undertake research, to engage in postgraduate supervision, and to teach undergraduates. In recent years there have been such rapid changes in the subjects studied and in the number of those studying them that it has been difficult to maintain a proper balance of academic work. The result has been that the teaching burden is now very unevenly distributed over the academic staff. It is only too easy to allow research and private study to be squeezed out in a busy life. The demands of teaching are immediate and insistent, so that there is a temptation to regard research as something in which only the particularly conscientious or the particularly fortunate can take part. But research and private study are not only a main purpose of a university, they also form the foundations of its teaching. Without continuous private work, teaching degenerates and becomes stale. Therefore, the provision of time for research for all members of the staff is a matter of high priority. The purpose of our proposals is to reopen opportunities and to equalize burdens.

63. This is not the same as proposing a uniformity of life. We believe that the exact proportions of the total time spent on undergraduates or on postgraduates, in lecturing or in tutorials, should vary from man to man

according to the needs of the time and his interests and abilities. But we are clear that a combined maximum of teaching hours should be imposed and that it should not be as far above the national average as some fellow-lecturers at present endure. We recommend (see Chapter IV) that, in place of the jumble of categories of lecturer which exist at present, there should be one class of fellow-lecturers, all of whose members should have the same total requirement of teaching hours. We divide this class into two categories not according to seniority or talent, but simply according to whether the University or the college can claim the major portion of their teaching time. The maximum requirement should be reckoned so as to include all teaching: tutorial hours with undergraduates, demonstrating in laboratories, lectures, classes, the supervision and tuition of postgraduates, and postgraduate seminars.

64. To put this system into effect will require joint action by the University and the colleges in their Council. There will be an intensification of the need, already acute, for extra staff. Oxford should, without delay, increase its staff at least up to the national average staff: student ratio. Until this is done, the proper balance of life of the University will be in jeopardy.

65. The most characteristic form of teaching in Oxford is the tutorial. Yet we find it is in process of debasement. The tutorial is not designed 'to cover the ground' or to make work easier for the pupil. Its purpose is to teach him, by preparing and reading an essay, to think and to argue on some selected topic before a critical and older person. For these reasons we recommend (see Chapter IV) that undergraduates should write only one essay, and as a normal rule attend only one tutorial, a week. This means that 'the ground' will have to be 'covered' in other ways. The pattern of lectures and classes, which, in the arts at least, have often been regarded as dispensable, will have to be reorganized by the faculties of the University.

66. When all this has been done we believe that Oxford will be able to claim that it is using the talents of its staff to the best advantage. A large part of that staff consists, and should continue to consist, of distinguished and comparatively senior scholars. Many fellow-lecturers are, at present, of the calibre of professors or readers though they do not seek the status or title. This does not mean that Oxford men will not be drawn to chairs elsewhere in the country. But that its percentage of men of established reputation should be higher than the national average seems to us to be essential to a university of major international standing.

67. We have drawn out the consequences of this position. As a part of our discussion we have examined the style of life at Oxford. We argue for some salary differential as compared with the national average, but propose that some of the fringe benefits enjoyed by college fellows should go as they are

no longer defensible. In particular, we believe that the system of payments for supervision and outside teaching is not compatible with a full and balanced academic life.

68. We do not fear that our recommendations will reduce the colleges to drab uniformity. Experiments in different types of college and different ways of life will go on. We hope to have helped them forward. But we underline the obligations which fall on all colleges. They cannot be in a community and contract out when it suits them. And what is true of the colleges within the University is also true of Oxford in the national system of higher education.

69. 'There are two things', Dr. Johnson declared, 'which I am confident I can do very well: one is an introduction to any literary work, stating what it is to contain . . . the other is a conclusion.' We are not so confident that in any introduction we can adequately indicate the full force or significance of proposals for the far-reaching reform of a living body as sophisticated as the collegiate university of Oxford. We have only attempted to mention some of the problems which must now be examined in detail, to indicate the footing on which we approach them, and to outline the interlocked programme of reforms which we recommend. As to 'the conclusion', that is not given to us to write but must be left to those who receive and decide upon the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER II

THE SIZE AND SHAPE OF OXFORD

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70. In the early 1920's Oxford had about 4,000 students and 350 academic staff. There were twenty colleges and the five women's societies. In 1964–5 there were about 9,500 students, 7,300 of them undergraduates and 2,200 postgraduates; the academic staff numbered 1,127. The number of colleges was thirty-one, and three new ones were being planned. In some forty years the number of undergraduates had nearly doubled, the number of postgraduates had quintupled, the size of the staff had trebled, and colleges had been created at a rate unknown since the thirteenth century.

71. The rate of increase has not been uniform over this period. There have been short-term bursts of growth when Oxford, like other universities, experienced exceptional overcrowding as it coped with the abnormal conditions of the immediate post-war years or with the ending of compulsory national service. In the long term, however, the upward trend of numbers of the past forty years has been a response to national policies of extending higher education. In spite of the creation of new universities Oxford still has 7·1 per cent. of the British student population as against the 9·7 per cent. it had in 1923–4.

72. This increase in the size of Oxford has been accompanied by changes in the internal balance of subjects and alterations in the constitutional relations of the University and colleges. These changes began at the time of the 1922 Commission with the progressive development of the natural sciences. Great new laboratories provided by the University superseded those of the colleges; and the number of those studying science grew at more than twice the rate of those reading arts and social studies: by 1964

the arts, the traditional studies of Oxford, accounted for less than half the student body.

73. From the start the science departments developed a life of their own. College fellows in science subjects have not simply made use of the facilities in the laboratories and done their research and teaching in isolation—they have worked as members of a department; and the rapid development in these subjects called for more men to assist in the teaching and research of the departments than the colleges could appoint. The University therefore began to make appointments in increasing numbers, with the result that the whole of the scientific work of Oxford, apart from the teaching the undergraduates receive in their college from their college tutors, is now done under the auspices of, and almost entirely at the expense of, the University, drawing its funds largely from the State.

74. The increase in the numbers in Oxford has therefore been accompanied by a change in the character of its life. All science is, by comparison with the arts, expensive to develop. It could not progress beyond an early stage on the use of college endowments. From 1922 the University, as it grew both larger and more concerned with science, was therefore in receipt of public money and accepted the degree of control by the University Grants Committee which was inevitably involved. The colleges, though receiving no money directly from the State,* were so inextricably linked with the University through their fellows and undergraduates, at first in the sciences and then in other subjects, that they too lost unfettered freedom of action. Oxford's endowment income rose from £454,000 in 1922 to £1,994,000 in 1963–4, but in the same period the recurrent grants made by the State to the University rose from £30,000 to £4,233,000. In addition the University received non-recurrent grants from the State for capital expenditure: in 1963–4 these were £920,000. Not that all this was money for science. Once the University had grown accustomed to the large-scale provision of facilities for science, it became natural also to provide facilities for special arts subjects, e.g. the Oriental Institute, and, in the last twenty years, it has met part of the emoluments of most college fellows in arts subjects.

75. Apart from the sciences, the University was most active in increasing the staff in those subjects which, though necessary to the development of knowledge and requiring research in any university, were not, at least at first, part of the ordinary undergraduate course for a first degree. In such subjects the University made its own appointments. Inevitably too the University took the major responsibility for postgraduate studies.

* Their expanded undergraduate numbers in all subjects were increasingly, as has been pointed out in Chapter I, supported by grants from local education authorities, which established a further link, though indirect, with public money.

76. The effect of these changes taken together has been that, as Oxford has expanded, the majority of the academic staff have become servants of two masters, the University and a college, but a rough division can be made in their ranks between those whose main work is under university auspices and those whose time is mostly taken by a college (see *Oral Evidence*, Part 76, pp. 40–45).

77. This duality can be paralleled among undergraduates, all of whom have a college base and receive college tutorials but also attend university lectures and classes. The university element in their teaching is for some, such as the scientists, very important, while for some, in the arts, it has at times been considered an optional extra.

78. This is the basis of that new federal unity of the collegiate university which we discussed in the last chapter (paras. 33 ff.). Changes in the scale and balance of subjects with their financial consequences would in any case have produced a new system. But the colleges did not have to be dragged forcibly into this new world. As we cross-questioned each group of colleges in turn about their place in the new collegiate university, we realized that each group, though it was determined to resist the pressures of educational standardization, accepted and, indeed, welcomed partnership with the University. Like citizens in any organized society, the colleges accepted some limits on their independence of action in order to gain effectiveness in the pursuit of their main objectives. They felt that the elements of their independence to which they attached most importance, namely the right to choose their own members, senior and junior, self-government, and the control of their independent funds, were more secure in a co-operative community than in a state of anarchy.

79. That the colleges use their powers of initiative to experiment we have been left in no doubt. Examples are to be found in the history of most colleges since 1945. One is the way in which Balliol College has experimented in the combination of postgraduate and undergraduate education: its most recent move has been to devise a postgraduate satellite with a mixed membership drawn from Balliol and St. Anne's and linked with the two parent colleges. Nuffield College has developed special techniques for dealing both with postgraduate work and the whole range of the Social Studies: its seminars have brought Oxford's social scientists into touch with each other and with men of distinction from outside Oxford to their mutual benefit. St. Antony's College has shown how specialization on particular areas (e.g. European Studies, Latin-American Studies) can enable a college to stimulate minds in every part of the academic community.

80. This brief review of the pattern of Oxford's growth leads inevitably to the question: must we assume that this process will, or should, continue indefinitely into the future? In our discussions of this question we were clear that past history could not be disregarded. We were not planning a university on a virgin site or for hypothetical requirements. We were convinced that Oxford's experience enabled it to make a distinctive contribution to the needs of British higher education along with the characteristic and often different contributions of other universities. But, we asked ourselves, how ought the future size and shape of Oxford to be conditioned by these considerations? Was the best way of ensuring that Oxford was responsive to the needs of the times simply to attempt no control of its development, with separate decisions being made by different bodies, each acting as it felt best at any given point, under the pressure of events? That, after all, is how Oxford grew to its present size and shape.

81. Oxford is still a university of only moderate size by world standards. The University of Paris among the ancient foundations, and the University of California among the new, dwarf it. Size brings with it many advantages in the way of economies in the spreading of overheads, in the possibilities of catering for minority tastes, and of using great resources for the advancement of particular projects. Such benefits have recently been refined by Mr. Clark Kerr of the University of California (*The Uses of the University*, 1964) into a new theory of the purposes of a university. We have given careful study to this idea which he calls 'the multiversity'. The multiversity eagerly embraces all the advantages of size. It has no restricting ideas about the integration of intellectual disciplines or limitations of geographical location. It is the eager partner of any other interest seeking to pursue any line of inquiry. As a result, a multiversity is quickly responsive to movements of opinion in the country as a whole and in return it finds itself provided with great funds. For in the multiversity the walls around the academic life are torn down. The various departments are enmeshed with the outside world. Research is conducted in partnership with government or large-scale industry by way of special projects.

82. The consequence of this proliferation of interests is that the scale of operations of the university is immense, and covers all forms of scientific and artistic activity. The student body has also to be very large and geographically widespread to match this proliferation of staff and resources. The loyalties of the staff are necessarily not confined within the university but extend to their patrons in government and industry. The university has, indeed, when the theory is pushed to its logical conclusion, no inner coherence at all, since the only link between its members is the administrative office at the centre of the complex. No one can deny the excitement, for senior members at least, that arises from taking part in such a large-scale

enterprise. But there are obvious disadvantages. The undergraduates may come to feel themselves merely hangers-on. This is of particular significance for a university like Oxford, which has a system of teaching based upon close personal contacts between teachers and taught in small, close-knit, and resident communities. There is another danger which goes even more to the root of university life. As a university becomes gigantic in size and unrestricted in its interests, it finds it harder to retain a sense of its own identity as a community of learning. Yet without this it is exposed to a special risk of yielding to the pressure of short-term interests and passing fashions.

83. Any university ought to be sensitive to the long-term needs of the community as a whole. We have no doubt that co-operation between a university and a national government, or between a university and the industries which encourage research, can be good for all parties, for 'knowledge', as Mr. Clark Kerr says, 'is now central to society' (op. cit., p. 114). Between the research establishment at Harwell and Oxford, between the National Health Service and Oxford, as between the trade unions and Oxford's extra-mural department, to take only a few examples, there are already close links. Oxford should welcome further developments of this sort. But that is not to say that the object of a university should be to merge itself with the outside world: on the contrary, it is when a university functions as a community of learning, in the full sense of those words, that its co-operation with those outside is most beneficial. For it is as an independent community that it can encourage its members to take long views and can foster the growth of new ideas of a fundamental nature.

84. Oxford's coherence has, so far, been secured by its development as a medium-sized collegiate university. This is a delicate growth of mingled and balanced interests which continues to afford great advantages. These have been discussed in the previous chapter (see paras. 35 and 36), but it is worth stressing here the merits of the collegiate university in the education of young men and women* and in its promotion of that democratic way of life which, by enlisting many talents in the solution of common problems, gives to the university a lively and unforced unity. We regard the loss of such advantages as too great a price to pay for such benefits as flow from the size and power of the multiversity. We can therefore answer the questions posed in para. 80 above. It is the dispersion, as well as the size, of the multiversity which entails the substitution of rules for personal contacts in university affairs. In the multiversity, the diversity of the enterprises with which academics are associated necessarily means that the 'administration becomes more central in integrating it': at the same time its sheer size

* 'A university anywhere can aim no higher than to be as British as possible for the sake of the undergraduates' (Clark Kerr, op. cit., p. 18).

means that the 'administration becomes more formalized and separated as a distinct function' (Clark Kerr, op. cit., p. 28). It is apparent that the size which Oxford has already reached has made its democracy less effective than it was. We make recommendations in Chapter VII to remedy this weakness. But administrative improvements cannot be applied indefinitely: if Oxford grew too large it could no longer govern itself.

85. We therefore recommend that Oxford should develop and improve its collegiate structure: the colleges should retain their legal position as constituent partners with powers of self-government within the University. But as we have already indicated, there are many ways in which the existing constitution does not reflect the structure which in fact now exists; and we consider that many changes in practice are necessary if the collegiate university is to function smoothly. These changes in constitution and practice are the subject of the recommendations given in the remainder of this report.

86. The recommendation that Oxford should continue as a collegiate university leads, for reasons which will be further examined below, to the conclusion that its size must be controlled in future. It implies that, in the broad categories of 'small', 'medium', or 'large' universities of the world, Oxford must remain a medium-sized institution. This does not mean a standstill on development. We foresee an expansion, but one which will allow it to remain within this category of medium size. We believe that this is best for Oxford, and it also coincides with the policy for higher education which has been generally accepted. In the expansion of higher education it is the civic and the new foundations which will absorb most of the increase: the former particularly, as Lord Heyworth pointed out to us (*Oral Evidence*, Part 5, p. 7), are expected by the University Grants Committee to carry the heaviest burden.

87. The limitation upon the possible size of Oxford does not rest simply upon the broad ground that a quantitative change must, at some point, result in a qualitative one in the style of community life. There are also arguments peculiar to this particular collegiate university: they relate to the size and the number of colleges, and to the geography of Oxford. The colleges were agreed in their evidence that there was a limit to the size to which they could grow while continuing to perform the functions expected of them. None should be so large that no one person can hope to know all the members. The tutors should not be charged with responsibility for so great a body of pupils that personal relationships were sacrificed. The number of senior members, the fellows, should not exceed the number which could meet with a sense of common responsibility and purpose. We accept these lines of guidance. We consider that a total membership

(including both senior and junior members) of about 500 is the maximum for an Oxford college. It is true that colleges at present vary considerably in size and that few differences emerge based solely on size; there is, therefore, no reason of principle why all colleges should not bring themselves up to the size of the largest. There is, however, a practical reason, namely that the maximum size of any particular college is governed not merely by the governing body's idea of what from time to time is the 'right' size for the college but also by limitations of space. A college which expands outside its immediate site exposes itself to some risk of losing its unity; in particular, if it becomes impossible for a college to provide accommodation for all undergraduates to live for two years within the college, one desirable feature of college life has been lost.

88. There must also be a limit to the expansion of the number of colleges. It is true that eleven new colleges and three new societies have been recognized within the last fifteen years; but if this were to continue, the critical point would soon be reached at which a system of co-operating autonomous units would become unworkable. We do not maintain that the present number is exactly right. A few more colleges, we believe, can be absorbed into the system should the degree of expansion we recommend make them necessary. But it will be for the Council of the Colleges (see paras. 605 ff.) to see that this is done with care.

89. Geography, finally, must impose restraints. Nearly 25 per cent. of the land within the City boundary, some 8,416 acres, was owned by the University or by the colleges in 1948, as well as large areas immediately outside the boundary. Much of this, however, is already built up or is subject to flood. There is great pressure upon space. It can usually be found for new developments which are generally agreed to be necessary, but each project requires careful scrutiny and has to be weighed against other interests. The Oxford City Council told us (*Written Evidence*, Part XIV, p. 1) that, 'although Oxford is not just a city with a university but is very much a university city, the University and colleges must accept planning control in the same way as must other organizations in the City, and it is therefore of extreme importance that the University should be able to make known in good time the requirements of itself and the colleges so that these may be met as far as possible. The University must also be prepared for the time to arrive when it may not be possible to meet its requirements and it has to revise its plans accordingly. . . . It is of tremendous importance to the University and the City that the present delicate balance between university and other development now existing in the central area of the City is maintained, but this means that a limit must be placed upon the amount of new building which the University can do.' We endorse the case for close and continuous consultation between the colleges and the University and between the University and the City. The need to satisfy the planning

authority emphasizes the point that the University which, given its nature, cannot develop a satellite campus, must have a clear picture of its future needs within the city area.

90. A decision to plan Oxford's future as a medium-sized university is the choice of a pattern of life and involves a conscious control of the forces of expansion. The Hebdomadal Council told us (*Written Evidence*, Part I, p. 3) that in its view a total student population of about 10,000 in the next ten years would be right. The numbers in the first term of the academic year 1965–6 were about 9,800. We have thought in terms of about 13,000 over the next fifteen to twenty years. This is not a target but a planning figure. It includes not only undergraduates and postgraduates but also some 500 'Recognized Students' doing short professional courses (see para. 92 below). This figure is still within the medium-size range: it represents a determination to slacken the recent rate of growth. Between 1952–3 and 1965–6 the total number of students at Oxford rose by about 2,950 at an average annual rate of 2·8 per cent. Our proposals envisage the addition of about 3,200 students over the next fifteen to twenty years: we allow, that is, for an average annual rate of increase of 1·6 per cent. In our view the problem will not be to attain this proposed rate of increase but to take the restrictive measures that will ensure that it is not greatly exceeded. We therefore recommend that Oxford should plan its future as a medium-sized university with a total student population of about 13,000 over the next fifteen to twenty years.

Table A. *Students (weighted for postgraduates) per member of academic staff. 1964–5*

	RATIO	
Subject group	Oxford	All universities in Great Britain except Oxford, Cambridge, and six new universities
Arts and social studies	12·7	11·2
Science	13·5	9·8
All subjects except medicine	13·0	10·7
Medicine	5·9	6·9
All subjects	12·3	9·9

SOURCE: Tables 243 and 244.

91. Even without any increase in student numbers, an expansion of Oxford's academic staff is urgently required. The present ratio of staff to students in

Oxford, weighted for postgraduates in accordance with University Grants Committee practice, is 1:12·3 while that for all the universities in Great Britain except for Oxford, Cambridge, and the six newest is 1:9·9 (see Table A). A 20 per cent. increase in staff is thus needed to bring Oxford into line with other universities: this means an addition of about 180 to the present teaching staff. This is for a student body of 9,500. Any further increase in the number of students will obviously raise the figure. Furthermore, changes in the make-up of the student body, particularly a greater percentage of postgraduates, are likely to raise the staff requirement even more. It is not unrealistic to raise the figure of 180, the immediate need, to something of the order of 500 for a total student population of about 13,000. Even an increase of this size would be no greater than Oxford has known in the past: since 1922 the staff has increased by an average of about 2·8 per cent. each year. The scale of the projected increase, over the next fifteen to twenty years, would result in a slightly lower average annual growth. We recommend that as a first step Oxford's staff:student ratio should be brought up to the national average and then that it be kept at least at that level.

92. The second desirable increase is in the number of postgraduates. In general we use the term postgraduate to denote any matriculated student who has taken his first degree and is doing a further course. Within this body there are two main categories. There are those, the great majority, who are engaged on a further programme of academic work, such as the courses for a B.Phil., a B.Litt., or a D.Phil. There are others who are taking a course of professional or vocational training which is usually of short duration, such as the Diploma of Education, for which 219 matriculated students were reading in 1964–5. There are also some 300 non-matriculated students not included in the University's statistics, who are taking courses mainly of this second kind. The distinction is not watertight; there are diploma courses which have the elements of academic research and professional training mingled in them. We recommend that the existing university category of 'Recognized Student' should be revised so as to include those postgraduates who undertake courses of professional or vocational training at Oxford: their numbers in the next fifteen to twenty years should not be allowed to exceed 500. We discuss their studies and status in Chapter IV (para. 257).

93. A continuing increase in the number of postgraduates, in the sense of those doing advanced academic work, is something Oxford should set itself to achieve. It will take place rapidly in some subjects and hardly at all in others. We do not forecast which subjects will expand most quickly, but we expect that the pure and applied sciences and social studies will grow more rapidly than the arts. The increase in postgraduate work will benefit

the whole academic life of Oxford (see the fuller discussion in Chapter IV). We think it unlikely that Oxford can remain a major university unless this side of its work is expanded. It is becoming more and more common for the best students, not only those wishing to take up an academic career, to take a postgraduate qualification.

94. Lord Robbins said (*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 179) 'it is my belief that one of the greatest needs of the university system in this country is development of graduate studies on a much larger scale than heretofore. I do not believe that the needs of the future can be met by the products of a three-year university course, however brilliant their performances in the examination schools; and I am sure that if we are to make our proper contribution to the intellectual leadership of the world, we must take graduate studies far more seriously than we have done in the past. But the organization and equipment of graduate studies is exacting and expensive: it cannot be improvised overnight with just any sort of staff, and it demands massive equipment in the shape of laboratories and libraries. For this reason it seems to me that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have advantages in this respect which can be claimed by very few others. I am far from saying that they should be the *only* centres for such developments: that would be bad policy in itself; it would, moreover, ignore all sorts of important activities and developments elsewhere. But I do say that they are exceptionally well placed to play a leading role in such developments. They are already at the size which permits appropriate division of labour and specialization by the staff. They possess libraries which are only rivalled, and not always surpassed, by the libraries in the metropolis. They enjoy an international standing which should ensure that degree of cosmopolitan mixture which is necessary if graduate schools are not to be parochial in atmosphere. And they inherit traditions of scholarship and scientific discovery which are an example to all of us. It would be a very considerable exaggeration to say that their present arrangements for graduate studies are nearly as good as they could be—though there are honourable exceptions of world wide repute, and, in Oxford, especially, there are experiments of the utmost promise. But it would be safe to say that less effort would be required to create the necessary conditions here than in most—though perhaps not all—other higher educational institutions in the country. It is my submission, therefore, that for Oxford and Cambridge to develop so that the present 20 per cent. of graduate students becomes most substantially higher is something like manifest destiny.'

95. The Hebdomadal Council gave us a similar view. Oxford, it said, has 'a special part to play in training postgraduates, both in view of the national pressures and, in particular, of the increasing need for trained postgraduates to staff the new universities in this country and overseas, and also existing

universities which are expanding their student population. Many universities are in a less favourable position than Oxford to provide postgraduate facilities in many subjects; and for this reason Oxford has a special responsibility to provide facilities for postgraduates from other universities as well as for people who have taken their first degree at Oxford' (*Written Evidence*, Part I, p. 4). We endorse these views. It is Oxford's proper business to increase the number and improve the training of postgraduates.

96. It is necessary to form some estimates of the likely rate of increase over the next ten to twenty years. The Hebdomadal Council (*Written Evidence*, Part I, p. 3) suggested 2,500 as the maximum for postgraduates in the next decade. Two pieces of evidence suggest that this is an under-estimate. The first is the replies of the representatives of the faculty boards when asked, in giving oral evidence to the Commission, to forecast likely numbers of postgraduates over the next ten to fifteen years. The second is a projection based on an analysis of the statistics in the Robbins Report. Both approaches to the problem of assessing probable numbers yielded a figure around 3,500. This means raising the proportion of postgraduates, at present 23 per cent., to at least 30 per cent. of the whole student body. This is about the proportion which the Robbins Committee recommended as a national average (Robbins Report, para. 301). In the light of this evidence and of our belief that postgraduate studies should be developed in Oxford, we recommend that, for planning purposes, the number of postgraduates, excluding the 500 or so Recognized Students, should be expected to reach 3,500 to 4,000 over the next fifteen to twenty years.

97. We have dealt with the numbers of the staff and the postgraduates: we have now to consider the range of studies in Oxford. We believe growth should occur in the pure and applied sciences, in mathematics, in clinical medicine, and in social studies including Law. We also believe that there should be an increase in the number of women students. It is extremely difficult to put figures to the desirable, or even to the projected, developments of the expanding subjects. We can be certain that clinical medicine is going to expand and Oxford become one of the important centres in the country. But when we go further and think in terms of 100 clinical students entering the teaching hospital each year we are on more speculative ground. A plan has already been made to increase its intake from thirty, the present figure, to fifty a year. The applied sciences account for an average of 15 per cent. of students in the universities of this country generally. In Oxford they are represented only by Engineering Science and Metallurgy, which were being read in 1963–4 by no more than 3 per cent. of students. But new developments in these subjects have already been embarked upon, new buildings have been provided, and numbers have begun to rise. We believe that it would be right to build up an undergraduate school of some 500 in

Engineering Science and on this to base a substantial postgraduate school: this, if Chemical Engineering develops, might be of the order of 250. It is even more difficult to estimate the size of the likely increase in mathematics, biological sciences, and social studies. Plans have already been made in the University which are based upon the assumption that a major expansion will take place in biological sciences. The mathematicians (*Written Evidence*, Part V, p. 118) argued for the importance of continued expansion in mathematics in the national interest: such growth is also an essential concomitant to developments in the natural sciences. The new Law Library, intended as a centre for advanced legal studies of the whole Commonwealth, will clearly increase the number of those working for the B.C.L. and in other forms of postgraduate work. In applied economics, in criminology, in sociology, advanced work is already rapidly increasing in volume, even if the vocational courses on these topics are left out of account. The development of such advanced work is likely to create new interests and new teaching for the undergraduates also.

98. Most of the expansion so far considered is in the applied sciences and technology. As we stated in the last chapter, these subjects have for some time been at a stage in which they form a body of knowledge suitable for advanced academic work and training. Rapid growth of postgraduate study and research in them is of the utmost national importance. We are convinced, furthermore, that Oxford needs to expand its cultivation of them if it is to have a balance of studies appropriate to the position it claims in the modern world of higher education and of research. But this development should be selective and the applied sciences should be cultivated by building upon the foundations which Oxford already possesses. In this we agree with the views of Sir Patrick Linstead (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 111). We recommend that special steps should be taken to increase the numbers, both undergraduate and postgraduate, in the applied sciences, and in social studies. This increase should be selective so as to build on the basis already existing and to maintain a high standard of work. But needless duplication of facilities elsewhere in the United Kingdom should be avoided.

99. We expect that, in addition to the growth of applied science, there will be further development of Oxford's existing Schools of the natural sciences. Our expectations are shared by those who have been in charge of university planning. Between 1955 and 1965 an additional 323,000 sq. ft. have been provided for science and, in that period, the numbers of students in science and medicine rose from 1,890 to 3,509. The 'Holford Plan' provides ground on which to build by 1982 a further 1,000,000 sq. ft. It would be a mistake to base any close calculation of the number of students which are expected by 1982 simply on the additional floor space which has been

allowed for by that date: the degree of overcrowding has varied since 1955 and the use to be made of the space varies from department to department according to the type of its work.

100. It is, however, safe to argue that the Holford Plan, which had its origins in departmental estimates made in 1962, presumes a major expansion in the numbers reading natural science. In this Oxford will develop along the lines of the national trend and it is right that it should do so. It is also safe to argue from the figures of additional space that the expansion can be accommodated within a university of the size we propose, provided that there is an agreed policy to balance this increase by holding numbers stationary, or by reducing them, in subjects in which growth is less active.

101. We now come to the question of whether there should be more women in the University. The proportion of women at Oxford was 18 per cent. forty years ago; it was 16 per cent. in 1963–4. This shows the same trend as in other universities in this country, where the average proportion has dropped over the same period from 32 per cent. to 28 per cent. Absolute numbers have, of course, risen, but women have failed to keep up with men in the over-all expansion. Oxford has a smaller proportion of women than any other university except Cambridge, Strathclyde, and the Manchester College of Science and Technology. We see no advantage in admitting more women simply because they are women; but we believe that the old arrangements which made it harder for properly qualified women, than for men, to secure admission to Oxford have lost what validity they had. The standards required for admission to Oxford should be the same for all, regardless of sex.

102. Until about ten years ago the University imposed restrictions on the numbers the women's colleges could admit; since these were removed the number of women has increased by over one-third. The total number of women students now (1965–6) stands at 1,628, of whom 1,278 are undergraduates. We recommend that it should be encouraged to rise still further by the addition of about 700 women undergraduates over the next fifteen to twenty years. If the total number were brought up to about 2,000 this would mean that nearly a quarter of the undergraduates would be women. Women make up 16 per cent. of the postgraduates. Their number is growing, and there are now 350, of whom 60 are in the postgraduate societies. We think that women should be encouraged to read for advanced degrees. We recognize the obstacles to their doing so, and do not envisage as rapid a rise in the proportion of women among postgraduates as among undergraduates. We recommend that Oxford should aim at doubling the number of women postgraduates over the period. In that case the proportion

of women, taking postgraduates and undergraduates together, would be rather over 20 per cent. of all students.

103. In making these recommendations about women students we are aware of certain special problems and limiting conditions. We have been told that Oxford does not attract its proper share of applications for admission from among the young women of the country: we have been told also that in some subjects such as Science, Mathematics, History, PPE, and Literae Humaniores, it is often difficult for the colleges to fill their present places (Lady Ogilvie, *Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 139). On the other hand, we have received evidence (e.g. from Lady Ogilvie, loc. cit.) that in some subjects, notably English and Modern Languages, the number of candidates is so great that the colleges are having to refuse good candidates: this is not so much on grounds of lack of accommodation as through a reluctance to see any one or two subjects so dominating the college that it ceased to be a reasonably balanced cross-section of the whole academic community. We share this reluctance. This complication could well delay the realization of our principle that equal qualifications should mean an equal chance of entry. Much can be done, however, by a better use of publicity. The unevenness of the application rate from different types of school is not peculiar to women. We make proposals for dealing with this general problem of admissions in the next chapter. Oxford can do much more to make the facts about its courses and its willingness to take more properly qualified women known generally among the schools of the country. It is our belief that this will be enough to meet many of the difficulties (cf. *Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 59, from the Association of Head Mistresses). Ultimately it will be for women candidates themselves to choose whether the programme is carried out quickly or slowly. And it is right that they should have a variety of courses offered to them by the different universities of the country.

104. There is another difficulty in carrying out our recommendations, which is a matter of Oxford's own collegiate organization. The expansion we propose necessitates an increase in the size of the women's colleges (see para. 114 below). It may well mean that at least one other college has to be founded (paras. 114–16 below). It certainly implies building up the staff in the existing women's colleges. Our recommendations on the staffing ratio and the increase in the number of women students imply a doubling of the number of fellows at the women's colleges. But already 13 per cent. of Oxford's staff are women as compared with the national average of 10 per cent. An increase of staff in the existing women's colleges, sufficient to cope with the student numbers we recommend, would be difficult to achieve without lowering standards so long as only women are eligible for these posts. We are aware of arguments for keeping these posts confined to women, but they may have to give way to the stronger arguments in

favour of opening places in Oxford to those who can profit by them regardless of sex. If the greater number of women students can only be achieved by bringing men into the women's colleges as teachers, then this should be done. The argument for it rests simply upon an academic need. It can be done gradually as that need is felt in particular subjects. We recommend therefore that the Council of the Colleges (see paras. 605 ff.) and the governing bodies of the women's colleges should keep the programme of increasing the number of women students under review to see that it is not needlessly impeded by difficulties in the recruitment of teaching staff.

Table B. *Past, present, and future student numbers and balance*

OXFORD

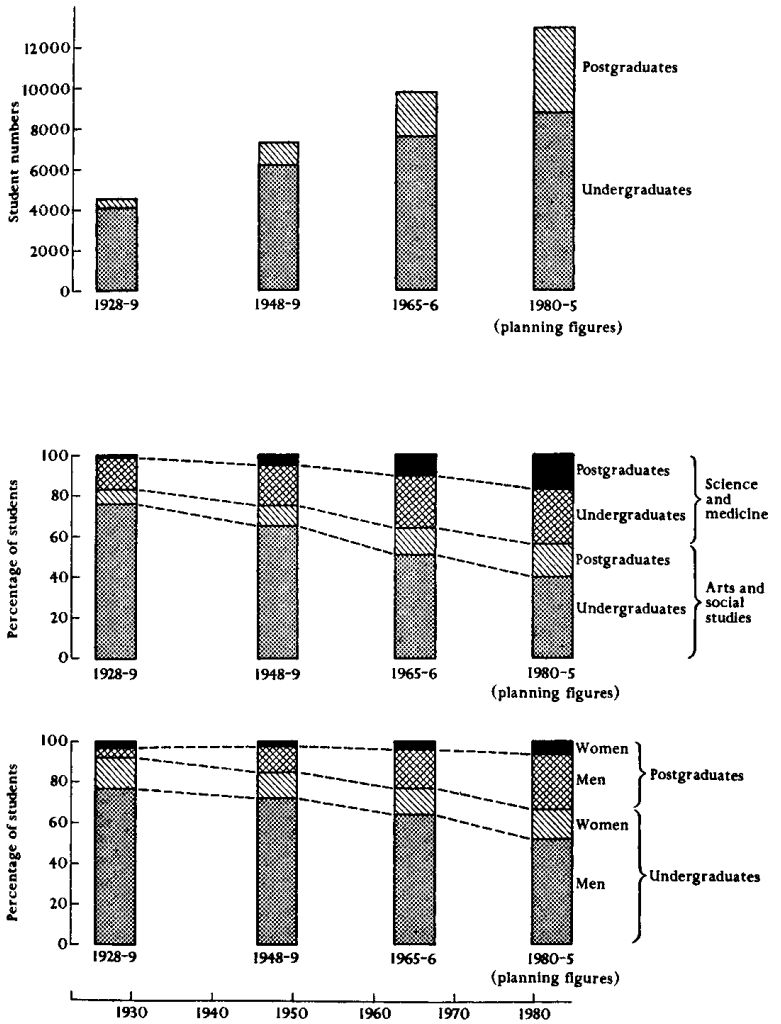
	1928–9		1948–9		1965–6		*1980–5 (planning figures)*	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	*Number*	*Percentage*
UNDERGRADUATES								
Arts and social studies	3,402	76	4,679	65	5,080	51	*5,000–5,500*	*38–42*
Science and medicine	714	16	1,480	20	2,518	26	*3,250–3,750*	*25–29*
POSTGRADUATES								
Arts and social studies	309	7	717	10	1,235	13	*1,750–2,250*	*13–17*
Science and medicine	48	1	354	5	991	10	*2,000–2,500*	*15–19*
MEN								
Undergraduates	3,411	77	5,227	72	6,320	64	*6,750*	*52*
Postgraduates	233	5	929	13	1,876	19	*3,550*	*27*
WOMEN								
Undergraduates	705	15	932	13	1,278	13	*2,000*	*15*
Postgraduates	124	3	142	2	350	4	*700*	*6*
Arts and social studies	3,797	83	5,460	75	6,315	64	*7,000–7,500*	*54–58*
Science and medicine	762	17	1,834	25	3,509	36	*5,500–6,000*	*44*
Undergraduates	4,116	92	6,159	85	7,598	77	*8,750*	*67*
Postgraduates	357	8	1,071	15	2,226	23	*4,250*	*33*
Men	3,728	82	6,218	85	8,196	83	*10,300*	*79*
Women	831	18	1,076	15	1,628	17	*2,700*	*21*
All students	4,559	100	7,294	100	9,824	100	*13,000*	*100*

SOURCE: 1928–9: Registry.
1948–9 and 1965–6: Table 7.
1980–5: Chapter II of Report.

NOTES

1. All the figures given for 1980–5 are conjectural, but are consistent with the text of Chapter II. The actual student numbers in 1980–5 will depend on developments in the intervening period.
2. For 1928–9 and 1948–9 a few students who cannot be classified as undergraduates or postgraduates are omitted from the breakdowns between undergraduates and postgraduates.
3. The figures for postgraduates in 1980–5 include the Recognized Students (see para. 92).

Chart 1. *Past, present, and future student numbers and balance*



Note: The division between arts and social studies, and science and medicine for 1980–5 is based on the mid-points of the ranges giveni n Table B.

105. With these points of growth (which are illustrated in Table B and Chart 1) in mind, it can be seen that there is a cutting edge to our recommendation that Oxford should, in spite of pressure, remain of medium size, about 13,000. In round numbers there are, in 1965–6, 7,600 undergraduates and 2,200 postgraduates, that is 9,800 in all. The room for increase is a maximum of about 3,500. Of this, over the next fifteen to twenty years, we have allocated approximately 2,000 places for postgraduate expansion (including the Recognized Students—see para. 92 above). These postgraduate places include some of the increases among women and a great many among pure and applied scientists and among those in social studies which we have discussed separately. But the fact remains that, on this rough budget, there will be at most 1,500 extra places for all forms of expansion in undergraduate studies over the foreseeable future. Of these 1,500 places we believe that about 700 should be occupied by women: about 250 places are almost certain to go to Engineering Science. Therefore on the face of these figures there are few places for men, about 550, left to meet the needs of growing undergraduate studies in biological sciences, Physics, Chemistry, and technology other than Engineering Science, to name only those for which the University has already planned the physical basis for expansion up to 1982 (see paras. 99 and 100 above). We believe that there are also advances in social studies, at postgraduate level, that are likely to feed back into undergraduate work. We have also indicated the projected rise (para. 97) in students in clinical medicine: Second B.M. students, counted as undergraduates for the purposes of the University Grants Committee, are included as such in our statistics. If there is any increase in the number of four-year undergraduate courses (see para. 247 below), this will take up yet more places.

106. Calculations of this sort ignore the fact that not all the growth will occur at the same pace. We have already indicated, in discussing the position of women, factors which may make the changes slower than we would otherwise wish (see para. 103 above). We have indicated also that the rate of postgraduate expansion depends upon the provision of the proper facilities and the flow of suitable applicants supported by grants. Bottle-necks, or, on the other hand, sudden and unpredictable advances, may occur in particular subjects.

107. When all this is said, however, we have no doubt that, at the points where we have recommended it, expansion is necessary to the good balance of work in Oxford. But we are equally convinced that this means, given limitations on size, that, if vigorous subjects are to grow or new ones to be introduced, there must be compensating contractions. We are not suggesting that the shutters have to be put up at once in certain faculties. The problem is too complex to allow of such a simple formula: it is not even a choice between the arts and the sciences. But taking the plans already

made in the University (see paras. 99 and 100 above) it can be argued that, if the full scientific desires are to be satisfied, there must be a standstill in arts. This will become a cut-back to the extent that the social studies expand. This is an important point. In both quality and quantity, as is indicated by the experience of St. Antony's, Nuffield, and Balliol colleges in particular, social studies will be of major importance in Oxford over the next quarter century. We therefore recommend that expansion in Oxford's activities in the sciences and in social studies should be encouraged, but within an agreed programme of development, which will imply some compensating contractions.

108. Oxford needs to examine and control its entry of postgraduates if it is to retain its character. There will be a temptation to allow an easy expansion of the number of postgraduates working in some arts subjects because little plant is needed for their work (see the Warden of Nuffield, *Written Evidence*, Part XIV, p. 26). Moreover, a great many of the prospective postgraduates in these subjects will be home-grown, and they will feel that they have the right to stay in Oxford. The temptation to expand postgraduate numbers in this way must be resisted for two main reasons. The first is that the academic value of such work needs scrutiny: postgraduate training is an expensive item of the nation's academic effort and should not be misapplied to give a few favoured young men or women a breathing space while they put off decisions about their places in the world. Secondly, and of equal importance, it follows from the claim to international status made by Oxford and from its wealth of resources, that more graduates from other universities must have places reserved for them in Oxford: such graduates, whether from British universities or from abroad, will not reflect the same ratios, in arts, science, and social studies, that Oxford has inherited from its past. These are matters in which the University must take the lead, and, through a vigorous General Board, give direction to the efforts of faculty and sub-faculty boards.

109. The planning of the composition of the undergraduate population is more difficult. We are dealing not with an expanding frontier but with territory already built over and occupied. What is more, the colleges have had general control of admissions (see Chapter I) and it is important that they should continue to select individuals in order that they may retain their personal responsibility and their interest in the membership of their societies. But these activities must be combined in a general policy or else the whole University, including all the colleges, may be involved in a ruinous change of character (see also Chapter III).

110. No great effort has so far been necessary; natural forces of supply and demand have produced an undergraduate population the distribution of which has not seemed unreasonable. In the years 1954–5 to 1964–5 the

total undergraduate population has grown by about 1,200;* but the number reading the larger arts Schools of Modern History and Literae Humaniores has dropped. The numbers in other Schools in arts have increased somewhat, and the School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics has increased substantially, but by far the major part of the increase has been in scientific Schools. For example, the number of undergraduates reading Mathematics has increased from 219 to 419, Chemistry from 327 to 528, Physics from 205 to 440, Engineering Science from 91 to 190, Zoology from 72 to 105, and Biochemistry from 16 to 74. But apart from the development of Engineering Science, neither the increase in total numbers nor the great swing towards scientific subjects owes much, if anything, to conscious forward planning by the University or the colleges; it has been the result of pressure of good candidates for admission and of a host of decisions made in colleges about their own individual policies, often without reference to the University or to each other.

111. Controlled expansion will involve action and restraint both by the University and the colleges. If expansion is allowed wherever it is desirable without compensating contraction elsewhere, then Oxford will become ever larger and its resources will have to be spread over an ever-increasing area. The colleges have at present an almost unfettered control over the numbers admitted, in general and in particular subjects; they are under constant pressure to expand. In the first place, they naturally wish to admit a sufficient number of undergraduates in the subjects in which they have tutorial fellows so that each fellow may have an appropriate share of the teaching work of the college. But they are always reluctant to turn away good candidates, and if these begin to appear in any subject in numbers larger than the existing fellows can manage, the natural reaction of a college is to consider the appointment of an additional fellow. If one is appointed, the college will then attempt to make certain that he has his quota of pupils. This *laissez-faire* approach to admissions has much to commend it in terms of responsiveness to demands; it is sensitive, and it avoids the twin disasters, to which too-rigid planning is subject, of providing for a demand which does not in the event materialize and of refusing to provide for a demand which in the end proves so overwhelming that emergency action has to be taken. We certainly do not suggest that Oxford should make its plans without any regard to what undergraduates wish to read. But undergraduates cannot be admitted without the provision, well in advance, of those extensive facilities which are the responsibility of the University. The colleges must remain the main source of information about trends and new demands. We therefore recommend that there should be co-ordination between the University and the colleges of a much more formal and effective kind than the informal consultation to which the Hebdomadal Council referred (*Written Evidence*, Part I, p. 5). It should

* *Gazette*, vol. xcv, p. 268 (for 1954–5) and Table 10 (for 1964–5).

embrace numbers, both over-all and in particular subjects. Such consultation has often proved ineffective in the past. On occasion in recent years college estimates have been exceeded, and university provision of such things as laboratory space has been plunged into confusion. We shall be making recommendations (Chapter VII) about the sort of machinery needed to secure co-ordination. We wish to avoid formal quotas wherever possible and we must emphasize that, whatever limits may have to be placed from time to time on the *numbers* of undergraduates that may be admitted, over-all or in particular subjects, by the colleges, we are not suggesting that any restriction be placed on the freedom of the colleges to choose the *individuals*.

112. Can the existing college structure bear the weight even of the sort of controlled development we recommend? We have indicated in the last chapter, and will argue in Chapter IV, that the postgraduates must be fitted into the centre of college life. This is not so much because it is cheaper to make greater use of existing buildings than to create new centres, but mainly because we think it would be the worse for the postgraduates and for everyone if the colleges allowed the postgraduate work of Oxford to be concentrated elsewhere so that they became solely undergraduate schools. If some 2,000 additional postgraduate students are admitted, of whom 400–500 would be Recognized Students (see para. 92 above), and if the graduate societies absorb between them some 800, there would remain about 750 to be accommodated in the existing 'traditional' colleges. The average number at each of the men's colleges would be increased by up to 30 postgraduates. Each of the women's colleges would need to take rather fewer, exact numbers depending on the ratio of men to women in the graduate societies.

113. The existing men's colleges should be able to absorb these additional postgraduates. We think it probable that they could also take in a small general increase in undergraduates, perhaps 400 or so over the next decade, without damage to their corporate life; this would therefore cover the increase of undergraduates working in the applied sciences.* But any acceleration of the programme we have outlined would probably create acute difficulties for the colleges as they now are. As the number of students rises, it will involve the creation of more fellow-lecturer posts. The colleges are particularly apprehensive about the effects of increasing the size of their governing bodies; these are already growing as a result of Congregation's decision that, in general, the permanent staff are entitled to fellowships, and further additions must accrue from bringing the staff:student ratio up to at least the national average (see para. 91 above).

* It should be noted that such an increase would not necessarily be reflected in a larger intake if more undergraduates read four-year degree courses: in that case the increase would be taken up by students staying longer and there might have to be a reduction in the entry.

114. In the special case of the expansion in the number of women, all five existing women's colleges have declared themselves ready to expand further if they can get the necessary resources. To accommodate the full increase in the number of women, each women's college would need to grow rapidly to about 400 undergraduates. We consider that they should be able to cope with the increased numbers of candidates likely to offer themselves over the next few years. When they are nearing their maximum size, consideration will have to be given either to the admission of women to some of the existing men's colleges, to the foundation of a new women's college, or to the foundation of a new mixed college.

115. Our conclusion on this question of the ability of the college structure to support the expected rate of growth is that it is certainly possible for it to do so. But this conclusion is valid only so long as the system of control and consultation we propose (paras. 605 ff. below) is put into practice. There will nevertheless have to be many adjustments and innovations to meet the increased numbers of staff and to enable colleges to adapt to the changing pattern of the postgraduate and undergraduate population even with a lower rate of increase in the future. These are exactly the problems which must be solved by mutual consultation among the colleges in their Council. The foundation of one or two new colleges might be an obvious solution to difficulties both in respect of the staff and the students: the Hebdomadal Council (*Written Evidence*, Part XII, p. 17) seemed to assume that there would be new colleges. We are equally conscious, however, of the financial implications for the existing colleges. There are other methods, short of new foundations, which may meet the situation in part, such as the setting up of annexes to existing colleges, a device not unknown in either Oxford or Cambridge.

116. We refrain from setting out a detailed plan because we cannot do so as well as can be done by the collective wisdom of the colleges. But that wisdom must be collective. We therefore recommend that the means of absorbing an increased number of staff and of students into the collegiate structure, and in particular the possibility of creating one or two new colleges, should receive consideration by the University and by the Council of the Colleges in the near future. The whole subject of the size and shape of Oxford in the next decade and a half calls for joint action by all parties unless there is to be permanent disequilibrium between the resources and obligations of Oxford. Plans to meet the situation can work only if they are devised and carried out on a basis of co-operation between the central university bodies and all the colleges.

117. If our recommendations are accepted, Oxford, up to the early 1980's, with a total student population of about 13,000 and a staff rising towards 1,700, will not have outgrown the world class of medium-sized universities.

Its capacity to maintain and enhance its international standing will be strengthened by an improved staff: student ratio and a major increase in the numbers of postgraduates as well as by new developments in selected subjects. This degree of restrained and controlled growth will not threaten its federal structure and government and its distinctive way of life as a collegiate university; these will remain unchanged in essentials. But we hope that they will have been reformed and revitalized by the changes in practice we recommend in the chapters which follow.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Oxford should develop and improve its collegiate structure: the colleges should retain their legal position as constituent partners with powers of self-government within the University (para. 85).

(2) Oxford should plan its future as a medium-sized university with a total student population of about 13,000 over the next fifteen to twenty years (para. 90).

(3) Oxford's staff: student ratio should as a first step be brought up to the national average, and should then be kept at least at that level (para. 91).

(4) The existing university category of 'Recognized Student' should be revised so as to include those postgraduates who undertake courses of professional or vocational training at Oxford; their numbers in the next fifteen to twenty years should not be allowed to exceed 500 (para. 92).

(5) The number of postgraduates, excluding the Recognized Students, should be expected to reach 3,500 to 4,000 over the next fifteen to twenty years (para. 96).

(6) Special steps should be taken to increase the numbers, both undergraduate and postgraduate, in the applied sciences, and in social studies; this increase should be selective so as to build on the basis already existing and maintain a high standard of work; but needless duplication of facilities elsewhere in the United Kingdom should be avoided (para. 98).

(7) Over the next fifteen to twenty years, the number of women undergraduates should be increased by about 700, and the number of women postgraduates should be increased by about 350 (para. 102).

(8) The Council of the Colleges and the women's colleges should keep the programme of increasing the number of women students under review to see that it is not needlessly impeded by difficulties in the recruitment of teaching staff (para. 104).

(9) Expansion in Oxford's activities in the sciences and social studies should be encouraged, but within an agreed programme of development,

which will imply some compensating contractions (para. 107) and effective co-ordination between the University and the colleges concerning both over-all numbers and numbers in particular subjects (para. 111).

(10) The means of absorbing an increased number of staff and students into the collegiate structure, and in particular the possibility of creating one or two new colleges, should receive consideration by the University and by the Council of the Colleges in the near future (para. 116).

CHAPTER III

ADMISSIONS TO OXFORD

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PART I. UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS

118. In 1961 the Universities Central Council for Admissions (UCCA) was set up and a national scheme brought into being to rationalize admissions. At first Oxford and Cambridge remained outside the scheme, but subsequently became more and more closely associated with it. In the present academic year the admission of all candidates wishing to read for a first degree for entry at Oxford is being done through UCCA. But Oxford still retains its own method of selection.

119. Most universities use the General Certificate of Education as their main selective instrument, but they require a standard of attainment in the examination well above the formal requirements for matriculation. They supplement this evidence of superior competence in various ways as they think fit: for example, by interviews or the recommendations of headmasters.

120. Oxford's examination consists of specialist subject papers, a general paper, an essay or another general paper, and one or more passages for

translation, together with practical examinations for candidates in the sciences. The method of selection is the same for all, scholars, exhibitioners, and commoners alike, with relatively few exceptions, such as some candidates from overseas and the filling of casual vacancies; it consists of the consideration of performance in the examination, school records, and headmasters' letters, the results of GCE examinations, and an interview. Some candidates, however, may be offered places after an interview on the basis of an unusually good performance at A level and recommendation from their headmasters before sitting the special entrance examination: if they then sit it, it is to try to win a scholarship or exhibition. In practice under this arrangement, places are offered only to the ablest candidates. But on their performance in the special examination some gain entrance even though their A level results might not have secured them places at other universities.

121. This method of selection for entry to Oxford has evolved over time. Before 1945 almost all colleges held two types of examination, one a Scholarship Examination on which some commoners were also admitted, and the other a special Commoners Entrance Examination. Today, apart from the few exceptions we have mentioned, all candidates from British schools sit the same entrance examination. Over the last twenty years the standard for entry has risen. Several of our witnesses, both from Oxford and from the schools, took the view that to gain a place today required the standard of a pre-war exhibitioner.

122. Under existing arrangements, candidates take the papers at their schools during the first term of the academic year and present themselves for interview in December. The assumption is that the great majority will have already sat the A level examinations, so that there is at least a year between taking A level and coming into residence. There is no prescribed syllabus for the entrance examination, and no systematic attempt is made to relate the coverage of the papers to the various A level requirements.

123. The University will matriculate as students only those whom the colleges have admitted. The colleges, organized in three groups for men and one for women, set and conduct the entrance examination, and each college fills up its entry from the total list of candidates according to the wishes expressed in order of preference by the candidates for particular colleges. The requirements laid down by the University for matriculation are less exacting in almost all cases than the entrance examination of the colleges, which is thus the real test.

124. As we reviewed the Oxford method of selection, we found that wider considerations forced themselves on our attention. There are three factors which affect the methods by which all British universities select their

students. There is the very large increase in the number of those seeking a university place and qualified to do so: there is the present structure of secondary education in Britain: and, lastly, uncertainty about what makes for accuracy in selection for higher education.

125. Before 1945 admissions presented no particular problem for Oxford or for any other British university; but the increase in numbers of those wanting a university education has changed the picture. As the Robbins Report said (para. 196) 'existing conditions of entry to higher education differ spectacularly from those prevailing before the war'. Sir Maurice Bowra, Warden of Wadham College, describing the change in Oxford said (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 17) that 'until 1945 suitable entries seldom exceeded the actual places available. The colleges, with very rare exceptions, took almost anyone who was thought good enough to get some sort of degree and able to pay his way. This meant that a certain proportion of undergraduates were of meagre academic merit, though it did not necessarily follow that a university education was entirely wasted on them. Nowadays, Oxford, in spite of having doubled its numbers, turns down a large number of candidates who would before 1939 have been better than many who were actually accepted.'

126. The increase in the number of secondary schools, and the continuing trend towards a longer school life explain the pressure on the universities. Though governments spend heavily on the expansion of universities, the demand for places in them nearly always outstrips the supply. Individuals now compete for places so that universities are enabled to compete for talent. Considerable problems are thus created for parents and for schools. There is wide-spread and articulate public interest in admissions policies and procedures; this interest focuses particularly on a university like Oxford which has an international reputation.

127. The second point is the structure of secondary education. There have been large changes in the relations of the schools to the universities since the Education Act of 1944. Before the war the Sixth Forms which were actively concerned with preparing pupils for admission to universities were to a large extent those of the independent schools and the old grammar schools, many of which are now direct-grant schools. This is no longer so. The Sixth Forms of the maintained schools, among which are an increasing number of comprehensive schools, now provide 60–70 per cent. of the intake of the universities; even this large number of boys and girls going on to universities constitutes less than one-half of the total numbers leaving these Sixth Forms.

128. The age for university entrance is normally about 18, and, since nearly all university courses last for three years, the age at which the examination

for a first degree is taken is rather over 21. It might be expected therefore that all schools sending pupils to universities would give them much the same education and preparation for beginning university work at 18 years of age. But this is by no means the case. The schools divide themselves broadly into two classes, those which provide for advanced work in the third year of the Sixth Form after the A level examinations have been taken at the end of the second year, and those which do not.

Table C. *Time spent in Sixth Form by men admissions, and their average age, at time of competition for admission in 1965–6*

OXFORD

Terms in Sixth Form	Type of school							
	Independent		Direct-grant		Maintained		All schools	
	Per-centage	Average age	Per-centage	Average age	Per-centage	Average age	Per-centage	Average age
4	4	17·3	4	17·5	24	17·6	12	17·5
7	64	17·7	86	17·8	71	17·9	71	17·8
10 or more	32	18·1	10	18·4	5	18·3	17	18·2
All	100	17·8	100	17·8	100	17·9	100	17·9
Number	*739*	.	*313*	.	*712*	.	*1,764*	.

SOURCE: Tables 51 and 52.

129. This division is of fundamental importance in all matters relating to university admission. It means that there are at any time two streams of boys and girls of the same age trying for university entrance (see Table C). One of them has moved through the main school in a 'regular' stream to take the O level examination at the age of about 16 and then has had four terms in the Sixth Form preparing for the A level examination at the time when applications to universities are considered: the other has moved in an 'express' stream through O level and so has gained an extra year in the Sixth Form. This stream, when applying to a university, has taken A levels and had at least seven terms in the Sixth Form.* Whatever their natural capacity, candidates from the different streams will not have acquired the same amount of knowledge or have reached the same level of general educational maturity. It does not at all follow that someone from the first stream is intellectually less able than another from the second stream nor that, if he goes to the university, he may not do better. This is not, in the main, because young people mature intellectually at different natural rates, but because the pace of a candidate's development may have been imposed upon him by the way his school was run.

* As Table C shows, 32 per cent. of the boys admitted from independent schools at the 1965 entrance examination had been in the Sixth Form for ten or more terms at the time of the Oxford special entrance examination.

130. Not all schools are in a position to place selected pupils in an express stream and so make possible a period of advanced work in the Sixth Form. This is costly in terms of staffing; large schools are more likely, generally speaking, to have enough pupils and enough specialist teachers to make it possible without detriment to the rest of the school. Schools which are in process of reorganization on comprehensive lines may have special difficulties whatever their size. Mr. J. W. B. Ruffle, speaking for the Assistant Masters Association (*Oral Evidence*, Part 1, p. 27), said that the problem many of the maintained grammar schools would face in the coming ten years was that of reorganization. 'I do not know', he said, 'how many schools have express streams at the moment, but I do know we were examining the question in Leicestershire in the planned schools last term, and I raised the question of whether there was an express stream, and the answer was "Most definitely no". I think the opinion of the Assistant Masters there was that it would be very difficult to have an express stream now where there is a changed school after reorganization.'

131. It would be mistaken to assume that the schools are divided by type: that, for example, the independent schools and the direct grant-schools all fall into one group, and all the maintained grammar and comprehensive schools into the other. It is true that, so far as boys are concerned, most independent and direct-grant schools have three-year Sixth Forms doing advanced work, but in girls' schools of all types it is usual to spend five years in the main school and so to have only two years in the Sixth Form. So far as maintained schools for boys are concerned, figures given to us by the Department of Education and Science show that of those with Sixth Forms, 65 per cent. have some boys in the third year (see Table 86). But it is not possible to ascertain how many of these third-year Sixth Forms undertake advanced work. Many, of course, do, but they may be composed of pupils repeating A level examinations or sitting additional subjects at A level in order to qualify for university places which have been offered to them conditionally upon their achieving a specified performance in that examination. For the most part, in these instances, the teaching will be given together with the second-year Sixth Form and will have none of the character of advanced work.

132. It should not be assumed that all schools want to establish 'express' streams. There are important differences of view, as well as practical difficulties, behind the divergent policies of the schools. A large number of the boys' maintained schools and most of the boys' independent and direct-grant schools do want to have an express stream, partly because they attach great value to the third-year Sixth Form. The first two years in the Sixth Form are necessarily spent in preparing two or three subjects for the A level examination. This involves, it is argued, a high degree of specialization in the curriculum, the specialization Sir George Pickering criticized

(*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 148) as producing scientists who were not literate and men in arts who, in current jargon, were not numerate. This pressure to specialize has at least two causes. One is that the certificate at A level is a certificate of competence, and increasingly required or approved as the condition of entry into a larger number of occupations. The continual increase of knowledge leads to demands for higher levels of attainment and, since the period of schooling has not been stretched to match the expansion of knowledge, to greater specialization. The other cause is that for most universities in this country the level of achievement at the A level examinations is the main criterion of selection. From this specialization the traditional third-year Sixth holds hope of escape. It was argued that it exerted a liberalizing influence upon masters and pupils alike, stimulating general interests and encouraging the pursuit of scholarship for its own sake.

133. On the other hand, the headmistresses of girls' schools in their evidence to the Commission took the view that for girls five years, from the age of 11, to the O level examinations was highly desirable, thus leaving only two years in the Sixth Form. Many maintained schools have come to believe, and they attach great importance to their belief, that the rushing of the main-school course, which is the consequence of an 'express' stream, produces a narrowing of basic education which is the worst of all kinds of specialization: they therefore consider it too high a price to pay for a third year in the Sixth Form. Some of those who hold views of this sort point out that a number of those who move into the third-year Sixth leave soon after, that is at the end of the seventh term, if they have won a place at a university:* this reinforces their conviction that it is wasteful of teaching resources to provide for a minority of their pupils in this way. These differing views about the Sixth Form are not directly related to the entrance requirements of the universities. They spring from deeply held convictions about what is educationally desirable for boys and girls in different circumstances (see the evidence of a group of headmasters and headmistresses—*Oral Evidence*, Part 102, pp. 4–6).

134. The general picture, then, which emerges from this review of all the schools which send pupils to the universities, whether schools for boys or for girls, or mixed schools, is that there are great differences of structure in secondary education, cutting across the types of school, which are either functions of size or reflect major differences about educational policy. This conflict of opinion and practice forms part of the context within which the problems of university entrance will have to be solved.

* This tendency is obvious at interviews in the Oxford entrance examination. Two inquiries made at Oxford, one in 1962, the other in 1963, showed that a high proportion of those admitted to Oxford in 1962–3 spent a full three years in the Sixth, but the proportion was much lower for entrants in 1963–4 (see *Statistical Appendix*, Part II, para. 190).

135. Pressure of numbers intensifying competition for entry, the division in the structure of secondary education, and the extent of public interest in admissions procedures, all make admissions problems acute. Each university, and Oxford is no exception, is rightly anxious to select the best undergraduates it can, and to do so by means which do not disrupt relations with the schools or with other universities. The principles of selection have to be not only efficient but educationally and socially desirable: they have not only to do justice but to be seen to do justice to a very large field of applicants. All universities seek to discover promise and to have at their disposal as much information about their candidates as is reasonably possible.

136. Not very much is known about the relative validity of different methods of selection. In a rapidly changing situation the universities have found it difficult to experiment with new procedures, and there has so far been little research in this country on the subject. It is not therefore possible to say much about the accuracy attained in selection.

137. It is important, however, to avoid misunderstanding of the limitations inherent in the various techniques of selection. It is often supposed that their efficiency may be judged by the accuracy with which they enable the probable performance of candidates in the final examinations to be predicted: the better the tests, the higher the probability of an accurate forecast. The truth is not so simple, for some important factors relevant to the future academic performance of candidates cannot be determined by the tests but remain beyond the reach of any improvement in forecasting devices.

138. Candidates after a test, apart from the few who stand out as of exceptional quality, never arrange themselves in a precise order of merit, but always in a hierarchy of loosely defined broad groups within which the members, for purposes of forecasting, may be treated as all having the same mark. To choose candidates from a group low in the hierarchy rather than others from a higher group would need justification, but within the broad groups marks are an uncertain guide to the forecasting of individual performance: yet the selectors have to make positive choices. Preference for a candidate who obtained x marks on one particular set of questions over a candidate who obtained $x-1$ marks has no merit beyond that of simplicity. In selection for a university place, the choice between such candidates must hinge on other considerations, since on purely intellectual grounds they are indistinguishable. Weight can properly be given to evidence about their motivation, their background, the nature of their schooling, or their non-academic interests and activities.

139. Moreover, so far as the universities themselves are concerned, the rigorous application of the principle of competitive examination must

always be tempered by the feeling, common to all universities in this country, that undergraduates are being admitted as individuals to a society or community of scholars. From this follows the desire to admit a variety of types and avoid a situation in which those admitted are all cast more or less in the same mould. This search for a balanced academic community is often held to involve some sacrifice of efficiency in selecting for academic promise. That it can do so is true. But there is no need for this to occur for the reasons we have set forth. Over a wide field of applications the selectors are free, without surrender of the principle that academic promise must be the main principle of selection, and certainly without social injustice, to choose undergraduates with some regard to other than purely intellectual considerations. At the same time it must be recognized that it is precisely because universities must exercise a discretionary power in selecting their students that they are under pressure to formulate their admissions policies and explain their procedures.

140. We now turn to an assessment of the Oxford entrance examination as an instrument of selection. It is a well-tried instrument and has acquired the refinement given by years of practice. It is so constituted as to be a searching test of promise. It is used in conditions of severe competition for entry. Oxford, like other universities, has taken it for granted since 1945 that entry should be competitive. This is an expression of its desire to choose those men and women to whom it can give most and who will get most out of it, with fairness between competing candidates: it is also a recognition of the heavy investment of public money in Oxford and its undergraduates with the consequent duty to use scarce resources responsively to national needs.

141. It is of advantage in the working of the entrance examination that the selection of candidates college by college divides the large numbers of applicants into manageable groups so that each candidate is considered individually and regard can be paid to the non-academic as well as to the strictly academic claims of those candidates who do not select themselves straightway on grounds of intellectual promise. Moreover, since choice involves commitment on both sides, it is important that undergraduates should be chosen by their prospective tutors in the colleges rather than by a representative of the University whose involvement must necessarily be less direct.

142. To sum up, the techniques of selection themselves are generally agreed to be good, and the procedure appropriate for the detection of promise. Choices are made on the evidence of performance in a relevant examination which is set and marked by examiners who are in a position to judge quality for themselves, with the additional help of interviews and headmasters' letters, and do not need to rely on an examination set and

marked by others, the results of which give no information beyond an aggregate mark which may have been achieved in a number of different ways.

143. Such evidence as is available indicates that the special entrance examination at Oxford is a reasonably good predictor of future academic performance at the top of the scale. In terms of First Classes in the final examinations scholars do markedly better than exhibitioners, and exhibitioners markedly better than commoners: similar, though less pronounced, differences exist when First and Second Classes are considered together (Table 89).

144. Nevertheless we are clear from all the evidence we received that the admissions procedures of Oxford are not in all respects satisfactory. We do not think that they completely meet the two great requirements laid on all universities of academic efficiency and social justice in their arrangements for entry. The reasons for our view derive from those general considerations we set out earlier as affecting the admissions policies and procedures of all British universities. The point is not that entry into Oxford as into other universities is competitive nor that, where discrimination within groups of candidates on purely intellectual grounds is impossible, other non-academic factors are brought into consideration. It is that the special entrance examination is not adapted to deal as well as it should with the division in secondary education and the two streams of boys and girls reaching the normal age for university entry unequally prepared. We have no doubt that the resultant difficulties centre round two facts: first, the general character of the entrance examination, with its presupposition of a third year in the Sixth Form on the part of candidates and its demands for knowledge well beyond A level but without any prescribed syllabus; and second, the great number of maintained grammar and comprehensive schools, with a large number of pupils seeking university entry, which bring their boys and girls more slowly through the main school and do not possess a third-year Sixth Form of the traditional type.

145. The question has been raised whether the existing entrance examination, as it is actually worked, has a tendency to discriminate in favour of candidates from the independent and older grammar schools. The Robbins Report states in this connexion (para. 219): 'We do not doubt that, in the past, prejudices weighted the scales against the applicants from maintained schools; and we think that such influences have not altogether ceased to operate . . . but, in general, we believe that nowadays the candidate from a maintained school who actually presents himself for entrance receives due consideration of his claims.' This last point was confirmed by Lord Robbins when he met the Commission (see *Oral Evidence*, Part 40, p. 13), and there was much evidence from the headmasters and headmistresses

of schools to the same effect. Mr. C. T. H. Plant, giving evidence on behalf of the Trades Union Congress Education Committee, took the same view, and he said he did not suggest that there was any deliberate discrimination practised by Oxford on the grounds of social class (*Oral Evidence*, Part 6, p. 3). We may say at once, from our own direct observation and from our discussions, that we do not believe that there are grounds for the idea that Oxford consciously shows any bias in selection, and we will return to this point later in this chapter (see paras. 153 ff. below).

Table D. *Men undergraduate admissions from schools*

OXFORD — PERCENTAGE

Type of school	1938–9	1958–9	1964–5	1965–6	
				Admissions	Admissions as percentage of applications
Independent	62	53	45	41	45
Direct-grant	13	15	17	17	52
Maintained	19	30	34	40	47
Other	6	2	4	2	25
All schools	100	100	100	100	47
Number	*1,235*	*2,056*	*1,889*	*1,912*	.

SOURCE: Tables 31 and 44.

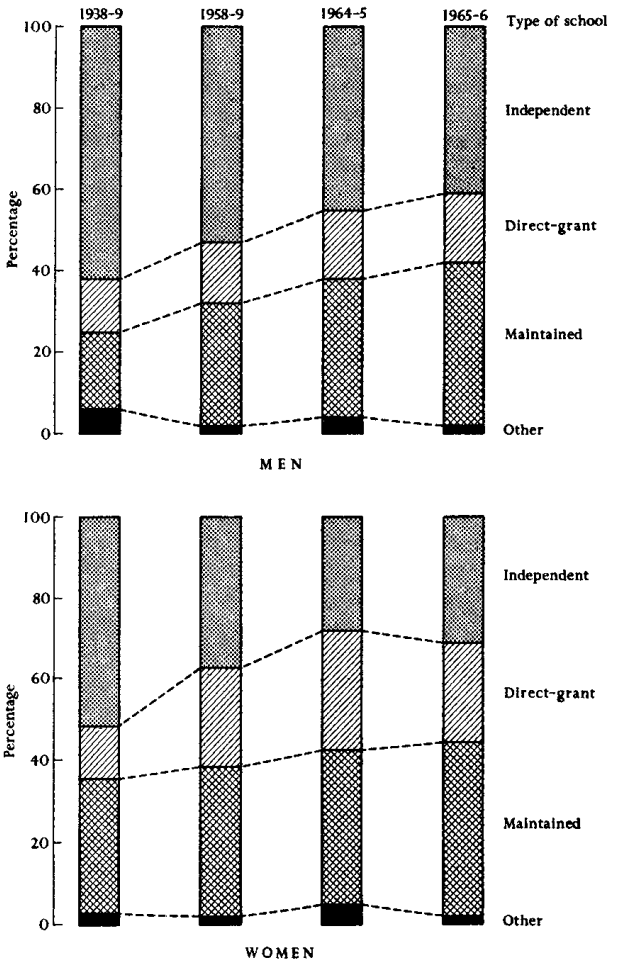
Table E. *Women undergraduate admissions from schools*

OXFORD — PERCENTAGE

Type of school	1938–9	1958–9	1964–5	1965–6	
				Admissions	Admissions as percentage of applications
Independent	51	37	28	31	28
Direct-grant	13	24	29	24	29
Maintained	33	37	38	43	23
Other	3	2	5	2	14
All schools	100	100	100	100	25
Number	*258*	*325*	*389*	*443*	.

SOURCE: Tables 32 and 62.

Chart 2. *Undergraduate admissions from schools*



146. We now review the results attained with the existing special entrance examination and examine the evidence we have received relating to Oxford's entry. Tables D and E show the composition. It will be seen that the proportion of the total admitted coming from maintained schools has risen strikingly over the last two years.

147. The Robbins Report (Appendix Two (B), Part I, Table 11, p. 9) gives the composition by types of school in 1961, the latest year for which figures are available, of the undergraduates of the universities in England and Wales other than Oxford and Cambridge: they came as to 17 per cent. from independent schools, 13 per cent. from direct-grant grammar schools, and 70 per cent. from maintained schools. No information is published about the distribution between the different types of school of those applying to other universities, but a proportion of 70 per cent. admitted from maintained schools could hardly have been reached unless the proportion of applicants coming from these schools had been very much higher than in the case of Oxford.

148. Figures collected by the Oxford Colleges Admissions Office show a marked rise for 1965 and 1966, as compared with 1964, in the proportion of the applications made to Oxford from the maintained schools: the figure for men rose from 36 per cent. to 41 per cent. This almost certainly indicates that a higher proportion of the candidates wishing to go to universities from maintained schools were applying to Oxford. It is also the case that the proportion of those gaining scholarships and exhibitions who came from the maintained schools rose sharply in 1965, so that it is probable that the increase in applications was greatest in respect of the ablest candidates. These changes in proportion must be connected with the strenuous and increasingly successful efforts made by a number of colleges to broaden the composition of their entry by recruiting from maintained schools with which they have had hitherto little or no connexion; these schools are not restricted to any particular parts of the country (Table 41). It is also likely that the swing to science has played some part in raising the rate of recruitment from maintained schools (Table 36). Lastly, as only just one-quarter of the intake of men from maintained schools in 1965 came from the second-year Sixth Form, it seems likely that the greater part of the increase in that year can be attributed to the buoyancy of the application rate from maintained schools with a third-year Sixth Form of some kind.

149. The acceptance rate for men in 1965–6, as is shown in Table D, was much the same for each of the main types of school. However, it can be seen from the analysis of admissions in Table 54 that candidates accepted from the maintained schools achieve a higher standard at A level than those from independent schools. Since the acceptance rate for all classes of applicant is similar, it appears that candidates from maintained schools are

more rigorously selected than those from independent schools both at the preliminary stage within the schools, and in the Oxford entrance competition. The degree of more rigorous pre-selection in the maintained schools (see para. 161 below) does not seem to have changed much in recent years, but there has been a marked reduction in the differential in the Oxford selection process (*Statistical Appendix*, Part II, para. 173). Moreover, when candidates are classified according to their S level results, rather than their A level results, the differential is very small (Table 78). This no doubt in part reflects the fact that many of those concerned with selection in Oxford regard A level as no more than a test of adequate performance and discount it as a guide to promise for the future. It was also represented to us that there are differences between schools in the importance attached to A levels for those pupils who are being prepared for university entrance. The real difficulty of the able boys and girls in the maintained schools is that they are on average less well equipped at 18 to demonstrate their promise for university work. As the Robbins Report pointed out (para. 219) 'the able boy from a small grammar school and a home with no tradition of higher education may not find it easy to make his quality apparent at interview to those responsible for selection'. But the same combination of circumstances may depress his performance in any examination designed to select for university rather than to test achievement in school. Our recommendations later in the chapter for changes in the admission system take this point into account.

150. It is satisfactory that applications and admissions from maintained schools are rising, both absolutely and proportionately to the total of applications and admissions from all schools, and that the deliberate efforts of Oxford colleges have contributed to this change. But there are in this country over 2,000 maintained schools with Sixth Forms, and they send large numbers of boys and girls to universities. We cannot resist the conclusion that Oxford is not yet receiving applications from candidates coming from these schools on the scale that the number of prospective university entrants would warrant. This is not healthy. The trouble does not lie, for the most part, with the acceptance rate of those who do apply: it is with the number of applications. And while the present position remains unchanged, Oxford loses, both because it is failing to attract enough boys and girls of talent and promise from these schools and because their absence leaves the student body poorer in its social diversity. Oxford, therefore, despite its conscious efforts, becomes vulnerable to the suspicion of privilege and social injustice.

151. But there is a second conclusion of equal, or greater, importance. We have already stated that only a quarter of the acceptances by Oxford of men from the maintained schools in 1965 came from the second-year Sixth Form. But some of these will have come from the second-year Sixth

Forms of schools which run a third-year Sixth Form on traditional lines: often they enter early because they are exceptionally bright. What is the position about that stream of secondary education in which the pupils are brought forward more slowly and finish school at about the age of 18 after two years in the Sixth Form, often in schools which do not run a full third-year Sixth Form at all? We cannot tell precisely from the figures how many of the candidates at Oxford or at any university were boys and girls from this 'regular' stream. Problems about these 18-year-olds are first and foremost the concern of many hundreds of maintained schools, but they are not, as we said earlier, confined to any one type of school. It is a question of major importance for Oxford to determine whether, in relation to the very considerable numbers of boys and girls seeking university entry from this stream, its procedures are wholly fair to itself or to the potential applicants. There is a danger that at present the special entrance examination of the colleges is failing to make opportunity equal for all.

152. We must now examine the evidence we received on this subject. The points put to us fall under two main heads. First there is the prevalence in many maintained schools of an unfavourable social and academic image of Oxford. Second comes the present timing and nature of the academic requirements for admission, the entrance examination, and, to a imited extent, the matriculation requirements. Both, it was said, operated to deter prospective candidates from the maintained schools.

153. Frequent reference was made to the unfavourable image of Oxford. It was due, we were given to understand, in some degree to ignorance of Oxford on the part of teachers and pupils, a feeling of not knowing the ropes in a complicated system which demands that candidates know not merely that they would like a place at Oxford but also to which particular college they wish to be admitted. Even those headmasters with excellent Oxford contacts had some difficulty in making accurate assessments of individual colleges (Headmasters' Conference, *Oral Evidence*, Part 7, p. 21): for those without such contacts it was virtually impossible. But there was also a wider, vaguer feeling sometimes expressed in the sentiment 'Oxford is not for us' (see, for example, Trades Union Congress Education Committee, *Oral Evidence*, Part 6, pp. 3–4). This feeling is compounded of several elements, both social and academic. There is the belief that the undergraduate body is socially unrepresentative and that this is attributable to special methods of entry such as closed scholarships or to some bias in interviews in favour of candidates from the independent public schools: and there is also the belief that the style and expense of undergraduate life at Oxford sets it apart. In addition, it is often thought that only candidates of exceptional brilliance from maintained schools stand any chance of admission, and then only if they are prepared to enter the third year in the Sixth Form to prepare for the entrance examination and have succeeded in

acquiring a certain style and approach which is thought not to be obtainable solely by hard work at school.

154. Some of these criticisms attach to the existing methods of selection at Oxford and fall naturally to be considered when we examine the evidence we received directly bearing on the special examination and the matriculation requirements. Many of them relate to the general circumstances of entry to Oxford and of undergraduate life. They bear witness to a major failure in public relations in past years. It is the fact that already two out of every five entrants come from maintained schools. Undergraduates supported by grants from local education authorities are not confronted by a style and expensiveness of general living with which they cannot compete: they are more comfortable, have more choices and larger margins, than a number of poor scholars forty years ago. That these things are not generally known and accepted is the measure of the failure of Oxford to realize that in the changed circumstances of today positive action is required to bring clearly before the large interested public the general character of life in the University of Oxford as it is today.

155. It is therefore fortunate that recently Oxford has shown awareness of the need for action. The most important steps which have been taken are that for the last three years applications to the men's colleges have been dealt with through one central office, and that in 1965 Oxford, with Cambridge, for the first time conducted its admissions of undergraduates within the framework of the national system administered by UCCA. The production of a prospectus for schools has been a valuable supporting measure. The strenuous efforts by colleges to establish personal contacts with maintained schools by organizing conferences at Oxford with schoolmasters and schoolmistresses and by personal visits to schools and groups of schools by their fellows have demonstrated how much can be done in these ways to increase information and promote understanding.

156. In this connexion it is sometimes pointed out that there are fewer students from working-class homes at Oxford than there are at most universities in this country. There is no statistical evidence about the social background of Oxford undergraduates more recent than 1955, when the fathers of 13 per cent. of entrants to Oxford were in manual occupations as compared with 9 per cent. at Cambridge, 21 per cent. at London, and 31 per cent. at the other English universities (Robbins Report, Appendix Two (B), Annex C). This percentage is probably somewhat higher today as a consequence of the enlarged intake from the maintained schools. But in many ways it is harder for working-class boys and girls than for others to reach Oxford. Quite apart from the remoteness of the University and colleges from the experience and aspirations of their friends and families, they are less likely to find themselves in schools with a tradition of preparing

and submitting candidates for the Oxford entrance examination. Before 1945 money was the great obstacle to working-class boys and girls who had the ability to profit from Oxford. Winning a scholarship was crucial. Since that time, however, the financial aspect of the problem has disappeared. This being so, the business of Oxford is to ensure that its selection procedures draw upon the widest range of talent, and guarantee equality of treatment and opportunity to all those who apply. But this cannot be done by making special arrangements for a particular social class. In aiming to attract boys and girls of ability to its entrance examination, the purpose of Oxford must be to relate its arrangements not to the class structure but to the structure of the secondary-school system. The solution does not lie in providing ways and means for poor scholars as of old, nor in the creation of 'closed' methods of entry for working-class boys and girls. The key is to raise the application rate from the maintained schools by removing misconceptions about Oxford and by reforming the entrance examination, having in mind particularly the two streams in secondary education which produce boys and girls of the same age unequally equipped to compete for entry. If these conditions are satisfied, it is likely that there will be more undergraduates from the working classes than in the past: but the rate of increase must be dependent on the composition of the Sixth Forms of maintained schools, and this is not a matter under the control of Oxford, or other universities.

157. We now turn to examine the evidence we received about the present timing and nature of the requirements for admission at Oxford. A general attack on the entrance examination was levelled by the representatives of the Association of University Teachers (*Oral Evidence*, Part 16, p. 2) who criticized it as responsible for fostering gratuitous competitive pressures, premature specialization, and the narrowing of the curriculum in the schools. But, although the representatives of the teachers' associations and those heads of schools who met the Commission were divided among themselves in their opinions about the educational implications of the examination, there was no dissent from the vigorously held view of the schools accustomed to prepare and submit candidates for the examination that it exerted a liberalizing effect on the curriculum and stimulated the teachers and pupils involved. The absence of a defined syllabus was regarded by these schools as a merit, as was also the inclusion of the General Paper as an integral part of the examination. It was generally agreed that specialization could not be laid at the door of the entrance examination but was the outcome of the general use of the A level examination as a main instrument of university selection. It was this that gave rise to the narrow and repetitive teaching in Sixth Forms which is so frequently the subject of complaint.

158. The crucial difference of opinion among our witnesses from the schools sprang from the fact that the general character of the special

examination assumes for the great majority of candidates at least a further term in the Sixth Form after the A level examinations have been completed. On the one hand, most of the independent schools, the direct-grant and older grammar schools, and many of the newer maintained schools, especially for boys, which have developed along the same lines, set great store by the third-year Sixth Form (see para. 132 above), and therefore welcome the present entrance examination as an incentive to their pupils to stay on for the third year. Their arrangements are intimately bound up with the preparation of candidates for the universities, and often with particular regard for entry to Oxford and Cambridge. They believe the advantages of advanced work beyond A level to their pupils are great both as regards content and method of study. It is also important for the morale of their staff, as the work is inherently more interesting. The quality and standards of what is done in the third-year Sixth Form penetrate downwards and assist the quality of the work done throughout the school. These schools would deplore any change in the Oxford entrance examination which undermined the third-year Sixth Form. On the other hand, those speaking for many maintained schools, and, of course, particularly those which are being reshaped on comprehensive lines, believed that the nature of the examination made it unduly difficult for their pupils to enter Oxford. They sent to universities large numbers of boys and girls who not infrequently obtained First or high Second Classes in the final examinations. But the work of their Sixth Forms was geared to the A level syllabus, and for the most part their pupils could not attain the standards required by the Oxford entrance examination either in knowledge or maturity of style. Particular reference was made to the amount of knowledge beyond A level demanded by papers in classics, mathematics, and the sciences, among which physics was singled out. Some pupils were also in difficulty because of the matriculation requirement of two languages.

159. It was made clear to us that this division of opinion has its roots in that other division in the structure of secondary education which we described earlier (paras. 128–34 above). The main point at issue was put to us in direct terms by Mr. H. R. M. Blayney, Headmaster of Stratton School, Bedfordshire, when he said (*Oral Evidence*, Part 102, p. 44): 'I am running my school on a five plus two basis' (that is, the 'regular' stream), 'and I did try a boy for an Oxbridge scholarship last December. He was a boy whom I believed to be of the right calibre, but he was completely lost. It was just sending a lamb to the slaughter to put him in for that examination.'

160. We believe that this situation has important consequences for Oxford, for it is already to a real extent in a common market with other universities for its entrants. We were told in evidence that there is some tendency for boys and, to a greater extent, for girls to select the university for which they

wish to try by the attractiveness of the courses offered, with the result that an increasing number prefer another university to Oxford. It is a good thing that universities should differ in what they offer, and this sort of competition is to be welcomed. But Oxford also loses candidates owing to the character of its entrance examination.

161. As things are, the pre-selection within the maintained schools is more rigorous than in the independent schools. This is suggested by the figures in the Robbins Report (Appendix Two (B), Part I, Table 49, p. 48) and is confirmed by our own findings to which we have already referred: and it was made abundantly clear to us when we met some headmasters of maintained schools (*Oral Evidence*, Part 102, p. 9) that they send forward only the ablest candidates. Moreover, as we have already seen, over three-quarters of the intake of men from maintained schools in 1965 came from the third-year Sixth Form. The quality of the entry is shown by the fact (Table 74) that in recent years students from maintained schools have produced a proportion of First and Second Classes above the average for the students as a whole.

162. We further learned from our witnesses that the majority of their pupils from the maintained schools concentrate on a university place rather than a place at a particular university. This applies to some extent to other types of schools. Given the nature of the entrance examination and its lack of specific relation to the work done for the A level examinations, masters and mistresses in many maintained schools are unwilling to encourage their pupils to stay on into a third year to attempt the Oxford examination when they are sure of a place in another university by a different method of selection after only two years in the Sixth Form. Thus, in the maintained schools which do not have a third-year Sixth Form on traditional lines there is an evident tendency to opt out of Oxford.

163. In national terms, of course, Oxford takes only a small proportion of the total university entry, about 7 per cent.: and this proportion will diminish if, as we recommend, Oxford does not increase its present undergraduate numbers to any great extent, while other universities move ahead in their planned expansion and the new universities build up. Much the largest source of university entrants is the Sixth Forms of the maintained schools, and the great bulk of them will inevitably go to universities other than Oxford. What is disturbing about the present situation is that Oxford is not getting an adequate sample of these university entrants. The low application rate from the maintained schools is evidence that Oxford is lacking efficiency as it fishes for promising talent in the national pool: from this point of view the present entrance examination is neither academically successful nor socially just.

164. In what follows we recommend such modifications of the present

policy and procedures of Oxford in admissions as we believe to be necessary if it is to make itself accessible on equal terms to candidates from the full range of secondary schools and if all candidates are to have a reasonable chance to demonstrate the intelligence and promise for which the examiners are looking. We are conscious that it is impossible to attempt to produce a detailed specification for the changes required for the long term, particularly as the situation in the schools is changing so rapidly. It is particularly difficult to predict with confidence the potentiality of candidates who have had not more than four terms' work in the Sixth Form. The effect of our proposals upon the standard of work in Oxford courses, which we are anxious to keep high, will therefore call for investigation when the system has been operated for a short time. We are content to set forth principles which we believe should guide Oxford in these difficulties over admissions, and then make proposals to deal with the present situation. They concern both the methods by which selection is made and the machinery which should be set up for the effective translation of policy into practice and for the regular collection of relevant information.

165. As the proportion of the total university entry coming to Oxford becomes progressively smaller, we believe that it will become steadily more difficult for Oxford to continue to select by methods that are quite different from the national scheme. As an 'odd man out' it is bound to come under increasing pressure to abandon its special arrangements. But we should regard it as thoroughly undesirable if the result was that all universities came to rely on the A level examinations as the main criterion of selection.

166. This use of A level examinations has serious disadvantages. The examination was not designed for university entrance. The papers are not seen by the selectors and the marks given on them are not necessarily a good guide to promise in university work. Most of the candidates have not yet taken A level examinations when the universities come to make their choices; these must then be made not on the basis of A level results but on forecasts of what these are likely to be. The forecasts have to be based in large part on performance at the earlier O level examination, and candidates are offered places provisionally, confirmation being made dependent upon their subsequent performance at A level. It seems unlikely that this system of selection works fairly for all candidates. Many are prey to great uncertainty in the months between their provisional acceptance by the university of their choice and their A level results; some who do not do well enough then lose the places provisionally offered and proceed to repeat the examination in order to gain the necessary additional marks; others join the pool of candidates rejected by the universities of their choice and are then with considerable effort on the part of the UCCA found places elsewhere. Clearly it would not improve matters were Oxford to join this system and increase the already undesirable pressure which university requirements at A level puts on the work of the schools.

167. We consider therefore that the long-term solution lies in the adoption of a new common admissions system by all universities, and we recommend that Oxford should work towards the initiation of plans for the reform of the admissions system on a national scale. What is wanted is a completely fresh look at the whole problem of university selection. We think that Oxford is well placed to take an initiative in this matter.

168. But a new system can be produced only with the co-operation of all universities, the schools, the Department of Education and Science, and the Schools Council. We cannot predict the exact form which such a system would take, but we think that any such system should have regard to the following considerations. It should be designed to test promise rather than performance. The universities should set the papers, and we think it desirable that the arrangements should make it possible for universities which wish it to receive the papers of those candidates who have made them first choice in time for them to be read before selection takes place. We think too that the arrangements should permit universities to interview candidates who have put them first. These matters are of particular importance to universities such as Oxford where the college selectors take personal responsibility for the undergraduate careers of those whom they select, but we do not think that the interests of Oxford in admissions differ in essence from those of other universities. All our further recommendations must be considered within the context of this first recommendation: they are essentially interim measures.

169. We next consider where responsibility for formulating general policy on admissions to Oxford should lie. In general in the past, matters concerning the admission of undergraduates have been left almost entirely to the colleges, though the University prescribed the requirements for matriculation. It is our view that the colleges should continue to choose their own undergraduates. But in the educational and social circumstances of today general policy on admissions can only be the policy of Oxford as a whole. This was in effect accepted by the colleges four years ago when the Vice-Chancellor took the initiative in the negotiations which finally led to entry into UCCA. In any event, it follows from the nature of our first recommendation. We are clear, therefore that responsibility for general policy on admissions, as with other large questions of policy affecting Oxford as a whole in its external relationships, must be placed upon the Hebdomadal Council. Such policy should emerge from consultation and co-operation between the Hebdomadal Council and the colleges, and the establishment of the Council of the Colleges which we recommend in Chapter VII will provide an important focus for discussion. But it must be the responsibility of the Hebdomadal Council either to rebut criticisms of the policy of Oxford on admissions or to ensure that any changes of policy that may be desirable are given effect. Furthermore, the Hebdomadal

Council is, through the Vice-Chancellor, the appropriate body to initiate discussions with other universities or outside bodies about changes in the national system. We therefore recommend that responsibility for the framing and application of general policies governing admissions and the pattern of procedure for admissions be placed on the Hebdomadal Council, after consultation with the colleges.

170. It follows from this argument that the Management Committee of the Oxford Colleges Admissions Office should be reconstituted. This Office was set up in 1962, and in 1964 was constituted a legal company, limited by guarantee, the members of the company being the men's colleges that admit undergraduates. The original intention was that it should be no more than a clearing house for the colleges. But it has already done valuable work in collating and surveying statistical information. Before it opened, Oxford had no information about how many candidates were applying for entry, nor about the schools from which the applicants came: nor did Oxford make any use of the information which it possessed about the schools from which successful candidates came. We have ourselves seen, and we believe that the colleges and the schools have seen, how useful this sort of information can be: and we are certain that both the Hebdomadal Council and the colleges will always need such statistical information, regularly kept and presented and followed through to the results of the final examinations.

171. The responsibility of the Management Committee, which has already been increasing, will inevitably become both wider and heavier if our recommendations are adopted. It should therefore become a statutory 'joint' committee of Council, the General Board, and the Council of the Colleges, since policy must be jointly worked out by the University and the colleges. The Secretary to the Admissions Office should be an official of the central administration. The important statistical work of the office should come under the direction of the Chief Statistical officer (see paras. 562–5). If this is done, the Office should become a normal university office, and the present private company should be wound up. We therefore recommend, and have made provision in the Statutory Appendix, that the Management Committee of the Oxford Colleges Admissions Office should consist of the Vice-Chancellor as chairman *ex officio*, two members appointed by the Hebdomadal Council, two members appointed by the General Board, and four members appointed by the Council of the Colleges. The Office, under this Management Committee, should, in addition to its regular work, control research in the field of admissions, conduct experiments in alternative methods of selection, and publish an annual report (see also para. 184 below).

172. That Oxford should give high priority to the need to work towards a national admissions system does not imply that it should not act now to

reform its present practice. It is obviously essential to ensure that no changes are made which will make it more difficult to reform the national system, but we are convinced that some alterations should be made which will be of major importance to Oxford and the schools in the years that lie immediately ahead.

173. The main problem is that of making a constructive response to the difficulties in selection created by the present state of secondary education, in particular the existence of the two streams which bring boys and girls to the age of university entry unequally prepared though their abilities and promise may be the same. The first requirement of a policy on admissions is that it should be clearly formulated and sensibly adapted to existing conditions. What the outside world requires of a university is that its methods of selection should 'have results that are socially just' (Robbins Report, para. 217), by which is generally intended that they should not favour particular types of school or classes of candidate. It is fortunate that there is no incompatibility between the aims of social justice, in the sense of equality of opportunity, and the effective competition for talent which is proper to Oxford or any other university. The same measures serve to secure both.

174. We are clear that, until a satisfactory national admissions system exists, Oxford should continue to rely on its own entrance examination, but we are also clear that it should be so modified that it becomes genuinely open to those large numbers of boys and girls, chiefly from maintained schools and the majority of girls' schools of all types, who belong to the 'regular' streams and therefore reach the age of university entry after two years in the Sixth Form. We believe that it would be wrong in principle to select indiscriminately among candidates from second-year Sixth Forms generally, for this would undermine the whole basis of educational policy in those schools which hold it educationally desirable for some or all of their pupils to move through the 'express' stream to the advanced third-year Sixth Form. Furthermore, it would be against the interests of Oxford to admit large numbers of undergraduates who would be under the age of 18 when they came into residence. Standards of work in the undergraduate courses would almost inevitably be affected.

175. We recommend that a single examination for all colleges should be set. This should apply to the women's as well as to the men's colleges (see para. 181 below). All papers, including general papers, should be divided into two sections. All candidates from the 'express' stream, that is, all those who do not qualify under the conditions set out in the next paragraph, should be required to take their questions from the first section of each paper, but we consider that in this section a reasonable number of questions should be more deliberately related, in regard to the level of

knowledge required to answer them, to the requirements of the A level examinations, so that those candidates who have proceeded by an 'express' stream but in a school which does not have a third-year Sixth Form of the full traditional type will still be enabled to show promise on the basis of the amount of knowledge they have. The second section of each paper should assume no more knowledge than could reasonably be expected after four terms of post-O-level work and would be designed to enable quality to be detected among the candidates from the 'regular' streams who qualify under the conditions stated. It should be possible for these candidates, if they wish, to take all their questions from the second section.

176. Any scheme to make opportunity equal for candidates for entry from the 'regular' stream should be subject to clearly defined rules. We recommend that eligibility to take advantage of the scheme should be limited to those candidates who present a certificate from their headmasters or headmistresses stating that the application complies with the following conditions: that, given the time of the entrance examination, the candidates will be over the age of 17 years 6 months on 31 December of the year in which they take the examination; that they have not taken the A level examinations; and that they have not done more than four terms of Sixth Form, or equivalent post-O-level, work. These conditions will ensure that the possibilities of taking advantage of the scheme for candidates for whom it is not intended will be confined within very narrow limits. Boys and girls in second-year Sixth Forms generally who do not qualify under the conditions will remain free to compete in the open field as they do now against candidates from third- and fourth-year Sixth Forms. It is of importance that the scheme, while it will apply particularly to many maintained schools and most girls' schools, will apply in principle to all schools. Its purpose is to give a fair opportunity of entry to Oxford to all candidates of ability who for one reason or another will not take the A level examinations until the age of 18.

177. We further recommend that after each annual entrance examination the papers should be the subject of consultation through the Admissions Office with representatives of the schools to ensure that the papers adequately reflect the amount of knowledge which candidates in both categories may reasonably be expected to have acquired.

178. We have made a rough estimate from which it seems that about 10 per cent. of the boys accepted for admission in 1965 would have been eligible to take the second-year Sixth Form section of the entrance examination. We consider that Oxford should aim at an intake of approximately 20 per cent. in this category. We do not believe that such an increase will adversely affect the standards of work required in the undergraduate courses (see para. 164 above). In the last year or two the women's colleges

have taken many more entrants from this 'regular' stream, and their experience tends to confirm the belief we have expressed.

179. In our view it would be wrong to lay down a fixed quota. Something like a quota was suggested to us in the evidence of the Trades Union Congress Education Committee (*Oral Evidence*, Part 6, p. 9). We have given this point careful consideration, and have reached the conclusion that a fixed quota is an extremely blunt instrument for selection and could be justified only in the absence of a clear and workable policy or by reluctance to make such a policy effective. We think the recommendations we have put forward constitute a clear and workable policy. We have good reasons for confidence that, if our recommendations are accepted, those concerned will make a success of the reformed entrance examination. The intentions of the colleges were expressed to us in evidence and have been demonstrated in the actions described in para. 148 above. A growing number of maintained schools has become interested in sending candidates to Oxford. In our view, if our recommendations are accepted, the recent rise both in applications and admissions from these schools will continue. They will send considerably more applicants from whom Oxford would otherwise have been cut off. On the other hand, we think that there will be a sufficient degree of pre-selection in the schools to prevent the entrance examination from becoming unmanageable.

180. But we think it essential that progress should be kept under review by Oxford, University and colleges alike, through the administrative machinery we have recommended in paras. 169–71 above, so that adjustments can be made if developments within the structure of secondary education or the interests of Oxford make them desirable. We place great emphasis on the annual publication of the statistics relevant to the entrance examination in such a form that the details affecting the two categories of applicants are shown separately. We also consider that this information should be incorporated in suitable form in the Oxford prospectus for schools, together with an explanation of the way in which the reformed entrance examination works.

181. We now turn to the arrangements for entry to the women's colleges. These are operated independently of those for the men's colleges. The women's colleges prefer this partly because they wish to continue the system by which under arrangement with Cambridge women candidates can offer themselves for examination on two occasions in the same academic year, and partly because in some subjects they draw so many of their candidates from the 'regular' stream of secondary education that the papers set for men are not suitable. We attach importance to the general principle that in academic life men and women should receive equal treatment. We therefore recommend that the women's colleges should work through the

Admissions Office, and use the same admissions procedures, including the reformed entrance examination, as the men's colleges. They should share in the same way as the men's colleges in the management of the Office, the setting of papers, consultation with the schools, and the preparation and publication of statistics. The second of the reasons for wishing to continue with separate arrangements is removed by our recommendation for a reformed entrance examination. There remains the loss of the present arrangements with the women's colleges at Cambridge. We think this outweighed by the advantages of common action within Oxford. Further, if the number of places for women is increased as we have recommended in para. 102 above, this will mitigate the hardship to candidates which arises from the abolition of the opportunity to make two separate attempts at the entrance examination, and it will be open to the women's colleges to operate a 'pool' system with Cambridge which allows candidates to be passed on from one university to the other as the men's colleges already do.

182. One deterrent to the number of potential applicants was stated in para. 158 above to be the matriculation requirement of two languages. We were informed by the Incorporated Association of Head Masters (*Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 50) that 'Certainly some boys of high ability, especially from small schools, are deterred from even aiming at Oxford by the matriculation requirement of two languages. . . . Of the few reforms which can be executed with the stroke of the pen, there is none that would have more immediate effect than the removal of a second language qualification.' When we took this point up with a group of twenty-four headmasters and headmistresses (*Oral Evidence*, Part 102, p. 16), the evidence we received was conflicting, but it seemed that on the whole the present requirement does not prevent a large number of potential candidates from applying to Oxford, since the schools can take special measures, such as Sixth-Form courses in which enough Latin or other second language is rapidly learned for entrance at Oxford. Those most affected are in subjects like Mathematics, Engineering, and Biology, and possible candidates in these subjects apparently often choose to go elsewhere rather than make a last-minute effort to comply with the language requirements at Oxford.

183. But a decision about whether or not to keep the existing matriculation requirements for languages can be made only after consideration of what is academically necessary or desirable. We took no evidence on this either from the General Board or from the faculty boards, but are conscious of the strong academic case which can be made out for the possession of two languages as a preliminary to embarking on a number of the Oxford Honour Schools. But it may be the case, as a matter of utility and not of principle, that in some cases the requirement could be cut to one language at O level and that in others certificates of competence would suffice. We think that the General Board should review the requirements for two languages in the matriculation regulations of the University.

184. Earlier in this chapter we referred to the lack of research in Britain designed to test the validity of different methods of selection. We think it important, as we look to the future, that Oxford should begin to experiment with new techniques of selection under the control of the Admissions Office. From the point of view of Oxford itself, it is certain that all the special features of the entrance examination could not be incorporated into a national system of admissions, if only because of the number of candidates and papers involved. It is therefore desirable that as much experience as possible should be gained of alternative techniques, and it seems to us that Oxford, organized for admissions in the way we have recommended, is well placed to conduct experiments. Further, since admissions consume a great deal of academic time, there is reason from this point of view to explore ways of handling them at once efficiently and economically. Dr. L. S. Sutherland, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, suggested (*Written Evidence*, Part XIV, p. 52) that consideration might be given to the adaptation here of Scholastic Aptitude Tests and Achievement Tests such as are commonly used in American universities. We agree with her. Other possibilities suggested to us include the use of only one paper in the entrance examination instead of the larger number set at present; the use of an 'own choice' essay in substitution for a part or the whole of the entrance examination; and the use of modified S level papers. On another plane, there might be the development of special relationships with schools in particular areas along similar lines to the existing West Riding of Yorkshire Scheme (*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 27). Such experiments can be conducted by a single college or a group of colleges, in all subjects or in particular subjects, for all candidates or for a sample, instead of the entrance examination or as a check on it, and for longer or shorter periods. The one essential is that all experiments should be co-ordinated through the Admissions Office and that all statistical work should be controlled by the Chief Statistical Officer: otherwise the full benefit will not accrue.

185. So far in this discussion of admissions at Oxford we have not referred to the award of scholarships and exhibitions on performance in the entrance examination. The reason is that we accept the evidence given to us that nowadays winning a place at Oxford is of primary importance to candidates, winning a scholarship or exhibition a secondary matter. The Incorporated Association of Head Masters told us (*Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 54): 'We are bound to admit that the effective incentive to good Sixth-Form work in these days is not based so much on the winning of awards as on the winning of places.' This view was confirmed in oral evidence by the four associations of headmasters, headmistresses, assistant masters, and assistant mistresses (*Oral Evidence*, Part 1, p. 30). Sir Desmond Lee, Headmaster of Winchester College, speaking on behalf of the Headmasters' Conference said (*Oral Evidence*, Part 7, p. 25): 'I think in

some ways finding a place is the important thing', though he added, 'I think many of our people would feel that the value of the scholarship examination lay not in the particular system of awarding scholarships but the standard of work which should be encouraged.' It therefore seemed proper to take the general questions affecting entry to Oxford first and then come separately to questions about scholarships and exhibitions.

186. Nearly one-third of the Oxford undergraduate entry in 1964–5 held scholarships or exhibitions awarded by the colleges, 34·3 per cent. of the men and 17·8 per cent. of the women. The number of those receiving awards varies considerably from college to college. Almost all undergraduates with awards hold them in addition to their local education authority grants. The regulations of the Department of Education and Science allow scholars to keep the £60 a year attaching to a scholarship and exhibitioners the £40 a year attaching to an exhibition provided that this does not bring their total private income to more than £100 a year. We calculate that the colleges spend about £135,000 a year in this way, the amount that would be yielded by a capital sum of £2,700,000 at 5 per cent. In universities other than Oxford and Cambridge there are scholarships on average for about 3 per cent. of the undergraduates: at London the figure is 6 per cent. (Robbins Report, Appendix Two (B), Part I, Table 45, p. 45).

187. The original eleemosynary purpose of college scholarships and exhibitions was finally removed by the Education Act, 1962, which requires all local education authorities to make grants, graded according to the income of the parents, to all university entrants. The Act, however, only made statutory and universal a practice which had been growing for many years. College scholarships and exhibitions had long ceased to be enough for an undergraduate to subsist at Oxford, and the awards had come to be prized mainly for the praise and prestige they bring to the holder and to the school from which he or she comes.

188. The proportion of holders of these awards has risen steeply since 1939. Distributed on the present scale and at their present cost there can be no doubt that college scholarships and exhibitions are an anomaly in the financing of higher education. In this we agree with Sir Desmond Lee who said (*Oral Evidence*, Part 7, pp. 24–25): 'The scholarship system as it is at present will obviously have to be revised. It is not only beginning to look a bit odd, but it is also no longer necessary as a way of finding the money for a clever boy to go to university.'

189. Closed awards are certainly an anomaly, and we recommend, therefore, that all closed scholarships and exhibitions be abolished. At the same time we should point out that there have been misconceptions about closed

awards. It is often asserted that they are virtually a monopoly of the public schools. This is not the case: of the closed awards made for entry in 1965–6, only 45 per cent. went to boys from independent boarding schools. Nor is the level required to win a closed scholarship necessarily lower than that required for an open scholarship. It can be said in general that all winners of closed scholarships would certainly have got places and would usually have won open awards.

190. Open scholarships and open exhibitions are a different matter. The most powerful educational argument in favour of the colleges offering open scholarships and exhibitions is that public recognition of academic excellence acts as an incentive to the able candidate and helps to sustain right values both in the schools and in the University. Every college gains as it marks out undergraduates of academic distinction in this way, for by so doing it sets standards and declares its own essentially academic nature. To a considerable number of headmasters the abolition of scholarships and exhibitions would be taken as a severe blow to their endeavour to set and reach high standards in their schools. They look to a group of scholarship candidates each year to set the pace academically: scholarship work attracts and retains masters of high quality.

191. On the other hand, there are headmasters and headmistresses who are sceptical. One of the criticisms is that competition for scholarships at Oxford has a distorting effect on curricula and atmosphere in the schools. The point was also put to us by the Association of University Teachers which said (*Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 30): 'We express disquiet at the effects of [Oxford] open scholarships upon Sixth-Form teaching and to some extent upon those students who go to other universities.' But the weight of evidence received by us was to the effect that it was teaching for the A level examinations which was the chief cause of specialization.

192. Within Oxford there are those who hold with Sir Maurice Bowra, Warden of Wadham College (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 18), that 'the scholarship system is a means by which talented men are spread among all colleges, not indeed equally, but at least without too great an advantage to a few colleges'. This view, however, was not held by all the colleges which might be thought likely to benefit under the existing arrangements. Some colleges took the view that the money spent on awards could be put to a more useful purpose.

193. We conclude that the present level of expenditure on undergraduate scholarships and exhibitions by the colleges can no longer be justified. There are too many of them. On the other hand, we consider that there should be some scholarships: there are good reasons for universities to give this recognition to academic excellence. We therefore recommend

that the number of open scholarships held by undergraduates in a college should not exceed 10 per cent. of the total number of undergraduates in that college. The value of these scholarships should be £50 a year, and they should be awarded either on the results of the entrance examination or during residence as each college thinks best. The award of a scholarship should be for one year, and should be renewed only on evidence of satisfactory work. We further recommend that open exhibitions should be abolished.

194. The money which on these recommendations will be saved amounts to about £100,000 a year. It should be applied to specific educational purposes of which the appointment of more academic staff, the need for which we explain elsewhere, should have priority. We also hope that some of it will be available for postgraduate awards.

195. As about three-fifths of the present expenditure on awards is drawn from trust funds, it will be necessary for colleges to apply to the Privy Council for such changes in their statutes as will permit these funds to be released for other educational purposes. We further consider that future benefactions should be viewed in the light of these recommendations.

196. We have also given thought to the possible implications of the recommendations put forward in this chapter for relations between Oxford and Cambridge. The recommendations about the entrance examination will affect the present agreement with Cambridge, whose arrangements differ in detail from those of Oxford. We hope that co-operation will continue and that it may prove possible to explore the possibilities of an entrance examination common to Oxford and Cambridge and any other universities that might be interested. We recognize that our recommendations about scholarships and exhibitions may occasion difficulties, since Oxford might lose some good candidates to Cambridge if Cambridge offers considerably more entrance awards than Oxford. We do not know what opinion on this subject is at Cambridge: it is possible that it is moving on the same lines as our recommendations. But if it is not, we do not think that Oxford should be deflected from the course recommended. We therefore consider that the Hebdomadal Council should inform Cambridge of the intentions of Oxford in the matter of awards and seek agreement to a parallel course of action, but, if agreement cannot be reached within twelve months, Oxford should proceed.

PART II. POSTGRADUATE ADMISSIONS

197. We make it clear in Chapter IV why the chief academic responsibility for postgraduates must rest with the University and not with the colleges. The considerable expansion in the number of postgraduates which we

envisage, much of it in scientific and technological subjects, carries with it the consequence that the rate and nature of the increase must be governed by factors which are either under the control of the University or on which it alone has full information. The number and standard of the postgraduates to be admitted must be controlled by the faculty boards under the supervision of the General Board. It is the sub-faculty boards which must decide on the research a candidate may undertake, since they must provide for his supervision, choose his examiners, and ensure that there are appropriate lectures and seminars for his instruction. It follows that the admission of postgraduates must be the responsibility of the University: otherwise it would be only by chance that admissions would match academic policy and resources. We therefore recommend that the University, through the General Board and the faculty organization, should continue to be responsible for the admission of postgraduates.

198. At present the admission of postgraduates is a function of the faculty boards, and the methods used to accept them vary from board to board. But because of the collegiate structure of Oxford, postgraduates must also be members of colleges. Often therefore a candidate applies in the first instance to a college: if provisionally accepted, his qualifications are then examined by the Applications Committee of the appropriate faculty board, and the recommendation of the committee is normally ratified by the board. But in scientific subjects candidates commonly go first to the department: if already members of a college, they then have to ask its approval to stay on for advanced work, or, if they come from other universities, they have to find a college to accept them as members and matriculate them or have a college found for them. This system works well. In other subjects, however, the position is not so satisfactory because in practice the decisive act of choice often occurs when a college provisionally accepts a candidate.

199. It still sometimes happens that colleges permit a student intending to do postgraduate work to come into residence before ascertaining whether the faculty board is likely to admit him, and this creates a difficult situation. Again, colleges often accept candidates as they apply and then find that they have no places for late applicants who may be better qualified than those whom they have already accepted. The standards set by colleges are not uniform. College tutors do not usually supervise the candidates whom they provisionally accept and may be less demanding than faculty boards may desire: or they may lack the specialist knowledge necessary to assess the qualifications of some candidates.

200. We have considered but rejected the suggestion that membership of a college should be optional for a postgraduate. We believe that the colleges have a part to play in their education. While, therefore, we are sure that,

as we have said, the admission of postgraduates should be a matter for the University, we also hold that the colleges should have an effective voice in deciding which postgraduates they will accept as members of their societies. We foresee that one of the tasks of the Council of the Colleges will be to establish proper co-ordination in these matters. There will have to be arrangements to secure that, on the one hand, all candidates accepted by sub-faculty boards are also accepted by a college, and on the other, that sub-faculty boards do not accept more postgraduates than the colleges can take. This is a matter of machinery. We recommend that machinery be devised to ensure that the responsibility of the University for admitting postgraduates is made compatible with the function of the colleges to accept and matriculate them.

201. The applications of all candidates should go through the Oxford Colleges Admissions Office. If an application reaches a college or department in the first instance, it should be sent on at once to the Admissions Office, even though the college or department may be certain that their view of the applicant is acceptable to the sub-faculty board. The form sent to applicants should provide for a statement of preference between colleges. The Admissions Office should be responsible for circulating applications simultaneously to the Committee on Postgraduates of the appropriate sub-faculty board and to the colleges. It would then be possible for a college to make representations on behalf of a candidate to the Postgraduates Committee, but it would not be able to offer a place to any candidate until he had been accepted by the sub-faculty board. When candidates are not already members of a college, as is the case with those from other British universities or from overseas, the papers of those admitted by the sub-faculty board should be circulated to the colleges with any wishes to go to particular colleges stated in order of preference. To make this procedure effective, the colleges will have to supply the Admissions Office in the first term of each academic year with an estimate of the number of postgraduates they expect to take in the following year. They will also have to indicate to what extent they are proposing to specialize in certain fields.

202. Evidence to the Commission stressed the importance of a right balance between postgraduates who had read for their first degree at Oxford and those from other universities. To this end the University should take steps to make widely known the nature and extent of its facilities for postgraduate study. The prospectus 'Facilities for Advanced Study and Research' should be rewritten with this purpose in view. It is probable that, pursuing this policy of balance, Oxford as the years pass will not be able to offer places to all its own qualified students. The University should therefore begin to give consideration to the questions involved in a healthy mobility between British universities.

203. Although financial support for graduate students comes mainly from public funds, private sources of money have importance, especially in the fields of the humanities and of social studies. Studentships and fellowships for scientists from the Research Councils are relatively numerous and carry with them reasonable allowances for laboratory and field expenses. State studentships awarded by the Department of Education and Science are less numerous and are poorly supported by ancillary grants. The University itself offers few major awards to postgraduates, and gives only modest assistance for travelling and other expenses incurred in the course of research. A number of colleges besides the graduate colleges, Nuffield and St. Antony's, offer scholarships to postgraduates; many of them make lesser awards and grants.

204. We think it important that Oxford should attract a proper number of the most promising graduate students in all fields and that a considerable proportion of them should come from other British universities and from abroad. It should be possible for the University and the colleges to do more in the way of offering financial help to intellectually distinguished graduates who wish to come and work in Oxford. At present such graduates often find themselves unable for one reason or another to obtain studentships, even though the University is confident that they possess capacity and promise. The use of private funds for these purposes is also needed to support students in subjects which do not easily attract sufficient support from public funds, and to make possible experiment and innovation in the education and training of postgraduates.

205. So far as the colleges are concerned, we are confident that enterprise and initiative in providing for postgraduates will be fostered by the same spirit of competition which has been so marked in the case of undergraduates. The danger is rather of unbridled competition, and we think it necessary to propose the formulation and observance of restraints on the use of funds for postgraduates analogous to those which have come to govern their use for undergraduates in order to prevent unreasonable inequalities arising between different colleges.

206. Achieving agreement about the necessary restraints should be an early concern of the Council of the Colleges. It should decide upon the number and value of postgraduate awards to be offered. The need they are designed to meet will vary from time to time, as the policies of governments at home and abroad change and as alterations occur in the rate of development of different branches of study in the University. We therefore recommend that every five years the Council of the Colleges should review the policies of the colleges about postgraduate awards and agree their number as a proportion of the total postgraduate entry and their maximum value for the time being (see also para. 273 below).

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

(11) Oxford should work towards the initiation of plans for the reform of the admissions system on a national scale (para. 167).

(12) The responsibility for the framing and application of general policies governing admissions and the pattern of procedure for admissions should be placed on the Hebdomadal Council, after consultation with the colleges (para. 169).

(13) There should be established by statute a Management Committee of the Oxford Colleges Admissions Office, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor as chairman *ex officio*, two members appointed by the Hebdomadal Council, two members appointed by the General Board, and four members appointed by the Council of the Colleges; the Office, under this Management Committee, should, in addition to its regular work, control research in the field of admissions, conduct experiments in alternative methods of selection, and publish an annual report (paras. 171 and 184).

(14) There should be a single entrance examination set for candidates from both the faster and slower streams of secondary education, but all papers, including general papers, should be divided into two sections; all candidates from the faster stream should be required to take their questions from the first section of each paper, but a reasonable number of these questions should be related to the syllabus of the A level examinations; candidates from the slower stream possessing the necessary certificate from the headmasters or headmistresses (i.e. that they will be over the age of 17 years 6 months on 31 December of the year in which they take the examination; that they have not taken the A level examinations; and that they have not done more than four terms of post-O-level work) should be able, if they wish, to take all their questions from the second section of each paper; the questions in this section should not assume more knowledge than can be reasonably expected after four terms of post-O-level work (paras. 175–6).

(15) After each annual examination the papers should be the subject of consultation through the Admissions Office with representatives of the schools (para. 177).

(16) The women's colleges should work through the Admissions Office and use the same admissions procedures, including the same entrance examination, as the men's colleges (para. 181).

(17) All closed scholarships and exhibitions should be abolished (para. 189).

(18) The number of open scholarships held by undergraduates in a college should not exceed 10 per cent. of the total number of undergraduates in that college; the value of these scholarships should be £50 a year; they

should be awarded either on the results of the entrance examination or during residence as each college thinks best; they should be awarded for one year, and renewed only on evidence of satisfactory work; and open exhibitions should be abolished (para. 193).

(19) The University, through the General Board and the faculty organization, should continue to be responsible for the admission of postgraduates (para. 197).

(20) Machinery should be devised to ensure that the responsibility of the University for admitting postgraduates is made compatible with the function of the colleges to accept and matriculate them (para. 200).

(21) Every five years the Council of the Colleges should review the policies of the colleges about postgraduate awards and agree their number as a proportion of the total postgraduate entry and their maximum value for the time being (para. 206).

CHAPTER IV

ACADEMIC LIFE AT OXFORD

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PART I. ACADEMIC LOYALTIES

207. A simple and undivided loyalty is a luxury which is not within the reach of the members of any university. The scholar, whether he works in Leeds or in Leningrad or in Los Angeles, must feel the claim of his subject upon him, his duty and his desire to explore the frontiers of knowledge. He belongs to a community of men pursuing many different lines of research but united in this purpose. But in a university this devotion to original thought cannot be completely engrossing. For a university must also be a place of teaching and of training: its teaching is not intended only to produce the next academic generation; it has also to furnish men and women equipped for many walks of life. It is the conjunction of many

types of learning, and of pure learning with useful instruction, which makes a university. As a result there is in every university a double strand of interest and a dual allegiance.

208. In all universities problems arise from this duality of interest. The form they take varies according to the traditions of the place and the pressing needs of the time. In Oxford they are shaped by the collegiate structure of the University. The scholar in Oxford should, of course, be conscious of his kinship with others working in his chosen field, and show himself cosmopolitan, a citizen of one section of the international community of learning. At the same time he is in closer proximity than is, perhaps, usual to the life and interests of the undergraduates. He has rooms in a college which is small enough to have something of the atmosphere of a family. His own pupils come to him as individuals for tuition. He is aware of them not as the blurred outlines of an audience but as sharply defined characters sitting by his fireplace. His share in their selection and in their success or failure in the final examinations, not to speak of such interest as he may take in their non-academic problems, produces in him a sense of responsibility for them which is lively as only parochial feelings can be.

209. The sense of college loyalty is therefore strong, as is that towards a particular branch of study: but the sense of service to the University—the middle term between the parochial and the cosmopolitan—is by comparison weak. The duties of a college fellow who is also a university lecturer are not easy to parallel elsewhere. The holder of such a post has two sources of income, college and University; in the case of most fellows in arts the former is the larger. Inside the college the social and administrative arrangements, the Common Table and the service in college government, make a special way of life. This college life, involving daily preoccupation with the problems and aspirations of the young, has had the effect of concentrating the interest of the senior members of Oxford on the teaching of undergraduates. It has also, as one of our witnesses pointed out (Mr. J. R. Lucas—*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 118), been responsible for the strength of the democratic spirit of the University. The absence of hierarchical structure in the organization of the work, the freedom of initiative, both in teaching and research, enjoyed by the fellows of small self-governing communities, these are benefits which Oxford derives from its traditional multicellular pattern. An overwhelming majority of our witnesses, both inside and outside Oxford, believed that these features of the system should be safeguarded. We emphatically agree with these witnesses.

210. But Oxford, like any other university, has to maintain a proper balance between teaching and research, between old and new disciplines,

and between the claims of the public and the extreme claims of academic freedom. If, in addition, it is to preserve and restore the tutorial system, and to retain the independence and initiative of its teachers, positive action must be taken. It seems unlikely that thirty-nine academic societies and nearly a score of faculties, as long as they are working largely in isolation and to some extent in competition, can succeed in maintaining these balances in a period, like the present, of rapid change. It is the University in consequence that must take the lead in adjusting the burden on the academic community so that it is reasonable both as a whole and in its distribution. But the University means all the professors, readers, and fellow-lecturers acting in their capacity not as college fellows but as the academic community as a whole, obeying what we have called 'the middle term' in their loyalties.

211. The representatives of the colleges, like those of the faculties, were agreed, as can be seen in their oral evidence, that research and teaching were best done by the same people. The teaching in the colleges would not be so good unless those doing it were also engaged in original research. It may be true that it is no longer possible in the course of an undergraduate's career to take him right up to the frontiers of knowledge, unless it be fleetingly and on one very small section. Nevertheless, his education would suffer if he were not working closely with someone who is a pioneer and who therefore teaches 'as one having authority and not as the scribes'. A divorce of teaching from research would be a loss to the nation directly in its effects upon the majority of undergraduates: it would also adversely affect the academic succession in retarding the development of the minority who aim at becoming research workers in their turn.

212. It follows from our belief that Oxford can best develop by remaining an individual community of learning with a balance of activities that we have rejected the suggestion of Mr. R. Pedley (*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 123) that it should become a purely postgraduate university, leaving undergraduate education to be done elsewhere: that would damage the other universities of Britain as much as Oxford itself. It follows, in addition, that we have rejected the idea of organizing the University in two divisions, undergraduate education in the colleges, and great graduate schools under the aegis of the University. Achievements elsewhere by this sort of organization have indeed been great, as Sir George Pickering told us (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 146). But the devaluation of Oxford's traditional undergraduate education in the colleges would be too high a price to pay. It would lead inevitably to that division among the teachers into graduate-grade and undergraduate-grade which we believe would ultimately be wrong for Oxford. There is certainly room for diversity and experiment in postgraduate education in a collegiate university. But we

believe it should be within the limits imposed by the ideal of a balanced community of equals. It is noteworthy that even in colleges for postgraduates like Nuffield and St. Antony's, or a research college such as All Souls, the fellows have found it desirable to take part in the teaching of undergraduates.

213. A collegiate university which puts such great emphasis upon undergraduate teaching has difficulty in developing new subjects. The growing points in the intellectual world tend to be upon the fringes of subjects and where different disciplines touch or overlap. In making appointments to teaching fellowships, however, the colleges, as was stressed by the representatives of the women's colleges (*Oral Evidence*, Part 73, pp. 13 ff.), tend to prefer 'main-line' teachers whose interests are likely to fit easily into the pattern of the undergraduate examinations. In consequence, as Sir Isaiah Berlin and Professor H. L. A. Hart pointed out to us (*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 12), there has been a tendency to restrict unduly the scope of Oxford's research: Professor C. F. C. Hawkes and others (*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 55 and *Oral Evidence*, Part 33) argued in the case of Archaeology, and Professor D. Hawkes put the point even more strongly in the case of Chinese (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 79), that the smaller subjects, in terms of student numbers, found life difficult.

214. But it is possible to overcome such repressive influences. It is fortunate for all concerned that the supervision of postgraduates is certain to form a larger part of the work of the University in future. For, as intensive research makes many subjects more specialized and esoteric, the gap between the syllabus at present suitable for the undergraduate and the particular pioneering interest of his teacher widens. It is the supervision of postgraduates which can provide for the fellow-lecturer a bridge between the two. The advancement of learning is pursued by masters, journeymen, and apprentices so that all three benefit by the relationship. Admittedly this is an ideal picture. Our recommendations which follow in respect of tutorial teaching and the share of the colleges in postgraduate education are designed to bring it nearer to realization. That such efforts to improve the balance of academic activity should be made is a condition of the Oxford way of life surviving in the modern world.

PART II. UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION

215. The distinctive features of undergraduate life in Oxford are the collegiate structure and the tutorial system. Of the importance of the college system in breaking up the student body into small units we have already said much above (Chapter I). But it still requires to be emphasized that a college is not just a well-endowed hall of residence. It is the central feature of college life that residence and teaching are welded together. A

college has to provide more than bed and board: it has also to be the centre for the intellectual activities which are the chief purpose for which the young men and women are at the university at all. Moreover, the senior members must feel that they can, within wide limits, shape the destinies of their society, control its funds, and give it a character of its own.

216. In building up this way of life the tutorial plays an important part. There has been some loose thinking inside Oxford as well as outside about what the tutorial system really is. It is certainly not simply a matter of the smallness of the units for teaching.* There are (see Mr. B. G. Mitchell—*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 131) three structural elements in the system. There must be first a Director of Studies who has responsibility for the undergraduate's course, and preferably has chosen him for admission, who advises him about vacation work and arranges for his tuition, which he may or may not give himself; second is the General Adviser, usually in Oxford called a Moral Tutor, who is responsible for the undergraduate's welfare in the widest sense, who answers for him on disciplinary matters, and who should be on hand as the elder friend to give help when needed; thirdly, there is the Supervisor—the man who does the teaching of undergraduates for a particular term's work. All three jobs may be performed by the same person. In Oxford, in contrast to Cambridge, the Director of Studies and the General Adviser (Moral Tutor) are usually the same person: he also gives a substantial number of the tutorials. In some small Schools where the college has no tutor in the subject, and has not made a joint arrangement with another college, the undergraduate will find that his Director of Studies and Supervisor are outside his college; in such cases the college has to appoint a General Adviser whose subject will be unrelated to that of the undergraduate. It is generally agreed that this separation of the direction of undergraduate studies from the college is to be avoided wherever possible, and this has led recently to more joint appointments between colleges.

217. This so far is, however, only the structure of the tutorial method. At its heart is a theory of teaching young men and women to think for themselves. The undergraduate is sent off to forage for himself among a long list of books and journals and to produce a coherent exposition of his ideas on the subject set. The essay or prepared work is then read by its author and criticized by the tutor. In this discussion the undergraduate should benefit by struggling to defend the positions he has taken up, by realizing the implications of the argument, and by glimpsing the context

* Though our definition of a tutorial is not quite the same, we agree with para. 13 of the Report (published by the University Grants Committee in 1964) of the Committee on University Teaching Methods (the 'Hale Report') that much 'which passes as a tutorial system . . . amounts to not more than a series of individual problem-solving sessions'.

in which a more experienced scholar sees his problem. This process can succeed only when the tutor takes undergraduates singly, or in pairs. To be a tutorial, in the full sense, each pupil must have written his essay and his particular view of the matter must be fully explored. This is comparatively simple when pupils are taken singly, but when they are taken in pairs a heavier strain is put on the tutor. Probably only one essay will be read aloud at the tutorial. The tutor has then to contrive, by seeing the other essay in advance of the tutorial, or by some other means, to make the pupil who does not read his essay an equal participant in the argument and an equal beneficiary from criticism. His views must be contrasted with those of his partner and the bases upon which they rest must be explored. If in any group one pupil has written an essay and one or two others merely listen and perhaps throw in an occasional opinion, they are not experiencing a tutorial but merely attending a class. For the tutorial means that the undergraduate has to try his hand at creation under correction.

218. Certain points are at once apparent about this method of instruction. From the undergraduate point of view it makes the University to an unusual extent a reading and writing workshop. This is reflected in the importance of libraries. It can be seen from Table I in Chapter V that expenditure in Oxford on libraries per head of student population is higher than in other British universities. Equally the face-to-face encounter between teacher and taught encourages a sense of responsibility for error and a capacity for self-expression not readily obtainable by other methods. It is also an advantage that the style of attack or the difficulty of the questions posed can be adjusted by the tutor to the capacity and to the stage of development of the pupil.

219. It is obvious that this method of instruction is not well adapted to the conveying of systematic information over an extensive field. It is true that in reading books and making notes to provide the material out of which the essay will be constructed much other information will be left in the pupil's mind. But the systematic accumulation of facts to cover a syllabus must be provided by different means.

220. The first of such means is an extension of that element in the tutorial system which is concerned with directed reading. The tutor gives his pupils a list of books to read in the vacation which usually is intended to cover gaps in the past term's work and to lay broad foundations for the coming term's work. In reply to our first questionnaire (*Written Evidence*, Part VII) the colleges revealed the importance which they attached to the use of the vacation for this purpose. They replied also that it was the general practice to set college examinations at the beginning of term designed to test that undergraduates had covered the ground in their

private but directed reading. Oxford, in consequence, stands favourable comparison with other universities over the amount of academic work done by undergraduates in the vacation (Hale Committee's Interim Report on the Use of Vacations by Students, published by the University Grants Committee in 1963, Appendix II, p. 16). The nature of the tutorial system makes it necessary that the vacation should be regarded as a particularly valuable period for undisturbed reading. It is a cause for concern that this fact seems difficult to make clear to those outside Oxford, for example committees making grants to students, and sometimes to the undergraduates themselves. For many undergraduates working conditions at home may be unsatisfactory: we think it important that colleges should encourage them to spend part of the vacations reading in Oxford. It is clear from their replies that the great majority of tutorial fellows share this view (Table 300). Colleges will have to provide vacation facilities on an increasing scale at the cost, if need be, of some curtailment of conference business.

221. Even with an intensive use of the vacation it must, however, remain true that a syllabus cannot be 'covered' by the tutorial system alone. It is necessary to make use of other means of formal instruction. These other means are lectures, classes, and laboratory work. The emphasis laid upon the tutorial has certainly had a lowering effect upon the importance attached to lectures in Oxford. They have, in the arts subjects, often been regarded as an extra, and attendance at them has usually been optional with the tutor doing no more than making a few comments, laudatory or disparaging, about the lecture-list when seeing his pupils at the beginning of term. Lectures are provided on a university basis and are the responsibility of the faculty boards. Their lack of importance to the undergraduate in arts subjects owes something to poor organization of the lists. Most college fellows, in their other capacity as lecturers paid by the University, have the obligation to give such lectures. The choice of topic is their own, subject to such promptings and requests as the board may feel inclined to make. We have heard complaints that lectures are not co-ordinated with one another either as to the term for delivery or in the subject matter. Exceptions to this criticism may be found in many of the Science Departments and in some of the smaller arts subjects, where lectures are organized on a departmental basis to fit into an agreed and published plan. As a result, tutors can advise their pupils on how the ground will be covered over the year and overlap on any given day is avoided. It is perhaps a consequence of the poor repute of the lecturing system in general rather than a cause of it that we have received much criticism of the basic techniques employed, including such points as failure to achieve audibility or to indicate the scope of the lecture. The fall in attendance at lectures towards the end of any term might merely indicate infirmity of purpose among undergraduates, but the drop in attendance by those reading all subjects after their first year

(see Table G—para. 229 below) suggests a more considered dissatisfaction with the lectures offered.

222. Yet we are convinced that university lectures have a real part to play in completing the framework of formal instruction in a tutorial and collegiate university. Lectures (see Mr. R. D. F. Pring-Mill—*Written Evidence*, Part XI, pp. 140 ff., and also the Hale Report, pp. 52 ff.) have at least three uses. They can be a special occasion when a distinguished authority pronounces his views either on a specialized field or on general topics: they can be current and controversial, particularly when they are the occasion for the tentative articulation of material or views hitherto unpublished: but finally and most usually they can be straightforwardly informative, covering a wide field of material which is available in books but which is now ordered and set out in a way which gives the audience an opportunity to see a subject in perspective. In this last respect they can cover a syllabus and provide the necessary supplement to the deeper but more episodic tutorial work.

223. Increasingly since 1945 the formal instruction of undergraduates has also involved classes or seminars. These may be on a university basis or on a college basis or for a group of colleges. A common procedure is for one of a small group of students to present a paper which is then discussed by the group, with one or two tutors controlling the argument. It seems to be the general opinion that this form of instruction is best suited to the more senior undergraduates. Classes in which direct instruction plays a greater part are also needed for those at the beginning of their first year who are working for the First Public Examination.

224. For a class to be effective it is necessary that the numbers attending should be small, somewhere between three and twelve. They involve a considerable amount of preparation by the teachers in charge, and calls are made upon their skill in arranging that all members become effective participants according to their capacities. If this is granted, then they can, particularly for special subjects involving technical points, be a desirable substitute for university lectures—the more because difficulties or disagreements can be brought into the open in a way that is impossible in the lecture. Classes cannot be regarded, however, as a half-way house between the lecture and the tutorial, or a substitute for the latter. The object aimed at, in working through a body of material, even with the addition of discussion, is different in kind from the object of the tutorial, which is, as we have described above, to develop a method of thinking and independence of self-expression. Nevertheless, as will appear in one of our most important recommendations that follow, we believe that the class can be more widely used not so much as an alternative to the tutorial but as an

addition to it, in such a way as to relieve some of the excessive load at present being improperly put upon the tutorial.

Table F. *Time spent on teaching (excluding postgraduate supervision) and number of postgraduates supervised. Michaelmas Term 1964*

OXFORD			PERCENTAGE
Time spent on teaching (excluding postgraduate supervision) (hours per week)	University lecturer with tutorial fellowship	CUF and special lecturer	All academic staff
None	—	—	12
1–4	—	1	18
5–8	4	8	20
9–12	24	26	18
13–16	54	40	21
17–20	18	21	9
21 and over	—	4	2
All	100	100	100
Number	*90*	*286*	*1,154*
Average hours per week	*13·8*	*13·8*	*8·8*
Average number of postgraduates supervised for faculty board	*2·7*	*1·0*	*1·5*

SOURCE: Tables 263–5 and 286.

225. It is when one proceeds from this outline of the methods of undergraduate instruction to consider how they have been working since 1945 that the strains become apparent. Serious questions about the balance of academic life suggest themselves. The amount of teaching done by certain classes of the academic staff is much greater than that expected in other universities. The average amount of teaching, including a rough estimate for the supervision of postgraduates, at Oxford is 10–11 hours a week as compared with the national average of 8·1 hours (see Table F and *Statistical Appendix*, Part V, paras. 467–8). But this average conceals more than it reveals. What it conceals is the great imbalance among Oxford's teaching staff. The fellow-lecturers bear much the greater portion of the load. Their averages are 16½ hours or 15 hours according to which of the two main types of lecturership with fellowship (see paras. 312 and 313 below) they hold. This means that the fellow-lecturers on average had a

teaching obligation about twice as heavy as the national average. And the fellow-lecturers made up 39 per cent. of the Oxford staff (Table 235). It must be remembered that the figures for this heavy teaching load carried by fellow-lecturers *excluded* the time spent in preparation for teaching or in correcting written work, and all the time necessarily spent in a collegiate system in giving informal guidance to pupils; it excludes also the hours spent on university and college administration which, for fellow-lecturers, is 8 or 9 hours a week on average (Tables 304 and 310). The figures, in part, reflect the disadvantageous position of Oxford in comparison with other universities in respect of the staff:student ratio about which we have already made a recommendation (see para. 91 above).

226. The overloading of some fellows and lecturers with formal teaching obviously makes it more difficult to achieve that system of academic life in which nearly all the staff are engaged upon some teaching and some research. Yet upon this balance depends not only Oxford's output of research but the virtue of its teaching. In the published evidence and in the questionnaires returned to us by the academic staff there runs a recurrent theme that the time which is left available for postgraduate teaching and for research, often activities closely allied, is insufficient. Many scientists complain of difficulty in finding the continuous periods of time necessary for their experiments. The pressure of work with pupils, on the evidence given to us, had forced much organization and administration over into the vacations: these were further eroded, as periods for catching up with learned work, by university and college examining.

227. In the circumstances of shortage of staff, a change which has been taking place in the working of the tutorial system is of importance: this is an increase in the number of tutorials received by each undergraduate, an increase which seems to have been partly the consequence and partly the cause of a belief among some of them that this was the only part of their education which mattered.

228. Table G shows the average per week of teaching received in Michaelmas Term 1964 by undergraduates at Oxford. If it is assumed that each tutorial, class, seminar, and lecture lasted for one hour, the average total hours of teaching received in all faculties was 9·5. This may be compared with the average of 14·2 received nationally in Hilary Term 1962 (Hale Report, p. 39). Any direct comparison is, however, of doubtful value. For it involves counting a tutorial hour and an hour at a lecture as equal, whereas in fact they are different kinds of activity, both for the giver and the receiver. In the tutorial system, as we have explained it above, the hour of essay and criticism is simply the checkpoint for many hours of reading and writing under direction.

229. Table G brings out clearly the high figure for tutorials of 1·5 hours for all undergraduates and the low figure for lectures of 3·6 hours for undergraduates reading arts. These underline the general point made earlier that undergraduates in arts must be expecting to 'cover the syllabus' on tutorials and their private reading without much else. Even in the sciences, with their better organized departmental instruction in lectures and classes, undergraduates often received more than one tutorial a week.

Table G. *Average per week of teaching received by undergraduates. Michaelmas Term 1964*

OXFORD				NUMBER
Undergraduates in	Type of teaching			
	Tutorials	Classes and seminars	Lectures	Practicals (hours)
SUBJECT GROUP				
Arts	1·4	1·3	3·6	0·1
Social studies	1·7	0·6	3·7	—
Science	1·4	0·3	6·8	7·5
YEAR				
First	1·3	1·5	6·3	3·1
Second	1·5	0·4	3·6	2·8
Third	1·6	0·6	3·9	1·5
All undergraduates	1·5	0·8	4·7	2·5

SOURCE: Table 95.

230. Table H shows that the weight of this teaching fell solidly upon the fellows and lecturers of the colleges. Of the tutorials given in Michaelmas Term 1964, 67 per cent. were given by a fellow or lecturer of the undergraduates' own colleges; and 84 per cent. by a fellow or lecturer of some college. Even in science, where until recently an appreciable number of university lecturers did not hold college posts, 76 per cent. of the tutorial teaching was given by college fellows or lecturers. These figures are noticeably different from those of Cambridge (Table 114 gives details) where in 1961–2 about 50 per cent. of the tutorial teaching in six subjects was given by persons who were not fellows of colleges—about 7 per cent. being given by persons holding a university but not a college post (Oxford 6 per cent.), about 18 per cent. by postgraduate students (Oxford 6 per cent.), and about 25 per cent. by other persons not recorded as holding either a university or a college post (Oxford 4 per cent.).

Table H. *Persons giving tutorials to undergraduates. Michaelmas Term 1964*

OXFORD PERCENTAGE

Tutorials given by	Tutorials in			Tutorials for		
	Arts	Social studies	Science	Men	Women	All undergraduates
Fellows of undergraduates' college	57	54	49	55	45	53
Lecturers of undergraduates' college	12	15	14	14	11	14
All in-college teachers	69	69	63	69	56	67
Fellows or lecturers of other colleges	19	18	13	15	26	17
All fellows and lecturers of colleges	88	87	76	84	82	84
Persons holding a university but not a college post	2	3	13	6	6	6
Postgraduates	4	6	8	6	6	6
Other persons not holding a university or college post	6	4	3	4	6	4
All teachers	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Table 104.

231. Many of the colleges and faculty boards stated in oral evidence that the burden of tutorial teaching had become heavier than it should upon their fellows and lecturers. The explanations put forward were various. It was said that the syllabus of an Honour School was likely to become overloaded as knowledge advanced; in the double or triple Schools (e.g. Philosophy, Politics, and Economics) one pupil demanded the attention of two or three tutors; multiple options had encouraged specialized tutorials and much exchanging of pupils. But the main cause was clearly the misuse of the tutorial. The tutor increasingly felt obliged to guide the steps of his pupils. A tutor even felt he must pre-digest some parts of the syllabus of swollen and complicated Schools. These abuses were magnified because colleges were competitive and anxious to score successes for their pupils in the final examinations. This spirit arose naturally enough from the college's strong sense of identity and its responsibility for its undergraduates. But it resulted in more tutorials. An example quoted (*Written Evidence*, Part V, p. 34, and *Oral Evidence*, Part 50, p. 4) was that of the special subjects in the School of Modern History. In 1958 the faculty board introduced a scheme under which the teaching was to be done in small university classes, with the membership arranged with the colleges

so that everyone could cover the ground there instead of in tutorials. One by one colleges began to give tutorials in these same subjects as an additional aid to undergraduates already attending such classes. This not only burdened the teachers. It overloaded the pupils who, unable to do so much for themselves, naturally looked increasingly for answers to be given to them.

232. This, we believe, shows how the tutorial system can be abused. Two of our witnesses questioned the value Oxford set upon the tutorial system; Professor R. E. Peierls (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 140) argued that a disproportionate amount of time was spent in giving tutorials without any evidence that the academic ability of the recipient was being increased. Dr. J. W. Linnett (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 110) maintained that so much of the tutor's time was occupied that original research suffered. We think these criticisms are not valid if they are held to apply to the tutorial system as we have expounded it earlier in this chapter. But we cannot deny them some force if they are held to be simply a commentary on part of recent practice.

233. The main fault has been that tutorials have been multiplied 'in order to cover the syllabus' with the consequence that they have been thought of as a method of conveying information. But, it must be repeated, the purpose of a tutorial (see Mr. R. N. W. Blake and Sir Roy Harrod—*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 9, and Part XI, p. 51) is not to convey information but to teach the pupil how to think, by exposing him to the stimulation of an older scholar. If a few bore-holes are sunk in different types of territory and the apprentice learns how to manage in the area, he may be left to carry out further exploration on these lines by himself and be shown the full range of each territory in classes or in lectures. For the tutorial to be as enlivening an experience as Lord David Cecil described it to us (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 33), it requires proper preparation on the part of the pupil. He cannot do this if he has two tutorials a week. Two tutorials a week, in fact, debase the concept of the tutorial as it has been understood in Oxford and as we believe it has most of value to offer to the undergraduate. The considerations in the preceding paragraphs have led us to the conclusion that steps must be taken if the tutorial is to be preserved as a method of training young minds and if we are to maintain a proper balance of the time of the fellow-lecturer.

234. We therefore recommend that the General Board, with the co-operation of all the colleges, should at once take steps to establish the relative functions of tutorials, classes, and lectures in the education of undergraduates: in so doing it should also strive towards a system which enables all members of the academic staff to partake in both teaching and research.

235. This general policy can be achieved in practice only if the following measures are adopted. We recommend that undergraduates should write only one essay a week and that, as a normal rule, they should attend only one tutorial a week whether alone or in a pair. Even where this pattern cannot easily be made to fit, in the nature of particular Honour Schools (see next para.), the rule should be that undergraduates should not be expected to write more than eight tutorial essays a term although they may be expected to attend more than one tutorial, in pairs, each week, taking part in the tutorial discussion and profiting from it when they have not written an essay. The Senior Tutors' Committee, under the Council of the Colleges, should be responsible for seeing that this decision is observed: the sub-faculty boards (see Chapter VII), with their knowledge of the needs of each subject, should also take their share of responsibility for seeing that the regulation is observed. Co-operation between the Senior Tutors' Committee and the sub-faculty boards should be close.

236. This limit upon tutorials should enhance their value. But we recognize that it will be accompanied by difficulties. In so far as these are concerned with the covering of the ground of an extensive syllabus, our recommendations below about university lectures, seminars, and classes are intended to meet them. But there are peculiar difficulties in dealing with Schools which involve several subjects, as, for example, Philosophy, Politics, and Economics or Literae Humaniores, on any basis by which a single tutor sees the undergraduate only once a week. But it is in these subjects that the present burden, both on tutors and undergraduates, is heaviest. We understand the uneasiness of a college tutor who feels that one tutorial a week, particularly as he will not himself be giving the pupils all the tutorials they receive, fails to give him adequate control over the amount of work which his pupils do or over the way in which subjects are presented to them. The answer we recommend to this problem is that a greater use should be made of college classes and seminars. Where, for example, work has to be done simultaneously on two subjects, small weekly classes combined with fortnightly individual tutorials in each subject, could well become a common arrangement. These classes would enable the tutor to keep himself informed of the general progress of his pupils, particularly at periods when he was not in tutorial touch with them: they would also serve to set up the sort of framework of study within which he felt that they could profitably work on their own initiative. But the pupils should not be writing for classes every week or even every other week: one such piece of work a term would be the utmost that could be expected of a pupil. There are also special problems in a number of subjects, for example, Modern Languages, which involve a considerable amount of class work, in addition to tutorials. As it oversees the operation of the whole scheme, the General Board should ensure that any tendency to over-teach in such subjects is eliminated. Seminars in more advanced work for senior undergraduates could often be

on an inter-college basis which would allow for the more specialized knowledge of fellow-lecturers to be used while yet retaining the element of close college control associated with the tutorial. If these limits of work for classes and seminars are preserved in the colleges, then we believe that the undergraduates will approach their weekly tutorial in the right way and we believe also that the relief of teaching load for the fellow-lecturer will be real.

237. Even with an increase of classes and seminars based on a college, or group of colleges, the problem of covering the syllabus will not have been solved. It is here that the University must organize itself to aid the colleges in the provision of formal instruction. Lectures and university classes must be restored to their proper place as the necessary complement of the tutorial system. We recommend that the sub-faculty boards should ensure not only that the lecture-list always includes lectures on the main subjects of the syllabus in the most suitable term but also that these main lectures in fact cover the ground and are delivered in circumstances which secure audibility and make for comprehension; the boards should also ensure that tutors and undergraduates are given advance information about the general content of each course of these 'main-subject' lectures. Tutorials should then be planned on the assumption that the outlines of a subject are being covered by attendance at the lectures. Tutors should be able, by personal contact or college examinations, to make sure that their pupils do make use of the lecture programmes.

238. We also recommend that greater use should be made of university classes and seminars. The opportunity to ask questions, the contact between the teacher and the taught in such sessions, seems to us as valuable when it is on an open as on a college basis. The sub-faculty boards should be responsible for deciding what classes and lectures are desirable in the subjects which are their concern. They should then give reasonable notice to those whom they invite to prepare and deliver these courses. We are against the present system of an automatic requirement to give lectures, which has produced a glut of disorganized eloquence. We prefer that the fellow-lecturer should satisfy his university duties by meeting the demand for classes and lectures on a basis agreed between the board and himself, taking account of his interests but also of undergraduate needs. Other types of lecture besides main courses (see para. 222 above) would also be arranged in this system of consultation between the board and the lecturer. We recommend in our discussion of the academic staff generally (see paras. 319–20 below) the way in which total hours of instruction given by each member of the staff should be controlled.

239. Implicit in the recommendations in the preceding paragraphs about tutorials, classes, and lectures is not only the view that the University should

take a more active part in planning the outlines of instruction but also the belief that the tutorial should continue to be the characteristic feature of Oxford's system and that the tutorial should continue to be firmly rooted in the colleges. We intend that reading and writing, rather than listening, should continue to be the salient characteristics of the Oxford system. We want also to maintain the close ties between college fellows and their pupils and we hope that the position disclosed by the figures in para. 230 above will not be eroded in the future. We therefore believe that the colleges should hesitate before admitting undergraduates to read Schools in which they have no fellows. Small Schools and minority interests are the problem here. We believe, as we said in para. 216 above, that the situation in which the Moral Tutor is the only link between an undergraduate and the fellows of his college is generally regarded as undesirable. We recommend that colleges should enter into agreements among themselves to divide the smaller Schools between them.* On a group basis they would find it possible to make appointments to one college of a fellow or at least a lecturer from among the teachers who at present are working on a piece-rate basis for several colleges. It would mean restricting the choice of colleges for new entrants wishing to read certain Schools; we do not consider this a hardship but that, on the contrary, they would gain by forming a reasonably sized unit in a college. Undergraduates wishing to switch to one of the smaller Schools after coming up are in a different position, since they will have put down roots in the college. But they should be able, if they wish, to move to the college providing tuition in their chosen subject. With this small element of specialization in a few undergraduate minority Schools, the colleges would continue, as we are sure they should continue, to be 'universities in miniature' allowing students of many different disciplines to rub shoulders with one another.

240. Many of our witnesses, who agreed that the tutorial system trained men to weigh evidence, represented to us that nevertheless the undergraduate courses in Oxford, the Honour Schools, were too narrow and too inflexible, with unfortunate repercussions on the national system of secondary education (see Professor Sir George Pickering and Professor J. W. S. Pringle—*Written Evidence*, Part IV, pp. 146 and 152); furthermore, the subjects of some of the Honour Schools were remote from the needs of modern industry and society. While we have been sitting, the Committee on the Structure of the First and Second Public Examinations (the 'Kneale Committee') has reported (Supplement* No. 3 to *Gazette*, vol. xcv).

241. The Kneale Committee's principal recommendations dealing with the first degree courses may be summarized as follows. The B.A. course should normally be divided so that an undergraduate may have the

* The machinery for closer college co-operation which we propose (see paras. 605 ff.) would make such common action easier.

opportunity of taking two examinations each of medium size; no form of First Public Examination should be based on less than three terms work; and provision should be made for new combinations of subjects without reduction in the standard of honours work. These recommendations are at present the subject of a wide-ranging debate within the University. We have not conceived it to be our duty to cover in detail the ground which was so painstakingly explored by the Kneale Committee. We have preferred to consider the issues which underlie the Kneale Report and must be weighed in decisions about the future shape of undergraduate courses.

242. The system of three- and four-year Honour Schools has grown out of the pattern laid down in the nineteenth century. When they began, they were intended to give a disciplined training of the mind which was suitable for future academics but which would also fit men for service in the Church, the State, and the professions. Though a number of undergraduates took the Pass School and did not attempt Honours, it was nevertheless true that a considerable group of students, whose standard was not high in modern eyes, were believed to derive benefit from grappling with the difficulties arising in advanced work for an Honour School.

243. One of the changes that has taken place in the last fifty years is that, as knowledge has expanded, the content of each Honour School syllabus has been increased. First-degree examinations have become more exacting, and preparation for them has taken up more time; there has been less and less opportunity for browsing among great works or for forming the talents in leisure. We have already seen how this has affected tutorial teaching (para. 231 above).

244. The Honour Schools were devised to provide education in depth. As we understand it, this in Oxford has not meant going down deep into the subject until it was exhausted: the depth to be plumbed was in the man himself. By an intensive study of some part of a subject, he learns to assess the evidence for himself and to reason rigorously. At the same time, the range of topics within a School provides the context within which this specialized knowledge must be fitted, the area where a sense of perspective must be exercised. Most Honour Schools have this mixture of wide ranging and more specialized elements in them. Their strength has been in the combination of these elements over an appropriate period of the pupil's development: they have forced him to do over at least two years what he has had to do on a smaller scale for the weekly tutorial (see para. 217 above). He has had to assimilate knowledge, to let it mature, to consider it again in the light of other knowledge and experience, and finally to attempt to put forward his own conception of what it all means in a final examination. If we accept that the majority of first-degree courses can only be for three years, then it would seem that, to get the benefits fully, the

greater part of this time must be spent in preparation for the final examination and not for either Honour Moderations or a Preliminary Examination.

245. We believe that education in this sense is most valuable and should be maintained whatever changes are made in the syllabus. It is not of course the only method by which young men and women may be trained to think. But it is an effective method, it is suited to the tutorial system, and it is one in which this University is experienced. We think therefore that it is in the national interest to retain this method in Oxford. We are supported in this by the arguments of the Robbins Committee (Robbins Report, para. 258). In so far as this limits the field for experiment here in new courses, some good pupils will be attracted to other universities which experiment in different ways. And that too is in the national interest. As the Master of Campion Hall put it to us (*Written Evidence*, Part VII, p. 163), 'it is destructive for any one university to attempt to combine the excellences of several'.

246. Radical changes in the content of courses are compatible with the retention of basic and well-tried elements in a system of instruction. A decision, for instance, to preserve the present lines of education in Oxford does not entail turning a deaf ear to complaints and suggestions from inside and outside the walls. On the contrary, and modern developments in Oxford confirm our view, changes can and should be made which will meet important points advanced in the Kneale Report. We believe that new Honour Schools will arise with mixtures of subjects to suit modern tastes. But Oxford should concentrate on, and experiment with, combinations of related or overlapping subjects, where knowledge of one field has relevance to the other. Indeed it is surprising that there is not already a School which would combine Modern European History with Modern European Languages. Law and a subject in social studies might provide another lively combination.

247. Neither the faculties nor the colleges, so far as we have been informed of present discussions, consider that the changes in structure of the first-degree courses proposed by the Kneale Committee can be introduced if the existing arrangements are also maintained. The national need to resist the lengthening of the university course (Robbins Report, para. 281) precludes a general introduction of four-year courses, when migration between subjects, after a four- or five-term First Public Examination, might be possible without threatening the purposes and standards of the final examinations. The new joint courses which we contemplate might in exceptional cases require four years. Such proposals will need critical examination to determine whether the needs of the undergraduates and the subject are best served by a four-year course or by three years followed by a year's postgraduate training for some students.

248. We recommend in Chapter VII (paras. 575 and 578) that the General Board should set up a Committee on Undergraduate Studies which would be charged with the task of giving continuous attention to the general framework of Honour Schools. It should consider the points of growth; it should encourage such new mixed or hybrid Schools as may seem desirable given the academic arguments propounded by the faculties and the evidence from outside the University of what is desirable for modern conditions. Its deliberations should be governed by the need to maintain and improve the characteristic structure of undergraduate education which has been one of the strong points in Oxford's contribution to higher education.

249. We recommend also that each sub-faculty board should, without delay, review the content of the existing syllabuses in its subjects. For we are convinced that many of the complaints against the present system arise from overloading the syllabus.

250. The Committee on Undergraduate Studies of the General Board should also take responsibility for the working of the examination system. Questions of discipline, cheating for instance, or questions requiring instant rulings on quasi-legal points, should remain with the Proctors. But we believe, and the Kneale Committee came to the same view, that recent complaints of the lack of uniformity in standards as shown in the results, a lack of uniformity between different Schools and also between different years in the same School, are not without foundation. This is a difficult matter, because examiners change and it is important that examiners should exercise independent judgement on individual cases. But we recommend that the committee should be looking year by year at the standards as expressed in the results of all the Schools. It should also have the means of making rough comparisons with results and standards in other universities. It should have a body of information readily available. The main statistics and guiding principles should be supplied by the committee to each set of examiners. If examiners then do find themselves with an odd year, they should be conscious of its oddity and they should be prepared to explain fully to the committee the reasons which lie behind an apparently freak set of results.

251. We recommend that one of the first tasks of the committee of the General Board should be to draw up a standard form of examiners' report which would include all the information needed. This report would replace those which examiners at present construct in various forms. The report would be made to the sub-faculty board as well as to the committee. Another proposal of the Kneale Committee, which we endorse, is that the General Board should make provision for the abolition of the Fourth Class.

252. An aspect of this same problem of standard in final examinations is the appointment of examiners. In Oxford, as in Cambridge and London, examining is paid. This seems appropriate because, in the large Schools, examining is a heavy burden, taking a large part of the vacation in continuous and meticulous labour. Examiners, moreover, in these universities are not testing the knowledge of candidates well known to them who have necessarily attended the examiners' own courses. Continuity of experience and the proper period of training can best be secured by each examiner serving for a three-year turn and by the replacement of two or three only in any given year. The nominators (appointed by the faculty boards) have sometimes found it difficult to get the right balance of examiners, because of refusals to serve, refusals justified by the needs of research or of college commitments. We recommend, therefore, that the duty to take part, when invited, in university examining should be included among the duties of all holders of university posts—which in fact will normally mean everyone except some college research fellows. To reinforce this, and to make it work smoothly, we believe that the nominators should report to their sub-faculty boards on the list they have prepared and on their provisional lists for three years ahead. This would enable those listed to make their personal plans accordingly: it would also enable the board to deal with any case of difficulty. We also recommend that all boards of examiners in the undergraduate Honour Schools should include one full member who is appointed from outside Oxford. This is now usual; we believe that it should be universal.

PART III. POSTGRADUATE EDUCATION

253. When we turn from the place of the undergraduates in the academic balance of Oxford's life to that of the postgraduates, the first consideration is that of numbers. We have already recommended (para. 96 above) that there should be a considerable expansion of postgraduate numbers. We do not consider, however, that Oxford has yet found ways of giving as much to postgraduates as it does to undergraduates. As the Vice-Chancellor said to us (*Oral Evidence*, Part 75, p. 7), 'if this is to be done properly, it needs a very great deal of provision. If we put aside the problem of where they are to live and shop—all of which is very important for the work of postgraduates, particularly if they are married—and just take what we are doing for them inside Oxford, then I think that the amount of care and time that has got to be put in on these people will have to be trebled or quadrupled.'

254. Forty years ago postgraduates were comparatively few, and they were for the most part Oxford graduates who wished to follow an academic career. They had been brought by their first-degree course to the point at which they could safely be left to pursue their own research, and to produce a thesis with some help and advice ('supervision') from a senior

member. The faculty board appointed such a supervisor, and then had nothing further to do until the postgraduate presented his thesis for examination. The situation is now quite different. Despite the fact that the syllabuses of the Honour Schools have been expanded in an attempt to keep pace with the rapid growth of knowledge, it is now rare for a man to be fully equipped for independent research by the time he has taken his first degree. Many more holders of first degrees wish to do postgraduate work; by no means all of them intend to follow an academic career; and by no means all of them took their first degree at Oxford.

255. Oxford is in a special position in being able to produce at once the large numbers of men and women with postgraduate training who are essential if the country's plans for the expansion of higher education are to be fulfilled. But, in addition, Oxford must have the capacity to produce the graduates with those special skills that a modern society demands.

256. Up to now, the supervision and training of postgraduates has been regarded in Oxford as 'an extra', and it has even been remunerated on that basis (see Chapter V). We do not wish to see it taking the place of undergraduate education as the major preoccupation, because this has undesirable consequences (see para. 212 above). But we are convinced that undergraduate and postgraduate education should enjoy parity of esteem. If postgraduate training is to be brought into the system of college education and made part of the balance of life of the fellow-lecturer, the consequence will be a fundamental change in the nature of Oxford, and the magnitude of this change should not be underestimated.

257. One complication can be cleared out of the way at the outset. In addition to those working for advanced degrees—D.Phil., B.Litt., B.D., B.Phil., B.Sc., B.C.L., etc.—it seems likely that there will be an increasing number of people doing less advanced courses, leading perhaps to a diploma. Diploma courses are of two types: those taken as an introduction to more advanced study and those of a vocational nature. Students taking the latter, like those training to be school teachers in the Department of Education, are not included among the postgraduate population in the discussion in the following paragraphs. We recommended in para. 92 above that the status of 'Recognized Students' should be extended so as to include these special classes; they should be recognized but not necessarily matriculated, rather as the Ruskin College and Plater College students are at present. The University, nevertheless, has a responsibility for the general standard of these courses and should exercise it through the machinery of the General Board. In the same way, the staff who conduct these specialized courses should be under the supervision of the appropriate faculty board; they should be full members of the University when they hold permanent appointments, and they should be recognized as university

lecturers and entitled to fellowships if this is appropriate to their academic standing. The General Board should have the task of classifying students as of full academic status or as Recognized Students. The General Board should also review the regulations governing the use by Recognized Students of library facilities, their attendance at ordinary university lectures, and so on.

258. We have already dealt with the admission of postgraduates in Chapter III. We are clear that the general organization of postgraduate studies must remain with the University while at the same time the colleges must play a more active part within this organization (see para. 270 below). In this we have the support of the colleges and faculty boards who came before us. The whole field of postgraduate studies was reviewed by a committee appointed by the Hebdomadal Council in 1960: its report, together with the comments of the General Board, was published in February 1964 as Supplement* No. 2 to *Gazette*, vol. xciv. This committee recommended, *inter alia*, that the membership of the Committee for Advanced Studies, a statutory committee of the General Board the duty of which is to 'advise the General Board on all matters concerning postgraduate studies', should be reconstituted, and that the committee 'should be a body on which all general questions about graduate studies may be considered . . . and be a clearing-house for all questions of graduate study which involve several boards'. The committee also recommended that faculty boards, and supervisors, should give greater thought to the duties involved in supervision. We recommend in Chapter VII (paras. 575 and 579) that the Committee for Advanced Studies should become a committee of the General Board and be re-named as the Committee on Postgraduate Studies, because we believe that university activity in this matter needs high priority and direction from the centre.

259. Later in this chapter, we discuss and make recommendations about the duties of the staff of Oxford which are designed to bring about a proper balance between research and teaching—undergraduate and postgraduate. In this connexion we shall recommend that the supervision and instruction of postgraduates should be reckoned a teaching activity of fellow-lecturers on precisely the same basis as undergraduate teaching.

260. In the postgraduate courses there are two main types. First there are the traditional 'thesis' degrees, D.Phil., etc., and second the 'examination' degrees of B.C.L. and B.Phil. (though a short thesis is normally also involved in the B.Phil.). The increase in the popularity of these latter degrees with their regular course work in preparation for a written examination has meant an increased teaching load for the staff (see the Sub-Faculty of Philosophy, *Written Evidence*, Part VI, p. 11). This load has been very uneven in its incidence, mainly because it has not been viewed

by the colleges as a regular and normal part of the obligations of their fellows. It might well be increased by a growth in the popularity of one-year diploma courses in advanced study.

261. All postgraduates, in our view, including those who are working for the pure 'thesis with oral examination' degrees, need to have the sort of instruction which will not only equip them with techniques but which will also set their work in its proper context of the general field of study. The scientists already have their eyes occasionally directed to the horizons, for they work with a supervisor in a department and meet others who are working with problems akin but different from their own. We are not satisfied that this is often true in the arts. It is true that the present university statutes (*Examination Statutes*, 1965, p. 318) require the supervisor to attest that a Probationer B.Litt. student 'has pursued at Oxford his course of special study preparatory to research' and that supervisors generally are required 'to direct and superintend the work of the student'. It is true also (see, for example, *Examination Statutes*, 1965, p. 425) that the thesis-writing postgraduate can have a written examination imposed upon him to check the adequacy of his background. In practice these provisions do not seem to have had much effect. We recommend that the General Board should lay down the general rules on which all faculty boards and sub-faculty boards should deal with postgraduate courses. The arrangement of lectures and seminars and the provision of background courses would be the work of the faculty and sub-faculty boards: they would also appoint supervisors and receive reports from them. But we recommend that the General Board should make it a rule for all these boards that their lecture-lists should appear in two sections clearly distinguished, the one intended primarily for postgraduates, the other for undergraduates. The sub-faculty boards should also list the seminars which postgraduates may attend on the recommendation of their supervisors. It should be left to sub-faculty boards to decide on the fitness of a candidate to proceed at the end of his first year, whether by examination or by other means. We regard a reinforcement of the supervisor's control at this point as important, both because it will make a reality of background training and because it will deflect candidates in good time from unsuitable objectives.

262. We also regard it as important to have a continuous review of standards of the final examinations of postgraduates; one immediate task will be to examine the qualification for a B.Litt. Responsibility will rest with the Committee on Postgraduate Studies of the General Board. But under the General Board we believe that the new faculty boards should have executive responsibility. We recommend that examiners for 'thesis' degrees should be appointed by the sub-faculty boards but the examiners' reports should go to the faculty boards, which would give formal leave

to supplicate and thus be in a position to compare the standards applied in several sub-faculties. The instructions to examiners should make clear that their report should be made in detail in cases of failure as well as of success so that the board may be confident that the standards are uniform. In Chapter VII (paras. 599–600) we make recommendations about the functions of the Committees on Postgraduates of the sub-faculty boards. It seems probable that the exercise by members of these bodies, and particularly by their chairmen, of their right to attend oral examinations might have a beneficial effect upon the standards and quality of examining.

263. In this connexion we agree with the views of the General Board about the extent to which work for an Oxford postgraduate qualification should necessarily continue to be done mainly in Oxford. At present the general rule is that all those wishing to take an Oxford postgraduate degree, or indeed almost any postgraduate qualification, must have spent at any rate some of their time, and for those who have not taken a first degree at Oxford a considerable part of their time, doing their postgraduate work in Oxford. We are aware of pressures from Oxford men to be allowed to do all their postgraduate work outside Oxford, and from research establishments outside Oxford for their members to be allowed to read for Oxford qualifications; we are also aware of the proposals at Cambridge (*Reporter*, 1964–5, p. 1998) for Cambridge graduates to be allowed to proceed to a Ph.D. on the basis of published work done away from Cambridge. We agree with the view, however, that the main line of the present requirements should be kept, in particular that which imposes a six-terms residence for those who have not taken their first degree in Oxford. The Committee on Postgraduate Studies of the General Board should be empowered on the recommendation of the appropriate faculty board to excuse a candidate from three terms of this requirement when it is satisfied that this is in the best interests of the student and is consistent with the award of an Oxford degree.

264. It will be seen that we are placing heavy responsibilities upon the General Board. It will have the duty of controlling the proportions of postgraduates in the sciences and the arts. This will mean controlling the growth which each faculty board wishes to encourage. It will need to keep the provision of teachers and the admission of postgraduates in step with one another (see para. 91). It will also mean—as we should reiterate that the staff of Oxford should remain for the most part undifferentiated in dealing with undergraduate and postgraduate teaching—that the General Board will have to agree on plans for staff increases with the Council of the Colleges.

265. A minor problem to which we think the General Board might direct its attention is the nomenclature of degrees. We agree with the

recommendation of the Kneale Committee that the University should negotiate with other British universities to achieve greater uniformity in the titles of higher degrees. There seems, for instance, no reason why the B.Phil. should not be renamed the M.Phil. We think, however, that the University should retain the present anomalous position of the M.A. It should remain as the qualification for membership of Congregation because of its historical association with the constitution of the University.

266. The absence of a departmental structure in the arts faculties at Oxford means that there has been no geographical centre to which those interested in a particular subject naturally gravitated. The central libraries of the University provide the academic facilities required, but not the space for formal or informal exchanges of ideas with other scholars in the field. The St. Cross Building has to some extent rectified this situation for the Faculties of Law and English, but the absence of professorial rooms associated with the English library has reduced its ability to function as a centre for English studies; other faculty libraries have also assisted, but again the lack of ancillary facilities has reduced their usefulness. This absence of centres for postgraduate studies in arts subjects (to fulfil the same functions as the science departments do naturally for science subjects) has been a source of great weakness and dissatisfaction. The 1960 Committee on Postgraduate Studies recommended an 'Arts Graduates Centre', but we do not think that this went far enough. We recommend the establishment of Faculty Centres in all the major arts subjects and in social studies.

267. They should provide as a minimum, seminar rooms, rooms for the chairman of the sub-faculty board and the chairman of the board's Committee on Postgraduates, a room or rooms for the professors and readers in the subject, as well as a room or rooms for distinguished visitors who are working in the subject. These centres should be planned primarily for postgraduates, though we would not preclude some use of them by undergraduates. We believe that any such cluster of rooms will be most useful when there is a faculty library at their heart. The scope of such a library, whether it is to be a lending library for all the faculty or whether it is planned for postgraduates so as to relieve pressure on the Bodleian, is a subject which is under consideration by the Committee on University Libraries (the 'Shackleton Committee'). In addition to a library, the provision of refreshment facilities, where conversation will be possible, will increase the effectiveness of these centres in bringing students together.

268. It may be possible in some instances to meet these needs by the extension of existing facilities, but we do not suggest that the Faculty Centres can be brought into existence easily. There are serious problems of

sites and of finance. But we regard the establishment of these centres as essential, and we urge that the Hebdomadal Council and the General Board should give high priority to the solution of the problems arising.

269. It may be thought that, if the University has responsibility for the admission of postgraduates and for the general organization of their studies, and if Faculty Centres are provided alongside the science departments, there will be no academic function for the colleges to perform in the postgraduate field. Hitherto, with the exception of the teaching for the B.C.L. (the teaching for which, unlike any other postgraduate degree, is provided by the colleges rather than the faculty), the 'traditional' colleges have had, as such, little to do with the academic life of postgraduates. It is true that their fellows share in their faculties' postgraduate work, but they do so in their 'university' capacity, and it is unusual except in the sciences for postgraduates they supervise to be also members of their college. The function of the 'traditional' colleges has been to provide for the non-academic needs of postgraduates. Until recently, the provision they made even there was far from adequate; in the last few years substantial, but uneven, progress has been made (see *Written Evidence*, Part VII). We do not think, however, that the only obligation on the colleges in future should be to provide better non-academic facilities. The postgraduates must be brought fully into the college system if they are to get the benefit of all Oxford has to offer, and the colleges must take part in postgraduate work if they are not to see great 'postgraduate schools' emerging, at first alongside them, but later above them.

270. The colleges, when they came before us, confirmed their wish (expressed in *Written Evidence*, Part VII) to do more for postgraduate studies. But if colleges are to do more, this involves their making a contribution to postgraduate academic education. We therefore recommend that no college should admit a postgraduate unless it has among its fellows one who is prepared to take some academic responsibility for him and act as adviser. He must be a fellow whose field of research or teaching is relevant to that of the postgraduate student, so that he is familiar with the background knowledge that the student requires and therefore can discuss with him his topic for investigation or his further study. This is particularly necessary in the arts, where the co-ordinating care of a department is absent. It involves a rather greater specialization in the admission of postgraduates by colleges than in the past. It also implies acceptance of the idea that an undergraduate of one college might on graduation migrate to another where his research topic can be catered for. It may be that colleges will wish to push specialization even further and build up strong representation among postgraduates in particular fields where they have a cluster of fellows, or to elect fellows with such interests in mind. This in turn could introduce a small measure of specialization in their undergraduate popula-

tion (see para. 239 above). Balliol College has already moved in this direction (*Written Evidence*, Part VII, pp. 7–8).

271. A postgraduate, under the system outlined at the beginning of the last paragraph, would have his university supervisor and his college adviser. The memorandum submitted by the Warden of Nuffield (*Written Evidence*, Part XIV, p. 26) shows what a college can and should do for postgraduates without robbing the university supervisor of his responsibility; he should continue to be responsible to the sub-faculty board for the student's educational programme. In some cases the university-appointed supervisor and the college-appointed adviser would be the same person. When, for instance, formal teaching dominates the postgraduate course, as in the B.Phil., it would be natural for the supervisor and the adviser to be the same person because the college is the normal centre for such work. In the case of the D.Phil. and the degrees with the emphasis primarily on work for a thesis, the roles of supervisor and adviser will usually be distinct.

272. Although in Chapter II we have given a general picture of the numbers of postgraduates in the colleges, it is not possible to say what the right size of the postgraduate population in a 'traditional' college ought to be. We are happy to leave colleges to decide according to demand, which should be regulated by the University, and according to their own traditions. If there are too many postgraduates in a college, there is the risk of cutting them off from the undergraduates, and mixing is important to both sides. Clearly, unless there are enough, vitality is difficult to sustain.

273. In the last few years many of the 'traditional' colleges have improved greatly social amenities for their postgraduates. A Middle Common Room in the college is now the rule rather than the exception. This process must continue. For though their needs are different, the postgraduates should be regarded as having a claim on the resources of a college as valid as that of the undergraduates (see the views of the Student Council, *Written Evidence*, Part III, p. 78). The answers to our questionnaires brought out the importance to postgraduates of having facilities such as rooms, meals, common rooms, and certain libraries available to them in vacation as well as term, at least for forty-eight weeks in the year. College co-operation to stagger their closed times would help here. We commend the practice, increasingly common, whereby all unmarried postgraduates coming from outside spend one year living in college so that they may benefit fully from the system. It is more difficult to cater for those who arrive married—and early marriages are still on the increase. Here again co-operation between colleges might enable them to provide more married quarters close to the colleges themselves. The University, however, should be prepared to give

assistance. The building of the new Summertown House is an indication of how it can supplement the efforts of the colleges.

274. We recognize that difficulties may arise over the scale of the amenities that colleges will be prepared to offer postgraduates. We see no general case for supplementing the maintenance grants that postgraduates receive from public funds. It is similarly undesirable that colleges should subsidize the board and lodging of postgraduates. We recognize, however, that some colleges may wish, for sound reasons of educational policy, to provide rather more favourable conditions than the average in such matters as residence or, for married students, proximity to the college, study rooms, and the Common Table. We recommend that through the Council of the Colleges agreement should be reached on the scope of such arrangements.

275. This discussion of postgraduates has so far been concerned mainly with what we have called the 'traditional' colleges, those which have a mixture of undergraduates and postgraduates within their walls. We now turn to those colleges which do not admit undergraduates. There is All Souls, which has neither undergraduates nor postgraduates, and is therefore a 'research' college, differing from a research institute in that it is run by its governing body of fellows as an autonomous unit. With it, we deal separately in an appendix to this chapter (paras. 339 ff.).

276. Linacre College was established as a centre for postgraduates; it is not residential and is not specialized in academic interests. We have noted (*Written Evidence*, Part VII, p. 202, and *Oral Evidence*, Part 67, p. 3) that some fellows would like to introduce a degree of specialization or zoning in the range of subjects represented in the college; with this we are in agreement.

277. The two other new societies which have not yet acquired the full legal status of self-governing colleges, St. Cross and Iffley, are, like Linacre College, as yet unspecialized as to subject. They are unlike Linacre College in that the first object of their foundation was to provide a base for university teachers who had no college attachment. These colleges will also make major provision for postgraduates.

278. Nuffield and St. Antony's represent a different approach to the postgraduate problem. They are specialized in the range of work in which they are interested, Nuffield in social sciences, St. Antony's in regional studies, as for example European or Latin-American studies. They have a small number of postgraduates, to whom they are able to offer great advantages. Their emphasis is heavily on research, and they provide specialist libraries and seminars in their sphere. In this way, as the Warden of Nuffield explained (*Written Evidence*, Part XIV, p. 31), they can, for a

carefully chosen few, bring about 'a working partnership and a continuous opportunity for the exchange of ideas between dons and graduates working in the same field'.

279. This variety among the new 'graduate' colleges bears witness to the fact that Oxford has been, and still is, in a period of experiment in dealing with the organization of research and the connexion between that and care for young postgraduates. The experiments will, we hope, continue. These new colleges have, in many ways, been the pace-setters for the whole body of colleges. What they do has immediate repercussions upon the 'traditional' colleges. It must be remembered that the epithets 'traditional' and 'graduate' suggest a non-existent division of functions. Some of the 'traditional' colleges contain more postgraduates than a 'graduate' college: many fellows of the 'graduate' colleges undertake the teaching of undergraduates and some of them are also attached to the 'traditional' colleges as lecturers.

280. It follows from this sharing of problems that the experiments carried out by the graduate societies should be undertaken within a framework imposed by the fact of national needs and of Oxford's position. One of the major national needs is for more postgraduate education of high quality and Oxford is one of the few places equipped to manage this expansion. Implementing our recommendations about postgraduates will not only be a major preoccupation of all colleges during the next decade but will also make a substantial call on their financial resources. It is in the context of the size of this task which will rest on all the colleges that we recommend that, within a reasonable time, the graduate colleges should each have not fewer than 100 postgraduate students. We recognize, however, that there may be special circumstances in which it might be for the benefit of Oxford as a whole that a graduate college should take fewer than 100 postgraduates and spend its resources in other ways, such as in the support of a research programme. But, with the priority that we have attached to an expansion in the number of postgraduates, it would not be right for such a decision to be taken only by the college concerned. We therefore recommend that it should be open to any graduate college to apply to the University and to the Council of the Colleges for dispensation from the requirement to take not fewer than 100 postgraduate students.

PART IV. RESEARCH

281. We have already made clear that research, in the broadest sense, is not something which academics do in the spare time they have left over from teaching, but that it is the first priority in their lives, giving meaning to the rest of their activities. As with most things in Oxford, research is fostered both by the University and by the colleges. But the special

concern of most of the colleges for teaching means that the champion of research must be the University. This is reinforced by the need to plan scientific research on a departmental basis so as to make proper use of the equipment. Only the University can meet the heavy financial charges both capital and recurrent which are involved. The University must take the lead in setting the pattern of life conducive to research, just as it has the first responsibility for postgraduate studies. This might seem too obvious to be worth stating anywhere else but in Oxford. In Oxford, however, colleges may become so concerned with the teaching needs of their undergraduates that the need for research by their fellows can be forgotten; alternatively a college specializing in one line of research may easily tend to usurp the functions of a faculty while retaining its powers of self-government and of making financial decisions.

282. The University, then, must lead. Its active administrative body must be the General Board, which must decide the priorities of expenditure and effort. It must, looking to the over-all picture of academic work in Oxford, have the courage to choose between programmes all estimable but only some of which are, at any moment, possible. Under the General Board, the faculties and departments should be pushing their projects and helping their members to bring their ideas to fruition. The colleges, similarly, should be centres of initiative, putting their plans for postgraduate work and research to the board.

283. Under University leadership, all colleges are concerned in the forwarding of research. It is part of the duties of the teachers of undergraduates and postgraduates. The balance between the needs of college teaching and the requirements of research in the academic community as a whole can be maintained only if the University is involved in the appointment of these teaching fellow-lecturers, just as it is involved in paying part of their salaries. For this among other reasons we recommend below (paras. 331–2) that all such appointments should be joint appointments, in the sense that the consent of both parties, college and University, will be necessary. It seems reasonable in any case that whenever the University is to pay a lecturer, it should have a say in his original appointment. This, we think, will help to safeguard the research component in the life of the fellow-lecturer, provided it is accompanied by the limitation of hours which we discuss in paras. 318 ff. below.

284. But not all college fellows are appointed or paid as teachers or as supervisors of postgraduates. Apart from the non-stipendiary fellowships held by professors and some readers (for whom the University already takes full responsibility), there remain the pure research fellowships in colleges. These are of two types, the junior and the senior research posts. The junior research fellowships are always temporary and short appoint-

ments, usually for two or three years. They are awarded to encourage individuals at the D.Phil. or immediate post-doctoral stage, and are usually open to all subjects. For them we do not propose any change. We believe that the colleges are well fitted to decide on individual merits, and may do so without harmful effect upon the planning of research in the University as a whole.

285. But the senior research appointments, found in all colleges but most frequently in those which approach the character of 'research' colleges, are different. We believe that they are of immediate concern to the University as the guardian of the research work of the whole community. The creation of research jobs is an important element in deciding the size and direction of the University's research effort and expenditure, although we recognize that the appointment of senior research fellows is often determined by personal factors and that the posts are paid for entirely by the college. We therefore recommend that the creation of any senior research post in a college should require the consent of the University given by the General Board on the advice of the appropriate faculty board. But while the post should be authorized, we believe that the selection of the man to fill it should be done by the college alone. We think, however, there should be safeguards. There is a particular danger where one college has a large number of permanent research posts; the result may be an inward-looking unproductive society. The benefits which ought to flow from these appointments would then not be diffused over the rest of the academic community. We therefore recommend that such college appointments to a university-approved post in research should be for a period of seven years and no more. At the end of seven years the post and its incumbent might be renewed. But it would be on a different basis. The reappointment would be made jointly by the University and the college. It would be the duty of the faculty board, before advising the General Board to agree to such a reappointment, to satisfy itself that the work done in the first seven, purely college-directed, years made it in the general interest to continue the appointment. It would seem to us logical that the University should pay part of the stipend of the research fellow after a reappointment: for it will then be like other joint appointments. These rules, we recommend, should apply to All Souls, as to all colleges.

286. Equally all colleges are under an obligation to ensure that their initiative in the setting up of any major research programme, or in the installation of important new services, such as a computer, does not distort the pattern of research in the University as a whole. It is not enough to see that such services are made available to other members of the department or faculty, outside the college, on terms agreed between the University and the college. Such initiatives may pre-judge the issues of university policy and transfer the point of decision from the General

Board or faculty board to a single college governing body. We recognize that Oxford owes much to such initiative in the past. It has been fortunate to have colleges with funds of their own to make innovations in the research field. For the future we believe that the correct solution is to combine initiative in colleges and in faculty boards with the wide-ranging power of judgement in a revived General Board. We therefore recommend that colleges like departments should require the assent of the University to the starting of any new programme or the provision of equipment on a large scale. Oxford should not acquire intellectual empires absent-mindedly.

287. If our recommendations are followed, we believe that a series of balances will be preserved; that of college freedom and university planning, that between new subjects and the established disciplines, and, for the staff, that between research and teaching. In the long run this matters as much for pupils as for teachers, since only in this way can the character and authority of teaching given to them be maintained. It is also essential if Oxford is to maintain its prestige and to continue to attract and retain scholars of distinction. The world of scholarship is as competitive as that of commerce, and it has no protective barriers. Oxford must show results and must attract resources in an international arena in which there are many ancient foundations, some vigorous new experiments, and many institutions which dwarf it in size.

288. It is in connexion with research that the hackneyed slogan of 'academic freedom' can be shown to be a condition of continued progress: its preservation is in the interests of those who are most tempted to encroach upon it. For it is out of speculation and experiment for their own sakes that discoveries come. It may be sometimes proper to indicate to university workers the area in which they should work, but it can only be a waste of their talent to tie them down to a prescribed topic. Freedom of study being granted as the condition of university research, whether in the sciences, the social studies, or in the arts, it is clear that the greatest enemies of fruitful research are the two shortages of time and of money.

289. The shortage of money makes itself felt most directly on the science side because of the expense of equipment and the high level of running costs. Money for scientific research comes from public funds by way of the University Grants Committee and the Research Councils or else from private foundations or other bodies. Senior members of scientific departments, by making special application to a multiplicity of sources, can usually obtain the equipment they need, but this cannot always be put to proper use because of the inability of the General Board to produce adequate supporting staff and money to meet running costs. It is even difficult to obtain enough money for the basic costs of teaching.

290. Application for funds to the Research Councils and to other governmental and non-governmental sources of funds has become a major preoccupation of senior scientists in this as in other universities and countries. How effective they have been is shown by the figures. In 1954–5 Oxford science received £879,000 from university funds (mainly derived from the University Grants Committee) and £163,000 from outside bodies; in 1963–4 it had £2,144,000 from university funds and £953,000 from outside bodies. The part played by the University in securing these large sums is, however, largely confined to the formal acceptance of each amount and the administration of the money when it is received. The University may enter, it is true, at an early stage of the negotiations, but in a precautionary and negative way, to guard itself against being involved in large schemes that may be contrary to its policy or that may involve it in the expenditure of large recurrent sums at some time in the future. It would strengthen the hand of the applicants for money if they could feel, and indeed state, that they had behind them the full backing of the University, rather than a grudging assent. To this end, we recommend that the General Board, through its Committee on Research (see para. 577 below), should concern itself also with these applications as well as with the other applications it makes to the University Grants Committee and should be prepared to approach other bodies with the weight of Oxford behind it. On a matter of first-class importance the Vice-Chancellor should not hesitate to be forward in importunity.

291. Those who carry responsibility for encouragement of research in arts should take a leaf from the scientist's notebook. The needs of the Bodleian, for example, are as vital to scholars in the arts as are those of the laboratories to scientists. If University Grants Committee funds cannot be made available, then the General Board will have to appeal elsewhere. We know that the Shackleton Committee, appointed by the Hebdomadal Council and the General Board after our oral hearings on this subject, has this point in mind. But, as is clear from the evidence given to us by Sir Maurice Bowra and Dr. Helen Gardner (*Written Evidence*, Part IV, p. 21, and *Oral Evidence*, Part 23, pp. 4 ff.), there are other comparable needs in the arts. 'There should be a central committee to deal with them'; we agree, but on our recommendation it becomes the Committee on Research of the General Board. It is after the University has formed its view of the importance of projects for aiding research that it should seek the co-operation of outside bodies such as the British Academy. We are not satisfied that all the faculty boards have yet felt enough responsibility for facilitating the research work of their constituents. Until they have undertaken a programme of subsidizing the use of microfilms, of providing secretarial assistance, of assisting travel, and so on, the amount of money required will not be known. Teachers and researchers in arts should no longer hesitate to approach the General Board through the faculty boards for assistance in these ways.

292. To make its case clear to the outside world, the University needs to show how much it is already doing. We recommend that each sub-faculty board should collect and produce annually an account of what has been published by members of the sub-faculty. This is done by departments in the University but not hitherto by the faculties in arts or social studies. This work of elementary publicity should be completed by the publication by the General Board of an Annual Report which should indicate the main lines of work completed and in progress.

293. Shortage of time is no less stifling to research than shortage of money. To judge from the replies to our questionnaire to all members of the staff, lack of opportunity for research is one of their commonest complaints. It is the job of the University and the colleges, acting jointly, to create a suitable environment for research. It is true that the creative activity of a university cannot be measured by the number of books and articles its members produce: it matters, after all, whether they are good or bad books or articles. It is also true that the survey made by Mr. A. H. Halsey (see Table 330 and *Oxford Magazine*, Michaelmas Term 1965, p. 45) suggests that man for man Oxford dons are at least as productive as those in any other British university. But this ought to be the case since Oxford contains a concentration of senior talent which ought to have a high average of production.

294. In the proposals we now formulate we have had it in mind that it is not so much the total of hours spent in teaching each week which affects research so much as the need to have unbroken days and blocks of time for it. In this respect sabbatical leave is an important element in producing creative results. A senior member of the University may over six years have got his work to the point where he needs a considerable period of time to complete it. This is the primary purpose of sabbatical leave, though it also affords an opportunity either to open up a new line of scholarly interest or to revitalize old lines of teaching. Oxford is fortunate in that many of its senior members already enjoy sabbatical arrangements which are more generous than those found in other universities. These arrangements should be extended to all the members of the academic staff, and we further think that members of the academic staff should take their sabbatical leave when they are entitled to it. Since 1945 many difficulties have caused leave to be foregone: we think this deplorable.

295. The birth of a major work of scholarship is not easy to time according to the cycle of sabbatical leave. It should therefore occasionally be possible for a man who has special needs to be granted a period of time in which he can devote himself to research. This already occurs in the University and we hope that the creation of *ad hominem* posts of this sort by the colleges or the University will continue, although we recognize that it can only be on a very restricted scale.

296. It is further of importance that the interests of subjects which are numerically small or fall between major areas of study should not be ignored. We were impressed by evidence we received (see para. 588 below) of the difficulty that those in such subjects experienced in staking their claim for new posts or additional expenditure. We recommend that the new faculty boards should make it their business to keep future research activities under review and to report regularly to the General Board through its Committee on Research: the General Board, in examining such reports, should be vigilant to protect and defend the smaller subjects against the powerful pressure of the big and established sub-faculties.

297. There runs through many of our recommendations the belief that a sense of community of the universities should replace Oxford's lingering traces of parochialism, and that Oxford should improve its contacts with the world of scholarship outside its walls. More should be done to make scholars of distinction welcome when they visit Oxford. In the scientific world, the departmental structure already makes it possible to receive the visitor into a community where he can share his ideas with those working in his field of interest. The case is different when a distinguished visitor in an arts subject comes to study and work in Oxford. For him to participate fully in Oxford life he must be attached to a college. Many colleges make it their business to invite distinguished men to become temporary members of their society. We recommend that the Council of the Colleges should ensure that this is done in a more active and regular way than happens at present. For this matter is not just one of politeness. It is part of the duty which Oxford owes to the members of other universities, both in Britain and abroad. We argue later in Chapter V that it is important that Oxford should remain one of the great international centres, with research equipment and a concentration of scholars appropriate to that status. It follows from this argument that its facilities must be open to teachers in other British universities. But in the modern world, there are other needs to be met also: for example, in government and industry. Many colleges already offer schoolmaster studentships. We recommend that colleges imitate Nuffield and make it possible for men from non-academic walks of life to have a period in which they can take stock of their ideas in an academic atmosphere.

PART V. THE ACADEMIC STAFF

298. Though Oxford is a member of the community of British universities, it does not follow that its structure or nomenclature must be uniform with that of other universities. At every stage of the organization, in every part of its life, Oxford is, and should remain, a collegiate university with the double loyalty to University and college that this involves. For as we have explained, in this University almost all members of the staff hold two posts and serve two masters. The proportions in which they do so vary greatly.

But, apart from a few cases such as senior research fellows of colleges holding no university appointment, it has been rightly judged that to play a full part in Oxford's life it is essential to have a foot in both camps. It was this which led Congregation on 1 June 1965 to make its definitive and far-reaching decision about entitlement to fellowships (*Gazette*, vol. xcv, p. 1222).

299. The development of new subjects since 1922, particularly in the sciences, had led the University to appoint both research workers and teachers to meet special needs. The colleges were tending at this time to expand the numbers of their fellows. But they were looking, in the first instance, for teachers of undergraduates reading Honour Schools. Where there was a new and heavy demand for such teaching, e.g. in Physics in the 1950's and Engineering in the early 1960's, they hastened to meet it. But beyond this point, they showed a general reluctance to expand the size of their governing bodies: for many colleges finance was a major stumbling block, along with the physical limitations imposed by the size of Senior Common Rooms or lack of accommodation for new fellows. In consequence of this unequal development by University and colleges, a growing number found themselves members of Oxford but not fellows of colleges.

300. It follows from what we have said that fellows of colleges in scientific subjects, because of the way in which science developed in Oxford, already, in most cases, hold a university post. They were elected to tutorial fellowships, and the college was only called upon to make a comparatively small addition to their stipend, up to a maximum jointly agreed by the colleges and the University. Developments in arts were of a quite different nature. Before 1939 the majority of college fellows were in arts. They received their salaries from their colleges. University posts in arts were few in number. It is almost true to say that Oxford was not a collegiate university, as it now is, but only a confederation of colleges. After 1945, with increased numbers of undergraduates and a decline in the value of money, colleges found it difficult to pay the fellows they now required on any adequate scale out of their own endowment income and fees. The University then stepped in and provided most of the fellows in arts with posts as Common University Fund lecturers. Thus the college fellow in arts became also a lecturer of the University, and his salary was paid from two sources.

301. By the 1960's, while the great majority of college fellows also held a university post, there was an increasing number of university staff without a college fellowship. A similar problem on much the same scale existed at Cambridge (see the 'Bridges Report'—*Reporter*, 1961–2, p. 1073). In Oxford the Harrison Committee of November 1962 was followed by the Norrington Committee on the Closer Integration of University Teaching and Research with the College System (Supplement* No. 1 to *Gazette*, vol. xciv).

As a result of their reports much has already been done to meet the situation. The existing colleges have been expanding the number of their fellowships. Two new societies, St. Cross and Iffley, have been founded, and it is planned that each will have about seventy fellows. The rapid development of Linacre College, although it was founded primarily for postgraduates, has also helped to ease the situation.

302. These developments have been helping to give effect to the decision of Congregation that the academic staff of the University should be *entitled* to a fellowship when their appointment has been made permanent. At the present time, confirmation normally takes place five years after the initial appointment; entitlement to a fellowship then broadly attaches to all posts at or above the level of university lecturer.* Other members of Congregation remain eligible for fellowships but are not entitled to them. This decision does away with the old distinction between fellows and non-fellows, though there are obvious gaps at present in the machinery for implementing it (see Hebdomadal Council—*Written Evidence*, Part XII, p. 17), and later in this chapter we make recommendations designed to fill them (paras. 331 ff.).

303. The representatives of the colleges told us that there was a limit to the number of fellows which a college should have. They inclined to an upper limit of about fifty fellows, subject to the conditions of site, buildings, and endowments. We agree with the tendency of these views for the reasons we gave in Chapter II. While it is true, in order to give full effect to the decision of Congregation, that the creation of the two new societies will not suffice and the existing colleges will have to take on new fellows, we believe that this increase in numbers can be kept broadly within the limits suggested to us. The decision of Congregation, combined with our recommendations for increases in the number of staff, implies at men's colleges an average of about forty and at women's colleges about forty-five fellows by 1985, given the existing new societies and probably one more.

304. The recognition of the fact that the great majority of Oxford staff are and must be 'two-hatted' implies that Oxford's salaries cannot be fitted neatly alongside the national scales which were framed for a departmental university. They do not allow for a collegiate university like Oxford. Confusion has often arisen because similar nomenclature has concealed real differences of function. We recommend below (para. 317) a simplification of Oxford's present jumble of types of lecturer, which should make clear

* The entitled members of the academic staff fall into four broad categories: (*a*) professors and readers; (*b*) other entitled members of the academic staff who do a significant amount of undergraduate teaching; (*c*) other entitled members of the academic staff who do little or no undergraduate teaching; (*d*) entitled members of the administrative staff. This category requires further definition, and we have more to say about this in Chapter VII (para. 559).

the fact that the Oxford fellow-lecturer cannot be equated with a lecturer elsewhere. In Oxford, titles are used to distinguish duties or to mark differences in function, but they are not a good guide to salaries or to eminence. Like all other universities, Oxford has professors, readers, and lecturers,* but, even in science departments, where the resemblance to practice in other universities is greatest, the holders of these titles have duties and powers in some degree different from those associated with such titles elsewhere. Oxford has a relatively small number of professors and readers, if it is compared with, for example, University College London or the Imperial College of Science and Technology. One might expect the Oxford pattern to be like that of leading institutions of this kind. Like them, Oxford has a concentration of mature scholars, but in Oxford such men and women are often fellow-lecturers. Their age and their repute is not unfairly reflected in their joint salary, but it is not to be detected from their titles.

305. We do not believe that the need for more readers is pressing. One result of our recommendations will be that a number of senior fellow-lecturers will be enabled to discharge the functions which are performed by readers elsewhere. The case for new readerships at Oxford, therefore, should be argued not on any generally accepted rule of proportion, but on special cases as they arise, when, for example, there is a need to encourage a particular subject or as a mark of special distinction.

306. The duties of the readers, as at present defined, are to engage in advanced study and research. Arts readers are normally required to give not less than thirty-six lectures or classes a year and science readers to co-operate in the teaching and administrative work of the department. They are usually appointed for five years in the first instance and then confirmed to retiring age. Readers are either statutory (holders of an established readership) or *ad hominem*. Their university scale runs from £2,800 to £3,250† a year. A reader, however, is allowed if he wishes to do up to six hours a week of college teaching. If he is elected to a tutorial fellowship, the college may bring his stipend up to £3,675 a year.

* A complete list of all the University's academic posts at the level of lecturer and above, except those in clinical medicine, was given to us by the General Board (*Written Evidence*, Part XII, pp. 25–39). The main posts are:

(*a*) professor
(*b*) reader
(*c*) university lecturer
(*d*) senior research officer
(*e*) CUF lecturer
(*f*) special lecturer
(*g*) faculty lecturer

(*b*)–(*d*) may be held together with a paid college post;
(*e*)–(*g*) (which are part-time posts) can only be held together with a paid college post. There is also the temporary junior teaching post of departmental demonstrator, without promise of promotion to any senior position.

† All salaries quoted in this report are for non-clinical staff and are exclusive of the supplementation of 5 per cent. effective from 1 April 1966.

307. The duties of readers need to be re-defined in order to take account of the increased importance of the supervision and instruction of postgraduates. We recommend that a reader should be required in each year to do twenty-four hours in lecturing or taking classes: and that, in addition, he should be required, when asked, to supervise not more than four postgraduates. All readers should also be permitted to do six hours college teaching a week, postgraduate and undergraduate. The maximum of the University's share of a reader's salary should continue to be £3,250 a year, but when a reader opts to continue to teach for a college the maximum of the joint salary should be £3,675.

308. On the other hand, we recommend that Oxford should take steps to obtain more professorial posts. The need for more professorial posts in science originates in the great increases in recent years in the amount and pace of research and developments in the training of postgraduates. This in turn is reflected in increased sophistication of undergraduate training, particularly in practical work. Developments of this sort require men of high scientific standing who can secure money for and direct research teams, who can take care of postgraduate training, and who have the enterprise and time to see that advances are incorporated within reasonable time in undergraduate teaching. There is no doubt that the professorial title has advantages outside Oxford as conferring status and importance, and facilitating the acquisition of money for research. Within Oxford the status is more questionable, but the great advantage gained is that men whose position has been established can be substantially freed from heavy teaching duties and allowed to foster a research group and to develop postgraduate work.

309. With this can go a considerable easing of the difficulties of administration, not administration in the sense of the chores of departmental management, but the more important task of scientific administration. This implies, beyond the collecting of money and its distribution, the allocation of facilities, of scanty equipment, and of exiguous technical services. Above all, it implies the day-to-day guidance of research workers and the maintenance in a team of the right spirit of inquiry and scientific integrity. The growth and present size of most departments now means that these duties are far beyond the grasp of a single head, and fractionation has become essential to well-being and progress.

310. The existing statutory duties of a professor are normally, *inter alia*, to supervise the research and advanced work in the subject of the chair, to reside within ten miles of Carfax for a certain part of the year, and to deliver at least thirty-six lectures or classes, of which not less than twenty-eight must be lectures, a year, or, in the case of professors in charge of science departments, twenty-eight lectures or classes. Oxford has refused to accept

the idea of what is usually called 'professorial spread', that is, the system by which professorial salaries range between £3,400 and £4,750 provided that the average salary for all professors in any university does not exceed £4,200. Salaries in Oxford are fixed at £4,100, though Schedule B professors, who have the duty of running a science department, receive an allowance of between £300 and £600 a year for this. As a result of the decision that all professors should receive the same basic salary, there has sometimes been difficulty in attracting distinguished scholars to professorships in Oxford. At Oxford, in contrast to most universities, the professor in arts subjects is not the chief administrator in his faculty. He does not control, appoint, or promote lecturers in his faculty: he may even not sit on the faculty board. Professors all hold fellowships in colleges, and serve on their governing bodies without additional stipend.

311. We recommend that all professors should interpret their duty of 'supervising research' (para. 310 above) to mean taking an active part in the work of supervising postgraduates. We are also concerned that Schedule B professors may find it almost impossible to do original work because of the responsibilities of their offices. We recommend therefore that the General Board should be empowered in appropriate circumstances to permit a Schedule B professor to step down from the chairmanship of the departmental committee (see para. 593 below) and to assign that duty to a deputy together with the day-to-day running of the department for a period to be agreed by the General Board. In these circumstances the Schedule B professor would retain his special allowance and the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the department. The deputy should be paid a sum equivalent to half the professor's departmental allowance.

312. We have already noted that there are several varieties of lecturers (see footnote to para. 304). Full-time university lecturers in the arts are required to engage in advanced study or research, and normally to give not less than thirty-six lectures or classes a year. In the sciences they are required to lecture and engage in advanced study or research and to co-operate in the teaching and administrative work of a department both in term and in vacation under the direction of the head of the department. University lecturers are allowed to do up to twelve hours (eleven hours for tutorial fellows in science) of college teaching. The combined salary for such a lecturer also holding a college tutorial fellowship is usually determined by his age. The actual age-scales in different colleges give minima of at least £1,400 and maxima of up to £3,450 for the combined salary (see Table 346); they vary according to the circumstances of the individual college; the university scale is £1,400 to £2,760. University lecturers are appointed for five years in the first instance and then confirmed to retiring age. Senior research officers are of equal status to university lecturers. Their duties are to engage in advanced study or research. They may also hold tutorial fellowships.

313. A Common University Fund lecturer in the arts is first appointed as a fellow, or occasionally as a college lecturer, and then has his lecturership added (see para. 300 above), provided he is a tutorial fellow or is doing at least six hours undergraduate teaching a week as a college fellow or lecturer. His university duties are to give sixteen lectures or classes a year and to engage in advanced study or research. His college duties vary from college to college. His salary for the two posts combined is not formally controlled except that if he should be under 30 it must not exceed £1,650, but informal agreement between the University and the colleges has ensured that, broadly speaking, he is paid on the same scale as his college applies to university lecturers. His appointment is for five years in the first instance, and is then renewed for as long as he continues to satisfy the teaching requirements as a college fellow or lecturer.

314. Other categories of lecturer need only brief mention. Special lecturerships are a variant of Common University Fund lecturerships. They are given for a limited tenure to those who it is thought should spend more time on research; their college teaching is curtailed to not more than ten hours a week, and they also have to give lectures or classes for sixteen hours a year. The faculty lecturership was created as a device to help solve the problem caused by the lack of balance between university appointments and elections to college fellowships. A faculty lecturer is appointed by joint action between a faculty and a college; he is usually required to give not less than twenty-four lectures or classes a year for the faculty. The amount of teaching available to the college is normally twelve hours a week. This type of appointment has been used particularly for Modern Languages, but has recently been extended to other faculties. There are about two dozen such lecturers.

315. From what we have said it might appear that there is no class in Oxford which corresponds to the assistant lecturer grade at other universities. In recent years about 60 per cent. of those taking up permanent appointments in Oxford as lecturers, tutorial fellows, and their equivalent have been at least 30 years of age (Table 260). They have already proved themselves in Oxford or elsewhere before entering on an appointment with tenure. The nearest equivalents in Oxford to assistant lecturers are departmental demonstrators, junior research fellows, and college lecturers. The posts held by the first two groups are temporary in nature and are not normally renewable. Their holders must expect to prove themselves and win promotion to a post with tenure or look elsewhere for employment. College lecturers are less well defined as a class. They range from postgraduates working for a D.Phil. to well-established teachers employed by a college which cannot, for a variety of reasons, make them fellows: but frequently they are men of fairly extended trial who are hoping to be elected to fellowships.

316. The lecturer system has become needlessly complicated and is responsible for some of the obscurity for which Oxford has been criticized. Furthermore, it has resulted in a part of the staff drifting into working excessive hours at teaching, to the detriment of their research. We do not propose any alteration in the temporary and junior posts discussed in the preceding paragraph, but we consider that the existing multiplicity of types of lecturership should be replaced by a simpler system which will correspond better to the nature of Oxford as a community of scholars with double loyalties, double duties, and two paymasters, but only one working day.

317. We recommend therefore that there should be only one class of lecturer, divided into two main categories A and B according to whether the University or college can claim the major portion of his time; all lecturers will be fellow-lecturers under our recommendation in para. 332. Those holding Category A lecturerships will give a larger proportion of their time to the University and will receive the greater part of their salary from it. Those holding Category B lecturerships will give the greater part of their teaching time to their college and, as with the present Common University Fund lecturerships, the college will bear the greater part of the salary. The Hebdomadal Council told us that, if such a simplified system of one class in two categories could be devised, allowing for differences in the allocation of duties within it, there would be an advantage in removing misunderstandings and permitting Oxford to put its case more clearly to the University Grants Committee (see *Oral Evidence*, Part 76, pp. 43–45).

318. We recommend that for the whole class of fellow-lecturers the maximum of pupil-contact hours should be fourteen per week. We further recommend that this total should include all tutorials, seminars, demonstrating, classes, lectures, and the supervision and instruction of postgraduates. In assessing hours of work with postgraduates we have done a rough calculation (see *Statistical Appendix*, Part V, para. 462) which suggests that, though the amount of time required to supervise a postgraduate varies considerably between men and over time, it is fair to strike an average and reckon time spent in the supervision of each postgraduate as equivalent to one hour per week. The limit which we have set on the teaching hours of the staff is at a much higher figure than the national averages for universities (see figures in para. 225 above). Even so, with the tutorial system operating as we have recommended, it will be essential for the Oxford staff:student ratio to be brought a great deal nearer to the national average if our proposals can be fully implemented. With this qualification, we are satisfied that it is workable both in the sciences and in the arts. We have assumed that some teaching will continue to be done by members of the University not holding permanent posts. College lecturers will often be appointed to do a considerable amount of teaching, and junior research fellows, to their own great advantage, can also be expected to pro-

vide some assistance. It is often beneficial for postgraduates to teach a few hours a week; their assistance may be especially useful in demonstrating and in other class work.

319. For Category A lecturers, we recommend that the University should be able to claim up to eight hours, the college up to six. We further recommend that Category B lecturers should give up to ten hours to their college and up to four hours to the University. It is essential to the success of this arrangement that there should be flexibility in its working, and this can only be achieved by close co-operation between the colleges and the sub-faculty boards. With either category of fellow-lecturer, if the University finds itself unable to take up all the fellow-lecturer's time to which it is entitled, then it should be possible for the college, if it needs to do so, to make use of this time. Similar arrangements must obtain when it is the college that cannot fill its share of the fellow-lecturer's time and the University has a need to meet. This may often be the case, for example, with fellow-lecturers at graduate colleges where the college, with its interest in the instruction of postgraduates, may choose to make time available to the University. Within the limitations we have laid down, the fellow-lecturer should continue to enjoy the freedom to arrange his teaching which at present exists in Oxford. Where, for example, he is unable to meet his full requirement for undergraduate teaching in his own college, it will naturally be expected of him that he will take pupils from other colleges. A special problem is posed by the fellow-lecturers of the graduate colleges, but we would expect, as is now the case, that they will continue to do the amount of undergraduate tutorial teaching for other colleges appropriate to the category of lecturer in which they find themselves.

320. We make these recommendations so that every member of the academic staff can participate in all forms of academic activity and also achieve a proper balance between teaching and research. Each individual will spend his fourteen hours according to his particular interests and abilities, as well as on the needs of his faculty and college. Some may give no lectures. Some may spend most, or even all, of their time on undergraduate teaching—others on postgraduate teaching; but we hope that the great majority will mix their activities. Certainly all should have the opportunity. The faculty boards, through their sub-faculty boards, should require annual returns from all holders of university posts, as should the colleges of their fellows. This information should also be given to the Chief Statistical Officer (see para. 565 below) so that the necessary figures of teaching in Oxford can be compiled.

321. We stress that the requirement is 'up to' fourteen hours of teaching. For under this requirement it will be possible to make special arrangements

for a man's teaching load to be lightened when he is engaged on exceptionally demanding research. This need is at present met by the temporary special lecturer. In future we suggest that it should be met by the manipulation of the number of hours of teaching required by the University of Category A lecturers. With the college demand limited to six hours, the University should ask for not more than a small proportion of the eight hours to which, under our scheme, it would be entitled. The needs of Category B lecturers, in this respect, should be met by a temporary transfer to this special group in Category A. No appointment of this kind should last for more than five years. We are of the opinion that there is sufficient flexibility in these arrangements to permit the abolition of the title of Senior Research Officer.

322. All fellow-lecturers will be paid a stipend from two sources which should be subject, as at present, to a joint maximum. The university component of the stipend should continue to be calculated according to age and, within each of the two categories, should be common to all lecturers. Within the joint maximum, the total salary received will, however, vary according to the college of which the fellow-lecturer is a member. We are satisfied that in the case of the great majority of the colleges such differences will be tolerable. The fact that the colleges, like the University, use age-scales has contributed to this relative equality by eliminating the payment of 'premium' stipends by the richer colleges. It is a fact that differentials between colleges are now very much smaller than they used to be. The groups who are at a disadvantage are the members of the new societies and Common University Fund lecturers in the women's colleges and in one or two of the poorest men's colleges. Our proposals for assisting the poorer colleges (Chapter VIII) are designed to aid the last two groups. Some difference will remain, but we see no virtue in complete uniformity. But the three new societies, Linacre, St. Cross and Iffley, are the source of special difficulty because they lack funds of their own out of which to pay their fellows. We explain later the details of two proposals which we hope will make it possible for them to build up a substantial tuition fund from which stipends for their fellows can be paid (paras. 405–8 below).

323. The responsibility for ensuring that these reforms are carried out lies in equal measure on the General Board and the Council of the Colleges. The detailed work will necessarily be largely done in the faculty boards and sub-faculty boards on the one hand and the colleges and the Senior Tutors' Committee on the other. These bodies will, for example, have the task of arranging for the distribution of Category A and B lecturerships not only between colleges but also between subjects, both in the sciences and in the arts. We attach great importance to this last point because the existing system by which Common University Fund lecturers are concentrated in the arts, while the overwhelming majority of college fellows in science hold

full university lecturerships, would, if it persisted, be an insuperable barrier to the achievement of that flexibility in the allocation of teaching time that we have described above.

324. At the beginning of the scheme the university scale of Category A lecturers should be that of the existing university lecturers and that of Category B lecturers that of the existing Common University Fund lecturers. But, in the long run, it may well be found advisable to alter the proportions of the stipend paid by the University and the college, in one or both categories. The hours reserved by the University and colleges may also need adjustment in one or both categories of lecturer. We do not suggest that this new system can operate immediately. But we urge that it should be progressively introduced as quickly as possible by a co-operative effort and that not more than five years should elapse before its coming into full effect.

325. The criticism sometimes made of Oxford is that it offers security without a proficiency test. We have already pointed out that appointments to the position of fellow-lecturer are rarely made without the candidate having proved himself in other work at Oxford or elsewhere. At present, fellowships are reviewed and renewed after a fixed period, but this is usually in the nature of a formality. We recommend that in future the fellow-lecturers should be appointed for a probationary period of two years, thereafter for seven years and renewed by seven-year periods to retiring age. The review before renewal should be carried out by the college and the sub-faculty board jointly. We consider that the recent decision of the University to give lecturers tenure till retiring age after an initial period of five years, in place of regular renewals, was wrong in that it could give rise to a belief that the University was not concerned about the continued competence of its lecturers. Professors and readers should, however, be appointed until retiring age.

326. There is also criticism that there is not enough mobility of the scholars in and out of Oxford, but we do not find that it is anything like a closed shop. A large percentage of those appointed to the fellow-lecturer grade have in the past ten years come from other universities, though many have begun as Oxford undergraduates; and professors and readers have often been drawn from outside Oxford (Tables 259 and 260). It is, of course, true that the conditions of work in Oxford do provide a career for life for many people. But it is noticeable that Oxford has supplied many professors to other British universities from among its fellow-lecturers. As a particular instance of the way in which Oxford supplies university teachers, its School of Chemistry has, for some time, been the largest source of chemistry teachers in the country (Professor R. E. Richards—*Written Evidence*, Part XI, p. 168).

327. It is of importance in dealing with matters of recruitment, salary, and tenure that the methods used in making appointments should be right and should be clearly seen to be right. It is the general practice in Oxford to advertise posts before proceeding to appointment. We recommend that what is now normal should be made the rule whenever posts of professor, reader, or fellow-lecturer have to be filled.

328. Most professors are appointed in the ordinary course by special electoral boards. The normal composition of electoral boards (*Written Evidence*, Part II, p. 10) is the Vice-Chancellor, the head and another representative of the college to which the professorship is allocated, a person nominated by the Hebdomadal Council, and three persons nominated either by the General Board or by the faculty board or boards concerned. In most cases, one or two of the persons nominated are persons outside Oxford. We recommend that in future electoral boards should consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the head and another representative of the college to which the professorship is allocated, one member from outside Oxford nominated by the Hebdomadal Council, one member from outside Oxford nominated by the General Board, and two members nominated by the faculty board or boards concerned. This will secure an adequate representation of outside scholarly opinion.

329. The nomination to Regius chairs, other than those attached to canonries in Christ Church, by the Crown acting on the advice of the Prime Minister seems to us to have become an anachronism. We recommend that the Queen be petitioned to surrender her right of nomination and to accept instead a system by which an electoral board, constituted as in the preceding paragraph, would select one name for her approval. We also recommend that the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity should no longer be elected on the peculiar system at present in use; but that an electoral board should be set up as in the case of other professorships. We make no recommendation about the other canonical chairs in Christ Church.

330. Readers are at present appointed in two ways. Statutory readerships are filled by electoral boards, but as readerships are not at present allocated to colleges there is no college representation on them. We recommend that these statutory readerships should be allocated among the colleges, as are professorships at present. We further recommend that their electoral boards should have the same composition as those we have recommended for the appointment of professors. The second method of appointment is that by which the General Board, usually on the recommendation of a faculty board, creates readerships *ad hominem*. We recommend that this system be continued for readerships *ad hominem*, but that the General Board, before making an appointment, should obtain from an authority outside Oxford a statement on the merits of the candidate.

331. We now turn to the appointment of fellow-lecturers. In the past lecturers have been appointed in two different ways. The system by which Common University Fund lecturerships were given to college fellows a year or so after their appointment has meant that, in effect, they were chosen by the colleges, although, in most cases, there was informal consultation with faculty boards. With full university lecturerships it was the University which had a free hand, often tempered by consultations with a college which resulted in an agreed appointment being made. Our recommendations create one fellow-lecturer class, sub-divided according to duties. We think that this should be reflected in the methods of appointment, not for the sake of symmetry but because it is vital that the fellow-lecturer system should so work that the interests of the University and the colleges are brought into harmony. Moreover, only by a new method of appointment can the strong wish of the colleges to choose their own fellows be reconciled with the decision of Congregation that all those with permanent university appointments should hold college fellowships.

332. We therefore recommend that all appointments to the post of fellow-lecturer, whether in Category A or in Category B, should be made jointly by the University and a college. For this purpose the sub-faculty board and the college would each appoint two or three members to form a working committee. It would be natural to have the chairman of this working committee from the sub-faculty board in the case of a Category A appointment and from the college in the case of a Category B appointment. We emphasize that the business of this committee is not to make the appointment but to do the necessary detailed work leading to it. Its members would not, unless this were specifically given them, have the right to speak for their parent bodies. They would report to each side and it would be the board as a whole and the governing body of the college which would elect. It is therefore unnecessary for us to consider a balance of power between university and college representatives. Any appointment must carry the assent of both parties. In the event of disagreement there could be no election to the post.

333. We think that this will very rarely happen, but if there is deadlock the University will have to seek another college willing to co-operate in the election of its preferred candidate or appoint him to a temporary junior post. The college, if it has the funds, can appoint its candidate as a research fellow or college lecturer: if the aim were to make him a senior research fellow then the University will have to approve the creation of the post (see para. 285 above).

334. We are aware that there will sometimes be difficulties with this method of appointment in a period of financial stringency in the University. We would, for example, allow the appointment of a fellow-lecturer, by the

method outlined above, in circumstances such that, while the fellowship was immediate, the University might not be in a position to pay its share of his stipend. If this happens, we think that the University should be allowed a period of up to three years grace, but we should be unhappy at an extension of this period unless the University were to suffer unexpectedly in its grant from the University Grants Committee. We are anxious that it should continue to be possible, under the new methods of appointment, to appoint a man simultaneously to a college fellowship and to the temporary post of departmental demonstrator, but we think that the condition should be that the University gives a further commitment that he would be promoted to a permanent lecturership within the six-year period which is the maximum period of the demonstratorship.

335. We expect that in future there will be more movement of fellows between colleges than there has been in the past, particularly if colleges come to specialize more in the fields of interest of their postgraduates. A fellow-lecturer whose interests change may have to balance his wish to be in the centre of his new studies against his affection for the body to which he has so far belonged. This has already happened with transfers to Nuffield and St. Antony's. We do not believe that the system of joint appointments should hinder movement.

336. A final point about the staff concerns the recognition of the degrees of other universities possessed by people joining the academic staff of Oxford. At present the degrees are not officially recognized, and such people are given an Oxford M.A. by decree, or have to incorporate if they are graduates of Cambridge or of Trinity College, Dublin. Membership of Congregation involves not only the holding of a qualifying post in Oxford but also the holding of an Oxford M.A. Replies to our questionnaires show that this is resented (see also the evidence of the Association of University Teachers and the Oxford Committee of the AUT—*Written Evidence*, Part III, pp. 30 and 32). The implied disparagement of previous degrees, the cost of new academic dress, the drop in rank often from Dr. to Mr., and the business of finding a college for matriculation were all given as grievances. But the last at least will disappear under the joint-appointment system. We note also that the University has decided to give the degrees of other universities in the *Calendar*.

337. We believe that the main point about an Oxford M.A. should continue to be that it is the certificate of membership of Congregation. We therefore recommend that it should be given free of charge to all those members of the staff who qualify for it under existing conventions.* Matters of rank or disparity do not arise on this formal entrance qualification. Any other points

* Legislation to give effect to this is in progress at the time of writing this Report.

about degrees might well be examined by those who review the nomenclature of Oxford degrees (see para. 265 above).

338. We have not attempted in this chapter to give a complete picture of life in Oxford at present; we have described it only in so far as it was necessary for the understanding of our recommendations. But incomplete as our survey has been, we have ourselves obtained, and we hope passed on, a strong impression of a characteristic style of life. This is a product of the residential self-governing colleges, the tutorial system, the belief in personal contacts, and the independence of mind that is given by security of tenure. In the last fifty years Oxford has added great scientific Schools to its older arts faculties; it is now seeking a method of postgraduate education which shall be as good as that given to undergraduates. All this involves a re-thinking of the proper relations between the colleges and the University. To the administrative side of this same theme we shall return in Chapter VII. But our recommendations in both chapters are designed to help forward the solution of problems raised by recent developments while preserving diversity and the other main virtues of Oxford's style. It is easier to face difficulties, however general they may be, if one does it in a style that comes naturally.

APPENDIX ON ALL SOULS COLLEGE

339. We have found it necessary to give separate consideration to All Souls College. It is so different from the other colleges that it does not fit into any of the categories into which they fall. Further, we have been faced by a particular difficulty in the case of All Souls College, which we did not encounter elsewhere. When the college came before us in February 1965, it informed us of a new scheme for taking in postgraduate members, but in January 1966 we were told that this plan had been withdrawn and an alternative scheme for Visiting Fellows substituted for it. The date at which we came to know of this second plan, in relation to the general programme of work which we had set ourselves, made it impossible for us to take oral evidence from the college on it: it was too late. We have had, therefore, to consider the future of All Souls College in more general terms.

340. All Souls College is one of the small number of wealthy colleges. It informed us that it expected its gross endowment income to rise to £250,000 or thereabouts by 1967. In January 1965 the income of All Souls College was used to support 59 fellows, of whom 17 were paid by the University. Of the remainder, 16 cost the college very little, 7 of these being Distinguished Fellows who receive no stipend and 9 being £50 Fellows, that is, fellows elected from previous Examination Fellows who had gone out of academic life in Oxford. There were also 13 Research Fellows and 10 Examination Fellows of whom 3 were in academic life outside Oxford or were pursuing a non-academic career: fellows in these two classes were

supported by the college, together with the Warden, the Bursars, and the Librarian (see *Written Evidence*, Part XIV, p. 11).

341. We have been concerned whether All Souls College is making the full contribution to the academic life of Oxford which its resources make possible. The college, when its representatives gave evidence in February 1965, left us in no doubt that it was its desire and policy to make that full contribution. The Warden told us that 'it has been a matter of great concern to the college during the last . . . five or six years how it could best deploy its revenues, both from its own point of view as a research institution and from the wider point of view of Oxford' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 60, p. 3). Later on the Warden added in reply to a question about the use of the resources of the college: 'We intend to use them fully' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 60, p. 12). These views were stated in the general context of the then plan to admit postgraduate students. We accept that the new policy of January 1966 reflects no difference in the desire of the college to deploy its resources to the full.

342. We think that the college has found difficulty in deciding not merely what its policy for development should be but also on the full use of its resources, and that the two difficulties are interconnected. It is now more than forty years since the Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities was published. At that time the college told the Commission that it intended to 'make arrangements for the admission to the privileges of Library, Hall, Common Room, and (in cases where the Warden and Fellows think it proper and feasible) of Living Rooms, of distinguished Senior Students, selected by the College on the ground of their being engaged in work associated with the Special Studies of the College'. The Commission (para. 137) cordially endorsed this proposal and said they were 'glad to learn that the necessary By-Laws for the purpose have already been drafted and have been before the College for approval'. The college did not proceed with this proposal to admit postgraduate students. In January 1965 the college presented to us a scheme for the admission of postgraduates on which the college had decided, though the precise shape of the contribution to postgraduate life had not been determined. It seemed likely that the college would admit up to thirty postgraduates and build a hostel for them. The college had turned for advice to the Vice-Chancellor who, after he had consulted Council, gave the plan his approval. The Warden gave us the reasons which led to the decision: 'I want to say that we really were thinking of the college just as much as the University when we made this change. We feel very strongly (and I am speaking for the majority) that there is a danger with a college which is devoted predominantly to providing for its own individual research fellows, each of whom is preoccupied with his own subject and whose contact with undergraduates and graduates is merely incidental to his main work—a danger of such a college getting out of touch with the main stream of intellectual life in

Oxford. Again, I think I speak for most of my colleagues in saying that that had caused us to suffer very much damage and had made us an object of criticism, of justified criticism. Therefore, in deciding to make this change, we were not thinking only of how much we should help the University, although we thought we should help the University both directly and indirectly, but we felt it would bring the college again into the main current of the intellectual life of Oxford' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 60, p. 4).

343. A year later this plan was abandoned and the college decided to continue as a research college. The main points of the new policy are that Visiting Fellows should be appointed to study and research in Oxford for one to two years. They are to be drawn mainly from universities and schools in this country and overseas, though some may be drawn from other sources. In making appointments the college will pay attention to the needs of the university faculties, and maintain close and continuous contact with faculty boards and other bodies in the University. Visiting Fellows will not be members of the governing body. Rooms for work will, as far as possible, be provided within the precincts of the college. As much living accommodation as may be possible will be provided outside and, when available, inside the college. The college will have the power to make good reductions in normal salary suffered by a Visiting Fellow, but the grant is not to exceed £4,000 a year in any one case. In the early years the number of Visiting Fellows is to be not fewer than six nor more than twenty.

344. We appreciate the merits of this scheme: but, when we reviewed the record of the years between the last Royal Commission and the present day, we were compelled to infer infirmity of purpose. It is not just that the college has found great difficulty in making up its mind, but that, when it has done so, it has unmade it again. We think that this infirmity of purpose has had much to do with the other difficulty which the college has experienced, that of using its resources to the full. For where there is no consistent purpose embodied in an articulate and thoroughly thought out policy, there is no urgent desire to find additional money from the resources of the college.

345. That this has been the case is demonstrated, in our view, by four considerations. The first is that for the last ten years the college has found itself not so much trying to find money as to dispose of a surplus. Mr. Fisher, the Estates Bursar, told us: 'Since 1956 the college has been trying to keep pace with the increase in its revenue. There has been a very substantial continuing increase in revenue. I think I can say, because it was not during my term of office, that it was due to a very prudent investment policy, which has resulted, for instance, in the gross revenue just about doubling in the last ten years. In any college—and certainly I do not think All Souls is peculiar in this—to keep pace in ideas for expenditure of this increase with

rapidity is not easy, but the college did in 1960 set up a committee to consider surplus revenues, and, as a result of the deliberations of that committee, a number of new forms of expenditure were decided upon, the number of research fellows was increased, a visiting fellowship was instituted which I think you have heard about, and provision was made for publications, research grants, and so on, to take up what was thought to be the slack. In fact, those decisions were overtaken by the continued buoyancy of the revenue, and I am the last person to deplore that. The college, having taken these decisions in 1960, found itself in the position of having to set up yet another surplus revenue committee in 1962. That committee has been in more or less continuous session ever since' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 60, p. 6).

346. In the second place a good deal of the additional revenue arising has been spent in recent years not on the academic life of the college but in making large donations mainly for academic purposes in Oxford and elsewhere. In 1964 the college gave in donations £37,000. But Mr. Fisher made it clear to us that the college did not think this a main function: 'I am sure the Warden would not dissent from this, that the one definite decision which the college has taken in its deliberations over the last few months is that it has no intention of becoming a charitable foundation which is a source of funds for other people' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 60, p. 8).

347. Thirdly, the college has continuously over the last ten years ploughed considerable quantities of income back into capital with the result that expenses on estates bear a very high proportion to the income derived from them. In addition, the distribution of the assets of the college is different from that of most other colleges. It has more of its assets so disposed that they yield a very low return in terms of their capital value.

348. Fourthly, the expenditure of the college in the domestic support of its academic life is high when judged in comparison with the expenditure of many colleges which have considerably larger numbers to look after. We do not think there is any extravagance, but the scale of expenditure does not suggest a lively and continuous effort to find more money for academic purposes.

349. In all these ways it is clear from the conduct of the college that there has been no accepted general purpose which laid such claims upon the resources of the college that the Bursar was pressed to maximize income.

350. The problem then which has faced the Commission, given the historical record and the ways in which the resources of All Souls College have been used, is how Oxford can be secure in a belief that the college will in fact be able in the future to give effect to its declared intent of using its resources to the full. Mr. Fisher said in evidence: 'The one determination,

on which I think all the fellows are united, is that All Souls is an active, lively institution, and it intends to use its funds profitably for the University and for itself, and there is a determination to use the available revenues for academic purposes up to the limit of financial prudence' (*Oral Evidence*, Part 60, p. 8). But a gross income rising soon to £250,000 is a very large sum and, in our opinion, if over time an attempt is made to maximize income, the amount available for the academic purposes of the college will be very substantial indeed. It has been an assumption throughout our report that a college, like any other charitable educational foundation in the world of today, should so dispose its capital assets that income is maximized and expended upon academic activities. We are aware that some of the existing commitments of the college, whether by way of turning income into capital or by making donations over a period of years, cannot be summarily ended. Our concern is that the great wealth of the college should over time be fully used for the academic life of Oxford. In our judgement this has not been the case, and if any inference from the past to the future has validity, it is not possible to be sure that the future will be different until All Souls College by the vigour with which it pursues academic projects commensurate to its resources demonstrates that a real change has taken place.

351. We have already explained that, because of the timing of the college's most recent plans, it has not been possible for us to have the advantage of discussion with the college on them. We consider, therefore, that the college should be given time, in the light of the considerations set out in the preceding paragraph, both to work out its present proposals so that they constitute an articulated and settled policy, and also to come to decisions about the further academic activities on which it should embark in order fully to utilize its wealth. We recommend that the college should have a period of up to three years but that, at the end of this period or at such earlier time as the college is ready, it should submit its policies to the Vice-Chancellor for approval. We further recommend that at the appropriate time the Vice-Chancellor should set up a joint committee to advise him, composed of members from Council, the General Board, and the Council of the Colleges, two members being drawn from each body. We make these recommendations firstly because the life and effort of All Souls College must be directly and intimately related to the size and direction of the University's effort and expenditure in research and teaching, and secondly, because we are convinced that Oxford, for the sake of its general reputation, cannot afford that a college with the resources of All Souls should continue to be, in the words of the Warden, 'an object of justified criticism' as having got out of touch with the main current of the intellectual life of the University. It is in this connexion that the presence of postgraduate students in a college has relevance. In our view the successive plans which All Souls has laid before us show that the college has correctly diagnosed those needs of Oxford which the college is fitted by its nature to fulfil.

352. It will be the business of the Vice-Chancellor, advised by the joint committee, to satisfy himself that the resources of All Souls College are being fully extended by the academic activities of the college and that these activities are in scale and nature such as to give most support to research and teaching in the University. We consider that the college should aim at spending at least £100,000 a year on its own academic activities, and that the resources of the college should be sufficient to enable it to do so in the near future, even if it incurs substantial capital expenditure on the implementation of its schemes. We recommend that the report which All Souls College makes to the Vice-Chancellor, when it is ready during or at the end of the three years, should be printed in the *Gazette*: so also should be the reply of the Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the University.

353. In the interim, when the college proposes to appoint any fellows to research posts, it should follow the procedure set out in para. 285 above. The creation of a new research post will require the consent of the University given by the General Board on the advice of the appropriate faculty board. When that consent has been given, the college will be free to make an appointment to the post for seven years and no more. If the question of re-appointment arises, then the re-appointment must be made jointly by the University and the college. As we have said it will be the duty of the faculty board, before advising the General Board to agree to such a re-appointment, to satisfy itself that the work done in the first seven years has made it in the general interest to continue the appointment.

354. We are not satisfied that the present composition of the college makes it easy for it to develop that vigour and purpose which are necessary if it is to make its full contribution to Oxford. In this connexion we have considered the class of Distinguished Fellows. There are at present seven of these fellows. We recognize that by a long-standing tradition All Souls College makes appointments as Distinguished Fellows and members of the governing body from among those who have been fellows of the college. But we are forced to the conclusion that this should not continue. In the nature of things it cannot be conducive to the vigour of the academic community of the college that these eminent persons, whose lives and activities are wholly outside the college and almost always outside Oxford, should have a voice in college policy. It seems to us that the proper course is for the college to behave like other colleges and appoint its eminent sons, when it thinks it desirable, to Honorary Fellowships, thus creating a living link with them but not giving them a vote on the governing body. We therefore recommend that, as the existing Distinguished Fellowships are vacated, they should lapse. Similar reasoning applies to the £50 Fellows who again are pursuing activities outside Oxford, usually not of an academic nature. We do not think that they should serve on the governing body of the college, and so recommend.

355. The governing body at present contains thirteen Professorial Fellows. We think that this concentration of professorial quality may prove to be too great, both in relation to the college and generally, and we therefore recommend that the question of whether some of the professorships should be re-allocated to other colleges should be considered by the University and All Souls College when its proposals for the re-organization of its activities come forward.

356. The outlines of the plans for Visiting Fellows show that this is one of the ways in which All Souls College can make a major contribution to its own life and that of Oxford. We should like to express our strong agreement with the intention stated by the college that a substantial number of these Visiting Fellowships should go to scholars belonging to other British universities. It would be of lasting advantage to Oxford if All Souls College opened its doors wide to welcome, amongst others, considerable numbers of scholars from British universities who wished to study and carry out researches here for a time.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

(22) The General Board with the co-operation of all the colleges should at once take steps to establish the relative functions of tutorials, classes, and lectures in the education of undergraduates (para. 234).

(23) Undergraduates should write only one essay a week and, as a normal rule, should attend only one tutorial a week whether alone or in a pair (para. 235).

(24) Greater use should be made of college classes and seminars (para. 236).

(25) The sub-faculty boards should ensure that the lecture-list always includes lectures on the main subjects of the syllabus in the most suitable term, that these main lectures in fact cover the ground, that tutors and undergraduates are given advance information about the general content of these lecture courses (para. 237), and that greater use is made of university classes and seminars (para. 238).

(26) Colleges should enter into agreements among themselves to divide the smaller Schools between them (para. 239).

(27) Each sub-faculty board should, without delay, review the content of the existing syllabuses in its subjects (para. 249).

(28) The General Board's Committee on Undergraduate Studies should be looking year by year at the standards as expressed in the results of all the Schools (para. 250) and should draw up a standard form of examiners' report (para. 251).

(29) The duty to take part, when invited, in university examining should be included among the duties of all holders of university posts, and all boards

of examiners in the undergraduate Honour Schools should include one full member who is appointed from outside Oxford (para. 252).

(30) The General Board should lay down the general rules on which all faculty boards and sub-faculty boards should deal with postgraduate courses, and should make it a rule for all these boards that their lecture-lists should appear in two sections clearly distinguished, the one intended primarily for postgraduates, the other for undergraduates (para. 261).

(31) Examiners for 'thesis' degrees should be appointed by the sub-faculty boards but the examiners' reports should go to the faculty boards, which would give formal leave to supplicate and thus be in a position to compare the standards applied in several sub-faculties (para. 262).

(32) Faculty Centres should be established in all the major arts subjects and in social studies (para. 266).

(33) No college should admit a postgraduate unless it has among its fellows one who is prepared to take some academic responsibility for him and act as adviser (para. 270).

(34) Through the Council of the Colleges agreement should be reached on the scale of amenities that may be given to postgraduates (para. 274).

(35) Within a reasonable time the graduate colleges should each have not fewer than 100 postgraduate students unless dispensed by the University and the Council of the Colleges (para. 280).

(36) The creation of any senior research post in a college should require the consent of the University given by the General Board on the advice of the appropriate faculty board; such consent should be given for not more than seven years in the first instance, and any extensions should require consent not only for the post but also for the man appointed; these rules should apply to All Souls as to all colleges (para. 285).

(37) Colleges, like departments, should require the assent of the University to the starting of any new programme or the provision of equipment on a large scale (para. 286).

(38) The General Board, through its Committee on Research, should play a more active part in the securing of money for research from governmental and non-governmental sources and should be prepared to put the full weight of Oxford behind suitable applications (para. 290).

(39) Each sub-faculty board should collect and produce annually an account of what has been published by members of the sub-faculty; and the General Board should publish an Annual Report which should indicate the main lines of work completed and in progress (para. 292).

(40) The faculty boards should make it their business to keep future research activities under review and to report regularly to the General Board through its Committee on Research; the General Board in examining such reports should be vigilant to protect the smaller subjects (para. 296).

(41) The Council of the Colleges should ensure that arrangements for receiving visitors into the collegiate life of Oxford are improved (para. 297).

(42) Colleges should make it possible for men from non-academic walks of life to have a period in which they can take stock of their ideas in an academic atmosphere (para. 297).

(43) A reader should be required in each year to do twenty-four hours in lecturing or taking classes; in addition, he should be required, when asked, to supervise not more than four postgraduates; he should also be permitted to do six hours college teaching a week, postgraduate and undergraduate (para. 307).

(44) Oxford should take steps to obtain more professorial posts (para. 308).

(45) All professors should interpret their duty of supervising research to mean taking an active part in the work of supervising postgraduates (para. 311).

(46) The General Board should be empowered in appropriate circumstances to permit a Schedule B professor to step down from the chairmanship of the departmental committee and to assign that duty to a deputy together with the day-to-day running of the department for a period to be agreed by the General Board (para. 311).

(47) There should be only one class of fellow-lecturer (all lecturers should be fellow-lecturers) divided into two main categories A and B according to whether the University or college can claim the major portion of his time (para. 317).

(48) The maximum of pupil-contact hours, including tutorials, seminars, demonstrating, classes, lectures, and the supervision and instruction of postgraduates, for fellow-lecturers should be fourteen per week (para. 318).

(49) For Category A fellow-lecturers, the University should be able to claim up to eight hours and the college up to six; for Category B fellow-lecturers, the University should be able to claim up to four hours and the college up to ten (para. 319).

(50) Fellow-lecturers should be appointed for a probationary period of two years, thereafter for seven years and renewed by seven-year periods to retiring age, and the review before each renewal should be carried out by the college and the sub-faculty board jointly; but professors and readers should be appointed until retiring age (para. 325).

(51) All professorships, readerships, and fellow-lecturerships should be advertised before an appointment is made (para. 327).

(52) Electoral boards for professorships should consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the head and another representative of the college to which the professorship is allocated, one member from outside Oxford nominated by the

Hebdomadal Council, one member from outside Oxford nominated by the General Board, and two members nominated by the faculty board or boards concerned (para. 328).

(53) The Queen should be petitioned to surrender her right of nomination to Regius professorships, other than those attaching to canonries in Christ Church, and to accept instead a system by which an electoral board, constituted as in the preceding recommendation, would select one name for her approval; the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity should also be elected by such a board (para. 329).

(54) Statutory readerships should be allocated among the colleges in the same way as professorships; and the electoral boards should be constituted in the same way as the boards for professorships (para. 330).

(55) *Ad hominem* readerships should continue to be filled by the General Board, but the General Board, before making an appointment, should obtain from an authority outside Oxford a statement on the merits of the candidate (para. 330).

(56) All appointments to the post of fellow-lecturer, whether in Category A or Category B, should be made jointly by the University and a college (para. 332).

(57) The degree of M.A. should be given free of charge to all those taking up approved educational positions in the University (para. 337).

(58) All Souls College should be given up to three years to work out its present proposals so that they constitute an articulated and settled policy and to come to decisions about the further academic activities on which it should embark in order fully to utilize its wealth; and at the end of this period, or at such earlier time as the college is ready, it should submit its policies to the Vice-Chancellor for approval (para. 351).

(59) At the appropriate time, the Vice-Chancellor should set up a joint committee to advise him, consisting of two members from each of the Hebdomadal Council, the General Board, and the Council of the Colleges (para. 351).

(60) The report that All Souls College makes to the Vice-Chancellor, and the reply of the Vice-Chancellor, should be printed in the *Gazette* (para. 352).

(61) As the existing Distinguished Fellowships at All Souls College are vacated, they should lapse; and the £50 Fellows should not serve on the governing body of the college (para. 354).

(62) The question whether some of the professorships now allocated to All Souls College should be re-allocated to other colleges should be considered by the University and the college when its proposals for the reorganization of its activities come forward (para. 355).