Management Education in England: The Urwick Report

Submitted by Yvette Bryan to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Education (Generic Route)

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Abstract

This study provides a contribution to the historiography of management education in England. Criticism of British management expressed in Government policy over the past sixty years has concluded that a low level of management education in the UK is affecting its ability to compete. To this end there have been a number of government interventions in management education. The focus of this research is the first phase of government intervention in management education initiated in 1945.

By considering the development of management education from a historical perspective this research adopts the theoretical stance that an understanding of the past can contribute to an understanding of management education today.

The report of a committee on *Education for Management* appointed in 1945 by the Minister of Education, the Urwick Report (1947) and the subsequent Diploma in Management Studies (DMS), the first qualification in management studies, are used as vehicles to articulate the involvement and relationships of industry and government with regard to formal management education. From this, conclusions are drawn about the professional and policy processes at play and consideration given as to how these shaped subsequent practice.

The method adopted was documentary analysis of primary sources which included published and unpublished administrative papers from government archives. Data from journals, a newspaper, and the archives of employee and employer bodies were referenced to provide context and support the validity of my interpretation.

I conclude that the key contribution which the Urwick Report made to management education was in establishing the principle that there was a body of knowledge associated with management. The study illuminates policy processes surrounding management education at a particular time with regard to a specific report. During this period opportunities existed that, if actioned, could have significantly changed the education of managers in England. Government, industry and education were all party to these opportunities. Events surrounding the Urwick Report, and the subsequent implementation of the DMS, offer some useful lessons from the past.

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List of abbreviations

Association for (the Advancement of)* Education in Industry and Commerce	AEIC
Advertising Association	AA
Anglo-American Council of Productivity	AACP
Association of Principals of Technical Institutions	APTI
Association of Technical Institutions	ATI
Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions	ATTI
Board of Education	BOE
Board of Trade	BOT
British Association for Commercial Education	BACE
British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education	BACIE
British Chamber of Commerce	BCC
British Employers Confederation	BEC
British Institute of Management	BIM
British Management Council	BMC
Business and Technology Council	BTEC
Certificate in Management Studies	CMS
Chartered Institute of Management	CIM
Confederation of Management Associations	CMA
Department of Education and Science	DES
Diploma in Management Studies	DMS
Federation of British Industries	FBI
Foundation for Management Education	FME
Further Education	FE
Further Education College	FEC
Higher Education	HE
Incorporated Sales Managers Association	ISM
Industrial Welfare Society	IWS
Industrial Welfare Workers	IWW
International Committee on Scientific Management	CIOS
Institute of Cost and Works Accountants	CWA
Institute of Industrial Administration	IIA
Institute of Economic Engineering	IEE
Institute of Electrical Engineers	IEeng
Institute of Export	IOE
Institute of Labour Management	ILM
Institute of Mechanical Engineers	IMeng
Institute of Production Engineers	IPeng
Institute of Traffic Administration	ITA
International Management Institute	IMI
Joint Commerce Committee	JCC
Management Charter Initiative	MCI
Management Research Groups	MRG
Master in Business Administration	MBA
Ministry of Education	MOE
Ministry of Labour (and National Service)	MOL
National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce	NACEIC
National Council for Commercial Education	NCCE
National Vocational Qualification	NVQ
Office Management Association	OMA
Purchasing Officers Association	POA

Trades Union Congress	TUC
Workers Education Association	WEA
Works Management Association	WMA

* '*the advancement of*' was subsequently dropped

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Living with a lifelong learner is not always easy. This thesis could not have been completed without the love, encouragement and support of Steve Horrell.

1 Introduction and approach

This chapter has three aims: firstly, to introduce the researcher and the research; secondly, to make explicit the theoretical perspectives that have influenced the research; and thirdly to discuss the methodology used. It begins with a brief personal history and an introduction to my professional practice. Reference is then made to a recent example of UK Government policy that is critical of British management. As will be discussed, such criticisms have been expressed many times before; they have a long history. Criticism of management and in turn management education has resulted in a number of government interventions in the last sixty years. It is with management education that the research is concerned. Continuing a theme of the personal and professional, I then explain the circumstances that influenced the approach taken and the research questions.

A brief overview of the existing literature on the history of management education is given to illustrate its main themes and related government policy. A historical overview of the field of history of education is not given, rather an interpretation of how the field appears to a researcher in education today (see McCulloch and Richardson 2000, pp. 40 - 51 for an overview). The rationale for the specific focus, the approach to the research and the sources used are then discussed.

The chapter then justifies the rationale for undertaking research in the history of management education in England. The focus of the research is a report titled *Education for Management: Management Subjects in Technical and Commercial Colleges: Report of a special committee appointed by the Minister of Education* (1947), known as the Urwick Report. Chapter one concludes with an explanation of how the thesis is structured and a brief overview of each of the following four chapters.

1.1 Personal history and professional practice

For the past 6 years I have lectured on business and management programmes at Somerset College in Taunton. This move into teaching followed a 15 year career in the private service sector culminating in a senior management position at European level. During this time I had been responsible for the education and training of others and for delivering in-house programmes. The first formal qualification I achieved in management was a result of a series of recommendations from the Constable and

McCormick and the Handy Reports of 1986-87. Sponsored by the then British Institute of Management (BIM), now the Chartered Institute of Management (CIM), these reports resulted in the creation of the Management Charter Initiative (MCI) supported by industry and the government. The *Business and Technology Council (BTEC) National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) level 4 Management Qualification: Participating Organisations Management Charter Initiative* was undertaken in the workplace and based on competencies which were assessed against MCI standards. It reflected the NVQ model then being promoted (Wolf 2002). In comparison my *Masters in Business Administration* (MBA) was studied out of work hours, with students from a range of different organisations, and modelled on a traditional university course of lectures and seminars assessed through essays and examinations. The MBA was a result of recommendations from the Robbins Report (1963) into Higher Education. This combination of practical experience combined with a mix of accredited management education, in-house and private skills based training, is the basis on which I define myself as an educator.

The management courses I lecture on, the Certificate in Management Studies (CMS) and the Diploma in Management Studies (DMS), are qualifications that resulted from the first government report into management education in 1947, the Urwick Report. In my experience these courses are undertaken by students in full time work with a range of academic backgrounds. The majority of students are not graduates; usually they have the equivalent of a level 3 vocational qualification to study for the CMS. The DMS requires, as a minimum for enrolment, a level 5 qualification, such as the CMS, or an undergraduate degree. Both courses require the student to have management experience.

As a practitioner of management education, a former manager and management student I have engaged in many debates about the purpose and value of management education over the past 20 years. Experience of management education is part of my interpretation of what it means to be a professional manager. It is with management education that this research is concerned and, as will be discussed in the next section, it is a subject that has attracted government criticism.

1.2 Current criticisms of management education

The Leitch Review of Skills: Prosperity for all in the global economy – world class skills (2006) is a recent example of UK Government criticism of British management. The

Leitch Review states '*Good management is a prerequisite to improving business performance*', and despite some examples of good practice, '*the UK has some serious problems with management and leadership*' (Leitch 2006, p. 89). The '*quality of management practice*' in the UK, which the report implies is related to, the level of education a manager has undertaken, is lower than the nation's competitors. A low level of management education in the UK is affecting its ability to compete. Although the nature of a relationship between education and increased productivity is still strongly debated (Wolf 2002, pp.13 – 55), the Leitch Review evidences government policy focused on skills, specifically economically valuable skills, as *the* means to compete in a global economy. Within this context skills development is seen as a shared responsibility between the government, the employer and the individual set within a culture of lifelong learning and a learning society. Management is seen as significant in identifying the skills required, driving demand for education and training, and in managing the workforce to improve performance (Constable and McCormick 1986, p. 3). Despite recommendations from various government reports over the last sixty years (see for example Percy Report 1945, Anglo-American Council of Productivity Report 1951, Robbins Report 1963, Handy Report 1987 and the Final Report of the Centre for Excellence in Management and Leadership 2002) many managers do not have a management related qualification and this does not prevent them from practicing. Statistics from the Labour Force Survey (2006) identify 15.1% of the working population in the 'managers and senior officials' category which equates to approximately 4.3 million people of whom 41% (Leitch 2006, p. 90) have less than a level 2 qualification. This raises a number of perplexing questions, firstly, about the perceived value of management education by individuals, industry, government and wider society, and secondly, why this has seemingly been the case for some time.

1.3 Approaching a history of management education in England

Carrying out historical research is something I had never considered before undertaking this study. As noted by Alison Andrew (1985), like many students I had included a brief history in an essay to give context. Naively, anything beyond this I had associated with history students, and, in terms of its relationship to education, my view was reflected by a question used as a prompt during a lecture by Professor William Richardson, "But what's the point?" (2006). Realising I knew little of the history of management education the lecture inspired me to search the literature. This brief engagement suggested that the development of business schools and the implementation of the MBA was the focus of much of the literature. Both themes

appeared to be underpinned by a discourse on the Americanisation of management education in the UK (Wheatcroft 1970, Tiratsoo 1998, Gregoire 1966 and Locke 1998). The academic credibility of the MBA had been debated alongside the revenue it delivers to Universities (Starkey et al. 2004) and the opportunity it offered to improve social mobility, creating managers from merit rather than social class (Whitley et al 1981). The qualification's popularity was seen to be diminishing (Ivory et al. 2006) and more recently business schools had been accused of promoting practices that focus on individualism and profit at all cost (Pfeffer and Fong 2002 and 2004).

In the aforementioned literature, government attention on management education was seen as beginning with the Robbins Report (1963) into Higher Education and the subsequent Franks Report (1963) proposing business schools. The Constable and McCormick Report (1986) and the Handy Report (1987) were identified as the next significant government intervention. Occasionally the Urwick Report (1947) was mentioned but rarely commented on beyond an inference that it was not well received. The creation of a professional body for management, the BIM, was mentioned in conjunction with the Urwick Report. The history of management education in the UK was compared to that in America but also to France, Germany and Japan (Handy 1987, Cassis et al. 1995 and Locke 1998). The relationship between universities and business with regards to management education had also been debated particularly in connection to technical education (Keeble 1992 and Sanderson 1999). Government reports defined management education in terms of its relationship to productivity, implicating it in the UK's failure to achieve productivity levels comparable to its competitors (Leitch 2006 and Handy Report 1987). The history of institutions associated with management education had been documented, for example Ashridge (Bertheze`ne 2005) and the Manchester Business School (Wilson 1992). In general little attention appeared to have been given to the period before the 1960s and the implementation of the MBA in 1965. Events associated with business schools, unsurprisingly, appeared to be the focus of academics associated with management education. Earlier history appeared to be under researched.

1.4 From themes to questions

Contextualizing current criticism of management education within the literature and my experience of management education, as a student and practitioner, left me with questions about the history of management education. Despite the creation of a professional body and related professional qualifications, why had management not become established as a profession? Had concerns over productivity always been its

raison d'etre? These questions were at the heart of debates I had previously engaged in. Given my current practice, I was also intrigued by the creation of the first qualification in management studies, the DMS implemented in Further Education Colleges (FECs), and the lack of literature relating to this. When referenced, commentators were often critical of this qualification making its survival today seem surprising. James Platt, as part of a committee involved in reviewing the DMS in 1961, was by 1969, calling for its removal; Tiratsoo and Tomlinson (1993, p. 115) referred to it simply as another '*great British failure*'. Against such criticism it seemed odd that the DMS still existed. Sub-consciously I began to personify the qualification and consider it as a forgotten pioneer within management education's history.

Historical research is not just about 'preserving' a part of a story, "*…there is good history and there is poor history, but even the worst history is history*" (Renier 1950, p. 22). Rather it aspires to do more than fill a gap. The aim of this study is to add to an understanding of current issues specifically concerned with management education. In this sense it sits more with a view of the researcher as an educationalist than as a historian using Gary McCulloch and William Richardson's distinction (2000, p. 27 and p. 130). The research adopts the view that an interpretation of the past can contribute to an understanding of why management education is as it is today. The theoretical perspective that influenced the research is the view that by reference to the past a better understanding of current issues is possible. To be more specific this approach is purposeful, its intention is to *'..start from the issues of the day in order to uncover the lessons of a 'usable past*'' (McCulloch and Richardson 2000, p. 121). It looks to the past but with a present issue in mind: '*only when contemporary problems are analysed historically can we understand where they have come from, how certain analogies have been worked out and how they can inform the present*' (Robinson 2000, p. 51). Within this view the aim and objectives of the research started to develop:

> The aim is to contribute to the historiography of management education in England.

Questions about how management education developed, who had been involved and how had this influenced practice needed to be considered. Making sense of management education today needed to be set within a historical perspective (Crotty 2003). The first report into management education would be used to look purposefully into the past and construct an understanding of the development of management education. The objectives of the research became;

To create a narrative that articulates the involvement and relationships of industry and government with formal management education.

In the light of this to draw conclusions about the professional and policy processes at play in the order that these determined some of the shape of subsequent practice.

To achieve these objectives answers to the following questions were sought;

- What events related to management education and the Urwick Report?
- Who were the actors involved in discourses about management education?
- How did the nature and purpose of the recommendations of the Urwick Report reflect that of the interested parties?
- How can the early history of management education illuminate contemporary understanding of management education today?

The sources of data used in this research are mainly documents from government archives which will be discussed in section 1.7. What is of note here is that the data selected had been constructed and sorted by others**.** Others, such as civil servants in the case of government archives, had decided which data should be archived for the record. At best this is a narrative which reflects a particular view from a particular set of documents. By considering the narrative created alongside the current literature my aim was to position my work with respect to that of others.

This research is not about considering what it means to be professional or the characteristics of a profession. Rather it starts with the premise that profession-specific education and a professional body form a part of the professionalisation of a field. Further it considers management as a discipline: a socially constructed subject of study. The development of a curriculum forms part of this construction; however, this aspect of development is not the primary concern of the research. Negotiations about curriculum are used as a means to interpret and construct relationships between the interested parties, identifying those who were and were not involved. Similarly attention is not given to the methods used to deliver the curriculum. Management education is defined here as the study of management within a public institution of education where study is towards a qualification in management studies. This does not elevate this type of education above other forms of education, whether categorised by length of study or institution, such as a private college, independent education organisation or a business

with an in-house provision for management education. Indeed, government criticism is not limited to identifying only this form of education as part of the drive for improved productivity.

Within this definition the research has echoes of what Lagemann (2000) refers to as discipline history in that it aims to call '*..attention to patterns of historical choice and chance*' (p. xiv) within a narrative of management education. My interpretation of what it means to undertake such research is explained in section 1.6. Before this, a view of how the field of history of education appears today and the concerns this raises for a researcher are considered.

1.5 History of education: An unattractive or forgotten field?

Historical research into education and into business and management studies appears not to be a popular approach (Goodson and Walker 1991 and O'Brien et al. 2004). As noted by McCulloch and Richardson (2000) general text books on research methodology in education either have a chapter on historical methods or no reference to it at all. Research texts in business and management studies show a similar pattern (see for example Saunders et al. 2003). It would appear that historical methods in both fields are not necessarily popular.

Cohen et al. (2000, p. 158) comment on historical research as '*…one of the most taxing kinds of inquiry to conduct satisfactorily*'. As a non-historian Alison Andrew (1985 cited in McCulloch and Richardson 2000, p. 15) notes the '*..difficulties and dilemmas brought about by the often uncomfortable straddling of two separate academic disciplines..*'. Neither of which make the field sound attractive. In considering the use of documents for analysis, Tosh (2002, p. 41) warns '*..for the novice researcher* [this method]*….can be painfully slow*'. Reflecting on an experience of looking through archive data, Rene Saran (1985, p. 233) describes the process as boring with its '*dreary chronological record*'. These comments do not encourage the researcher to adopt historical methods. An alternative to these views is McCulloch's drive to encourage an engagement with documents irrespective of which arm of the social sciences family a researcher comes from, although titling a chapter on document analysis '*The Joy of Life*' (McCulloch (2004, p. 29) might appear either a little evangelical or ironic. The chapter title is a tribute by McCulloch to the social reformers Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1932, p. 126 cited in McCulloch 2004, p. 22) who used the phrase to describe archival research. The process of document analysis is described

by McCulloch as '*mysterious', 'frustrating', 'boring', 'lonely*', and *'solitary'* (2004, p. 26) so perhaps he is being evangelical and ironic. The conclusion reached from these comments is that the field does not seem very attractive, a conclusion that has been reached by other researchers (McCulloch 2004). It would seem the historical method can best be described as no pain, no gain.

Finally there is the problem of writing, creating a story, avoiding '*platitude and cliches*' (Marwick 1970, p. 165) and ensuring that the reader is engaged for the whole text, as it is through the whole that its meaning is expressed (Richardson and St Pierre 2005).

> To write is to raise a claim for the attention of readers. To write is also to claim for oneself at least status enough to be read. (Wright Mills 1959, p. 218)

The outcomes of the writing process are onerous. Historical writing and its many literary forms is described as being a combination of three basic techniques: *description, narrative and analysis* (Tosh 2002, p. 140). The purpose of description and narrative is to '*re-create*' the past, a classical aspiration of historians, whilst analysis is concerned with '*interpreting*' it (ibid. p. 141). As discussed in section 1.4 this thesis uses selected data, data that is incomplete (a term discussed further in section 1.7). Also the writing is in some sense autobiographical (Goodson and Walker 1991). I believe it is impossible to stand outside my own history and recount a story that has influenced my education and relates to my current work without implicitly evidencing my own philosophical perspectives. The majority of the data analysed for this thesis was gendered. Those involved in the early history of management education were predominately male. A particular ideology of management dominates many of the documents that have been used for this research, the notion that managers are born and not made. A subtext to this ideology is that it is the class into which you are born that is important. As a female researcher from a working class background there have been some uncomfortable moments when reading documents which may well have influenced my interpretation.

Aside from appearing unattractive there are other reasons why the approach appears forgotten, such as the removal of the history of education from undergraduate degrees in education (McCulloch and Richardson 2000, Robinson 2000). Even at postgraduate level, Freathy (2005) notes the absence of the methodology in texts on a reading list at Exeter University. This is particularly surprising as Richardson, then head of the School of Education at Exeter has, with McCulloch (2000), written one of the very few texts on historical research in educational settings. Previously I noted that this research had been partially inspired by a lecture by Richardson. Without this I doubt that I would have even considered the approach.

Considering the process of historical research raised a number of concerns about my academic background and lack of historical research skills. A lower risk strategy would have been to use methods with which I was already familiar but these methods would not provide the answers to the questions that I had about management education. Literature on methodology in history, and the use of the historical method in educational research warned of the potential of volumes of data. Naively I thought that framing the research would help alleviate this problem. Initially a provisional time period of twenty years (1945 to 1965) was considered. The next section details how and why this changed.

1.6 Framing the research

As previously noted research related to the MBA has dominated the literature on the development of management education. I decided to focus on the period prior to 1965 and it seemed logical to start in 1945 due to the establishment of the first government committee into management education, resulting in the publication of the Urwick Report in 1947 by the Ministry of Education (MOE). To determine potential areas for further investigation and context, following advice, newspaper articles were searched. A set of 9 keywords/phrases were used to search *The Times*, chosen due to its online access, for any items related to management education during the period 1945 to 1965. Themes that emerged were: debates about whether management was an art or a science and, if studied, should this be postgraduate or after having gained experienced in the work environment referred to as post-experience; the role of universities which began to be discussed in the late 1950s; the creation of the BIM and its link to management education. These themes were discussed within the context of the need for improvements in productivity. What became apparent was that whenever a theme emerged and was considered, I was drawn back to the view that in order to generate an understanding of what management education is and why it is, the early history needed to be the starting point.

The first report and qualification in management studies would be central to the research. The Urwick Report was identified as its focus. This would be my '*ground zero*' (Ball 1997, p. 266) but there was a need to be cautious of assuming that this was the start of policy concerning management education. Ball has criticised researchers who choose a particular policy as a start to a history of education leaving anything before this unexplored, because such an approach loses continuities.

Whilst the Urwick Committee was sitting another report, *A Central Institute of Management* (1946), was published by the Board of Trade (BOT). This resulted in the formation of the BIM in 1947. When mentioned in the existing literature an implied connection between this and the Urwick Report was suggested. The next report focusing on Management Education was by the Anglo-American Council on Productivity (AACP) in 1951. This promoted renewed discussions about an American style business school. This series of post war documents was produced whilst the Labour party was in power. The early post war period had been used by some scholars as a focus for studies which contributed to political and economic historiographies by referencing management education (Carew 1991, Tiratsoo and Tomlinson 1993, Tiratsoo 1998 and Clarke 1999). Within the field of education more specifically, Bocock and Taylor (2003) note a lack of research in exploring Labour's policy towards higher education in this period. Although mention is made of management education, this body of the research is concerned mainly with Labour's view of universities. These studies offered the opportunity to locate my research within the current literature. Potentially they would act as a means by which my research could be validated.

In section 1.1 I gave a very brief pen portrait of the students who undertake management education at the institution where I work. This is the group who undertake qualifications in management studies on a part time basis in an FEC in the 21st century. It represents a particular constituency of managers who engage in a specific type of management education. When considering managers and management education at the time of the Urwick Report I realised I needed to be alert to the dangers of being anachronistic. If the Urwick Report was seen as representing the first government engagement in management education then data generated at the time would be used to generate an understanding of the term manager and management education.

1.7 Historical sources and method

Tosh (2002, pp. 45 - 54) notes a wide range of historical sources. The written and spoken word, art in its many forms, artefacts, even the shape of the landscape can act as the '*raw material*' for a historian. As the focus of the research was a particular government report, official government archives formed part of the data. Both published and unpublished administrative papers related to the Urwick Report and its committee were used. Administrative papers have been identified by Scott (1990) as being one of the '*most important of documentary sources used in social research*' (cited in McCulloch 2004, p. 5). The selection and use of sources has been a focus of

post-modernist criticism of historical methods and so there is a need to consider the implications of choices made. Tosh (2002, pp. 168 -171) describes primary sources as being both '*incomplete'*, in terms of a lack of information about the mental process involved, '*tainted',* as they reflect the intentions of those who constructed the document and comprising a '*profusion'* of sources. As commented on previously, documents which have been archived have been selected by others. As I discovered they are not just incomplete and tainted, in Tosh's sense, but they have gaps in the record that seem unexplainable. There is a warning from McCulloch (2004, p. 6) that needs to be bore in mind;

> Documents are social and historical constructs, and to examine them without considering this simply misses the point.

By being aware of such limitations and indeed by following McCulloch's (2004, p. 6) advice to try and locate the '*text'* within its '*context'* my aim was to make explicit the interpretation made, as it is the '*validity of the inferences*' that matter (Tosh 2002, p. 171). That said, as a novice historian of education, I was concerned that there was a risk that it would be the *con* of the *context* that might cause a problem. Resolution of this potential difficulty would involve aiming to understand: the process followed by the Urwick Committee; those involved in the process; why they were involved; the audience for the report; and how it was received. As recommended by McCulloch, this approach aims to encourage awareness of context. The model is made more explicit by the identification of seven key issues for developing an understanding of published primary sources namely; text, author, context, audience, influence, processes and interests (McCulloch and Richardson 2000, pp. 91 -96). It is this model of analysis that was adopted.

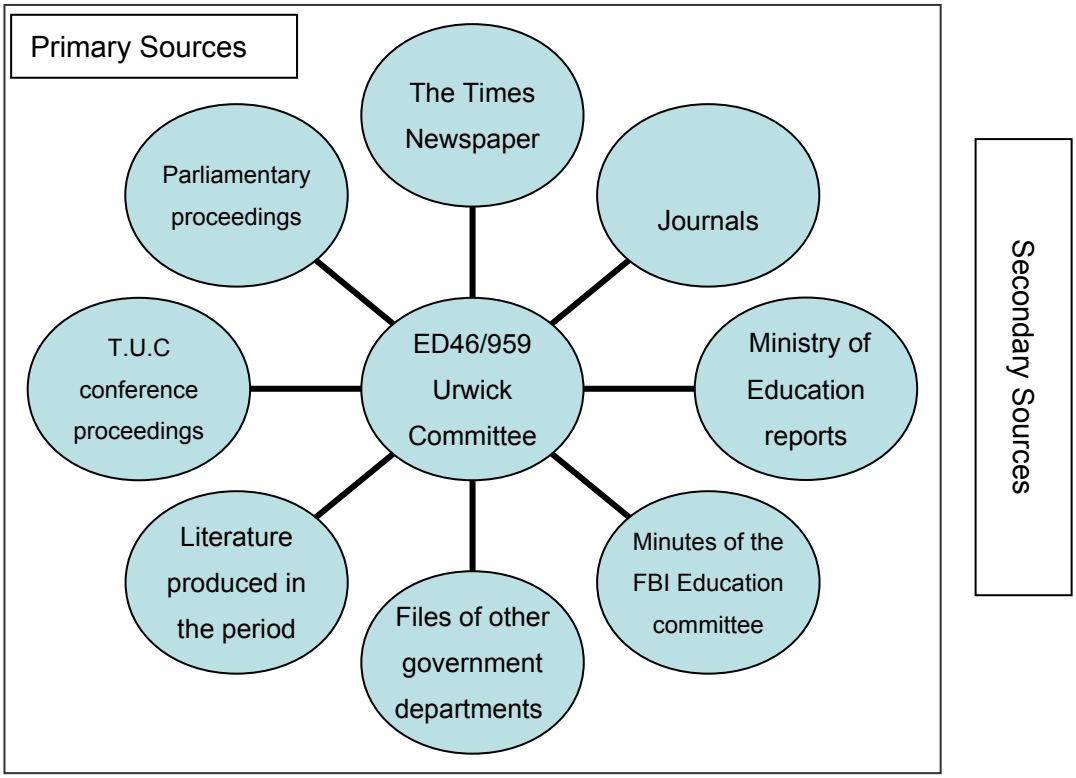
Files compiled by the MOE in relation to the Urwick Committee (1945 – 1947) were the basis of the analysis. These files contained minutes of meetings, letters to and from individuals and professional bodies, and correspondence between government departments. This internal correspondence led to data in the files of other departments. Other reports produced by the MOE during the period relating to themes associated with management education such as administration, commerce and technology were also considered as a means to position management education as part of the government's education strategy. To consider if there was a connection between the BIM and the Urwick Report, files from the BOT concerning *A Central Institute of Management* (1946) were also analysed. This led to files from another government department, the Treasury, becoming part of the data.

As part of the analysis, the reports were cross-referenced from three different perspectives: time, commissioning department and individuals on the committees and the organisations they represented. Doing so provided data on issues such as author(s), context, process and interests. In addition to the reports themselves, articles from newspapers and journals along with conference proceedings published at the time were referred to in conjunction with secondary sources to allow consideration of audience, influence and context. McCulloch and Richardson (2000) note that groups not directly associated with education may have an interest in education. With this in mind industry in the broader context was considered. Documents of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Federation of British Industries (FBI) were also analysed with an aim to consider both the views of employee and employer bodies. The data was therefore from published and unpublished administrative papers, and public sources. This was an attempt to adopt a type of '*methodological pluralism*' (McCulloch 2004, p. 129) with regards to the different types of documents. Its aim was to support the '*validity of inferences'* made (Tosh 2002, p. 171).

To provide a view of events related to management education before 1945, in addition to government files and data from *The Times*, the research draws on the Proceedings of the Association for the Advancement of Education in Industry and Commerce (AEIC), the Emmott Committee (1927) and the work of the professional bodies drawn from both primary and secondary sources.

The directions of the historical research process have been categorised as '*source orientated*' and '*problem-orientated*' (Tosh 2002, p. 84). This research started with the latter and then experienced the common problem associated with this approach, trying to determine what the relevant sources might be. After the process of identifying a particular report and its outcome as its focus, the research then became source-oriented. Documents referenced in the Urwick Report and data from the committee file were used to identify other sources of data. Sources analysed in chapter 4 are illustrated in figure 1 and their location is listed in the bibliography.

Figure 1: Sources



The selection was made to represent a mix of the parties that were either directly involved with or were perceived as being interested in management education;

- Government departments - the data referenced is held within files of the MOE, the Board of Trade (BOT) and the Treasury. Reports of related committees during the time period have also been selected.
- Professional associations – specifically industry journals.
- Federation of British Industries (FBI) – it represented employers across a range of different industries and had its own education committee, minutes of which were selected.
- Trades Union Congress (TUC) – it represented employees across a wide range of industries. The proceedings of its annual congress were used.
- Politicians - comments made by politicians in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords have been selected from Hansard.
- Public opinion - *The Times* newspaper has been used to gain a sense of public interest in management education. However it is noted that such comment reflects the authorship and readership of *The Times*.
- Others - this is a general category that includes literature related to management education published during the period or published subsequently by those involved at the time.

The availability and location of the data was taken into account during selection. Of the sources identified in figure 1 physical documents were examined with the exception of *The Times* and some entries in Hansard which were available on-line. Figure 1 does not explicitly reference the BIM. The institute has its own archive at the Open University in Milton Keynes which initially I had planned to visit. References to the BIM in the press and professional journals along with correspondence between the BIM and government departments, the FBI and the TUC were found in the data selected. Documents referencing the BIM outweighed those referencing the Urwick Report and management education. Due to the volume of this data, and the time and cost implications associated with visiting the BIM archive, I decided not to include data from the BIM archive. A note also needs to be made here about the Urwick archives held at Henley Management College. Initially I had intended to visit the archives. Issues of time and money were not the only reason I chose not to. The data sources illustrated in figure 1 were those of institutions rather than individuals. Extending the data to individuals would take the research from the public into the private. It would also greatly increase the volume of data to analyse. Therefore, I decided to use only the primary sources illustrated in figure 1. These sources will be discussed with respect to trying to determine if a relationship between the BIM and the Urwick Committee existed, and, if so, what were the implications of this relationship on management education.

The writing process has briefly been discussed in section 1.5., however I return to it here to consider the presentation of the thesis. Where possible a digital camera was used to record data in archives. The method adopted was to capture as much data as possible during a visit to an archive. Editing and analysis could then be done at a later date. An advantage of this method was that I had a document in its entirety rather than my own brief notes from which to draw conclusions. The document image could be revisited as many times as was needed. The value of this became cumulative. Later visits to different archives often raised questions which then made me return to other documents to validate my previous conclusions. Within chapter three and four I have included segments of images of documents and in some cases a full image of a document. There were three main reasons for this: (i) the images are a means of sharing the tangible qualities that the documents have, they break up the text, hopefully adding interest; (ii) avoidance of errors with transcription; and (iii) to support the conclusions drawn, to try and authenticate my work. Ultimately my goal was to express my interpretation of the early history of management education in England.

Throughout this chapter personal and professional influences have been expressed. Firstly, criticism of management and in turn management education over the past sixty

years was highlighted. As a practitioner of management education this is a criticism that has implications for my practice. The adoption of the MBA and the development of business schools were identified as the focus of much of the literature relating to the history of management education. It was noted that the Urwick Report and the subsequent DMS, the first qualification in management, appeared to be a forgotten part of this story. This history is related to my own practice and experience of management education. The research uses the historical method, specifically document analysis. It is an interpretive study influenced by a theoretical stance that sees historical research into education as useful. It looks to the past to gain an understanding of issues in the present. This research also has traces of discipline history. My intention was that the introduction would make explicit my own positionality with a view to trying to rationalise decisions made. My aim was that this continued to be so throughout the thesis. A systematic approach was my goal in approaching and interpreting the data. The process for the creation of the resultant narrative developed and how this contributes to a current understanding of management education is discussed in the next four chapters.

Chapter two locates management education within the existing literature of a history of education, a history of management and that of political, economic and social history. Part of technical education, management education failed to become associated with higher technological education. It remained in a ‘no man’s land’ between the two historiographies of higher and further education until the creation of the business school in the mid 1960s. Through an implied association with the BIM, management education has been identified as part of the Labour government’s engagement with management, to improve productivity and to engage with a new social elite.
Chapter three and chapter four present and discuss the data. Chapter three considers the development of management education before 1945. It identifies the professional bodies and individuals associated with establishing management as a profession, and with it, developing management education. Based on this context, chapter four, considers the Urwick Report from two perspectives: (i) the published report; and (ii) the administrative records of the committee. This chapter presents the main body of the data analysis. It searches for evidence that the Urwick Report was part of wider government strategy. The influence of the report and the implementation of its recommendations are discussed.

The last chapter presents my conclusions. The aim and objectives of the thesis are revisited. I also reflect on the research process and re-consider my views on approaching historical research into management education. Finally, I give my

response to the prompt that acted as the initial inspiration for historical research in education; '*but what's the point?'*

Notes:

1) References to Lyndall Urwick appeared frequently in the data and literature. It will become apparent that Urwick played a significant role in this narrative. For this reason a short biography is included in Appendix A that was compiled by Mark Matthews and Trevor Boyns (2001) who created '*A Schedule of the Lyndall Fownes Urwick Archive*' held at Henley Management College. With reference to the Urwick Report they give the dates of Urwick chairmanship as 1945 to 1946 however my research has evidenced that Urwick was still actively acting as chairman in early 1947.

2) The Urwick Report recommended qualifications in management referred to as the intermediate and final qualifications. The intermediate qualification became known as the Certificate in Management Studies. The final qualification became known as the Diploma in Management Studies. It is this latter qualification that I refer to as the first qualification in management studies. Unlike the intermediate qualification it was not associated with a functional aspect of management (e.g. sales management) and an associated professional body (e.g. the Sales Managers Association). A brief history of events related to the DMS over the past 50 years is provided for context in Appendix B.

3) The British Institute of Management was set up with funding from the government in 1947 as the first professional body concerned solely with management. It had three functions in this regard, propaganda, research and education.

2 Locating management education in the existing literature

The title of this thesis necessitated a review of the literature from two different perspectives, education and management. The aim was to locate management education within the historiography of education and the historiography of management. References to the Urwick Report and / or the DMS were identified and the main themes that emerged noted. The complex nature of the subject was noted by Fremont Kast (1965, p. 75) when reviewing management education in Europe;

> Management education cannot be separated from other aspects of education nor can it be removed from the broad social setting.

Consideration of the '*setting*' to which Kast refers is reflected in the literature by those who have adopted the lenses of political, economic and social analysis. This literature formed the third main strand of the review. The literature is presented in chronological order. In part this was a matter of structure but also as a means of reflecting the attention the subject had drawn over time. I had anticipated that literature in the 1950s would document the Urwick Report and the DMS in greater detail than that after 1965 when the MBA was introduced. In hindsight this proved a naïve expectation; however, it did serve to reaffirm the conclusions made after the preliminary review. Very little attention has been given to the Urwick Report and the DMS in the historiography of education and, with the exception of the work of Edward Brech, in the historiography of management.

2.1 Locating management education in a history of education

In chapter one reference was made to the work of Lagemann (2000) noting that this research had elements of what she refers to as discipline history. To begin, the development of management as a subject was considered; where it came from and what its academic roots were. This approach has similarities to the principles of tracing your family history and offers a language that I will use to explain this section. The aim is to show the relationship of management studies to its ancestors in commerce and administration: to identify its heritage with reference to higher and further education; and finally to determine management education's relationship to higher technological education.

2.1.1 Ancestors: Commerce and Administration

Urwick and Brech (1949), in volume 2 of their series on the *Making of Scientific Management,* were keen to point out that management in England has a long history established in the commercial practices of merchants documented in the 16th century. A few hundred years later, schools of Commerce were established throughout Europe and America. The London School of Economics established in 1895 was the first in England (Engwall and Zamagni 1998). Birmingham University and Manchester College of Technology offered a degree in commerce from 1902 and 1904 respectively (Wilson 1992). With funding from local industry, Manchester College of Technology renamed its department of Commerce and Administration to Industrial Administration in 1919. This has been noted as the '*first*' centre for management education (Silberston 1955, p. 27 and Brech 2002, p. 79) and is credited with the first postgraduate management course in 1926 (Wilson 1992). James Bowie, director of the department and author of *Education for Business Management* (1930), was instrumental at this time in promoting the need for investment in educational facilities for business and management. Calls for courses in management had been made as early as 1921(Child 1969).

Elements of administration and scientific management (influenced by the work of Fredrick Taylor in the USA) became incorporated into engineering degrees in 1920 at Bristol (Brech 2002). A similar approach was adopted in the technical colleges where administrative training was incorporated into the professional examinations of the mechanical and electrical engineering institutes by 1935 (Urwick and Brech 1949). At this time Ordinary and Higher National Certificates in Commerce were introduced in technical colleges (Argles 1964). So, by 1939 both commerce and administration had become established in universities and colleges (Keeble 1992). In some cases administration had been linked with scientific management and was being referred to as industrial administration.

From 1919 both Oxford and Cambridge engaged in post-experience management education through summer schools, conferences and lectures on subjects such as scientific management and industrial administration (Brech 2002). Aside from these short interventions it appears that neither university were keen to acknowledge the subject of management. In the 1950s Cambridge could still not be persuaded to create a chair in management despite a government incentive (Tiratsoo 1998). Preferring the phrase industrial administration to management, in 1950 Aubery Silbertson became the

first holder of the Kenward fellowship in Industrial Administration at Cambridge, its purpose being *'..to foster research into the problems of industrial administration, management and organisation.'* (Silberston 1955, p. v). Oxford did not change its stance until 1962 eventually creating a research fellowship in Management Studies following a financial incentive from the Institute of Directors (Wilson 1992). What is of note here is that both universities resisted formally acknowledging management as a subject but they did engage in what would now be termed executive management education through short courses, lectures and conferences.

2.1.2 Heritage: management education in colleges and universities

With its academic roots in commerce and administration, both of which had a place in universities and colleges, management education could have developed in either or both types of institution. The creation of the DMS to be delivered in technical and commercial colleges marked a significant advance in management education in a particular direction. Its introduction has been noted particularly in the literature of technical education and latterly in that of further education.

An in-depth description of technical education between 1945 and 1955 is provided by Peter Venables (1955). A comprehensive review of progress to date, it is packed with statistics on students, institutions and subjects presenting a view of the field that aims to show its partnerships with government and industry against a backdrop of political, social, economic and technological change. Whilst noting the complexity of the subject, in a more detailed way than Kast (1965), Venables (1955, p. 201) acknowledged that management did have its own body of knowledge.

> Many references are made to this subject [management education and training] throughout this book because it is the most widely inter-penetrating aspect of industry, occupying a key position yet entering at all levels, having its own distinct body of knowledge, techniques and sanctions yet never wholly divorced from scientific, technical or commercial details.

As a reflection of this complexity, a section on '*Management Education and Training'* is included in a chapter on '*Industry and Education'* (ibid., pp. 172-218) by Venables and a second section on '*Management Studies'* is included in a chapter on '*Commerce'* (ibid., pp. 361-390) by E. Thompson. This provides two different perspectives on the subject. For Venables there are two important aspects to the subject: (1) the effective administration of industry and (2) as a requirement for progressing education in industry. The latter implies that educated managers will be more likely to educate their workforce. Thompson is more specific, linking the subject with improvements in

productivity and the economy. The development of management education is associated with different events. Thompson associates the development of management studies from post war courses run by the Ministry of Labour (MOL) integrating returning service personnel into business. The creation of the BIM is the key event for Venables. No mention is made of the Urwick Report by either author, but both detail the work of the BIM. Starting points aside, without reference to the Urwick Report the DMS is discussed alongside the BIM implying, as seen in the quotation below, that the DMS was developed by the BIM;

> ..the British Institute of Management (B.I.M.) has been established and curricula leading to an Intermediate Certificate and to a Diploma in Management Studies have been developed. (Thompson 1955, p. 372)

Management is noted as part of a number of qualifications of professional bodies other than the BIM. However, due to a lack of agreement between professional bodies and the BIM, no standard approach had been adopted. Other methods of management education are discussed such as in-house training but the preferred method, for Venables and Thompson, would be the adoption of methods used in America, particularly the establishment of the business school. Of note from this review is that management education is part of technical education and, in the main, part of commerce. The creation of the DMS is linked to the BIM. It is a qualification of a professional body. Management studies also forms part of other professional bodies' qualifications. Management education is justified with respect to industrial efficiency and changing industry's view of education.

A different approach to the subject of management and education is taken by Stephen Cotgrove (1958). No mention is made of educating and training managers with respect to management. What managers need is a scientific or technical qualification. This lack of qualifications was affecting industry's view of science and research. Not only was industry not taking advantage of advances in science and technology but scientists had a low status. Not enough scientists were in senior positions in organisations. Both Venables and Cotgrove focused on facets of the same problem: increasing the number of technologists and scientists, with a view to changing industry's view of education and improving industry. Published within a short period of each other they represent two different views of management education. Venables considers education in management, irrespective of the manager's previous education, whilst Cotgrove is concerned with the education of the manager (specifically in science and technology). Management education is part of Venables' notion of technical education, but not of Cotgrove's.

Management education is included in a chapter on 'special subjects' in a history of technical and scientific education, from 1851 to 1963, by Michael Argles (1964). Less than a page is devoted to management education, understandable given the breadth of his study and when the DMS was introduced. The Urwick Report is noted as a *'watershed'* (Argles 1964, p. 125) and in commenting on the creation on the BIM in the same year as the publication of the Urwick Report a connection with the BIM is implied. The BIM, rather than the development and progress of the DMS, is the focus of Argles' reference and is credited with stimulating interest in management education. Management is incorporated into studying for a professional body as referenced by Venables. Classified as technical education by Argles, there is no indication as to whether management education is part of further or higher education.

Leonard Cantor and I.F. Roberts (1972, pp. 102-126) provide a historical perspective of further education, including management, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Further education is defined as *'those institutions (other than Universities and Colleges of Education) providing post-school education'* (ibid. p. ix). The DMS is included as it is *'the principal management education course in further education'* (ibid. p. 119). No mention is made of the Urwick Report which is surprising as Cantor and Roberts make reference to a large number of government reports and notable individuals throughout their text. Having given the DMS the accolade of the most important qualification in FE they note that controversy has surrounded the DMS since its creation with issues over quality and course length. Unlike Argles, Cantor and Roberts do not make reference to the BIM. However, they do give a clear classification of the DMS as part of the provision in further education for post-experience management studies inferring that this has been the case since its implementation.

There are a number of themes that have emerged from considering the heritage of management education. Essentially the DMS could be described as professional, post-experience, technical education delivered in FECs. It was associated with the creation of the BIM and was therefore part of the professional education that technical and commercial colleges delivered on behalf of professional bodies to experienced students who studied part time. With the exception of Argles, the Urwick Report is not mentioned; the focus of comment is the BIM. Management studies formed a part of the qualification for a number of professional bodies at this time not just the BIM. For some, management education was justified because of needed improvements in productivity, for others it was a means of changing industry's attitude to education.
Given its early establishment in FE I had anticipated finding reference to management education within the history of further education, but this field appears not yet to have

drawn the attention of historians of education (Richardson 2007a). Where attention has been given, for example in the work of Bill Bailey (2002), the existing literature is concerned with the further education of young people. At this point a relationship with higher technological education was considered and this is discussed in the next subsection.

2.1.3 Relationship to higher technological education.

An indication of a relationship between management education and higher technological education was given in the Percy Report *Higher Technological Education* (1944) (Venables 1955). The importance of management was discussed within the same context as science and technology. The report has been the focus of much comment. Seen as a response to the production crisis of 1940 – 1942, Venables (1955, p. 468) considered it the source of '*All post-war proposals concerning technological education within the technical colleges'*. It has also been identified as the start of the Labour party's involvement in higher education policy (Bocock and Taylor 2003) and as the start of the '*crucial quarter century for higher technological education*' (Silver 2007, p. 295). Within the Percy Report management education was part of higher technological education, where higher referred to education beyond compulsory education (as opposed to an understanding of HE today). It could perhaps then be anticipated that the DMS would be included in historiographies of higher education, however this appears not to be the case. A possible explanation may lie with interpretations of the word technology. Problems of terminology and the changing interpretations of words are common in history of education, a point made by Harold Silver (2007, p. 295) with regards to technology and technological education. It is the words that he references that provide a clue as to the possible fate of management education within this context; science; technology and engineering. As noted in subsection 2.1.1 the relationship of management subjects with engineering had been established through industrial administration. This would explain the difficulty in isolating management as a specific subject area to reference.

Ten years after the Percy Report, Venables (1955, pp. 468 – 473) provided a progress report on its proposals in a chapter on *Higher Technological Education*. The focus for management education was the recommendation for a postgraduate centre for industrial administration. The work of the BIM and the establishment of an Administrative Staff College were seen as superseding this. This is the only reference to management education. There has been an increasing interest in the history of

higher technological education over the past 15 years, but the focus has been on universities (Richardson 2007b). If Cotgrove's view is adopted, that more managers should have a scientific or technical qualification, then it would be no surprise to find that management education is absent from this literature. Despite mention of management education in the Percy Report, it appears to have failed to be considered as higher technological education.

This section concludes that different interpretations of management education developed in technical and commercial colleges to those in universities. Commerce and administration, subjects which eventually became part of management studies, had been studied in their own right in technical colleges and universities at different levels since the turn of the century. Industrial administration had been incorporated into engineering degrees before 1939. Oxford and Cambridge had engaged in lectures and conferences during this period but had not recognised management as an award-bearing subject. Following the Urwick Report (1947), the DMS was introduced in technical and commercial colleges. This was noted in the literature of technical education where its association with the BIM was the primary point of reference. Initially envisioned as a part of higher technological education as identified in the Percy Report (1944), management has subsequently failed to be identified with this field in the existing literature related to higher or further education in the immediate post war years. The next section considers the literature of the history of management to determine if, and how, the Urwick Report and the creation of the DMS was commented on there.

2.2 Locating management education in a history of management

The complex nature of management education was noted in the introduction to this chapter and reference was made to its '*setting*' (Kast 1965, p. 75). This section starts by identifying the drivers and barriers to management education's development. The Urwick Report and the DMS are then located in the existing literature in a subsection that draws heavily on the works of Mildred Wheatcroft (1970) and Edward Brech (2002).

Before moving on to the analysis of the literature two points need to be made relating to the field of history of management and the work of Edward Brech. History of management is a field that appears only recently to have started to develop in earnest,

having been part of a larger field of business history. Andrew Thomson (2001) has argued for management history as a discrete subject but still interrelated to business history. Thomson was part of the Management History Research Group set up at the Open University in 1994 which has generated a number of contributions to the field, amongst them Edward Brech's five volume series *The Evolution of Modern Management* published between 1997 and 2002. Volume 5, *Education, Training and Development for and in Management: Evolution and Acceptance in Britain 1852 – 1979,* provides the most comprehensive reference to the Urwick Report of any of the literature surveyed. Of the 'acts and facts' tradition of historical writing, the work draws on a number of primary sources making little reference to other literature. Brech is both an observer and a contributor to the field and co-authored books with Urwick. His work provides a source of secondary data in terms of the period of this thesis and forms part of the general literature on management. When commenting on *The Making of Scientific Management* (Urwick and Brech 1949), John Child accounts for its lack of '*a critical dimension*' (1969, p. 24) with reference to Urwick and Brech's involvement in the field. Child's comment reflects the different epistemological perspectives of practitioner-theorists, such as Urwick and Brech, and later social scientists, such as Child (Roper 1999). This section begins by considering the post war context and its implications for the development of management education.

2.2.1 Drivers

Post war reconstruction resulted in the modernization of plant and machinery, new industries began to emerge, and new methods of production were being developed. This was a combination of events resulting in enhanced economic activity and progress (Kirby 1991). Technology, government policy and merger and acquisition activity have been identified as both driving the need for management education and, in the latter's case, creating a need for new types of management within larger organisations (Wheatcroft 1970, Wilson 1992, Keeble 1992 and Wolf 2002). Organisational structures became divisionalised and organisations engaged in diversification strategies requiring changes in managerial control structures and long range planning skills (Whitley et al. 1981). Management began to expand and fragment into specialist functional areas with general management then becoming associated with experienced managers at a higher level in the organisation (Argyle et al. 1962). These conditions created the need for not just more managers but better quality managers. The war time coalition government which associated productivity improvements with the quality of managers had set up the BIM to this end (Tiratsoo 1998). This combination of events and

circumstances seemed to create a demand for managers and management education. In 1945 Wilson (1992, p. 4) notes approximately 3,000 organisations running in-house forms of management education which would seem to reflect this demand. To understand how and why management education developed from this drive, the barriers to its development also need to be considered.

2.2.2 Barriers

One of the major barriers to management education was the much referenced mantra, managers are born and not made. This ideology incorporated the notion of working up through the ranks; management was experience based, and an art. It was a view which conflicted with those who believed in a science of management and that management related to a specific skill set that education could support. A distinct group of supporters emerged in the 1930s that supported this philosophy. This group, referred to as the '*Management Movement*' (Brech 2002, p. 117) and '*management intellectuals*' (Child 1969, p. 24), included those that were later identified as the pioneers of management and management education such as Bowie and Urwick.

Debate in the literature generally concentrates on industry's lack of interest in management education (Keeble 1992) and academia's slow response to developments in management (Wilson 1992).The attitudes of industry and academia are acknowledged by Wheatcroft (1970, pp. 1- 5) as two of the three main barriers to management education. The third barrier was the lack of supporting policy by government which resulted from the notion of departmental responsibility. A number of government departments all had an interest in management education; the Ministry of Education; the Board of Trade; the Ministry of Labour; the Ministry of Technology and the Treasury. This theme of departmental responsibilities is one that has been discussed by Aldrich et al. (2000) with regards to education in general. The relationship between industry and academia has been the focus of much debate and will be considered further in section 2.3. What is of note here is that these barriers were significant.

In terms of the academic credibility of management as a subject, the art versus science dialectic was considered by Sir Frederic Hooper in his book *Management Survey* (1948, revised edition 1960). Hooper is credited as promoting the view that management was both (cited in Whitely et al. 1981). It would be difficult to prove that this was the start of an opportunity for a new concept of management in which

education could in part develop personal characteristics, already inherent, and specific technical skills. However, around this time, management related literature began to expand rapidly, an important pre-requisite for the support of future management education (Child 1969). So too did the number of professional bodies related to management, as did the development of a range of initiatives in management training (Brech 2002). It is from this context that the DMS was created.

2.2.3 The Urwick Report and the DMS

The first significant study of management education in England was Wheatcroft's *The Revolution in British Management Education* (1970). Concerned with the period 1960 to 1970 it covers the objectives and methods of undergraduate and postgraduate management education and the development and future role of the business school. The text is frequently referenced therefore its comments are of particular note (see for example Cantor and Roberts 1972, Whitely et al. 1981, Keeble 1992 and Wilson 1992). Described as an '*excellent study*' (Cantor and Roberts 1972, p. 118) at the time, latterly the work has been criticised as '*a Whiggish fable'* (Tiratsoo 1998, p. 125). This is a slightly harsh assessment given that this was the first study, written at a time of massive expansion in higher education. As will be commented on later, Wheatcroft had a long involvement with management education having been a member of a number of government working parties from the early 1950s. In the male-dominated history of management she is very much a female exception. It is for this reason that I would not anticipate Wheatcroft being critical of those in government or who were well known in the field. Wheatcroft makes a number of references to the Urwick Report and the DMS but it is her criticism of the DMS which is usually referred to.

The DMS seems to be a blot on the management education landscape; *"There has always been a great deal of academic controversy about it and there still is.*" (Wheatcroft 1970, p. 52). Unfortunately Wheatcroft does not make explicit from the start her reasons for the DMS being a source of controversy, the criticisms detailed relating to later operational issues. These are listed as a lack of teachers, poor teaching facilities, the part-time nature of the program and its length; (it took five years to complete). By 1959 1500 diplomas had been awarded which was seen as a slow start (Ivory et al 2006, Tiratsoo 1998). This figure would have only taken into account 4 years of data, as the first courses started in 1951 and took 5 years to complete. Whilst these comments relate to the DMS post-1951 they are of note because of the frequency with which they are repeated in other texts. Neither the principle of

establishing a qualification in management studies nor the content of the courses is commented on. It is the operational aspects of delivery of the DMS that are repeated. Wilson and Thomson (2006, p. 168) attribute the criticism to the status of the technical colleges and the professional bodies;

> In retrospect, the early post war focus on the institutes proved to be a blind alley, because (with the exception of the accountants) neither the professional institutes in the management area nor the colleges, which they used as providers had the requisite recognition or status, compared to universities.

Criticism was also extended to students. As low status institutions, the technical colleges were noted as attracting '*poor quality students'* (Mosson (1965) cited in Wilson (1992, p. 4) and Whitely et al (1981, p. 38)). The issue of status is an underpinning theme with reference made to the lack of qualifications achieved in a particular period. Wheatcroft's (1970) comments were influenced by the work of James Platt an advocate of the business school and an influential member of the Foundation for Management Education (FME), which was set up in 1960 and tasked with raising funds for the first two business schools in Manchester and London. In his book, *Education for Management: A Review of the Diploma in Management Studies* (1969), he concluded that the DMS should be phased out. It had failed to become accepted by industry. Again the numbers of students completing the qualification is noted as evidence of its failure. Indeed the work of FECs in management education needed to be reviewed as in many cases it was of poor quality. Criticism of the DMS was related to the status of the technical colleges and that the DMS was not part of a model of management education based on undergraduate and postgraduate business schools. It is used as a means to justify a later solution, the business school.

Even before the DMS was established the reputation of the technical colleges and the professional bodies was questionable. There was *'considerable chaos'* (Wheatcroft 1970, p. 89) in the technical colleges as a result of the examination requirements of numerous professional management bodies. However, Wheatcroft's assessment of the Urwick Report is not based on its success as a solution to operational problems. Commenting on key events in management education up to 1959, the Urwick '*scheme'* is recognised as making a *'considerable contribution'* (ibid. p. 90). Wheatcroft saw the establishment of the Urwick Committee as a reflection of a growing interest in management education and an attempt by the MOE to introduce '*a state system of management education'* (ibid. p. 89). With hindsight, establishing a state system, albeit in the technical colleges, could be seen as a prerequisite to the eventual establishment of management education in universities.

Unlike other authors (Wilson 1992, Tiratsoo and Tomlinson 1993, Tiratsoo 1998 and Larson 2009), Wheatcroft does not explicitly link the DMS with the BIM, rather it is its association with Urwick that is the dominant theme. Distancing the DMS from the BIM reflects a positioning on Wheatcroft's part of management education in educational institutions separate from the professional bodies. These two points are significant in understanding her comments concerning the Urwick Report and the DMS. There is no doubt that Wheatcroft had a great deal of respect for Urwick and this is another factor to consider when analysing her comments. A mini biography of Urwick detailing his career and his involvement in promoting management before the war is included in the book. In 1951 Wheatcroft was part of the Education for Management team, one of many Anglo-American Council of Productivity (AACP) teams sent to America to investigate methods of improving productivity; Urwick led this team. Comments made by Urwick at a BIM conference in 1950 are quoted early in her book (ibid. p. 3) and cited as evidence of established support for a business school by industry. As will be discussed in chapter four, the Urwick Report promoted American methods of management education, specifically the business school. For Wheatcroft, the business school is where future managers are educated (ibid. pp. 42 – 65); and as a qualification, the DMS, with its connection with the technical colleges, did not play a part in that vision. Acknowledgement of '*Urwick's scheme'* (ibid. p. 90) is due to her respect for Urwick.

A detailed description of events leading up to the establishment of the Urwick Committee, its deliberations and the implementation of the DMS is given by Brech (2002 pp. 197 – 212 and pp. 217 - 238). The label of a *Whiggish fable* (after Tiratsoo 1998) could be attached to this work but such dismissal would belittle the contribution it makes to a period which is often over looked in the literature. In the context of the comments made about the work of Brech at the start of this section, his perspective is of note as it represents a different view, that of industry, where Brech spent most of his working life. For Brech the formation of the Urwick Committee is not just a response by the MOE to the post war interest in management or a result of prompting from the Percy Report, it is much more than that. It is an acknowledgement of the '*recognition of "management" as a professional field of knowledge*' (ibid. p. 204), the result of twenty years of work by the '*Management Movement*' (ibid. p. 217) and professional bodies. The report is a milestone with *'specific vocational professional education firmly set into national policy..*' (ibid. p. 212). Here, the Urwick Report is presented as a rationalisation of the courses of professional bodies, in the light of a lack of teachers and an anticipated growth in membership resulting from returning service personnel, rather that sorting out considerable chaos in the colleges. This has similarities, in principal, to

Wheatcroft's explanation of the rationale for the Urwick Report however her emphasis is on the requirements of the professional bodies causing problems for the technical colleges.

With an allegiance towards the work of professional bodies and a view of management as a profession, the creation of the BIM is discussed as another key event at the time. What is of note here is that Brech sees the two events as unrelated; the timing was '*coincidental*' (ibid. p. 205). The BIM was not tasked with a responsibility for management education. The Urwick Report recommended the establishment of a central committee to administer the qualifications. This was not set up and two reasons are cited for this: (1) Brech believed the MOE had expected the BIM to take on administration and (2) the focus of the FE branch of the MOE was with the implementation of the recommendations from the Percy Report, amongst them the creation of the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce (NACEIC) in 1948. It is a lack of ownership for the administration of the Urwick qualifications that Brech believed was the cause of its problems. The BIM did take on administration of the scheme from the Institute of Industrial Administration (IIA) in 1948 but this was not noted as successful by Brech as the BIM was still in the early stages of its development. The NACEIC recommended the creation of a sub-committee on Education for Management which could have played the role of the central committee that the Urwick Report had recommended. Only one meeting of the committee occurred, in March 1949, to which only a few of those invited turned up. Problems with administration caused confusion in the colleges and confusion for students who were unsure in the early years of the status of qualifications in management studies. According to Brech, before the DMS was initiated, the NACEIC had become aware of concerns over the intermediate qualification in the technical colleges, subsequently known as the CMS. Given the collapse of the Education for Management committee the NACEIC held a meeting with the BIM, the Universities Grants Committee and '*a major college in the management field*' (ibid. p. 231). It was decided that a review was required but this was not actioned until 1954; no reasons are given for the delay.

To summarise, Brech's work contains a number of significant points: (1) state recognition of management education, also noted by Wheatcroft, was important. (2) The Urwick Report was a symbol of consolidation. It was the continuation of the work of the professional bodies that had been progressing before the war. It was not a response to chaos. (3) The timing of the Urwick Report and the creation of the BIM was coincidental. (4) Problems over the administration of the intermediate qualification which replaced qualifications of some of the professional management bodies (for

example the Works Management Association and Office Managers Association) caused confusion in the colleges; this was before the DMS was launched. A review was called for which was undertaken in 1954. At this time the first cohort of students on the DMS would not have completed the course. It appears that the DMS was in difficulty long before Wheatcroft's criticisms were levelled in 1970.

Taken together, the history of management literature appears to have established the outline of a narrative. Post war circumstances provided an opportunity for the development of management education, a development that, some would argue, had started before the war forwarded by a '*Management Movement*'. This development was constrained by views from industry and academia as to the credibility of management as a subject and the role of education in the development of managers. The DMS was created as a post-experience qualification delivered by technical and commercial colleges. Poor central administration resulted in confusion in colleges leading to criticisms even before DMS courses started, although it is later criticisms relating to the status of colleges and the professional bodies that are evident in the literature. The BIM became associated with the DMS through its administration of the qualification. The Urwick Report is seen as an example of state intervention in management education, an interpretation of relevance to those adopting lenses of political, economic and social analysis in order to understand the nature of management. These themes are explored in the next section.

2.3 Interpretations of management: politics, economic prosperity and elites.

The problem of terminology was mentioned in subsection 2.1.3 and it is of note here when considering the word management. For the purpose of this section an understanding of the different perspectives which can form the basis of an interpretation of management is needed. The aim of this thesis is not to philosophise over the term management so, to this end, I will use the three perspectives noted by Child in *British Management Thought: A Critical Analysis* (1969). His work is referenced in the literature included in this chapter. It is a classic study in the development of management thought which also considered its implications for management education. According to Child (ibid. p. 13) management can be;

> 1) an economic resource performing a series of technical functions which comprise the organisation and administering of other resources,

2) a system of authority through which policy is translated into the execution of tasks,
3) an elite social grouping which acts as an economic resource and maintains the associated system of authority.

These interrelated perspectives are evident in the literature.

2.3.1 Management as an economic resource

To paraphrase Michael Sanderson (1999, p. 2), there is a long tradition of attributing economic decline to education. Recent historiographies have taken the period 1870 to 1890, and respective education acts, as their starting point and then considered the next century or so. The years after 1870 have been identified as the start of a period of economic panic (Sanderson 1999 and Wolf 2002) implying that this results in attention on education, a hypothesis supported by Vincent Carpentier (2003) with regards to public spending on education up to 1945. Although the immediate post war period is not associated with economic panic, expansion of the education system, including further and higher education, was initiated. This reflected a change in the strategy of government intervention from one of a '*quantitative'* increase in the labour force to a *'qualitative'* one (Carpentier 2003, p. 12). In this context the Urwick Report could be identified as part of a general expansion to improve the quality of the labour force. More specifically the Urwick Report has been identified as part of a government strategy to improve productivity through industrial modernisation (Tiratsoo and Tomlinson 1993). Improving the quality of managers was the remit of the BIM and the Urwick Report is associated with this (Tiratsoo 1998). Establishing the Urwick Committee was a facet of this strategy at the MOE (Wilson 1992).

In subsection 2.1.2 management education was located within technical education and its relationship to higher technological education was discussed. The culpability of higher technical education in economic decline forms an extensive literature. Within this the views of Martin Weiner and Correlli Barnett are frequently referenced. They believed that *'higher education had turned its back on*' technical education and this was a representation of a culture of anti-technology (Edgerton 1996, p19). Left to develop in technical colleges, the status of technical education was affected. It could be anticipated that, as part of this development, management education would be perceived as having a low status and comments in the literature have already been noted (section 2.2.3) that reflect this. Weiner and Barnett's thesis has been contested but this is specifically with reference to the development of engineering after 1970

(Edgerton 1996). In summary, these authors conclude that education was to blame for economic decline.

Alongside this criticism of technical education is that of the British elite. Up until the 1960s this group have been described as comprising '*gentlemen*' and '*amateurs*', educated in public schools, possibly Oxbridge, but lacking a technical education (Coleman cited in Edgerton 1996, p. 27). They were noted as coming from a '*gentrified middle class*' (Weiner cited in Wilson 1992, p. 2) that had effectively taken its eye off the ball as far as business was concerned. A lack of investment and a reluctance to change affected their ability to compete. Whether there was an actual economic decline or a relative decline, as a result of increased competition, is still debated (Edgerton 1996). However, as an elite social group, managers and their education have been identified as playing a part in this narrative of education and economic decline (Keeble 1992). In summary, alongside educational deficiencies the 'decline' literature also concludes that industry was to blame for economic decline.

The three previous paragraphs consider management as an economic resource. Three strands of influence have been discussed; government, education and industry. The views of education and industry have already been identified as influencing the development of management education in section 2.2. This theme is now revisited with respect to the perspective of managers as a social group.

2.3.2 Management as a social group

The Labour government (1945-1951) believed managers would become a new social elite and that this new managerial class would be politically neutral and open to engagement. Tiratsoo and Tomlinson (1993) consider the Urwick Report and the BIM as examples of this engagement. They note the work of James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World*, published in 1942, as being influential in the Labour party at this time. Burnham was from America where entry to management was through higher education rather than family connections; education was key in creating a 'managerial elite' (Locke 1998, p156). If education is considered as having a role in creating social elites then the Urwick Report could be considered as part of the creation of a new managerial elite. However, it was graduate education that formed the basis of management education in American not post-experience technical education. The role played by management education in social mobility and creating a '*business elite'* (Whitely et al 1981, p5) has been considered in the literature but with

respect to a later development, that of the MBA. As part of a narrative of management education and social elites the Urwick Report is referenced to evidence the poor quality and poor status of management education before the founding of business schools (Whitely et al. 1981).

As a social group, managers have influence and power. As a system of authority managers translate policy into actions. The Urwick Report represented an initial government policy supportive of state-funded management education. To be successful the qualifications needed to be accepted, for example industry needed to send its managers to college. This acceptance assumed an understanding of management education as an economic resource performing a series of technical functions. In turn, this was at odds with an understanding based on a set of personal characteristics, where management is practically developed by working through the ranks. Irrespective of how these dictums are labelled, as '*anti-intellectualism*' (Tiratsoo 1995, p. 124) or as part of a cultural thesis, they have influenced the development of management education.

2.3.3 Management as a system of authority and the impact of a social elite

The impact of the aforementioned dictums resulted in the creation of what Keeble (1992, p. 150) has called an '*uncharmed circle*'. Managers recruit and train as they have been recruited and trained. Family ownership was still a feature of many businesses in the 1940s and this influenced management recruitment. Industry has been accused of rejecting the formal education of managers (Keeble 1992, pp. 65 -92). A study in 1945 by Cambridge University had concluded that industry did not use graduates appropriately, for example, it was not placing them in a position of authority quickly enough and they had to work through the ranks. This is used by Keeble to support her view that industry is very much to blame for this predicament. To confirm that this rejection of higher education was not related just to the universities she provides examples of the lack of interest by industry in the work of the technical colleges before 1939. The Urwick Report is noted as a first attempt to break this circle by government but it was not a success. It tried to cover too much (Keeble 1992), a different criticism to the ones usually commented on. Another rationale for the perceived failure of the Urwick Report is when it is considered as an intervention in industry by the government, particularly if it is associated with the BIM. Industry was keen to minimise any such interventions believing them to be part of a strategy towards ultimate nationalisation (Tiratsoo 1998). Government financial support for the BIM

continued into the late 1950s conflicting with the notion of the BMI as an independent body. This, along with what Larson (2009, p.8) notes as '*a poor initial choice for the Institute's leadership*', resulted in the FBI ignoring the BIM and the DMS.

This chapter has sought to locate management education, the Urwick Report and the DMS with respect to three areas of the existing literature: history of education; history of management: and finally, literature associated with the political, economic and social contexts of management education. There is one conclusion that can be drawn which is common to all three areas. References to the BIM as the means of progressing post war management education, rather than the Urwick Report, before the introduction of business schools dominate the literature. With two exceptions, an association between the BIM and the DMS from the initiation of the BIM is asserted by the existing literature. Only Wheatcroft (1970) appears to distance the DMS from the BIM and Brech (2002) notes the timing of the Urwick Report and the creation of the BIM as co-incidental. If a connection between the BIM and the Urwick Report is assumed then such a conclusion would support the premise that these two events are evidence of the 1945 – 1951 Labour government's engagement with British management. The Urwick Report has been identified as: (i) an acknowledgement of management as a profession; (ii) the first state system of management education; (iii) part of the 1945 – 1951 Labour government's intervention in industrial efficiency; and (iv) part of an engagement by the government with a new social elite. Different aspects of this engagement have been noted by commentators associated with education and management. Seen, respectively, as the first state system of management education and acknowledgement of management as a profession; it seems strange that given the gravitas of these statements little attention seems to have been given to the Urwick Report in either field. Brech's contribution to the field on management before the 1970s is an exception. Indeed, the period up to the 1960s has been dismissed as having '*no spectacular breakthroughs*' in management education (Kast 1965, p. 80). Meanwhile, as the literature of history of education has expanded, management education's early development in colleges has failed to be associated with historiographies of further education.

This chapter concludes that management has its academic roots in commerce and administration. Both subjects were studied in colleges and universities before 1939. This suggests that management could have developed in a number of ways after 1945. Post war reconstruction, and merger and acquisition activity, created organisational changes that presented opportunities for management education. The Urwick Report presented management as a subject to be studied post-experience, part-time in

technical colleges. In general it is associated with the BIM. Noted within the existing literature of technical education, management education did not become associated with higher technological education. Subsequently the early history of management education in technical colleges has yet to become a part of historiographies of further or higher education. As part of a history of management the DMS, and its association with technical colleges, is the focus of criticism. It is seen as a failure and referenced as a means of justifying the need for business schools.

Using secondary sources, chapter two has illustrated that subjects related to management were established in colleges and universities before 1939. Management education was being promoted in the 1920s and 1930s by a group known as the '*Management Movement*'. Chapter three uses primary and secondary sources to present a new narrative of management education before the Urwick Report. It seeks to illuminate the context from which management education developed, and consider how this influenced the subsequent Urwick Report.

3 Management education before the Urwick Report

The purpose of this chapter is to identify individuals and groups interested in management education before the Urwick Committee was instructed in 1945 and to consider how debates and actions by these groups might have shaped subsequent discourses about management education. This information is then used in chapter four in relation to those individuals and groups involved in, and consulted by, the Urwick Committee. To justify the rationale for this chapter, I am mindful of Ball's (1997, p. 266) criticism that researchers often pick a particular government policy as a starting point without considering prior developments. I begin by briefly returning to my own argument for selecting the Urwick Report as a start to a history of management education. A note is then made of the sources used in this chapter before detailing and discussing the events, individuals and groups that form a pre-history for the central focus of the thesis. The growth of professional bodies and associations is contextualised before reports referencing management education are discussed. Attention is then focused on two professional bodies and their work in the 1930s and 1940s. Sections 3.5 and 3.6 are concerned with individuals. Finally a series of conclusions will be drawn which create the basis of my interpretation of the Urwick Report in chapter four.

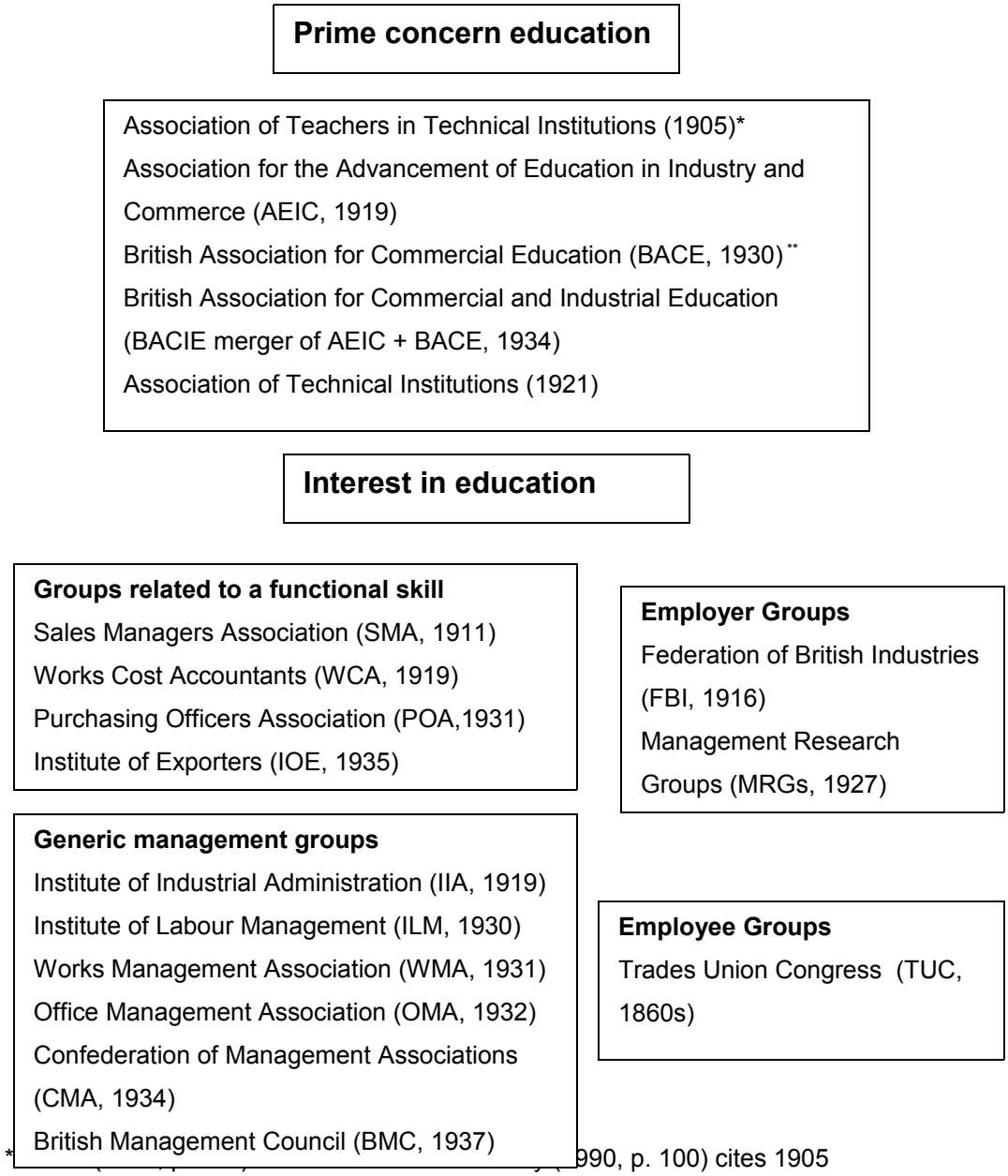
As concluded in chapter two, in general, management education is seen as starting with the creation of the business schools in 1965 with the Urwick Report occasionally being acknowledged. The use of this report as the starting point for a history of management education in this thesis has been justified on the basis that it was the first report to explicitly focus on *Education for Management.* A further qualification now needs to be made to that statement; the Urwick Report was the first report with that title officially sanctioned by a government department. As this chapter will show, the Association for Education in Industry and Commerce (AEIC) first commissioned a report into *Education for Management* in 1921. Correspondence in a MOE file also reveals that proposing a common management syllabus for professional bodies was already being progressed in 1939, sometime before the Urwick Committee was charged with the same task (Northcott to Bray 24th July 1945, ED46/959). The then Board of Education (BOE) was aware of, and involved in, this work. These documents illustrate events that provide a different perspective to the work of the Urwick Committee and are an indication that there may be other actions by professional bodies and associations to consider in this narrative.

Influential professional bodies and groups in this period have been identified and commented on before; for example, Urwick and Brech (1949, p. 13) make reference to the Management Research Groups (MRGs), the Institute of Industrial Administration (IIA) and the Works Management Association (WMA). In his later work, Brech (2002) extended this list and acknowledged the work of the Association for the Advancement of Education in Industry and Commerce (AEIC: advancement was later dropped from its name) and the Association of Technical Institutions (ATI). As such, this chapter relies heavily on the works of Urwick and Brech to identify professional bodies, associations, individuals and events. Using their work as a starting point, some of the primary sources they referenced have been located and analysed. The main primary sources which will be referred to are publications from the AEIC and the report of the Emmott Committee an *Inquiry into the Relationship of Technical Education to Other Forms of Education and to Industry and Commerce* (1927). Additionally, new primary sources, including newspaper and journal articles and documents concerning the Emmott Committee, the Confederation of Management Associations (CMA) and the IIA, have been used to contribute more detail to the context from which the Urwick Report resulted.

3.1 The growth of professional bodies and associations

For the purpose of this analysis, professional associations, identified as actors in this narrative have been considered as either being concerned solely with education or having an interest in education that related to a particular professional body. Figure 2 illustrates the bodies and associations that are the focus of this section. Not all institutions that had an interest in management education have been included, most notably the professional bodies of the engineering institutions (i.e. the Institute of Mechanical Engineering (IMeng), Institute of Electrical Engineers (IEeng) and the Institute of Civil Engineers (ICeng)). The size of these institutions, their importance to the economy and their tendency to present a united front to government, means that they dominated discussion and debate on technical education with respect to industry. For this reason their role historically has been well documented. (See Old, 1955, pp. 245-304, Urwick and Brech, 1949, pp. 108-130, and Davis, 1990, pp. 129-132). For the purpose of this chapter rather than being the focus of this narrative their relationship with other professional bodies identified in figure 2 will be commented on.

Figure 2: Professional bodies and associations grouped by interest in education



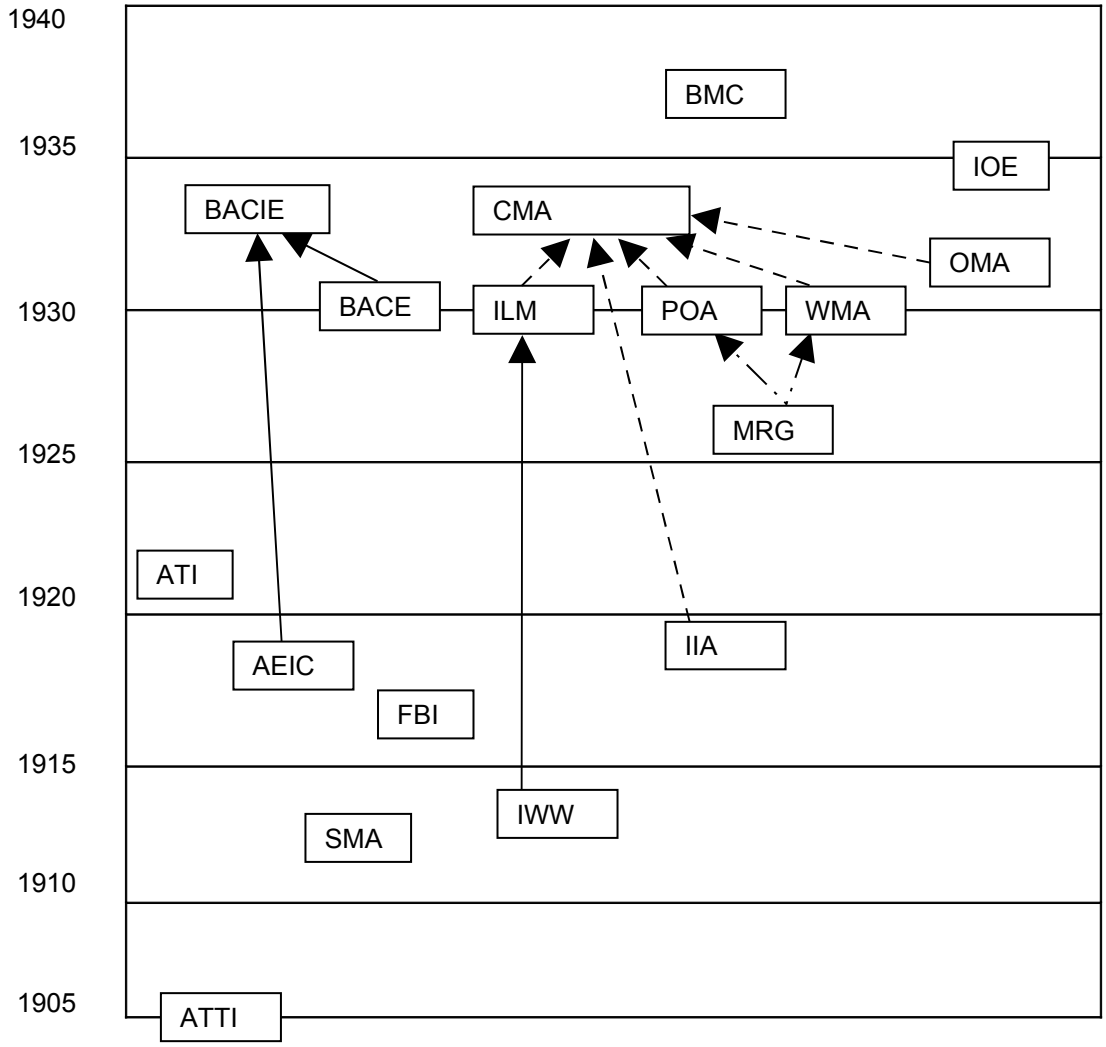
* [illegible] 990, p. 100) cites 1905

** Perry (1976, p. 46) cites 1931 however *The Times* reported the formation of BACE in 1930 (25th April 1930, p. 7)

Figure 2 illustrates how professional associations were increasing in number and how their names reflect changes in industry, particularly the growth in activities related to commerce and administration. New professional bodies subsequently led to new courses at technical and commercial colleges. Many of the above associations were 'related' in that they had individual members and organisations in common. The significance of this point is that in some cases this resulted in consolidation of activities such as the joint publication of a journal or the eventual merger of associations. This is particularly important in this narrative with regards to professional bodies associated

with management. The figure below illustrates some of the connections that are of relevance here.

Figure 3: Professional bodies and associations (1905 to 1940)



Key

Associations formed from the MRGs

Professional bodies and associations associated with the CMA

Associations which merged

Professional body which changed its name (IWW to ILM)

This figure highlights a period of activity in terms of the formation of associations and professional bodies in the 1930s following a decade of relative inactivity. England in the 1920s suffered from the aftermath of war alongside competitive pressure on its markets. Britain's share of world trade fell from 25% in the 1870s to 14% in 1910 despite the fact that a substantial amount of its trade was with its colonies (Strong 1996). Industries that had been the basis of Britain's industrial power in the late nineteenth century appeared to decline in the face of competition. As commented on in

section 2.3.1, debate continues as to whether there was an actual or a relative decline (Edgerton 1996), but what is of note here is government and industry's response. The government had begun to show an interest in the welfare of workers by setting up the Industrial Welfare Department in 1916 as part of the Munitions Ministry. A relationship between productivity and the welfare of workers was beginning to emerge.

In 1919, as part of its post war propaganda, the Ministry of Reconstruction produced a series of pamphlets, amongst them one titled *Scientific Business Management*. Urwick and Brech (1949) acknowledged this as reflecting the principles of Taylorism even though the pamphlet made no reference to the American Fredrick Taylor. The government's interpretation of scientific management, with its emphasis on the welfare of workers, as well as the application of method to improve productivity, is one that was endorsed by Urwick and Brech (while commenting that the engagement of the government with the principles of management signalled in the 1919 pamphlet proved to be the exception rather than the rule). Thus in 1919 the government was aware of scientific management and the pamphlet evidences an attempt, albeit a weak one, to intervene in industry and use propaganda to promote methods to improve productivity. This was at a time when industry was responding to pressure on its markets with an increase in merger and acquisition activity, causing organisations to increase in size (Wolf 2002). This generated new requirements in terms of administration. As they grew organisations began to create departments for specific tasks such as sales, administration, finance; in other words they became more functionalised. The formation of professional bodies such as the SMA and IIA are in part a reflection of these changes.

Meanwhile, government engagement with social reform on a broader front can be seen during this period. Policies that *'read like a roll call of the foundation stones of the society in which we live'* (Strong 1996, p. 458), such as old age pensions and national insurance, were introduced between 1900 and 1914. Moves were also made to reform education against a backdrop of comment about the potential impact this might have on the economy and a concern that educating the working classes could lead to a revolt. Links between education and poor military performance in the Boer War were being debated, alongside the need for technical education to solve the country's economic problems (Aldrich et al. 2000). The 1918 Education Act (commonly known as the Fisher Act) included recommendations to introduce compulsory part-time education for school leavers between the ages of 14 to 18 years replacing the current voluntary system. Bailey (1990) notes that whilst LEA's were required to plan for implementation of the Act, they were not required to action their plans, hence it was never enacted.

However, the Act did prompt some response from industry, specifically the creation of the AEIC discussed in the next section. Amidst concern about the impact of interest in the welfare of workers on employers, the Federation of British Industries (FBI) was established in 1916. By 1921 production was down 20% on pre-war levels and unemployment had risen to 2.2 million. In the 1920s and 1930s, unemployment remained an issue. The government tried to protect trade through tariffs, cutting spending and increasing taxes in an attempt to restore economic stability. Some 23% of the workforce was unemployed in the early 1930s (Strong 1996).

Without members, the professional bodies suffered. As an example the IIA suspended its activity in the mid-1920s, and there was very little activity in terms of new professional bodies being established. One exception was the Management Research Group (MRG) which eventually spawned a number of similar groups around the country. The MRG was based on a format that Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree had witnessed during a study tour of America. Essentially this was a businessmen's club where a selected group met to discuss issues. It could be described as a smaller and more select version of the FBI. As these meetings were held in confidence, there is a lack of literature on what took place. No 1 group had 11 large organisations and was formed in 1926; a further seven groups were formed, all smaller than No 1 (Brech 2002, p. 715). The MRG had reading rooms and eventually a library in London. A major donation to the library was made in 1928 by Urwick in preparation for his move to Geneva to become the director of the International Management Institute (IMI). As early as 1930 the MRG was calling for a British Institute of Management.

Despite continuing high unemployment, the early 1930s saw two professional bodies founded as a result of activity from the MRG. These were the Works Management Association (WMA) and the Purchasing Office Association (POA). Also founded at this time was the Office Managers Association (OMA). These three bodies all had the same secretary, Reginald Pugh, who also had connections to the IIA and the ILM. This connection resulted in the formation of the Confederation of Management Associations (CMA). The CMA will be discussed in section 3.4, but what is of note here is that the CMA provided a means of co-ordination for other bodies interested in aspects of management. The British Management Council (BMC) also needs to be commented on in this overview of professional bodies. The prime function of this group, set up in 1937, was to organise British representation at international management congresses. Initially it had no educational remit but eventually it set up an education committee and carried out research into management in 1939. This research was undertaken by Brech and was later referenced in the Urwick Report.

To summarise, scientific management was known about and the government had issued information to organisations, although this information does not seem to have been influential. Between 1900 and 1939 the number of professional bodies associated with aspects of management began to increase against a backdrop of unemployment and competitive pressures on industry. Different types of professional bodies and groups developed, some related to a particular function of management others to management in general. These general groups represented a mix of employer and employee focused formats. Some of the professional bodies became part of a confederation, the CMA. It has been noted that it was a lack of a co-ordinating body that held back the development of management and management education in England, in comparison to America and the American Management Association (AMA) (Urwick and Brech 1949, Brech 2002, Tiratsoo and Tomlinson 1993). The importance of the establishment of the CMA was the opportunity it afforded to present a single and united voice to government over issues such as education. Many of the specialist management bodies were small; the ILM, seen as a large body within the CMA, had only 3000 members in 1939. Urwick and Brech (1949) bemoaned the fact that the *'.. [management] movement was hag-ridden by the proliferation of small institutions*' (p. 228). The activities of the CMA will be discussed in section 3.4.

One of the earliest tangible expressions of interest in management education from a body not directly concerned with the functions of management came from the AEIC. Its report, *Education for Management*, is discussed next.

3.2 The AEIC

Following a series of conferences in May 1918 and February 1919, some of the organisations that had been part of a voluntary system providing education for employees formed the AEIC in May 1919. Its aims were;

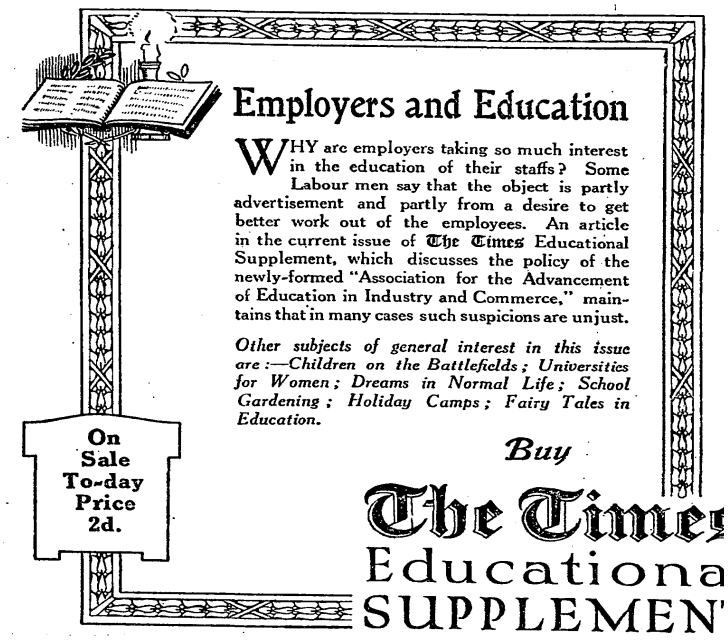
(a) the encouragement of definite educational work in Industrial and Commercial undertakings.
(b) The general advancement of Education by means of –
    1) the printing and circulation of papers,
    2) investigation and research,
    3) consultation with public Education authorities,
    4) co-operation with other educational bodies,
    5) the holding of periodical conferences.

(AEIC 1919, p. 5)

Funded by employer subscriptions, its first official meeting records 49 member organisations many of whom are still familiar names today such as Selfridges, Boots, Lever Brothers (Unilever), Cadbury and Debenhams. Amongst the list of representatives at its first meeting was Fisher, then president of the BOE along with members of education authorities and technical institutions, and attendees from the IWW and the Workers Education Association (WEA). Here then was an organisation that linked education and industry with representatives from trade bodies, local authorities and the government. The ethos of the association was based on the social responsibility of the employer towards its employees; educating the workforce was part of a tradition of what Roger Fieldhouse (1996) has described as '*responsible citizenship*' (p. 47). However a report in *The Times* (29th May 1919, p. 6) of Lord Leverhulme's presidential address suggested the association's aims took the form of enlightened self-interest being as they were;

> ..to teach better methods of industrialisation, and to dispel the false doctrine of ca'canny, and to inculcate the economic facts which were at the base of production.

Ca'canny referred to a view that two men were doing the job of one and that, as a result, production was being held back. Management's inability to deal with this attitude and control the workplace has been noted as contributing to British decline (Edgerton 1996). With the war recently ended, there was great concern that poor industrial relationships witnessed before 1914 would continue affecting productivity. In this context the intentions of the AEIC along with comments such as Leverhulme's resulted in some distrust of the association being expressed, an illustration of which is provided in this advertisement for *The Times Education Supplement* (*The Times* 3rd June 1920, p. 20).



Although primarily concerned with the education of young people, the AEIC did extend its interest to other groups. Proceedings from the 1921 conference included an address given by Professor A. Kirkaldy of University College Nottingham called *'University Education for Industry and*

Commerce'. This speech is of note as it presents the case for university education coming from industry. In championing education to respond to a changing economic environment, Kirkaldy states that this need for *'progressive education'* (AEIC 1921, p. 28) is not being called for by academics but business. This point is endorsed by the fact that courses in Nottingham were initiated by local businessmen. The picture painted by Kirkaldy includes vocational education within universities supported by industry, where future businessmen are educated in universities and the historic practices of working up through the ranks are not the only means for progression.

In 1921, the AEIC set up a committee to report on '*Education for Management'*. This was a bold title as, in general, it was not believed at this time that education played a part in the development of managers. A questionnaire of 11 items was sent to 200 organisations (see Brech 2002, p. 99 for a full list of questions). Its aim was to:

- identify the qualities required for management,
- determine what role training could play in developing these qualities,
- identify what methods could be used,
- establish at what age managers were selected,
- detail any educational programme being run by organisations.

The report assimilated the information into three areas: the function of management; selection for management; and training for management. Published in 1925, the report was re-issued in 1928 with additional appendices detailing examples of in-house training by a number of organisations. In his introduction, Rowntree, then AEIC president, noted that management was becoming more functionalised in response to increasing complexity in organisations. According to Rowntree, the duties of the factory manager were towards production and to '*preserve the peace',* a reference to current industrial unrest (AEIC 1928, p. 6). The report promoted the view that *'There is a growing tendency to regard business management as a profession'* (AEIC 1928, p. 9); however, this is not substantiated in the report or for that matter in press reports at the time.

Although keen to advance the training of managers through different options ranging from watching others to a mixture of lectures and stints in various departments (AEIC 1928, pp. 18 – 20), the AEIC report neither drew conclusions nor made recommendations. Nevertheless, a number of references were made to the character of a manager. This theme was also prevalent in an address by J. Knox on *Education for Executive Positions* (AEIC 1923, pp. 23 -30) which lists 11 qualities ranging from truthfulness to courage and courtesy. Alongside this comprehensive listing, Knox was keen to present a view of management as a science, requiring training, and as an art

requiring particular characteristics. But Knox does not subscribe to a view of the role of a liberal education in terms of character building; rather he favours the approach of working through the ranks. Both the *Education for Management* report and AEIC conference proceedings that refer to management, present a confused picture of the views of members regarding education for management. Tentative comments are made suggesting that there are skills for management which education, particularly through the universities, has a role in bringing out, but this is seen as less important than the need for personal characteristics. This latter point is contextualised by debates about the role of the university and the university man, as noted by Rowntree in his introduction to the 1925 report also included in the 1928 report (AEIC 1928, p. 8);

> Finally, I associate myself with the view there expressed that whilst education is so important, this does not mean that power and position in the future are to be confined to a select class who have gone through certain educational institutions.

He concluded,

> Furthermore, we must always recognize, as stated in the report, that real natural capacity is more important, and is likely to go far further, than university mediocrity.

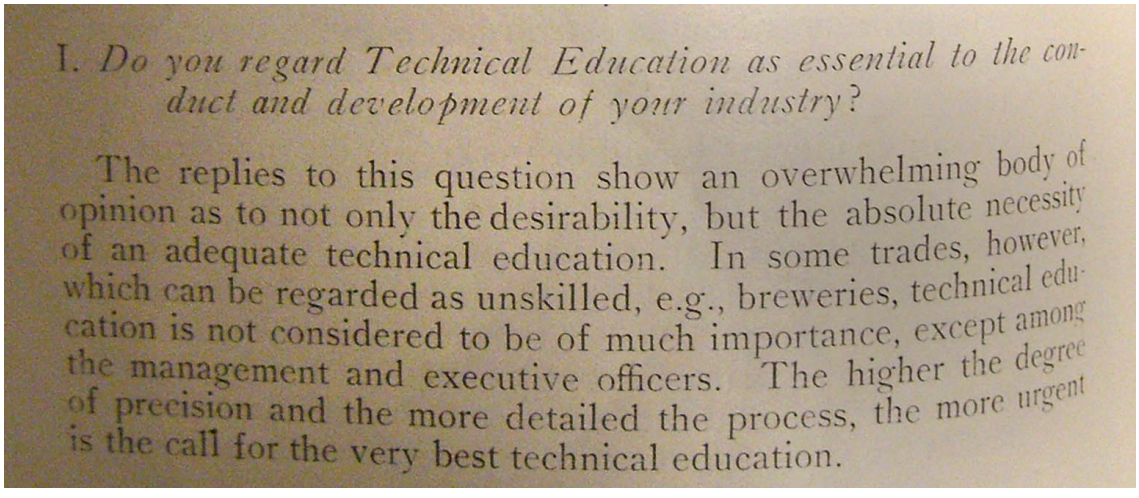
The publication of *Education for Management* was noted in *The Times* (5th May 1925, p. 9) with the comment that there was, in effect, little to comment on given the lack of training for management. Although not the main focus of AEIC activities, the importance of its reports is that they evidence an interest in education for management. Unfortunately this interest does not appear to have translated into further action. They also highlight prevalent views about management as an art and a science and debates about university education for business.

The *Education for Management* report was first published in 1925 which was the same year the Emmott Committee began work which led to the publication of *Inquiry into the Relationship of Technical Education to Other Forms of Education and to Industry and Commerce*. This report makes reference to training for managers and was supported by the AEIC, but, it was primarily driven by associations related to technical institutions. It offers an additional contemporary perspective on education for management, highlighting issues related to cooperation between industry and education.

3.3 The work of the Emmott Committee and Lord Eustace Percy

Instigated by the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI) and in response to the growth in professional associations and resulting provision, the work of the Emmott Committee was an attempt by technical institutions to understand the views of industry regarding technical education and how the technical institutions should best be organised to respond. The FBI education committee agreed to canvass the views of industry. In asking for information from the technical institutions, the committee noted that it had been 40 years since the last investigation into technical education (Murray: 26th April 1926, MSS. 176B/T1/1/1). This was a massive undertaking. The committee of 15 included members from educational bodies, the FBI, AEIC and the IMeng.

The findings in the Emmott Report are not frequently referenced in the existing historiography of technical education and this is partially explained by the lack of support the committee received from the BOE (which I will return to shortly). Cotgrove (1958) refers to Emmott to highlight contradictions in what industry said and did. According to Cotgrove, industry agreed that technical education was fundamentally necessary, but that cooperation between industry and technical institutions was inadequate. Nevertheless, industry did not seek government intervention in this relationship and it continued to show general apathy towards technical education (with the exception of some individual organisations). Urwick and Brech (1949) focused their analysis of the committee's work on questions concerning the training of the artisan, the foreman, the manager and the directorate (Emmott Report 1927 pp. 13-14). They concluded that the report illustrated the lack of provision for areas related to management and administration and emphasised the common view of what Brech (2002, p. 102) later describes as *'managerial competence being 'in born'* (ie a representation of the born and not made ideology). What Urwick and Brech did not note was the comment made by the FBI shown below;



I. *Do you regard Technical Education as essential to the conduct and development of your industry?*

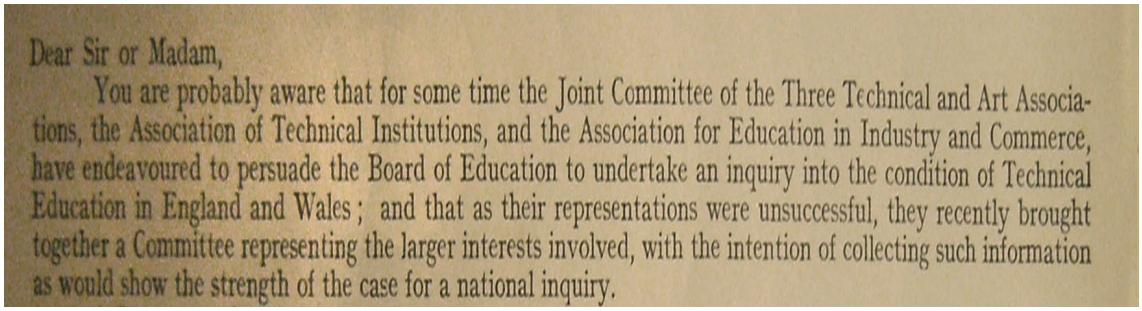
The replies to this question show an overwhelming body of opinion as to not only the desirability, but the absolute necessity of an adequate technical education. In some trades, however, which can be regarded as unskilled, e.g., breweries, technical education is not considered to be of much importance, except among the management and executive officers. The higher the degree of precision and the more detailed the process, the more urgent is the call for the very best technical education.

(Emmott Report 1927, p. 12, MSS. 176B/T1/1/1)

This could be interpreted as support for management education. Also of note in the report are comments made by the technical institutions concerning the number of government departments that had an influence on their work with no central administration, a theme discussed as present over many decades by Aldrich et al. (2000).

The reports of the AEIC and the Emmott Committee represent an interest in management education from industry and education, specifically the technical colleges, but very little evidence of any specific recommendations or activity to take it forward. Within discourses about technical and commercial education at the end of the 1920s management education had no identity and no sponsor in terms of a particular professional body.

Returning to the issue of support from the BOE for the Emmott Committee, Brech (2002, p. 103) notes that the committee had initial support from the Board, but letters from the committee to the technical institutions contradict this;



Dear Sir or Madam,

You are probably aware that for some time the Joint Committee of the Three Technical and Art Associations, the Association of Technical Institutions, and the Association for Education in Industry and Commerce, have endeavoured to persuade the Board of Education to undertake an inquiry into the condition of Technical Education in England and Wales; and that as their representations were unsuccessful, they recently brought together a Committee representing the larger interests involved, with the intention of collecting such information as would show the strength of the case for a national inquiry.

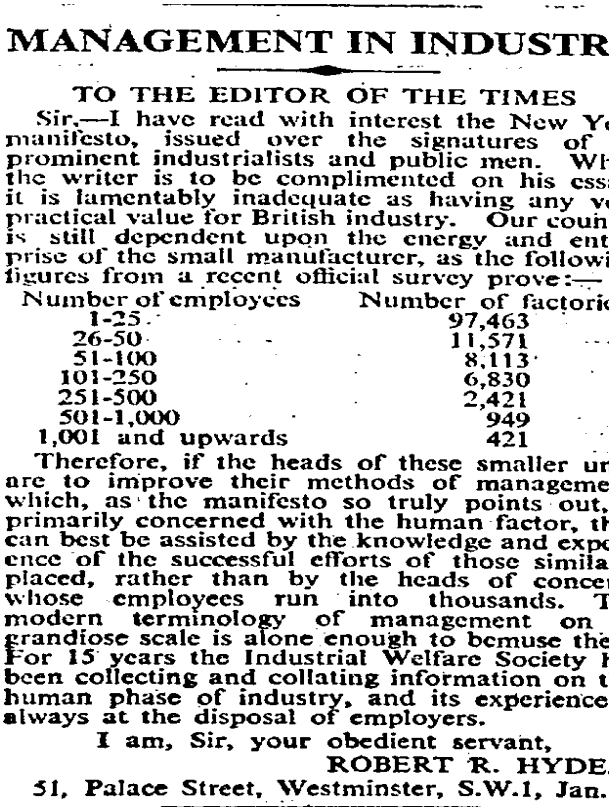
(Murray 26th April 1926, MSS. 176B/T1/1/1)

This lack of support by the BOE, or its relevance, is passed over by those who have since commented on the report. In part this was a matter of timing, the BOE were anticipating two other reports of similar theme: (i) *Report of Committee on Industry and Trade* from the Balfour Committee (1927); and (ii) *Report of Committee on Education and Industry* from the Malcom Committee (1928). However, the matter of the Emmott Report was raised in parliament. Sir Percy Harris called for the BOE to get involved in technical education and noted that the BOE was trying to distance itself from the report (Hansard 10 March 1927, vol. 203 c.1343). At the time, Lord Eustace Percy was President of the BOE and eventually provided a formal response of 15 pages in March 1928 following a deputation from the Emmott Committee (MSS.176B/T1/1/1). Opening

his comments by saying how valuable the report was, he noted that the situation was not as confused as the report concluded. The essence of his response was that many inquiries had been undertaken with very little response from industry, while his priority was that there should be some form of higher education for the 16 to 21 year old age group. In some sense this theme appears as a forerunner to his own report of 1944 titled *Higher Technological Education*. However, he made no reference to education for management in his 1928 response.

Conversely, the publication of *The Management Factor in Industry* in 1933, subsequently referred to as the *Management Manifesto*, drafted by Edward Byng, Thomas Rose, Arthur Young and Stanley Townsend and supported by 31 others including Percy, clearly evidenced his views on management education (see Table 1, below, and section 3.5 for details of the named individuals referred to here). Britain needed to respond to increased competition and this should be done through industrial management, hence the need for a *Management Manifesto*. To this end, the first section of the 13 page document is titled *Education for Management* (MSS.200/B/3/2/C698/3). The view that management cannot be taught was holding the country back, it stated, placing Britain behind Europe and America with their graduate and postgraduate courses and business schools. Immediate steps were required and a similar infrastructure needed. It stated that management was both an art and a science and emphasised the human factor of management, no doubt trying to distance its comments from negative views about scientific management. Here at last was a clear statement of the need to act and the first reference of a need for business schools.

The Times (2nd January 1933, p. 9) reported the manifestos publication, listed all its supporters and, under a subtitle of *'A New Profession'*, noted the manifestos conclusion, '*There is a definite tendency for education for management: towards the recognition of a new profession..'*. The article prompted a response from Hyde, of the IWS and not a signatory of the manifesto, in the letters page the following



MANAGEMENT IN INDUSTR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I have read with interest the New Y manifesto, issued over the signatures of prominent industrialists and public men. Wh the writer is to be complimented on his ess it is lamentably inadequate as having any v practical value for British industry. Our coun is still dependent upon the energy and ent prise of the small manufacturer, as the followi figures from a recent official survey prove:—

Number of employees	Number of factori
1-25	97,463
26-50	11,571
51-100	8,113
101-250	6,830
251-500	2,421
501-1,000	949
1,001 and upwards	421

Therefore, if the heads of these smaller ur are to improve their methods of manageme which, as the manifesto so truly points out, primarily concerned with the human factor, th can best be assisted by the knowledge and expe ence of the successful efforts of those simila placed, rather than by the heads of conce whose employees run into thousands. T modern terminology of management on grandiose scale is alone enough to bemuse the For 15 years the Industrial Welfare Society h been collecting and collating information on t human phase of industry, and its experience always at the disposal of employers.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
ROBERT R. HYDE.

51, Palace Street, Westminster, S.W.1, Jan.

day. This is shown in full as the data it contains, and the focus of his argument is pertinent. Although partially advertising the work of the IWS, it does illustrate the perennial problem of management education then and now: the majority of organisations have less than 100 employers. The data in the letter quantifies the basis of a similar comment by Urwick and Brech (1949, p. 226) that, '*On balance these elements among firms and individuals who were interested* [in management education] *were but a small percentage of the total industrial picture'*.

As was seen in figure 3, the 1930s marked the start of much activity with the establishment of new professional bodies and the merging of others. Following Percy's presidency of the AEIC in 1931, Francis Goodenough, became president of both the AEIC and BACE (*The Times,* 13th February 1934, p. 14). This resulted in the two organisations merging to form BACIE in 1934. There was activity in other areas in this year, too. Urwick was involved in moves for a staff college and two of the engineering associations had agreed on a basic common syllabus on administration. This established the principle of common curriculum elements concerning administration. The creation of the CMA also started the process of common syllabus elements for professional examinations among the professional management associations.

3.4 The CMA and the plans of the IIA

3.4.1 The CMA

The role of Pugh needs to be noted with regards the establishment and expansion of the CMA. Pugh was associated with a number of the professional bodies associated with management and it was from these connections that the CMA emerged. In 1936, *The British Management Review* was launched with Pugh as its editor. Its remit was mainly educational and it published transcripts of lectures. This included those from the Oxford conferences that had been organised initially by Rowntree in 1919 and then by the MRG. The conference was re-launched by the CMA as the Oxford Management Conference in September 1935, continuing the previous pattern of two conferences a year. Alongside expectations raised by the launching of the journal, professional bodies began to anticipate a growth in their membership. As an example, at the start of 1937, the WMA had 600 members with a plan to reach 1000 members by the end of the year (*The Times* 25th January 1937, p. 18). Through its education committee the CMA began work on identifying common syllabus elements in the professional examinations of its professional bodies. By 1938, progress had been made involving the technical

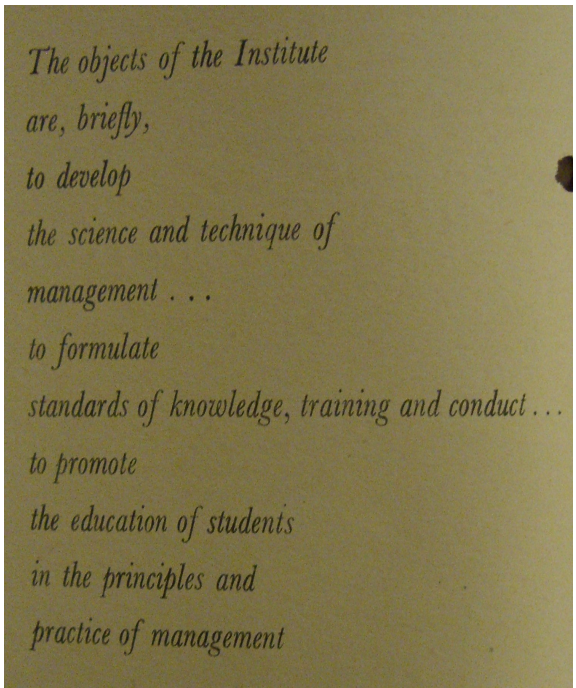
institutions and the BOE and 20 centres were planning to run its new program. Unfortunately the threat of war prevented implementation (Northcott to Bray 24th July 1945, ED46/959).

To all intents and purposes, the CMA represented a body with which the government could liaise regarding management education. It had a journal, it organised conferences and it was in the process of implementing common elements relating to management. However as will be seen in the next subsection, another professional body, the IIA, saw itself as *the* management body. To understand its claim and to evidence its strategy, a brief overview of the institute and an analysis of the plan it published in 1943 are provided next.

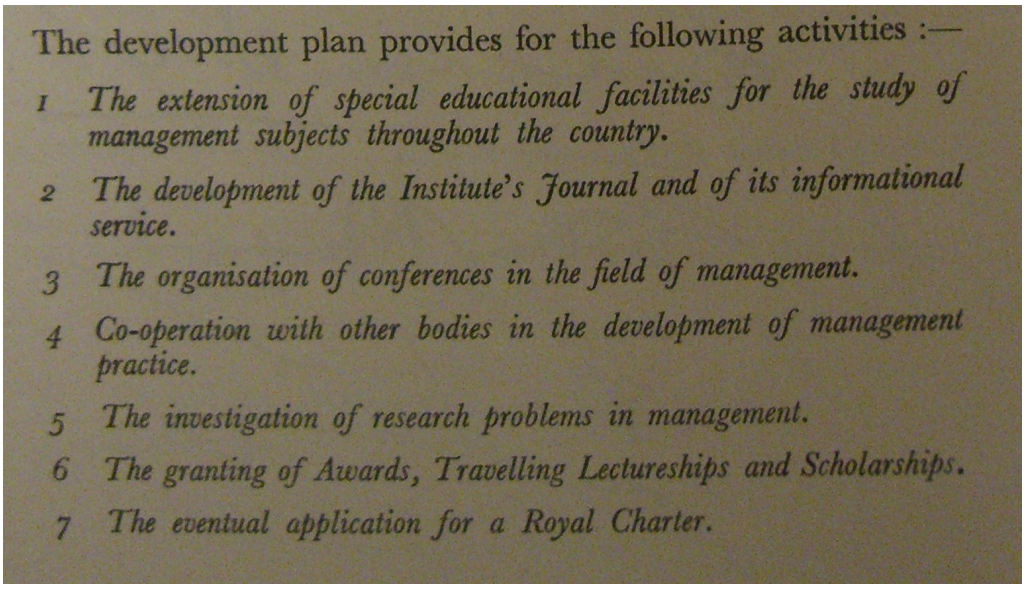
3.4.2 The IIA

In the preface of the re-publication of his book *Factory Administration and Accounts* in 1919 (initially published in 1914), Edward Elbourne asked anyone interested in a society to discuss matters related to administration to contact him. Subsequently the IIA was founded and, after a brief suspension in the mid 1920s, by 1927 had launched its Diploma in Industrial Administration. The IIA had strong associations with the engineering professional bodies and educational institutions. (For a history of the IIA see Rose 1954 and also Brech 1999). Unlike many of the professional bodies, it did not suspend its activities as the Second World War approached remaining active. In March 1943, it organised a conference on industrial management and in November 1943 produced a pamphlet titled *A Brief Statement* about the institution, its objectives and plans. It is of note that, in December 1943, the Weir Committee was instructed by the Industrial and Export Council to report on industrial management and consider the need for a central institute of management (CAB 124/87).

When the IIA's objectives, shown here in full as they appeared on the opening page of the pamphlet, are considered in the context of the Weir Committee, they have similarities with the subsequent objectives of the BIM which are discussed in chapter four (IIA 1943, MSS.200/B/3/2/C698/4).



Where the two differ is in the IIA's emphasis on education. The BIM favoured propaganda and knowledge sharing rather than courses in educational institutions leading to qualifications. The '*Institute's Development Plan*' stated the IIA's credentials as the institute to promote management as a profession, listed the 14 centres it had set up throughout the country and set out its expansion plan. As the insert below shows, this was a comprehensive plan. The IIA also had aspirations to gain recognition for its work through a Royal Charter, a status later to be denied to the BIM until 2000.



The development plan provides for the following activities :—

1 *The extension of special educational facilities for the study of management subjects throughout the country.*

2 *The development of the Institute's Journal and of its informational service.*

3 *The organisation of conferences in the field of management.*

4 *Co-operation with other bodies in the development of management practice.*

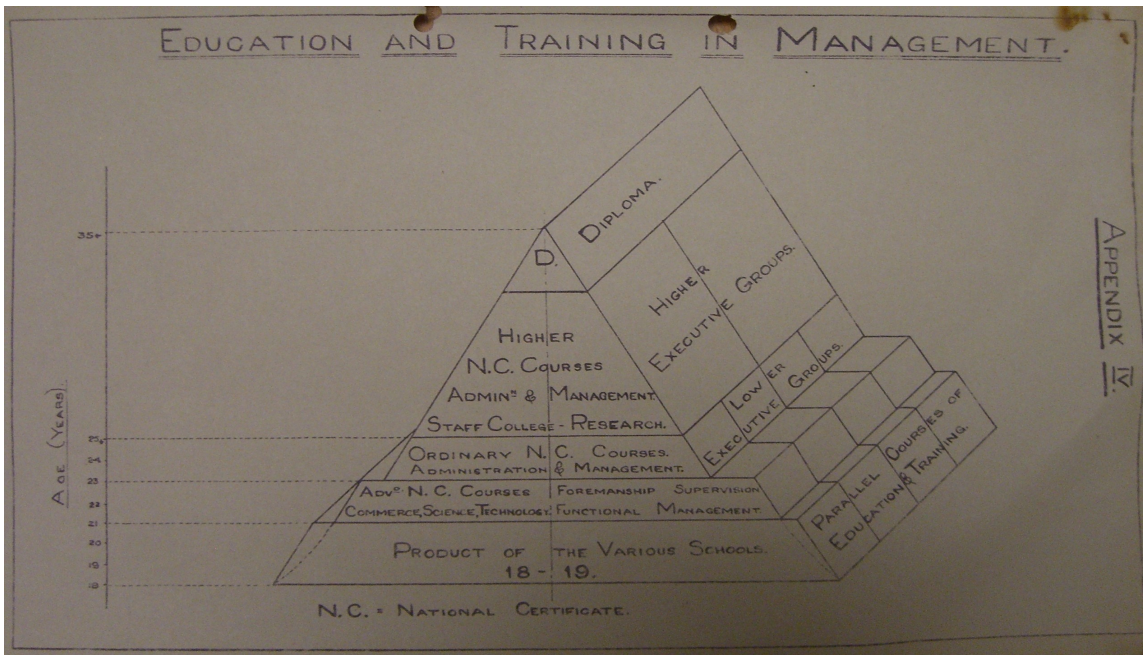
5 *The investigation of research problems in management.*

6 *The granting of Awards, Travelling Lectureships and Scholarships.*

7 *The eventual application for a Royal Charter.*

(IIA 1943, MSS.200/B/3/2/C698/4)

To achieve its plan the IIA needed more members. The document was probably sent out to organisations with that aim in mind. An appeal made in its closing paragraph suggests this. What this document illustrates is that the IIA saw itself as the institute for management and that it had plans for management education. The plans were presented at its conference on '*Training for Industrial Management'* and, as the diagram below illustrates, it had considered education at different levels and different ages. This depiction (IIA 1943, MSS.200/B/3/2/C698/4) showed qualifications based on the principal of HNC's and HND's in commerce. Alongside each qualification is the estimated age of the student and, once above the age of 23, the perceived level in an organisation that the student would have achieved.



So far I have shown that there were a number of different professional bodies and associations who had an interest in management education. This interest was expressed through the promotion of the idea that management was a profession and managers required education. Towards the end of the 1930s the CMA and the IIA were progressing educational schemes related to management subjects. No professional body had emerged to champion issues of management, and management education, with government and industry. Section 3.5 aims to identify the individuals associated with management education.

3.5 Notable Individuals

A group of individuals who actively promoted management as a profession had emerged during the 1920s and 1930s. Although the *management movement* had been noted in the literature discussed in chapter two, members of the *management movement* had rarely been specifically listed. Brech (2002, p. 716) identified 27 individuals in the *management movement* between 1928 and 1938 (see Appendix C). The only criterion for selection that Brech appears to have used was his own judgement. The purpose of this section is to consider Brech's list alongside the names included in the documents that have been referenced in this chapter. By cross-referencing lists of names, the aim was to determine if any members on Brech's list were associated with management education more than others. Having identified

individuals in this group, this information could then be used in chapter 4 with regards those who did, or did not, become members of the Urwick Committee.

The following were cross-referenced against Brech's list;

- founding members of the AEIC in 1919 ,
- members of the Emmott Committee, 1925 to 1927,
- the IIA members list of 1943,
- signatories on the *Management Manifesto*, 1933 ,
- those who gave evidence to the Weir Committee in 1944.

Initially any individual who appeared on at least three out of the six lists, one of which was Brech's, was selected (see Appendix C which details individuals on each list). Further examination revealed one individual, Whitehead, who appeared on three lists but not Brech's. He too was included in the selection. This was a somewhat crude means of analysis, using a time period that extended beyond that chosen by Brech. A number of implicit assumptions underpin the analyses which need to be made explicit: (i) individuals who appeared on at least three lists were seen as influential; (ii) choosing three lists as the selection criteria, rather than say five, was purely arbitrary. The table below includes: those who met the criteria; the number of lists in which they appeared; and a brief biography.

Table 1: Individuals involved in education for management before 1945

Individual	Lists included	Brief biography_
J. A . Bowie (1888 - 1949)	5	Management consultant; Director of the Department of Industrial Administration, Manchester College of Technology in 1926; wrote *Education for Business Management* (1930); and appointed director of the newly created Dundee School of Economics and Commerce in 1931.
E. S. Byng (1884 – 1956)	4	Member of the IEeng; and Managing director of Standard Telephone and Cables Ltd
T. G. Rose (1887 – 1963)	4	Member of the IMeng; and wrote *Higher Control: A Manual for Company Directors, Secretaries and Accountants,* (1934). Management consultant.
H. Schofield (1882- 1963)	4	Member of the ATI; and Principal of Loughborough Technical Institute from 1915 until retirement in 1950.
B.S Rowntree (1871 – 1954)	3	Founding member of AEIC and MRG, 1921 chairman of Rowntrees, author of *The Human Needs of Labour* (1918) and *The Human Factor in Business* (1921).

R. W. Ferguson	3	Member of the AEIC; and Education officer for Cadbury Brothers. Author of *Education in the Factory,* (1927)
L.F. Urwick (1891- 1983)	3	Member of the IIA and MRG; worked for Rowntree, 1922-8; Director of the IMI in Geneva, 1928-34; established Urwick Orr and Partners – management consultancy in 1934; and author of numerous books related to management.
H. Whitehead (1880 – 1974)	3	Founded Harold Whitehead and Partners - management consultancy in 1929.

Of the eight individuals selected, seven appear on Brech's list as members of the management movement. This equates to less than a third. Whitehead, a signatory on the *Management Manifesto*, who gave evidence to the Weir Committee and, was vice chairman of the IIA in 1943, is a noticeable omission from Brech's list. There is no doubt Brech would have been aware of Whitehead as they were both members of the IIA. Like Urwick, Whitehead was a management consultant so he may have been a competitor. Brech was employed by Urwick in the 1930s so perhaps Whitehead's exclusion was due to loyalty to Urwick or simply that Brech's criteria favoured other activities related to management.

Bowie was by far the most active member of this group - his name was included in five out of the six lists; it was only the Emmott Committee that he was not a part of. The influence of the engineering institutions is evidenced through the activity of Byng and Rose. It appears that the engineering institutions were not represented on the Emmott Committee or the AEIC. In the case of the Emmott Committee, the evidence collected by the FBI would have included many engineering organisations. The focus of the AEIC was more towards commerce which would account for the lack of an interest from the engineering institutions. Schofield is also active, particularly in terms of management education associated with commerce rather than with industry. He was not asked to give evidence by the Weir Committee and it would appear that he did not have a high enough profile to be included in the *Management Manifesto* group. In terms of the documents selected for this analysis Urwick's activity is minimal. He is noted as giving evidence to the Weir Committee as a representative of the MRG's not the IIA, which was represented by Rose. This lack of activity could be accounted for by his absence from England between 1928 and 1934 whilst he was director of the IMI in Geneva.

With the exception of Schofield, those listed in Table 1 were interviewed by the Weir Committee in 1944. They had been identified as being influential in terms of industrial management from a government perspective. A point to note in this context is that

Bowie gave evidence to the Weir Committee in his capacity as a management consultant and not as a representative from a professional body or academic institution. Only Arnold Plant, of the London School of Economics and a member of the Ministry of Production, is from an educational institution. He is listed as part of a group of 'Individuals invited' (BOT 9th February 1944, CAB 124/87) who, with the exception of Plant, were all important figures from well known businesses, i.e. Josiah Wedgwood, John Lewis. Byng, who represented Standard Telephones and Cables Limited, and Rowntree are listed in this group. Evidence was also given by representatives from BACIE and the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions (APTI). As will be seen in chapter four, the Baillieu Report, *A Central Institute of Management* (1946), effectively actioned the recommendations of the Weir Committee. It is therefore important to note that evidence to the Weir Committee was predominantly from industry.

Table 1 lists a small group of academics and industrialists who were active in giving lectures to the professional bodies. The majority also published in the field. Any of the individuals listed in the table would have seemed well placed to chair a committee into education for management. From this group, Urwick is the least well placed in terms of the criteria used. Indeed, his activity is concerned with the Weir Committee and as a member of the IIA. When compared to Brech's list, there appears to be a subset of the management movement that were more active in the area of management education than others.

Finally, there is a need to mention Lord Eustace Percy. Using the method of analysis explained in this section Percy was not included in Table 1. However, he was associated with two of the documents referred to in this chapter. As an influential figure at the BOE, Percy's relationship with industry regarding management education appears malign when viewed with reference to his response to the Emmott Report. However, as a signatory on the *Management Manifesto*, he made public his support for education for management. Percy's influence on management education becomes of note with regards his later comments concerning education for management expressed in *Higher Technological Education: Report of a Special Committee appointed in April 1944* (1945).

3.6 The Percy Report and management education

The foundation for the Percy Report was provided by the 1944 Education Act. The Percy Committee was tasked with reviewing '*The framework of Government policy for the future of Technological Education.*.' (Percy Report 1945, p. 2). It used the three fields of engineering, mechanical, civil and electrical, as a basis for its recommendations. This illustrated the dominance of these three areas of technology and their associated professional bodies at the time. As part of section VII titled '*Concluding Recommendations*', management studies was noted as one of two '*special points*', the other being the demand for teachers in technology (ibid. p. 22). The report stated:

> 71. The chief of these is the question of training in what may be conveniently called Management Studies. We have been impressed by the statement made by several of our witnesses, that the highly trained technician is often ignorant of the principles of industrial organisation and management and that he often shows no inclination to accept administrative responsibility. Admittedly there is much in this field that can be learnt only from experience; but there is a body of knowledge awareness of which may greatly facilitate the process of learning. This body of knowledge should be made available both at the undergraduate and the postgraduate stage.

The report continued making three specific recommendations (ibid. p. 23) related to management studies;

1. All undergraduate technology students should undertake an introduction in management studies as part of their course irrespective of the institution where they study. Technology colleges and universities were not to be differentiated for this purpose.
2. '..*at least one institution should be selected as a centre for postgraduate study of industrial administration*.' This was a reference to an American model of management education represented by Harvard Business School. A similar proposal was made in the *Management Manifesto* of 1933. (It would take another 20 years following the publication of the Robbins Report (1963) and the Franks Report (1964) before this particular recommendation would come to fruition with the creation of business schools in Manchester and in London in 1965). The report saw it as necessary at this point to explain its use of the term postgraduate as including the experienced student who may not be a graduate. This definition implied parity of experience with academic qualifications. However it was anticipated that it was unlikely that anyone in this category would not be a graduate.
3. Expanding on the first recommendation, National Certificates and Diplomas taught at technical colleges should also include management studies. Short courses and refresher courses in management should also be made available.

The recommendations discussed management studies at different levels in different types of institution. Management was seen as a relevant part of the curriculum of courses which were not principally concerned with management. Indeed Percy does not explicitly state the need for a course in management studies at any of the levels mentioned, commenting instead that short courses and refresher courses should be made available. When referring to a postgraduate school '*industrial administration*' (ibid. p. 23) was used rather than management studies which may well have been deliberate. When management is mentioned in paragraph 71 Percy first stated the prevalent view, that it was based on experience, before selecting words such as *'facilitate*' the '*process of learning*' (ibid. p. 22) with regards the body of knowledge available. Essentially he avoided explicitly referring to theory that could be taught and learned.

Completed in July 1945, the Percy Report was the first reference within a government-sponsored report to management studies. The importance of management was discussed within the same context as the need for more scientists and technologists suggesting a similar status and urgency. It presented a set of recommendations that could have formed the basis for future investigation and action.

3.7 The basis for my interpretation of the Urwick Report

By the end of the 1920s an interest in management education was evident in the reports of the AEIC, from industry, and the Emmott Committee, from education. Neither of these reports made recommendations concerning management education. At this time management education had no sponsor. Without a professional body there was no means through which industry could express its requirements to education, specifically technical and commercial colleges. In a broader context, there was no professional body that the government could engage with over matters of management. The 1930s saw a growth in the number of professional bodies particularly those related to management. A number of these bodies formed a confederation, the CMA. Acting as a central body the CMA co-ordinated the requirements of some of its member bodies with the BOE, API and APTI with regards a common element for management. The war prevented implementation of this scheme. The BMC was founded but with no educational remit. The IIA saw itself as the professional body for management and continued to be active during the war. It had constructed a plan for education and training in management at different levels for

students between the ages of 18 to 35. The coalition government had expressed recognition of the need for intervention in industrial management through the Weir Committee. The committee took the majority of its evidence from industry. A small group of individuals had emerged, a subset of what Brech has previously identified as a *management movement*, who were concerned with education for management.

There are three areas where the findings in this chapter differ from the literature and these are now made explicit. Firstly, to Urwick and Brech's list of influential professional bodies and groups in this period, I would add the CMA. As a confederation of professional bodies associated with the functions of management, it represented a means of communication with the government. Another addition, but this time to Brech's *management movement*, is that of Whitehead. Within this group there were seven individuals who were prominent in the documentation related to education for management as identified in this chapter. Any of these individuals, including Whitehead, could have been a candidate to chair an investigation into education for management. Finally, the role of Lord Percy within a history of management education should be acknowledged. The publication of a *Management Manifesto* in 1933 provides evidence of Percy's views relating to management education. These views appear to have been reflected in recommendations for management studies in the Percy Report (1945). The report provided an opportunity from which management education could have been progressed.

It is from these conclusions that I have constructed my interpretation of the Urwick Report which is discussed in the next chapter.

4 Management education in England: The Urwick Report

In October 1945 the Ministry of Education (MOE) established a committee to report on education for management in technical and commercial colleges in England. A report was published in May 1947. The story that the official report presents is one of a consensus of professional bodies recommending syllabuses for two levels of qualification in management studies undertaken by part-time study. A different story emerges from government files containing official letters, and minutes from committee meetings. Rather than a consensus this is a tale of contestation, of protracted negotiations and power struggles.

This chapter does not present these events in chronological order. The published report portrays the official representation of the work of the committee and it is with this that I start. Having considered what can be deduced from the published report, analysis of unpublished public documents is then conducted. This presentation represents the analysis process as it actually occurred. I chose to do this for three reasons: (i) to emphasise the chronology of the method rather than the data; (ii) to reflect the process that I thought others may have carried out when commenting on the Urwick Report (ie only referencing the Urwick Report) and; (iii) to show that different stories emerge from published and unpublished documents. By interpreting these stories within the context that was discussed in chapter three, a richer narrative result.

To begin with the work of the Urwick committee is placed within a chronological framework of government reports published during the period. Having set the context for the analysis, section 4.2 considers the committee's published report and section 4.3 unpublished documents from committee files. An association between the Urwick Report and the BIM has been noted in the literature; section 4.4 looks to find evidence of this association by exploring files of the Board of Trade, the Treasury and the MOE. Continuing the theme of associations, in section 4.5 other MOE reports are examined to find references to management education. The purpose of this is to try and locate management education in wider MOE strategy. Section 4.6 considers the implementation of the recommendations in the Urwick Report. Finally, a summary of my findings is given.

The resultant narrative weaves together the threads of data that I have selected with the objective of producing an interpretation of how debates about management education represented the aims of different individuals and groups and how these influenced each other, the process, resultant policy and, ultimately, professional practice.

4.1 Government reports related to management education.

Using terms related to management education such as business administration, commerce, management, education and training, this section identifies government documents published during the period of the Urwick Committee and shortly afterwards by the MOE, BOT and the Ministry of Labour and National Service (MOL). As discussed in section 1.7 the aim is to identify if a theme or an ideology is evident.

It is common practice that the reports of a committee are referenced by the name of the chairman of the committee and this has been indicated in Table 2 below. Rather than listing the reports in ascending publication date, the date the committee was operational has been included. This allows a judgement to be made as to whether an influence between reports is feasible. For example, in the case of the Carr-Saunders Report, the committee should have been aware of the Percy, Newson-Smith and Baillieu Reports as they related to commerce. Equally the Carr-Saunders Committee should have been aware of parallel committees chaired by Urwick and Hardman. In the case of these three aforementioned committees, all were appointed by the MOE so even if the committee was not aware of the work being carried out by other government departments, they should have been aware of current work within the same department. Looking for connections between reports will help determine if the government had a particular approach to management education. If this is so, analysis of the Urwick Report will need to determine if it was part of this approach.

Table 2: Government reports related to management education

Year Committee Report	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
(MOE) Higher Technological Education (Percy) Apr 1944 – July 1945							
(MOL)Training for Business Administration (Newson–Smith) Feb 1945 – June 1945							
(BOT) A Central Institute of Management (Baillieu) Nov 1945 – Mar 1946							
(MOE) Education for Management (Urwick) Oct 1945 – May 1947							
(MOE) National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce (Hardman) Sep 1947 – Dec 1947							
(MOE) Education for Commerce (Carr-Saunders) Jun 1946 - Dec 1949							
(MOE) Future Development of Higher Technological Education (Weeks) Nov 1948 - Nov 1950							

As can be seen there was a great deal of activity in areas which appear related to management education. Preparation leading to a committee started a number of months before a committee was instructed as will be seen later. Therefore it can be assumed that, in principle, the Urwick Committee should have been aware of the reports that preceded it in Table 2. Also it may have had a possible role in the preparation for the Hardman, Carr-Saunders and Weeks Committees. To examine this hypothesis and its implications the Urwick Report needs to be considered.

4.2 The Urwick Report

The published report portrays the official representation of the work of the committee and it is with this that I start. This section is divided into four main subsections. To begin with details about the report's structure, size and committee members are given. Then the terms of reference are discussed. Also commented on in this section is the particular composition of the committee. The section continues with reference to the Percy Report, which the Urwick Report references, in subsection 4.3.3. Finally, the wider influence and impact of the Urwick Report is considered by identifying references to it in the press, parliament and documents of the TUC and FBI.

4.2.1 The Committee and its terms of reference

Approximately 10,000 copies of *Education for Management: Management Subjects in Technical and Commercial Colleges: Report of a special committee appointed by the Minister of Education* were published in May 1947. The committee had been officially set up in October 1945 with ten men (shown here as they were listed on the report): Lt Col L Urwick as its chairman; S. Berger; B. Farr; J. Jones; J. Montegomery; Dr C Northcott; F. Perkins; A. Townsend; C. Beevers; and A. Maxwell-Hyslop. Only in the case of the two latter members is any detail other than the member's name given. Beevers was an MOE assessor and Maxwell-Hyslop, also MOE, acted as secretary. Its terms of reference (Urwick Report 1947, p. 3) were;

> To advise the Minister of Education on educational facilities required for management in industry and commerce, with particular reference to the steps to be taken in regards of the organisation of studies, bearing in mind the various requirements of professional organisations and the need for their co-ordination.

The 32 pages of the report including a summary of its 17 recommendations were presented in two sections: one of three parts and the other of four appendices. Part 1 (pp. 6-11) detailed the present position, defined the terms of reference and the common terms used throughout, namely management, industry, commerce and educational facilities. Part 2 (pp. 11-15) made suggestions for the assimilation and development of courses. Finally, part 3 (pp. 15-19) discussed the wider context with reference to the newly formed Central Institute of Management. Of the four appendices, appendix a, a single page, described the employment of trained personnel in management. Pages 21 to 28 detailed the suggested syllabuses for the intermediate certificate (CMS), appendix b, and the final examination (DMS), appendix c. Appendix d, pages 29 to 32, was a review of education for management in America.

In the foreword, John Maud, secretary for the MOE, stated that the problem to be considered had begun before the Second World War. The ability of technical and commercial colleges to cope with the demands made by different professional bodies relating to different curricula was of concern. This demand, it was believed, would become greater post war and '*..it was clear that the time was approaching when colleges would no longer be able to make provision...'* (ibid. p. 3). No details were given about what might be the cause of the demand but there are a number of possibilities that could be assumed. As noted in chapter three, there had been a growth in the number of relevant professional bodies since the turn of the century. Many professional

bodies required members to have experience in the field and success in examinations which related to different levels of membership: associate; fellow; etc. Each body created its own curriculum. Whether this was a problem for a college may have depended on the number of professional bodies it served. Colleges tended to reflect the industrial and commercial make up of their locality. It could have perhaps been forecast that the pre-war growth in professional bodies would continue, resulting in a more complex provision and possibly more students. Student growth could be assumed from the return of ex-servicemen in contrast to a shortage of teachers. Any of the aforementioned would have made a revision of provision logical.

Whatever the drive for the potential crisis was, the MOE was sufficiently concerned to call a meeting with representatives from professional bodies in London on the 20th September 1945. As a result of this meeting the Urwick Committee was appointed a point detailed in the foreword of the report. The deduction then is that there was a general agreement that something had to be done to avoid a potential problem. Those present at the meeting were noted as being *'…representatives of professional bodies concerned with the part-time study of management in Technical and Commercial colleges…'* (ibid. p. 3); this therefore excluded full-time courses and representatives of universities and any other institution. It implied that the study of management was part of other professions and was only studied part-time in these institutions by members of professional bodies. It was therefore an element of an already established profession rather than a profession itself. The make up of the committee was described similarly being '*representative of professional and educational, rather than industrial and commercial, interests…"* (ibid. p. 6). The rationale for this arose from a specific consideration:

> ..to conduct an enquiry covering the whole range of management would require, in our opinion, a body specifically constituted to that end, and the task would call for time and labour not immediately available.

Essentially, this appears to meet with the terms of reference given but in a limited form. It is not made clear why the focus of the report should be limited to part-time courses in colleges. A second meeting was held with the professional bodies to discuss the work of the committee on the 5th December 1946. Not all the professional bodies whose representatives attended the first meeting attended the second and one professional body only had representations at the second.

The list of professional bodies and the names of committee members in the report indicated those who were officially involved but beyond this there is little that can be

determined as to their role in this story. Of the eighteen associations whose representatives attended the first meeting, only thirteen attended the second. It may have been that this second meeting was not convenient for some bodies; that their view towards the subject had changed; that they no longer wished to be involved; or that they were happy with what had already been concluded. Only the IEeng had representative at the second but not the first meeting; again there is nothing to indicate why this might have been the case. The occupation and / or membership of a professional body of committee members were not included in the report, unlike the Percy, Newson-Smith and Baillieu Reports. Mention was made that Townsend did not sign the report as he was unable to attend committee meetings (ibid. p. 2) and that Perkins had moved from the MOE to become Education Officer for ICI during the process. The other members represented various professional bodies: Berger (CWA); Farr (ISM); Jones (ATI); Montgomery (IMeng); Northcott (CMA); and Townsend (IOE). Urwick represented the IIA.

With the exception of members from the MOE and Urwick (previously a member of the Mitcheson Committee *Inquiry into War Pensions* in 1940) the other members of the committee had not been named as part of other government committees but this does not necessarily mean that they had not been indirectly involved with these. Members of the IIA, ATI and ISM had been interviewed by the Newson-Smith Committee, a report that did not list the individuals involved from the professional bodies but there is a reasonable probability that some of the members of the Urwick Committee were involved. As can be seen in Appendix D, the composition of the Newson-Smith Committee comprised groups representing employers, the FBI, British Employers Confederation (BEC), the London Chamber of Commerce, individual employers, employee federations and unions, representatives from the BOT, MOE, the MOL and one representative from an educational institution. As well as interviewing organisations and other government departments, three individuals were interviewed; Professor Arnold Plant and Sir Ernest Cassel from the University of London and Dr A. Roberts from Manchester College of Technology. All three were involved in related degree programmes. Whereas the composition of the Newson-Smith Committee reflected industry and commerce, the Percy Committee was dominated by representatives from educational institutions. The Baillieu Committee was dominated by industry as its predecessor the Weir Committee had been. Indeed many of those who gave evidence to the Weir Committee (see Appendix C) were members of the Baillieu Committee (see Appendix D).

This initial analysis of the composition of the Urwick Committee suggests that in comparison to other committees in related areas of management and education, set up before it, the composition of the Urwick committee begins to appear rather odd. There were no members from technical colleges that ran programmes in commerce and administration and had a high profile in terms of their relationship with the MOE. For example, Dr D. Anderson, the Principal of Birmingham Central Technical College, had been part of the Percy Committee and would have seemed adequately qualified to be a potential committee member. Jones, of the ATI, is the only member of the committee that could be seen as being associated with educational institutions. Educationalists that had played a significant role in education for management before the second world war such as Bowie and Schofield are notably absent from the committee. Within the context of the report '*educational'* representatives were a very specific group. They represented a professional body's interest in education. As part of their role they liaised with colleges concerning the requirements of their professional bodies. *Educational* is therefore a limited term in the report. It refers only to instruction for a particular qualification for a particular professional body. Of note is that there was no representation from the education committee of the FBI and no general employer input. There was no representation from general employee bodies such as the TUC. In part this could be seen as explained by the noted exclusion of industrial and commercial interest due to time. The comment '*time and labour not immediately available'* (ibid. p. 6) may mean that others were busy, involved in post war activity, or it may have meant that they were not interested or not prepared to be involved. Whatever the reasons, the term '*professional'* (ibid. p. 6) representative is also limited; it referred to a particular group of professional bodies. Of the industrialists who had championed education for management before the Second World War, as identified in section 3.5, only Urwick is present, Ferguson and Whitehead are not involved and neither is Byng and Rose. However, the IMeng, of which Rose was a member, was represented on the committee by Montgomery and, as will be seen when the minutes of committee meetings are discussed, also represented the voice of the IEeng. Hence the structure of the committee is a very specific one. This needs to be taken into account when considering the particular view of education for management it represented and promoted.

4.2.2 Scope and remit

The foreword to the report clearly stated the type of institutions and courses that it was concerned with. Industry and commerce was its focus, which was all '*economic undertakings'* (ibid. p. 6); therefore the public sector was excluded. Central and local

government were briefly mentioned later in the report with reference to business administration. This implies a differentiation between notions of private and public sector management with the latter being termed administration. Public administration was therefore a distinct category and not included in the report. Hence the first government report into education for management is concerned with a definition of management specific to the private sector.

A summary of the seventeen recommendations the report made started with a declaration,

> The Committee wishes it to be clearly understood that there is no implication in this Report that young men or women can be trained as managers in industry or commerce by following certain courses of study at Technical or Commercial colleges. Theoretical study alone cannot make a manager. (ibid. p. 4)

It is a duplication of similar statements that those either for or against management education seemed compelled to repeat when ever the subject was mentioned. The majority of the recommendations were concerned with the technicalities of the two courses proposed for management studies, intermediate and final, including age recommendations and hours of study. Wrapped around the operational detail and core of the report was a warning to the professional bodies and the MOE. In continuing to demand separate syllabuses, professional bodies would cause problems for technical colleges. Accordingly they should *'confine specialised demands'* (ibid. p. 4) and not develop a hierarchy between themselves, an indication, perhaps, that some professional bodies were making greater demands than others.

Within the first few pages of the report it becomes clear that it had afforded an opportunity to those concerned to raise the profile of management education beyond the professional bodies and technical institutions. The inclusion of the final appendix highlighted this. Drawing heavily on information from the American Management Association (AMA), no doubt a reflection of Urwick's contact with the association, this appendix attempted to quantify the size of the potential market for education for management. It seems odd that given the original terms of reference there was a concern with American management education. Justified on the grounds of the USA being England's main competitor, this element of the report went beyond the stated terms of reference. Aside from this oblique reference to productivity there is no other mention of productivity in the report.

Despite a recurring theme of 'management education alone does not make the manager', the report attempted to reframe this discourse. The Percy Report and its use

of the term '*management studies*' was referenced, creating an opportunity to discuss the term (ibid. p. 7);

> A valid distinction cannot be drawn between the study of management for one purpose rather than for another, nor is there anything new in the suggestion that management should be the subject of theoretical study.

These few lines did two things: (i) they presented management as a generic subject, one that could be studied in its own right; and (ii) implied that management had a body of knowledge enabling theoretical study. This was a bold move. The report validated the existence of this body of knowledge by reference to the work of Taylor and Fayol. Rather than being based purely on '*common sense and general experience'* (ibid. p. 7), the Urwick Report argued that there was a body of knowledge based on scientific methods sufficient to suggest that management was a discrete discipline. Defining the subject with reference to scientific management still left it with a problem which the report noted as '*the special character*' (ibid. p. 7) of its body of knowledge. What this referred to was the association of management subjects with specific professions, of specific definitions of management rather than a generic one. The report defined management without reference to a particular industry, a particular service or a particular skill. This redefinition was critical to the premise that qualifications in management studies could exist in their own right. The Percy Report recommended the need for a postgraduate institution of industrial administration which was endorsed by Urwick (ibid. p. 17). As will be discussed, these two references do not seem to exploit the opportunity that the Percy Report provided for establishing management education within the field of technological education and forwarding a related body of knowledge.

The report presented a particular view of management. It discussed the character of the manager, where the manager might come from and the number of managers required. References to character and working up through the ranks are repeated, *'initiative and leadership…is not solely, nor even mainly, a matter of intellectual quality.'* (ibid. p. 9). There are frequent references to both sides of the debate about management and the report tried to appease both camps. On the one hand, experience and natural talent is important, but on the other, there is a need for education. Not until page seventeen is there criticism of universities for not acknowledging and developing the subject '..*in fear of narrow vocationalism*' and of industry for its '*emphasis on "practical experience*' (ibid. p. 17). However this criticism related to a lack of full time courses resulting in a shortage of teachers rather than a lack of management in the country. It is the dichotomy of experience and education that is used to identify the potential manager. Four categories were identified:

1. “cadets” educated to at least eighteen years old and potentially further. Management trainees might be a more common name for this category. The term ‘*management cadet*’ had been used by Clifton Robbins (CMA) to describe university graduates recruited into industry in 1940 (Brech 2002, p. 497);
2. qualified professionals (engineers, accountants etc) who, as they rose through the ranks, took on a management role;
3. school leavers who aimed to become professional through part-time study and rising through the ranks to a management role;
4. school leavers who rose through the ranks via a supervisory and then a management role.

This mixed profile of school leavers and graduates, was seen as a problem in determining the requirements of management education. It was anticipated that individuals from the first two categories would become even more prevalent following the implementation of the 1944 Education Act. When this point was mentioned, there was a footnote referring to page two of a report by Cambridge University, *University Education and Business* (1945). This report had two aims, it considered (Cambridge University 1945, p. v);

(1) How well the university equipped students to enter industry; and
(2) Whether employers were using men, trained by the university, to the best of their ability.

In short, it concluded ‘yes’, the university was doing a good job, and ‘no’, employers were not using graduates to the best of their ability. Ability referred to putting students into positions of responsibility quickly. As a logical consequence of developments in education, the report anticipated that more children would be encouraged to continue education. This would reduce the number of able school leavers going into industry and therefore reduce the number of potential leaders who rose through the ranks (categories 3 and 4). To paraphrase the report, business would need to look to the universities for its leaders in future, whether it liked it or not. The implication of this for the categories in the Urwick Report was two fold: (i) those in category four that had presumably been in the majority would face a challenge from more ‘qualified’ individuals (i.e. graduates) which would result in “.. *a new class of competitors for such positions*” (ibid. p. 9); and (ii) the number in this pool would be reduced as more continued in education. However, despite this increasing pool of well educated potential managers again the Urwick Report stated;

> Nevertheless, no matter how comprehensive the national system of higher education, opportunities to obtain higher posts in business should continue to be open to those whose training has been predominantly in the school of experience.

Not only that but to emphasise this point, in what could be taken as a slight against the method used by the civil service for promotion, the report noted;

> To make some preliminary test of general educational attainment a prerequisite for promotion may be administratively convenient, but is socially undesirable. (ibid. p. 9)

What the report did not state was which of the categories listed it was concerned with, any or all. Throughout the report, many references were made to management education in America. A significant proportion of both sections of the report were devoted to the number of students, facilities and curricula in America. Combined with the report's endorsement of Percy's recommendation for a postgraduate business school, this leaves the reader in no doubt as to the category of potential manager that the report would wish to be concerned with, postgraduates. Such statements quoted above and the report's references to graduate education give it a schizophrenic nature. Details concerning the example offered by America were juxtaposed with statements about the character and experience of the potential manager rather than their education. I would suggest that this list of potential managers implicitly differentiated between the graduate 'cadets' and the non-graduate manager. What is still required is the identification of the potential manager for whom the courses presented by the report were suitable. To this end, some detail can be derived from the statistics to which it refers.

Numerous requests were made throughout the report to address a lack of statistical information concerning the numbers of students in the categories listed above and institutions offering courses. The report estimated that between 400,000 and 450,000 people were engaged in '*managerial functions*' (ibid. p. 6) and 12,000 new managers were required each year, assuming the average working life of a manager was 35 years. Data from the 1931 census, two engineering bodies and an accountancy body was used as the basis of these estimations (ibid. p. 6 and p. 9). It was believed 70% of individuals entering these professions were engaged in "*managerial functions*" (ibid. p. 9). The frequent use of this term is interesting; it avoided using either management or manager. Revisiting the previously listed categories of potential managers, members of the professional bodies would fall into the second category, qualified professionals who rose up through the ranks. This, then, would be a large group.

To recapitulate, according to the indications from the report, the 'cadets' of category one would be serviced by a postgraduate school. Category four, those working their way through the ranks, though a dying breed according to Urwick, could be potential students. However, it could be argued that this category contained those with all the

qualities of leadership that education could not provide and therefore it would be difficult to justify why this group would seek or need to seek education. This leaves category two and three. The professionals in category two would be catered for by modification to their current provision at HNC to degree level according to the Percy Report. If it was assumed that the number of graduates in this category would increase; this group could also be classified as potential 'cadets' to be serviced by a postgraduate school. Finally, those engaged in part-time education whilst working up through the ranks, category three; as the remaining group these individuals must be the concern of the report. If it is assumed that this group excluded those training in the technical professions, engineers and accountants for example who are in the second category, what is left is what the report defined as the '*Management Professional Institutions'* (ibid. p. 11), sales managers, personnel managers, commercial managers, etc. Essentially it is the professional bodies which were part of the CMA created before the war. This is implicit as the report did not state exactly which category(ies) it was concerned with.

4.2.3 The Percy Report: a missed opportunity?

There is no mention within the terms of reference or the foreword of the Urwick Report that it was the result of a recommendation from a previous report. Published before the Urwick Committee was formed, the Percy Report made reference to management studies and would have acted as a rationale for the Urwick Report. Percy had been involved in discourses on management for many years as noted in chapter three. The Percy Report provided the rationale, the opportunity, for a government committee to be established to investigate education in management. It provided an opportunity for education in management to be part of a government education strategy in higher technology. It could have expanded discourses in education for management beyond the boundaries of a small number of professional bodies and interested individuals to a wider audience. There is no indication in the Urwick Report as to why it did not explore the recommendations of the Percy Report and the opportunity it provided.

To summarise the key points from the subsections above. In the foreword and terms of reference, the Urwick Report made it clear that it responded to a potential crisis in the technical and commercial colleges caused by increasing demands on the colleges from professional associations. Its scope was defined as part-time study in technical and commercial colleges. Therefore students within its scope were those who studied part-

time for qualifications related to a specific professional body which included management as part of the curriculum. The Urwick Committee constituted representatives of professional bodies; individuals who had represented their professional body in discussions with technical and commercial colleges. When compared to the other MOE committees in Table 2, the membership of the Urwick Committee was unusual. When viewed with respect to the notable individuals identified in section 3.5 only Urwick was present.

The Urwick Report went beyond its terms of reference in a number of areas;

(i) The Report recommended a new qualification in general management studies. This was not a qualification associated with a current professional body, it was not associated with a particular industry, and it was not associated with a specific function of management. Referred to as the final examination in the report, this became known as the DMS. The Report, in the briefest possible way, established that there was a specific body of knowledge for management.

(ii) It attempted to raise the profile of management education outside of its restricted audience of colleges and associated professional bodies specifically with reference to management education in America.

(iii) By categorising potential managers it differentiated between graduates, termed cadets, and non graduates. It anticipated that there would be significant growth in the cadet category as the 1944 Education Act was implemented. Postgraduate management education on American lines was an implicit aspiration. As a result of this, and by a process of elimination, the category of managers likely to be influenced by its recommendations were school leavers, who studied part-time for the examination of the '*Management Professional Institutions'* and progressed through the ranks to a management role.

The Urwick Report was not responding to recommendations from the Percy Report for management studies. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Urwick Report did not appear to be part of policy associated with higher technological education. It did not contain an explicit reference to productivity therefore it appeared not to be part of political strategy concerned with productivity.

4.2.4 Impact and Influence

The publication of the report, in theory, enabled the technical colleges and professional bodies to begin work on implementing the new syllabuses. Without a coordinating professional body the process of individual associations liaising with local colleges within a particular Local Education Authority (LEA) continued. Operationally there was another area of concern. The report had drawn attention to the need for more teachers in management. Initially members of the professional bodies were to be called upon supported by the individual's employer for this '*public service*' (Urwick Report 1947, p. 16). Calling upon employers to release staff for teaching was common practice post war with calls being couched by references to goodwill and support for the common good (see for example Newson-Smith 1945, p. 7). The Urwick Report went a step further by involving the LEA's whose role would be to provide teacher training to support these part-time teachers through short courses. It echoed a recommendation of the Percy Report for '*a centre of post-graduate study of industrial administration*' (Percy Report 1945, p. 17), which would provide higher education management studies for potential full-time teachers.

The official publication of the report created little response except in the journals of related management associations that, unsurprisingly, greeted it enthusiastically. Their wait for recognition had been a long one. Beyond this there is little evidence of endorsement for the report and its recommendations. *The Times* noted the publication and approval by the MOE (*The Times* 13th May 1947, p. 7) of the Urwick Report and that LEA's had been asked where possible to start courses in the 1947/48 academic year. Comment was also made about the lack of teachers in management and the need to visit the USA to consider facilities for management education. A more detailed comment from a 'special correspondent' appeared in *The Times* on the 26th May 1947 (p. 5) under the title '*Managers in Industry – Making the most of National Resources – Challenge to Industrial Leadership'*. Whilst agreeing with the recommendations of the report, the article set the role of management against the backdrop of productivity issues and limited resources. Straddling debates on management as an art or a science, criticisms of British management may have been ill informed it noted, but now was the time for scientific management. The picture of a manager painted here was of an individual who had '*earthiness*', a '*common touch'*, was '*well balanced'* and would find life '*savorless*' without the '*difficulties*' such a role offered. This call to British industry mimicked recruitment posters of the Second World War with a cry of 'your country needs you'. But there was a sting in the tail of this cry, even if you fitted the description given, things had changed, *'now that management has become highly*

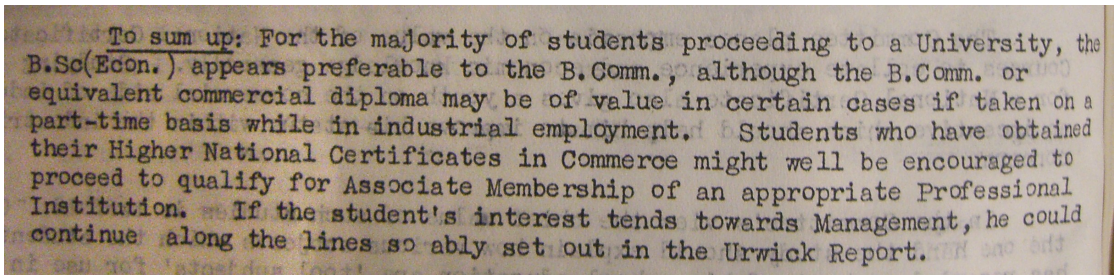
professionalized, the amateur, however gifted, must train and study or be left behind' (ibid. p. 5). The phrase '*highly professionalized*' could have been referring to the proposed Central Institute of Management, but as the institute was not yet up and running it is more likely to be a reference to types of management related to specific functional tasks. The special correspondent was obviously an advocate of scientific management, but I doubt that it was Urwick himself. As a self publicist, Urwick would have identified himself. (It was not uncommon for articles in *The Times* to appear under the title of a special correspondent). The article concluded by stating that all the professional bodies directly involved in the report were in full agreement and repeated recommendations concerned with the need for a National Advisory Council on Education for Management to work with the BIM and that a visit to the USA should be made.

This latter point even raised a comment in written questions in the House of Commons (Hansard 18th December 1947, vol. 445, col. 361). Derick Heathcote-Amory asked if a visit to the USA was to go ahead, but, George Tomlinson minister (MOE), replied negatively. This was the only point in relation to the Urwick Report made in either House of Parliament in 1947. It was not until 15 months later, on the 3rd March 1949, that the Urwick Report was mentioned again. By now the BIM had become involved in the administration of the CMS. Sir P. Hannon, on behalf of two of the engineering bodies, asked a brief question on training for management. In his reply Tomlinson hoped that the qualification recommended by the Urwick Report would meet their requirements (Hansard 3rd March 1949, vol. 462, col. 520*).* Amidst food rationing, reconstruction, nationalization and production problems perhaps, unsurprisingly, the Urwick Report made little impact. However what few references there are in *The Times* and in Parliament seem consistent in their mention of America. A letter to the Editor of *The Times* (15th October 1947, p. 5) that discussed differences in productivity and the role of management appeared with a title '*Learning from America'* and generated a number of responses. Over the next few days letters appeared endorsing American practices and criticizing British industry. One even mentioned the Urwick Report, Mr. G. Minnis (*The Times* 31st October 1947, p. 5) started his letter with a polite comment that the Urwick Report *'may have escaped the notice of your correspondents*': indeed it seemed to have escaped more than just the paper's correspondents.

In response to legislation to nationalize certain industries, a resolution passed at the 1947 TUC congress titled '*Workers' Participation in Management*' included an educational review. In the subsequent report the Urwick Report is listed as part of the general provision reviewed. (TUC 1948, p. 284). No other comment was made

regarding the report or its related qualifications. The TUC acknowledged that it was its responsibility to train its own through a mix of full-time scholarships to the London School of Economics and Ruskin College, part-time courses at provisional universities and specialist short courses. At proceeding conferences it was the BIM that was mentioned when management and management education was discussed.

A similar lack of comment is evident through the minutes of the FBI's education committee. Taking no specific action seemed to be a feature of the FBI committee regarding questions on education for management. In February 1947 it decided to wait until the Urwick Report had been published before considering any issues on education for management. After publication, the Urwick report was circulated but the committee did not feel that it was necessary to make any comment and decided to wait until the staff college published its list of courses (FBI 26th June 1947, MSS.200/F1/1/1/116). By the meeting on 17th October 1947 it appeared questions on education for management had been considered. After repeating the usual mantra that managers were born and not made, a two stage process for the education of a manager was decided upon. First, a professional qualification then management studies which should be mixed with practical experience. Study at both stages should be part-time. Here, at last, was evidence of an endorsement for the qualifications proposed in the Urwick Report.



To sum up: For the majority of students proceeding to a University, the B.Sc(Econ.) appears preferable to the B.Comm., although the B.Comm. or equivalent commercial diploma may be of value in certain cases if taken on a part-time basis while in industrial employment. Students who have obtained their Higher National Certificates in Commerce might well be encouraged to proceed to qualify for Associate Membership of an appropriate Professional Institution. If the student's interest tends towards Management, he could continue along the lines so ably set out in the Urwick Report.

(FBI 17th October 1947, MSS.200/F1/1/1/116)

A proposal to implement the CMS for a business training scheme for ex-service personnel was put to the FBI committee by the MOL on 17th October 1947. It was firmly rejected. A nine month full-time course was seen as too long. Had the FBI backed the proposal, demand would have been generated for the intermediate course and the basis for a new generation of professional managers established. There is no doubt that the economic situation meant that the attention of the unions and employer bodies were fully occupied. That said, the FBI had an education committee with a remit for management education but, as minutes of their meetings suggest, it preferred not to involve itself with direct action. However members of the FBI did eventually become part of the education committee of the BIM.

The fact that employer bodies were not involved in or interested in the recommendations of the Urwick Report would have had implications for its implementation and subsequent success. Implementation was dependent upon employees to act as part-time teachers and employers to support them. The report asked for the support of employers in identifying students. Without employer support for the student the resultant market for courses would be limited to self-supporting students. Where there was potential demand there may be no supply due to a lack of teachers. Neither would bode well for the future success of the qualifications.

The analysis in this section has been concerned with the published Urwick Report, from the instruction of the committee to the publication of the report and its receipt by the press, the FBI, the TUC and politicians. Its aim has been to identify those involved publicly in debates about management education and consider their influence on each other, the process, on policy and, ultimately, practice. With regards to those involved, the committee and the professional bodies, it is difficult to determine what influence they may have had on each other. But what can be said is that they represented a particular understanding of education for management. Their view reflected that of private industry and commerce from the perspective of a professional body. It was anticipated that students undertaking education would be members of professional bodies. This membership would have been achieved through part-time study and work experience gained since leaving school. Although the qualifications recommended could be taken by others, in practice they were for this group.

Ultimately the narrow focus of the report's terms of reference and those involved in the process limited its potential impact. In part the report went beyond its terms of reference in two areas. The most important of these was that it realized the concept of management studies albeit within a particular definition. It is unfortunate that it is the second area and comparisons to management education in America that was commented on by the press and politicians. The creation of the BIM had already begun to be the focus of debate about management and management education. The report appears to stand outside government activity in related fields such as commerce and technological education but there is no indication of why this might have been so. To try and add more detail to this story I now turn to unpublished documents.

4.3 The Urwick Committee

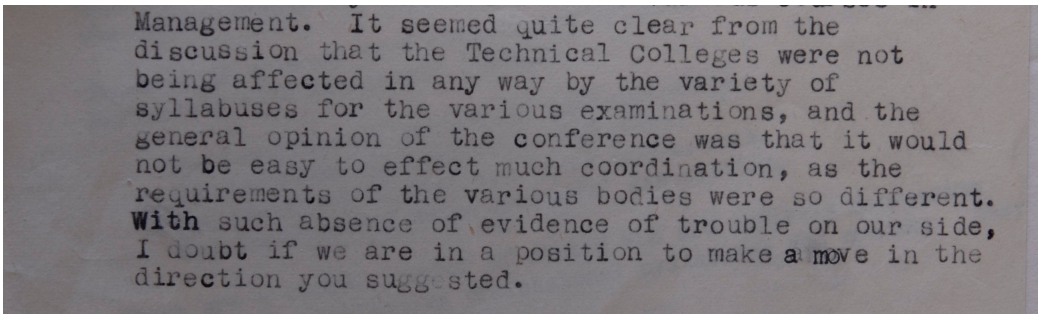
Before the official committee was named, events had already taken place that influenced the need for a report into education for management and the selection of those involved. This section looks at events before and during the work of the committee to illuminate the process that resulted in the final report. As discussed in the previous section, the Urwick Report did not appear to be part of other government activity in education and management. Its association with government strategy concerned with management and productivity is one that has been explored in the literature as discussed in chapter 2. This section seeks to determine if unpublished documents support conclusions made in the last section and in chapter 2.

This section begins by reviewing the events that influenced the MOE to call a meeting of professional bodies on the 20th September 1945 to discuss education for management. It then looks at how the MOE prepared for the meeting. The draft and published minutes of the meeting on the 20th September are then used to: (i) identify the views of the professional bodies in attendance; (ii) discuss the choice of those who became members of the Urwick Committee; and (iii) identify the MOE's interest in education for management. Finally the work of the Urwick Committee is discussed. To begin with I consider what influenced the MOE to create a committee in education for management.

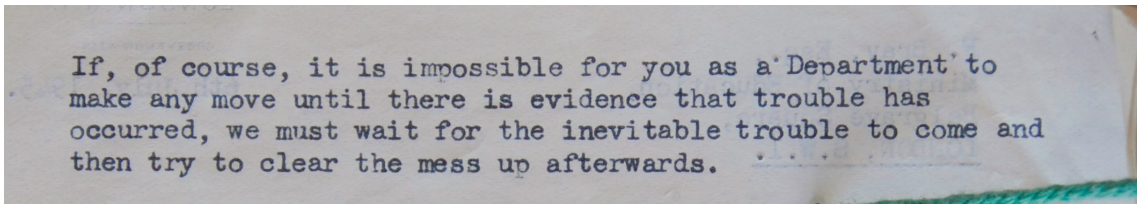
4.3.1 Influencing the Ministry

Letters between Urwick and F. Bray, Principal Assistant Secretary of the MOE, in early July 1945 show Urwick championing the need for a review of provision in technical colleges concerning the syllabuses of professional associations which include management subjects. Urwick was concerned that there would be increased demand for courses associated with professional bodies and the colleges would not be able to cope. As will be discussed, it was not until January 1947 that Urwick's aspirations for management to be a subject acknowledged by universities was revealed in a letter to Bray. Urwick must have had sufficient status for his concerns to be taken seriously. His roles in the Treasury (1940 – 1942), where he was a member of the Office Research section and part of the Mitcheson Committee, and his part in the organisation of the Petroleum Warfare Department (1942 – 1944) would have meant that he was no stranger to the workings of government (Matthews and Boyns (2001). Championing the techniques and possibilities of scientific management since the 1920s had established Urwick as a perceived expert. To explore Urwick's concerns the MOE consulted with the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions (APTI) and Association of

Technical Institutions (ATI). On the 5th July 1945, Bray informed Urwick of the conclusion; it appeared there was no perceived problem needing to be addressed (unless otherwise referenced, the following extracts are from ED46/959);


Management. It seemed quite clear from the discussion that the Technical Colleges were not being affected in any way by the variety of syllabuses for the various examinations, and the general opinion of the conference was that it would not be easy to effect much coordination, as the requirements of the various bodies were so different. With such absence of evidence of trouble on our side, I doubt if we are in a position to make a move in the direction you suggested.

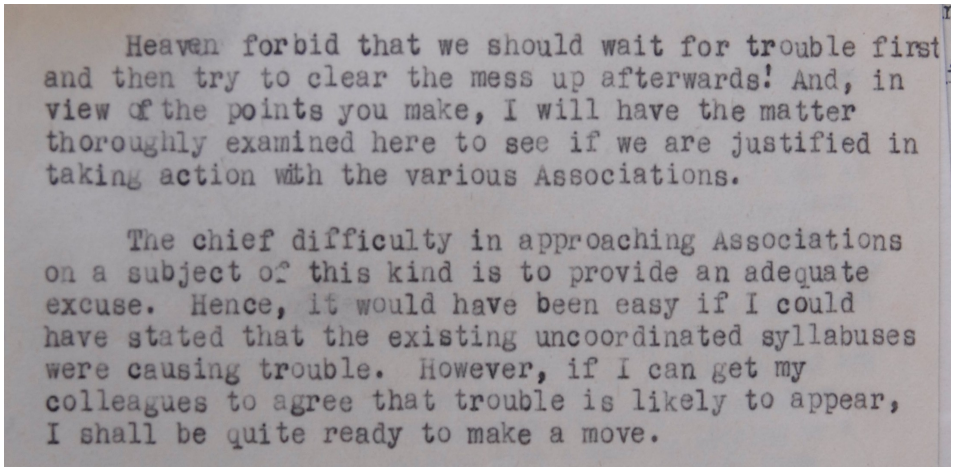
Urwick had not anticipated this consultation; it was obviously not the action that he had wanted. In his response his annoyance is barely concealed as he points out that his concern related to future and not present provision. Although he does not say why he did not want the APTI and ATI involved it could well have been that he had anticipated their response. As chairman of the IIA education committee he would have liaised with colleges regarding professional examinations for the IIA. Perhaps he was simply dismayed that Bray had seen the need to verify his statement. Despite this minor set back, things began to move quickly and the speed of correspondence between Urwick and Bray seems quite breathtaking, four letters in five days between the 5th and 10th of July. Undaunted Urwick turned to scaremongering. In his letter to Bray on the 6th July he increased the pressure;


If, of course, it is impossible for you as a Department to make any move until there is evidence that trouble has occurred, we must wait for the inevitable trouble to come and then try to clear the mess up afterwards.

(Urwick to Bray 6th July 1945, p. 2)

Implying the technical colleges are being naïve and are not thinking ahead to the potential of post war expansion, Urwick forecast trouble that could reflect badly on the MOE. This proved enough to push the MOE forward, but it still left officials with a problem of how to progress when the basis of Urwick's argument had already been dismissed.

(Bray to Urwick 9th July 1945, p. 1)



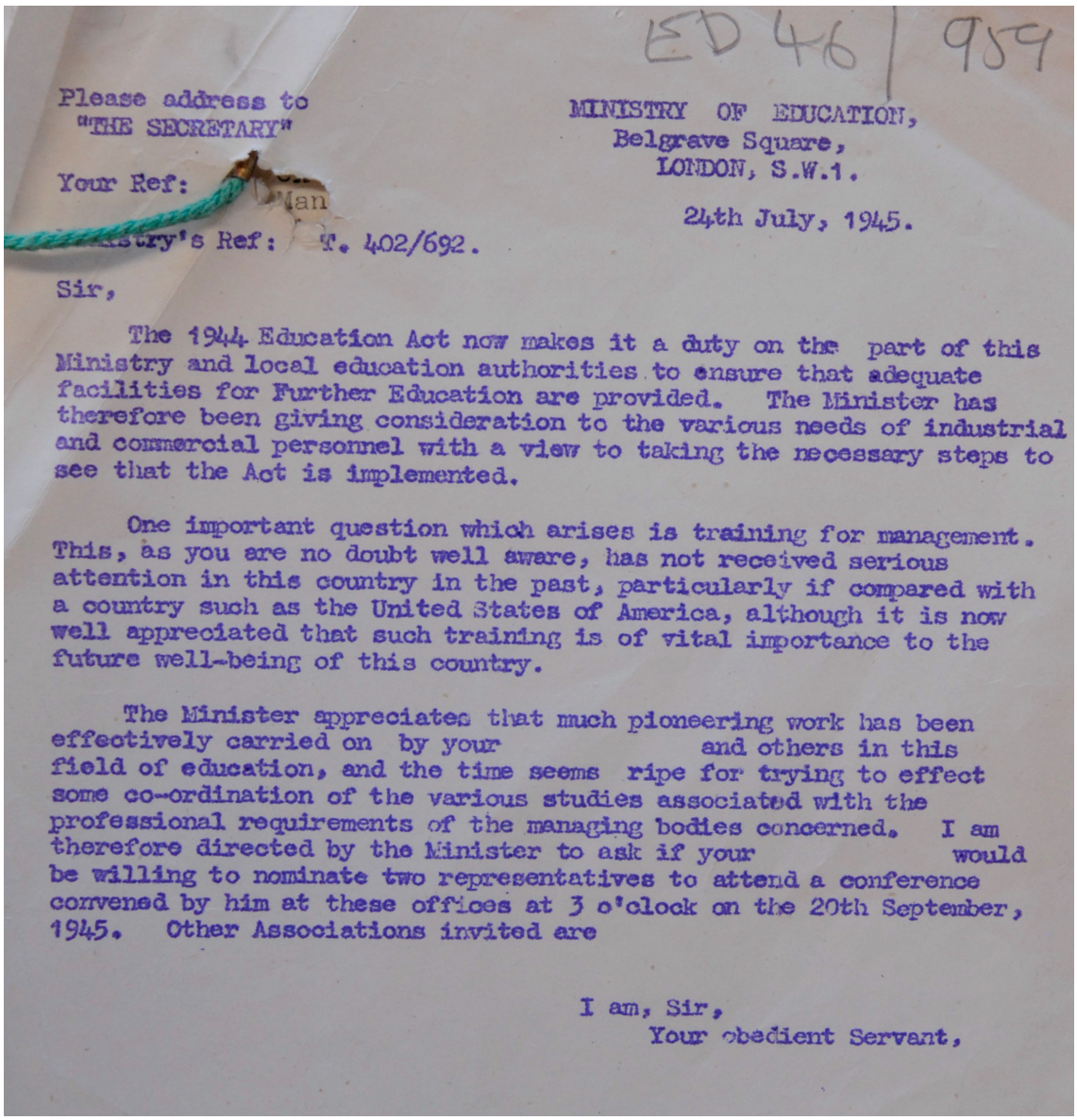
Heaven forbid that we should wait for trouble first and then try to clear the mess up afterwards! And, in view of the points you make, I will have the matter thoroughly examined here to see if we are justified in taking action with the various Associations.

The chief difficulty in approaching Associations on a subject of this kind is to provide an adequate excuse. Hence, it would have been easy if I could have stated that the existing uncoordinated syllabuses were causing trouble. However, if I can get my colleagues to agree that trouble is likely to appear, I shall be quite ready to make a move.

Seizing the opportunity afforded, Urwick started to prepare for the next stage of his campaign. In a long response to Bray on the 10th July he consolidated his previous argument and indicated which professional associations might be involved. Making some rather simplistic assumptions Urwick tried to quantify the size of the potential problem. Assuming 200 technical colleges with each one running courses for 10 professional bodies and each course having 10 subjects; the result was 20,000 separate subject courses. This calculation did not take into account the local nature of colleges and their reflection of local industry. It could be assumed that not all colleges would have had to service 10 professional bodies so this greatly over exaggerated the size of the potential problem. Urwick would have been aware of this as the IIA itself only ran courses in 20 technical colleges at that time (Urwick to Bray 6th July 1945).

By the 24th July 1945 letters were sent inviting professional bodies to a meeting on the 20th September. The reproduction below shows the proforma letter in full to illustrate its structure and how Urwick's lobbying was positioned with respect to the government's education policy. The rationale was set within the broad context of the 1944 Education Act. The wording of the first paragraph of the letter echoed the opening of the prefatory note of the Percy Report (1945, p. 2) but the Percy Report is not mentioned.;

> The framework of Government policy for the future of Technical Education in this country is outlined in the 1944 Education Act. It now becomes a duty of the part of local education authorities to ensure the provision of adequate facilities in this field of education.



ED 46 | 959

Please address to
"THE SECRETARY"

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
Belgrave Square,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Your Ref: [illegible]an

24th July, 1945.

[illegible]istry's Ref: T. 402/692.

Sir,

The 1944 Education Act now makes it a duty on the part of this Ministry and local education authorities to ensure that adequate facilities for Further Education are provided. The Minister has therefore been giving consideration to the various needs of industrial and commercial personnel with a view to taking the necessary steps to see that the Act is implemented.

One important question which arises is training for management. This, as you are no doubt well aware, has not received serious attention in this country in the past, particularly if compared with a country such as the United States of America, although it is now well appreciated that such training is of vital importance to the future well-being of this country.

The Minister appreciates that much pioneering work has been effectively carried on by your and others in this field of education, and the time seems ripe for trying to effect some co-ordination of the various studies associated with the professional requirements of the managing bodies concerned. I am therefore directed by the Minister to ask if your would be willing to nominate two representatives to attend a conference convened by him at these offices at 3 o'clock on the 20th September, 1945. Other Associations invited are

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(MOE 24th July 1945)

Having indicated that the matter in hand is part of implementing the 1944 Act the letter went on to state that, in comparison to America, management education is lacking. Its importance was related to the '*future well being of this country*', a reference to the need to improve productivity. This, then, was of national importance. Finally Urwick's objective was set within this current context as an opportunity for co-ordination. There is no mention of concerns over provision.

Those invited to the first meeting are based on a list provided by Urwick so again he had a significant controlling interest. Professional bodies were divided into 4 categories;

1) those who had implemented a syllabus including management subjects

2) those who were thinking about it
3) those who might consider it in the future
4) those who had a concern for management subjects some of whom had already included it in their syllabus.

From these descriptions 1) and 4) would appear to be similar. Looking at the list Urwick provided, which is represented below with professional bodies listed in the same order as they appeared in Urwick's letter, there is further confusion.

Category	
1	Institute of Industrial Administration (IIA) Institute of Production Engineers (IPEng) Institute of Costs and Works Accountants (CWA) The Incorporated Sales Managers Association (SMA)
2	The Purchasing Officers Association (POA) The Institute of Labour Management (ILM) The Works Managers Association (WMA) The Office Management Association (OMA) The Institute of Export (IOE) The Institute of Traffic Administration (ITA) The Advertising Managers Association (AdMA)
3	The National Institute of Industrial Psychology (NIIP) The Industrial Welfare Society (IWS) Institute of Distribution (IODb)
4	The Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineers Two or three Accountancy Institutions The Chartered Institute of Secretaries (CIS) A whole row of other Engineering Institutions etc., etc

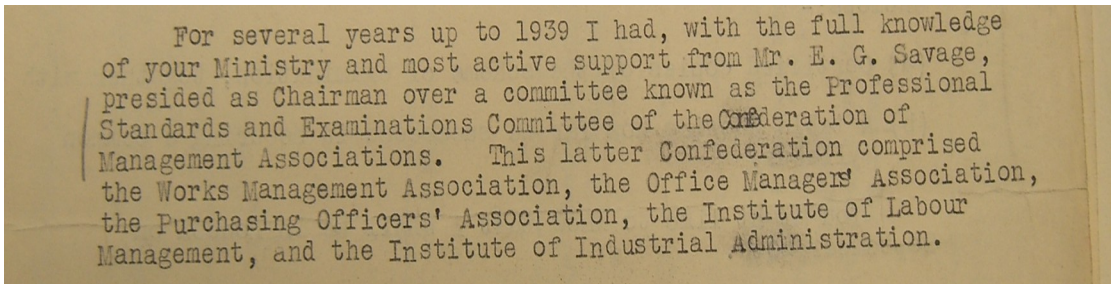
(Bray to Urwick 10th July 1945, pp. 1–2)

With the exception of category 4, the full title of the professional body is given; in category 4 is seems strange not to have named the two or three accountancy bodies. During the war three accountancy bodies had agreed with the Universities that they would give exemption at the intermediate level of examinations for professional status to any graduates of Economics, Accountancy or Law (Carr-Saunders Report 1949, p. 10) which might explain Urwick's lack of interest. The engineering bodies already had associations with universities as well. Those in category 3 were noted as not being '*strictly professional'* (ibid. p. 1) but no indication was given of what professional might mean. Apparently such bodies '*proliferate like rabbits'* (ibid. p. 2) and although they had '*less of an excuse'* to start courses related to membership Urwick '*wouldn't put it past any of them'* (ibid. p. 1). Urwick obviously had no time for these. So Urwick created his own hierarchy based on his own associations and preferences, his own professional body was, of course, listed first. Initially only those in category 1 were written to by the MOE. The letters to the professional bodies illustrate that Urwick used his status and

influence to instigate a course of action that was then progressed under the guise of the MOE.

News of the meeting quickly spread and those who had not been invited wrote to the MOE to request an invitation. The first of them was the ILM. Internal MOE correspondence between Bray and H. Shelley, Chief Inspector at the MOE, (31st July 1945) indicated the plan had been to get general agreement from the 4 professional bodies in category 1 before canvassing others; however Bray wondered if he should have invited the ILM and asked Shelley for advice. The ILM had worked with the MOL to run short courses in personnel management during the war. Shelley responded (7th August 1945) *'Moxon* [of the ILM] *is a good fellow. I think the Institute of Labour Management is big enough to include him'* . This reference to size does not seem to have been taken into account when determining who to invite; the engineering institutions would have been by far the largest in size on Urwick's list.

The ILM informed the CMA who also approached the MOE (1st August). In retrospect it seems odd that an association of institutes associated with management was not included on Urwick's list, especially as the IIA was one of its members. On a personnel level Northcott would have been known to Urwick through the MRGs. Urwick had mentioned the CMA in his letter to Bray on the 6th July and this will be returned to after the content of Northcott's letter is considered. Whilst Urwick did not promote the CMA it might have been an oversight on the part of the MOE in not inviting it to send a representative. Northcott was keen to point out that the CMA already had a relationship with the MOE.

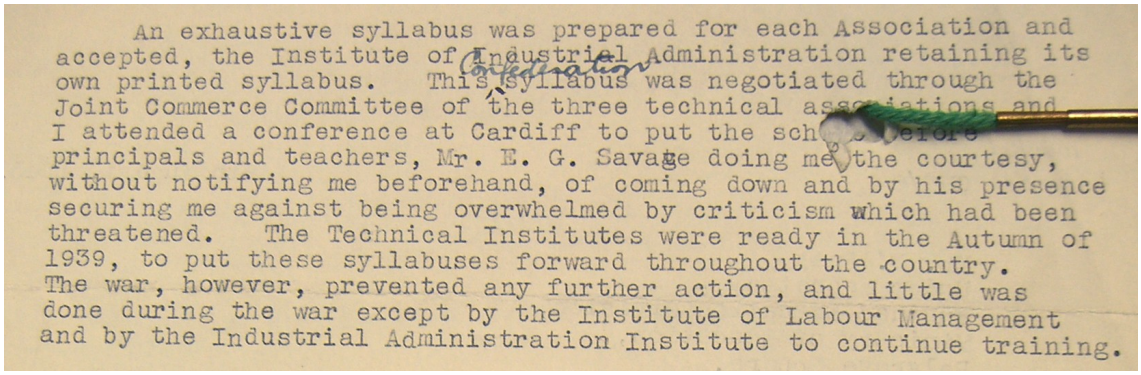


For several years up to 1939 I had, with the full knowledge of your Ministry and most active support from Mr. E. G. Savage, presided as Chairman over a committee known as the Professional Standards and Examinations Committee of the Confederation of Management Associations. This latter Confederation comprised the Works Management Association, the Office Managers' Association, the Purchasing Officers' Association, the Institute of Labour Management, and the Institute of Industrial Administration.

(Northcott to Bray 1st August 1945, p. 1)

Northcott outlined the work carried out over a four year period which had resulted in the identification of a common body of knowledge with a syllabus for each association. The time taken would indicate that this had not been an easy process. Agreement from the Joint Commerce Committee (JCC) of the technical associations had been secured and implementation had been planned for the autumn of 1939. It had been anticipated that

this agreement would be difficult to attain but support from the MOE had proved helpful.



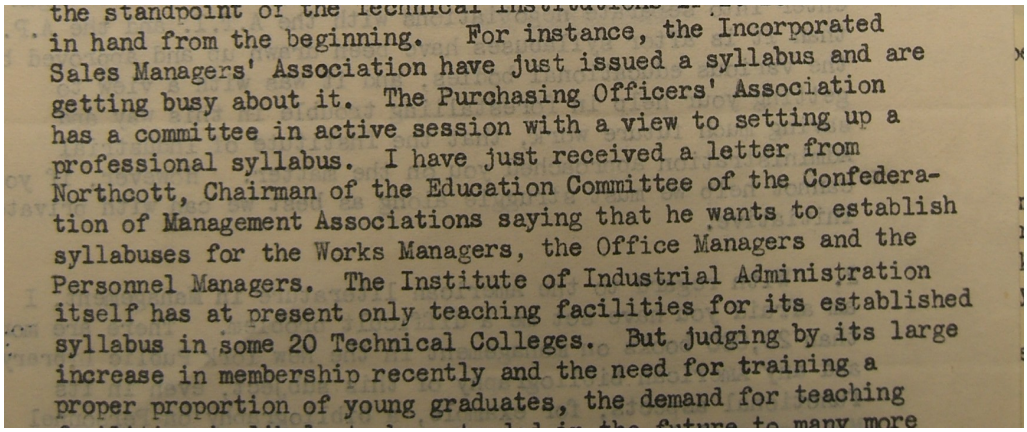
An exhaustive syllabus was prepared for each Association and accepted, the Institute of Industrial Administration retaining its own printed syllabus. This syllabus was negotiated through the Joint Commerce Committee of the three technical associations and I attended a conference at Cardiff to put the scheme before principals and teachers, Mr. E. G. Savage doing me the courtesy, without notifying me beforehand, of coming down and by his presence securing me against being overwhelmed by criticism which had been threatened. The Technical Institutes were ready in the Autumn of 1939, to put these syllabuses forward throughout the country. The war, however, prevented any further action, and little was done during the war except by the Institute of Labour Management and by the Industrial Administration Institute to continue training.

(Northcott to Bray 1st August 1945, p. 2)

Savage was the Senior Chief Inspector: a high ranking official. It is difficult to surmise what form the criticism that Northcott referred to might have taken other than suggesting that relations between the CMA and the JCC were difficult. This paragraph also indicated that the IIA had maintained its own syllabus, setting itself apart from the other members of the CMA - further evidence perhaps, that the IIA saw itself as different from other members of the CMA and may not have agreed with the common ground being progressed. To all intents and purposes Northcott's letter detailed the work the MOE was proposing to undertake. To add to the potential embarrassment of the MOE, the CMA had already held a meeting on the 19th July 1945 to continue the work that the war had halted. Here again a reference was made to attendance at the meeting by the IIA; Urwick, as chair of the IIA education committee, would have been aware of the event. No other members of the CMA are specifically noted in this way indicating that Northcott wanted the MOE to know that the IIA and Urwick knew of this previous work. What Northcott's letter suggests is that Urwick deliberately excluded the CMA in his letters to the MOE. Northcott did not explicitly ask the MOE to take any action as a result of his letter. Rather than asking to be invited to the meeting, Northcott wanted Bray to know that he would be in London on the 20th September. In the letter's closing paragraph was a reminder that not only was the CMA known to the MOE but Northcott and Bray had previously met. This final embarrassment suggests that the MOE and Bray had effectively not done their homework.

To consider why Urwick had not promoted the CMA, Northcott's letter needs to be compared with those of Urwick particularly his letter of the 6th July. Here Urwick informed Bray of recent activity. It is not only what Urwick does not say but also how he phrases what he does say that is of interest. In the extract of this letter, below, the CMA

syllabuses are presented as recent new work. No mention is made that this was a continuation of work started and agreed with the technical colleges before the war. To assert his position of importance, in the eyes of the MOE, Urwick stated that he had just been contacted by the CMA. It appeared as though the CMA were asking Urwick for permission for the new syllabuses. As new work it supported Urwick's hypothesis of increasing demand. Also of note is Urwick's reference to the IIA, linking it to the training of graduates who, it was implied, were driving its growing membership. This reference to graduates is of note when considering the categories of potential managers given in the final report. The IIA associated itself with the managers of the future who would be graduates.

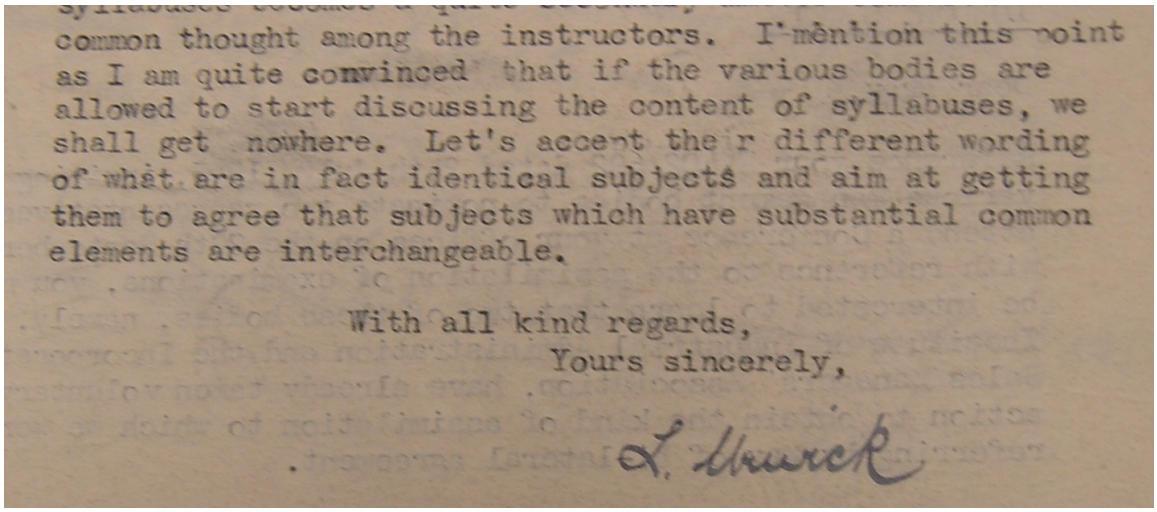


the standpoint of the technical institutions [illegible]
in hand from the beginning. For instance, the Incorporated
Sales Managers' Association have just issued a syllabus and are
getting busy about it. The Purchasing Officers' Association
has a committee in active session with a view to setting up a
professional syllabus. I have just received a letter from
Northcott, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Confedera-
tion of Management Associations saying that he wants to establish
syllabuses for the Works Managers, the Office Managers and the
Personnel Managers. The Institute of Industrial Administration
itself has at present only teaching facilities for its established
syllabus in some 20 Technical Colleges. But judging by its large
increase in membership recently and the need for training a
proper proportion of young graduates, the demand for teaching

(Urwick to Bray 6th July 1945, p. 1)

Prior to the official invitation being sent out from the MOE to the professional bodies for the first meeting to discuss training for management, correspondence from Urwick was on his own note paper. However Urwick did not champion the cause as an independent individual. As is evident from his references to other professional bodies, it is the IIA that is advanced foremost. When officially responding to the MOE invitation for the meeting in September on IIA headed paper Urwick informed Bray that the IIA and SMA had agreed to an '*assimilation of examinations*' (1st August 1945, p. 1) and that agreement with the POA was well advanced. Additionally, the IIA had approached the CWA and the CMA. Note it is the IIA approaching the CMA rather than vice versa. As the *Confederation of Management Associations* it might have been expected that the CMA would be the centralised body for progressing consolidation as it had been before the war. With the exception of the IPeng, agreement was now in place between the IIA and those professional bodies in Urwick's list in category 1 and half of those in category 2. It therefore appears that the IIA was the centre of these negotiations and had proceeded the majority of the way towards averting the potential problems in the technical colleges that Urwick was warning the MOE of. All of which appears to negate the need for action by the MOE, begging the question why was Urwick so keen to

involve them. Through these dealings with other professional bodies Urwick and the IIA were well aware of the problems that occurred when professional bodies discussed syllabuses. I believe that the true objective of Urwick's strategy was given in the close of his letter of the 1st August 1945 when commenting on the way to make further progress. Urwick indicated that he did not want to be drawn into detail over the content of syllabuses. It was the principle of common management subjects that needed to be established.



common thought among the instructors. I mention this point as I am quite convinced that if the various bodies are allowed to start discussing the content of syllabuses, we shall get nowhere. Let's accept their different wording of what are in fact identical subjects and aim at getting them to agree that subjects which have substantial common elements are interchangeable.

With all kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

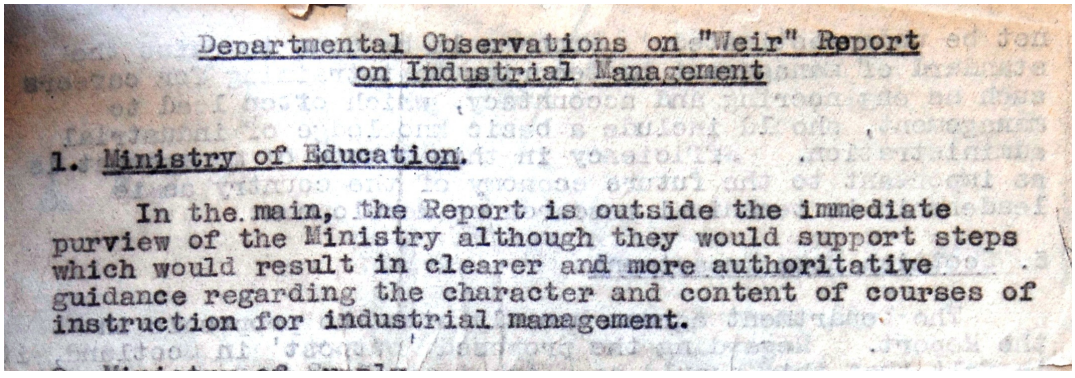
L. Urwick

(Urwick to Bray 1st August 1945, p. 2)

His aim was to get the principle of a body of knowledge related to management established. Essentially, this was a clever strategy by Urwick to raise the profile of education for management on a national stage. A concern over science and technology was the focus in the technical colleges and universities, with management being referenced within the same context as an allied but subordinate activity. The universities had already established a degree in Commerce and were not concerned with professional bodies in the same way technical colleges were. Whilst the larger well established bodies, mainly related to engineering, had links with universities the majority of the smaller and newly formed bodies did not. Their professional identity related to professional examinations often undertaken in technical and commercial colleges. At this time such colleges came under the control of their local authorities and it was with these authorities as well as the colleges that professional bodies would negotiate their requirements. If the IIA established itself as the main co-ordinating body of those associations with an interest in management it could consolidate its position. This would have been an attractive proposition and in-line with the objectives it had set out as part of its development plan in 1943 (see section 3.4).

4.3.2 Preparations by the MOE

Eventually the MOE decided to invite the majority of the bodies on Urwick's original list. In preparation for the meeting, Dr. H. Burness (Assistant Secretary for Further Education) asked for a briefing paper on what information the MOE had on training for management in industry. An official minute paper was prepared by Hyslop and, in just over one page, it detailed the three references found. Firstly, attendance by the Minister at an IIA conference '*Training for Industrial Management'* in 1943 was noted (this document was referred to in chapter 3). In reviewing copies of papers given at the conference Hyslop commented that their, *'literary style is not impressive'*. This can be seen as an indication of the view that civil servants held regarding the professional bodies. Next was a meeting in July 1944 with the ILM. Although the subject of the meeting was not given, Hyslop noted that Lord Percy was informed and the matter was referred to in the final Percy Report. As there is no direct reference to the ILM in the Percy Report the comment most likely referred to statements made by '*several of our witnesses, that the highly trained technician is often ignorant of the principles of industrial organisation and management and that he often shows no inclination to accept administrative responsibility*.' (Percy Report 1945, p. 22). Urwick was referenced in connection with writing a paper for the ILM, although how this was known is not clear; presumably there was a copy of it with details of the ILM meeting. It is the third item, the proposal for the BIM that attracted most comment by Hyslop. An overview of the work of the Weir Committee on '*Industrial Management*', carried out on behalf of the BOT, was given, noting that the proposal for the BIM was endorsed by the Industrial and Export Council in early 1944. (The report of the Weir Committee was not officially published and so was not identified in my initial research into government reports that related to management education as detailed in section 4.2). In August 1944 the MOE was asked to comment on the proposal. The official comment appeared as part of a document for the president of the BOT.



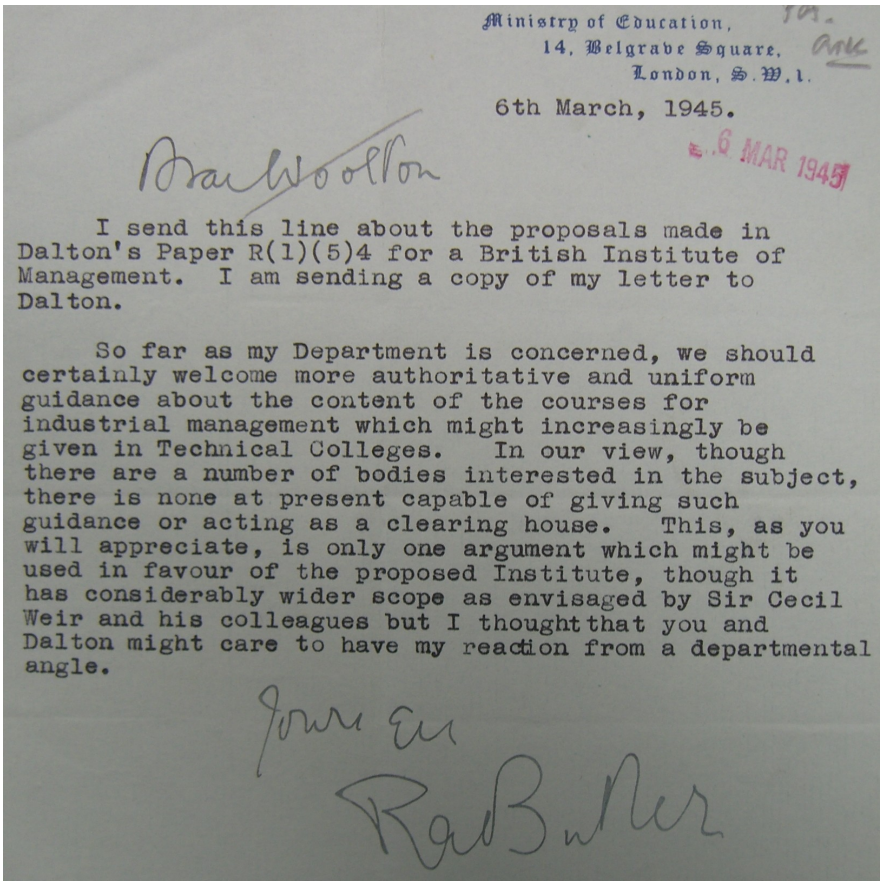
Departmental Observations on "Weir" Report
on Industrial Management

1. Ministry of Education.

In the main, the Report is outside the immediate purview of the Ministry although they would support steps which would result in clearer and more authoritative guidance regarding the character and content of courses of instruction for industrial management.

(BOT 19th September 1944, T228/624)

Hyslop's minute paper included the further comment that he and his colleagues had also said, *'rather guardedly',* that, *'the institute was hardly our business and that we did not want to comment'.* Hyslop continued that the story had then become '*a little obscure'* : apart from a comment made by the IIA at a discussion with the Percy Committee the proposal for the BIM had stalled in the Treasury. Hyslop had checked the meeting minutes of the Percy Committee for the date in question but had not been able to comment further. Indeed, the MOE had declared that it had no official interest in the BIM. But what Hyslop's minute paper did not detail was a more recent comment made by the Minister of Education himself, Richard Butler, concerning a proposal for the BIM that was to be tabled at a sub-committee of the War Cabinet Reconstruction Committee on '*Industrial Problems'* on 7th March 1945 (CAB125/87). (This document will be discussed in section 4.4). It is difficult to account for this omission. The MOE were a relatively small department at this time and it could have been anticipated that Hyslop or one of his colleagues would have drafted Butler's letter, shown below in full.



Ministry of Education,
14, Belgrave Square,
London, S.W.1.

6th March, 1945.

6 MAR 1945

Dear Woolton

I send this line about the proposals made in Dalton's Paper R(1)(5)4 for a British Institute of Management. I am sending a copy of my letter to Dalton.

So far as my Department is concerned, we should certainly welcome more authoritative and uniform guidance about the content of the courses for industrial management which might increasingly be given in Technical Colleges. In our view, though there are a number of bodies interested in the subject, there is none at present capable of giving such guidance or acting as a clearing house. This, as you will appreciate, is only one argument which might be used in favour of the proposed Institute, though it has considerably wider scope as envisaged by Sir Cecil Weir and his colleagues but I thought that you and Dalton might care to have my reaction from a departmental angle.

Yours ever

Rab Butler

(Butler to Woolton 7th March 1945, CAB125/87)

Although similar in essence to the previous comment it implied that there could be a role for the BIM as a co-ordinating body for the content of courses in the technical colleges. Also of note is that these references are to industrial management and not industrial and commercial management, or to public sector management. In his conclusion Hyslop commented,

> The scrappiness of these notes is evidence of the apparent untidiness of the organisation for dealing with the subject at the moment. Contacts seem to have been fortuitous and teaching arrangements spasmodic. There is general evidence of a lack of cohesion among the twenty or so organisations which at present concern themselves with the subject.

Finally, a note was made of references to Urwick. He *'..keeps on turning up'* which '*suggests that in any organisation he would play a leading role'*. The IIA and or Urwick were included in each of the references made, confirming the view that Urwick was very well known. All of which would act to validate the claims he made regarding the technical colleges and the professional bodies in his letters to the MOE. No mention was made of the MOE's involvement with the CMA even though Northcott's letter had been received.

4.3.3 The preliminary meeting

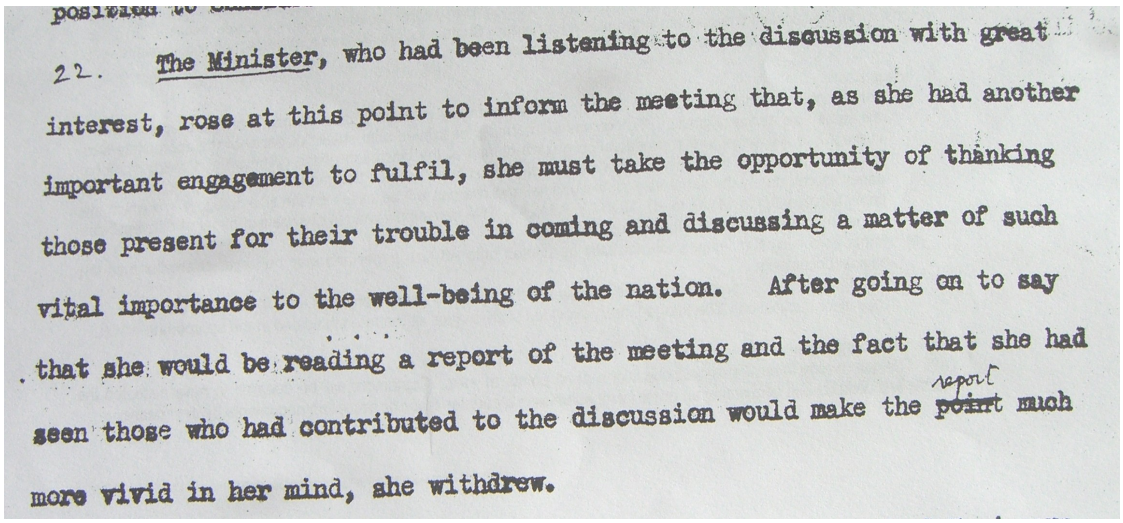
The stage had been set for the first meeting. From the MOE perspective there was potentially a need to do something and there was an obvious man for the job. Eighteen professional bodies, including the APTI and the API, attended the meeting on the 20th September 1945, thirty-five people in all, a somewhat larger gathering than Urwick had hoped to instigate. The eight pages of minutes recorded was condensed to an official two page version, one listing attendees the other the actual minutes. The unpublished minutes detail some interesting comments that did not warrant inclusion in the published minutes. For example, no other government departments were invited as only education matters were being discussed. This might account for no reference being made to the proposed BIM. The rationale for the meeting was explained. Apparently the MOE planned to produce a leaflet for the LEA's regarding training for industrial management and had found that some bodies interested felt there were some common ground between them (I found no evidence of this in the archive). Continuing the chairman commented that if there was common ground there might be '*some central research station where various types of course of training in management might be devised and trials made with regards their usefulness'* (MOE 22nd September 1945, p. 2). In the published minutes this became *'one college specialising in Education for Management'* bearing strong similarities to one of the recommendations of the Percy Report (although the report was not referenced in the minutes). The different bodies detailed what they had done to date. There was debate about whether management should be a postgraduate subject; the engineering bodies and the IIA suggested it should be. Not noted in the published minutes, this is an

interesting point for two reasons. Firstly, it evidenced the intention of the engineering bodies that engineering would be a graduate profession and that engineers would be future managers. This also reflected the recommendations of the Percy Report which had specifically discussed management studies being part of all undergraduate technology courses. Secondly, it evidenced the IIA and Urwick's view that future managers, '*cadets*' as they were referred to in the final Urwick Report, would be graduates. Management would be a graduate profession. Having discussed management in general, it was apparent that attendees were unclear as to the exact scope of the problem they were being asked to consider. The chairman replied (ibid. p. 7);

> ...while the main object was to get some measure of agreement on an introductory course, more ideas were wanted - E.G., whether a national centre should be set up where experiments in various types of course could be made; or whether some regional organisation would be of assistance.

Again it is a national centre that appeared to be of interest. There was debate in the meeting as to how best to make progress, anything from one to three sub-committees were suggested. The engineering bodies, again seeing themselves as a distinct group, were keen to have one committee *'to deal with Engineering, and another with Industry and Commerce'* (MOE 22nd September 1945, p. 8). At this point Burness, of the MOE, intervened. Concerned with the management of numerous committees with broad remits, he stated that this was not an issue of the relative importance of professional bodies. Pugh, of the CMA, had only one comment minuted, that the difference between the professional bodies present was that management was incidental to some but a '*matter of primary professional concern to others*' (ibid. p. 8). The debate was concluded by Dr P. Dunsheath, of the IEeng, although he was not identified as making a contribution to the meeting in the official minutes. Dunsheath suggested a six man committee; representing the professional bodies present their task was to identify procedure and the main needs of training for management.

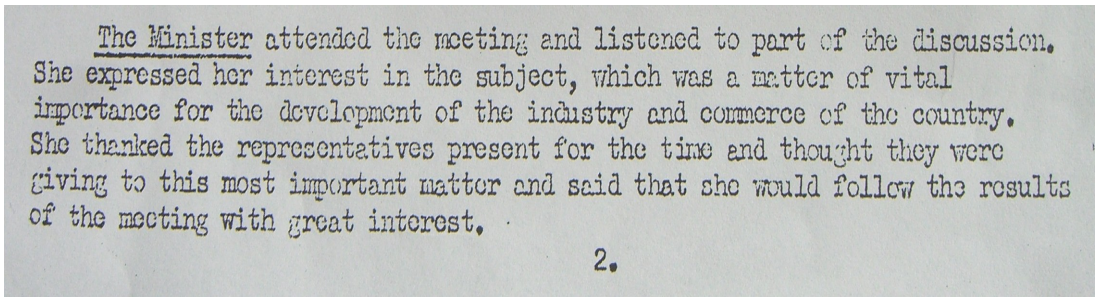
Three quarters of the way through the meeting Ellen Wilkinson, then Minister of Education, joined for a short period, leaving before the discussion turned to how progress in training in management might be made. Comment concerning this in the unpublished and published minutes is given in full below to highlight two points: (i) the translation between what is noted at the time and what is subsequently reported; and (ii) the space devoted to the comment. It is only the body language of the Minister which is noted in the unpublished minutes.



22. The Minister, who had been listening to the discussion with great interest, rose at this point to inform the meeting that, as she had another important engagement to fulfil, she must take the opportunity of thanking those present for their trouble in coming and discussing a matter of such vital importance to the well-being of the nation. After going on to say that she would be reading a report of the meeting and the fact that she had seen those who had contributed to the discussion would make the ~~point~~ report much more vivid in her mind, she withdrew.

(MOE 22nd September 1945, p. 7)

Given little to minute, what is said is given a positive spin in the official version as illustrated below. The phrase '*vital importance to the well-being of the nation*' becomes much more specific and forward looking '*..for the development of industry and commerce of the country*'. This could be interpreted as indicating that the MOE is concerned with management education as part of its involvement in the broader government strategy concerned with production. However, there was no confirmation of this in the introduction to the meeting or elsewhere in the minutes.



The Minister attended the meeting and listened to part of the discussion. She expressed her interest in the subject, which was a matter of vital importance for the development of the industry and commerce of the country. She thanked the representatives present for the time and thought they were giving to this most important matter and said that she would follow the results of the meeting with great interest.

2.

(MOE to attendees of the meeting on the 20th September 1945, 4th October 1945, p. 2)

The amount of space and the position given in the official minutes to the minister's comment in comparison to others is of note. With the exception of the chairman, Bray, who warranted eleven lines, the Minister's brief comment was allocated as much space as members of the professional bodies who spoke for the majority of the debate. Although members of the MOE did comment at the meeting, only the chairman and Minister were credited with comments. The Minister's comment was the last one noted, after the actions agreed, even though this did not reflect the order of events. What this example illustrates is the problem of interpreting official records of events. It is difficult to determine who actually influenced the meeting and in what way. Comments made by representatives from the engineering bodies dominated the unofficial minutes and it

was a representative from the IEeng that effectively set out what the MOE should do. The official minutes set out a more balanced contribution from the professional bodies present. Urwick's comments are of note here too. In the official minutes Urwick is credited with commenting on behalf of the IIA, which he did do, but then equally so did Marchand from the IIA. Indeed, as noted previously when compared to the contribution of the engineering bodies, the IIA, and Urwick, were minuted with only a few comments.

By the time the minutes were sent out on the 4th October 1945 the terms of reference for a committee had been decided on. This too was the date that invitations were sent out for membership of the official committee with a first meeting scheduled for the 31st October. So, in two weeks not only had the minutes been produced and agreed internally, but so too had approval for an official committee and its members. Even in this brief time, between the conference and the committee being named, Robinson, from the IIA, wrote to Bray. He enclosed a copy of Urwick's latest book and then blatantly promoted him for chairman of the committee. After giving a detailed account of Urwick's career he declared that '*Urwick would be a first class chairman of a committee'* (Robinson to Bray, 24th September 1945). This seems like over egging the pudding but perhaps the IIA wanted to make sure that it was their man rather than say Northcott, representing the CMA, or one of the high profile engineering bodies that secured this prestigious role. A further comment is made about the choice of Urwick below.

When the minutes of this meeting, and those credited with contributing to it, are compared to those who were asked to be on the Urwick Committee some interesting similarities arise as can be seen from the Table 3 below;

Table 3: Individuals named on meeting minutes, 20th September 1945, and members of the Urwick Committee

Named on minutes (in published order)	Professional body represented	Urwick Committee
Northcott	CMA	Northcott
Montegomrey	IMeng	Montegomrey
Norrie	ICeng	
Byng	IEeng	
Lucas	SMA*	
Townsend	IOE	Townsend
Berger	CWA*	Berger
Urwick	IIA*	Urwick
Jones	ATI	Jones

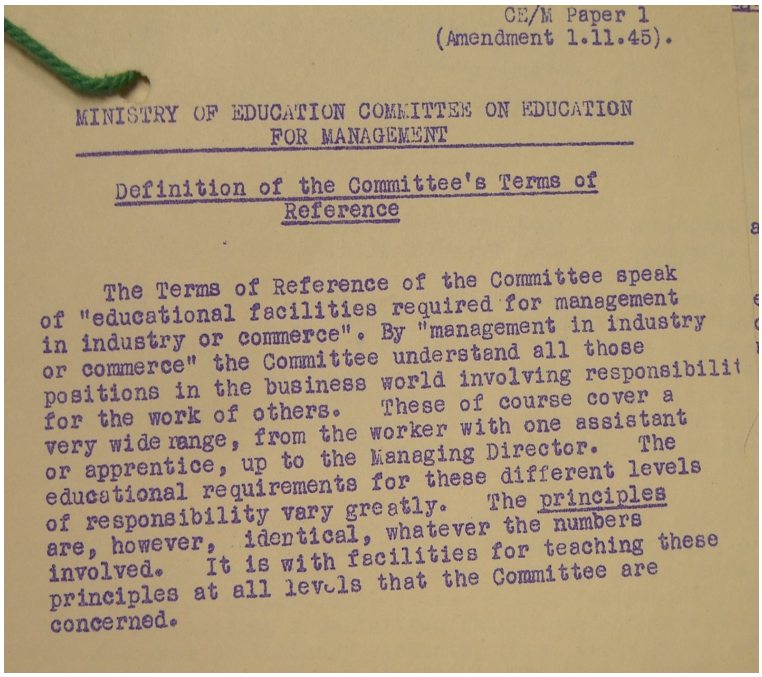
(* originally highlighted by Urwick as having implemented a related syllabus)

Although Lucas was not included on the committee, Farr of the SMA, who attended the conference with Lucas, was. Perkins, not present at the first meeting, was appointed as an MOE representative. Of the four engineering bodies present, three were credited with comments on the minutes but only the IMeng were invited onto the committee. Comments in the unofficial minutes documented similar views between the four bodies but differences in examination procedures. The IEeng and ICeng believed that management subjects should be at the post HNC stage for part-time students at technical colleges but in the final year for full-time university students. The IMeng had been concerned with industrial administration which had been part of their examinations for sometime, had an association with the IIA in this regard and had been encouraging the incorporation of management subjects at HNC level. All of those who were subsequently chosen as members of the committee expressed favourable comments regarding the commonality of management subjects for courses delivered in technical colleges in the unofficial minutes. With the exception of the professional bodies mentioned, the official minutes endorsed the subsequent structure of the committee. If this committee is considered against Urwick's original list of those who he believed should be involved in training for management, three out of the four bodies he identified in category one have been included. The exception is the IPeng which was included in this category originally but appeared to make no comment at all at the meeting. The choice of Urwick as chairman by the MOE could be explained with reference to organisational politics. The engineering bodies were clearly a force to be reckoned with. The IIA was known to these bodies and in the case of the IMeng had been working with them. The IIA shared the same views as the engineering bodies concerning management as a postgraduate subject but also saw a place for management subjects in the examinations of professional bodies. As far as the MOE were concerned, not only did Urwick's name *keep turning up* in their internal records, but the IIA was familiar with liaising with the engineering bodies. Urwick was clearly the man for the job.

4.3.4 The work of the Urwick Committee

The first official meeting of the committee took place on the 31st October 1945. Its first task was to consider and clarify its terms of reference. They agreed not to limit themselves to a particular level of management and that managers were *'those* [in the business world] *responsible for the work of others*'. The '*business world*' referred to

industry or commerce and so no mention was made of the public sector. These interpretations were all included in an amendment which accompanied the minutes;



CE/M Paper 1
(Amendment 1.11.45).

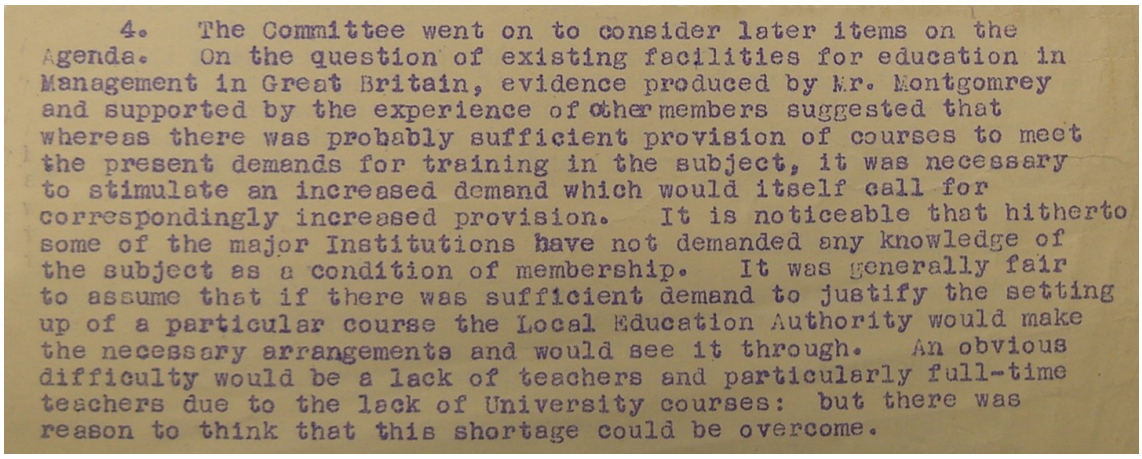
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
FOR MANAGEMENT

Definition of the Committee's Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference of the Committee speak of "educational facilities required for management in industry or commerce". By "management in industry or commerce" the Committee understand all those positions in the business world involving responsibilit for the work of others. These of course cover a very wide range, from the worker with one assistant or apprentice, up to the Managing Director. The educational requirements for these different levels of responsibility vary greatly. The principles are, however, identical, whatever the numbers involved. It is with facilities for teaching these principles at all levels that the Committee are concerned.

(MOE 1st November 1945)

As can be seen emphasis was placed on the word *principles*. This is really the cornerstone of the whole matter in terms of acknowledging management as a subject. It appeared in the final report but without its emphasis as; *'The educational requirements for the different levels of responsibility vary greatly. But we believe that there are certain common principles of management whatever the degree of responsibility involved' (*Urwick Report 1947, p. 6). So, this significant acknowledgement was agreed very early on in the proceedings. Instead of collecting fresh evidence the committee decided to use information more readily to hand. Courses currently run by professional bodies alongside information collected by Brech on behalf of the British Management Council (BMC) in 1939 was used as the basis for deciding if new information was required. Technical colleges were asked to submit details of courses being run. The matter of future demand that Urwick had tried to present to the MOE as potentially very large was discussed. As agreed by the ATI and APTI in their meeting with the MOE in the summer of 1945, demand did not pose a problem. If anything the challenge was in stimulating demand and in trying to get professional bodies to include management subjects as the extract below shows.



4. The Committee went on to consider later items on the Agenda. On the question of existing facilities for education in Management in Great Britain, evidence produced by Mr. Montgomrey and supported by the experience of other members suggested that whereas there was probably sufficient provision of courses to meet the present demands for training in the subject, it was necessary to stimulate an increased demand which would itself call for correspondingly increased provision. It is noticeable that hitherto some of the major Institutions have not demanded any knowledge of the subject as a condition of membership. It was generally fair to assume that if there was sufficient demand to justify the setting up of a particular course the Local Education Authority would make the necessary arrangements and would see it through. An obvious difficulty would be a lack of teachers and particularly full-time teachers due to the lack of University courses: but there was reason to think that this shortage could be overcome.

(MOE 1st November 1945, p. 1)

This was a completely different story to the one forwarded by Urwick and eventually referred to in the foreword of the official report. When Urwick had discussed this point with the MOE in his letter of the 6th July 1945, he stated that the problem would be caused by increased demand suggesting that the technical colleges were incapable of forecasting demand. The point of note here is that, with the exception of the management professional bodies, in general professional bodies were not incorporating management subjects into their professional qualifications as this time. Also, the relationship between professional bodies and LEAs was a good one. As had been discussed in the meeting on the 20th September, there was clearly some debate as to the level at which it was appropriate to incorporate such subjects. Urwick, having championed management as a profession for a number of years, should have been expected to overcall demand. His attempt to quantify demand as discussed in section 4.4.1 clearly evidenced this.

Whilst there were no references to American facilities for education in management or, for that matter, any other country at the conference in September, Urwick raised the issue of comparison at the first committee meeting. With agreement from the committee he tasked himself with collating useful statistics on American education for management. Detailed next on the minutes was agreement that, as a subject, management was not suitable for an undergraduate university course, even though Manchester College of Technology already offered a BA Administration degree. The close proximity of this statement to Urwick's mention of America may well have indicated that the group as a whole may not have shared Urwick's enthusiasm for the American system that he presumably briefed the committee on. That said, at the September meeting the engineering bodies, and the IIA, had agreed that management was a postgraduate subject which suggested agreement at this level. Further reference

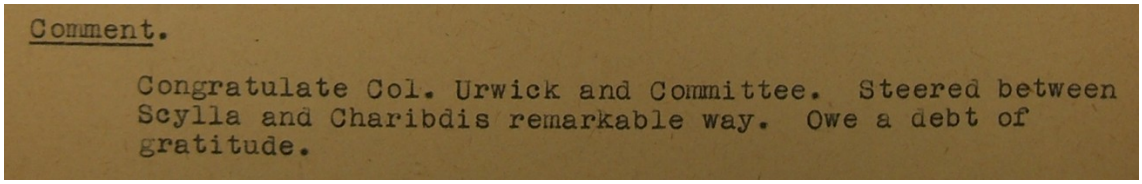
was made to universities as Urwick agreed to circulate his paper on a scheme being initiated by Cambridge University. No reference is made to this in the Urwick Report or in the committee file after this comment. The secretary was tasked with circulating Cambridge University's Appointments Board Report, *University Education and Business* (1945). This report was referenced in the final report and has been discussed in section 4.2.2. Both these actions were prompted by Urwick. Copies of the Newson-Smith report were also to be circulated, although the committee agreed that they were concerned with longer term provision rather than the immediate needs of the demobilized. As was the case in the meeting with the professional bodies, there is no mention of the potential proposal for the BIM. This is of note as the literature associates the Urwick Report with the BIM, considering both as examples of the government's concern with management.

Meetings were scheduled for the 14th and 27th of November but there is no evidence of these meetings, or whether they took place in the data analysed. It was not until discussions as to when the report might be completed, prompted by the FBI in February 1946, that the story continued. The MOE informed the FBI it would be mid-summer given their experience of the slow progress of the committee. Even Hyslop's (the committee's secretary) revised timescale proved optimistic. The first draft of the report and a letter asking three questions was sent to the all those who attended the September conference in October 1946, a year after the committee's first meeting. No copies of this accompanying letter or the first draft were found. The ILM's response, however, detailed the questions asked (ILM 25th November 1946). The committee wanted to know if the professional bodies thought the report's recommendations met the need for education in management, was acceptable to them and, if not, what would they suggest. A second meeting with the institutions was planned for the 5th December 1946 to debate the responses, many of which were long and detailed, particularly those of the ILM, IMeng, Institute of Traffic Administration (ITA) and CMA. These comments give indications of what was contained in the first draft of the committee's report. In addition to suggested syllabuses for intermediate and final examinations, the latter included the subjects of management practice and management principles. The BIM, an Advisory Council on Education for Management and a trip to America were mentioned. This was the first reference to the BIM.

By now the Baillieu Report had been published for over eight months and received acknowledgement in the press. Included in its recommendations were a number of references to training and education. These indicated that the role to be taken by the BIM was one of co-ordination and promotion of activities already undertaken by other

bodies; there was no mention of an Advisory Council for Education for Management. In their response to the draft Urwick Report, the ILM wondered if the BIM would act as a central body in terms of assessment for intermediate examinations, with final examinations being assessed by the appropriate specialist professional body (ILM, 25th November 1946). Although no clues are provided as to where the idea for an advisory council came from, it was common practice to have such councils. The Percy Report had recommended the creation of a National Council of Technology. A council would be necessary to confirm the status of education for management.

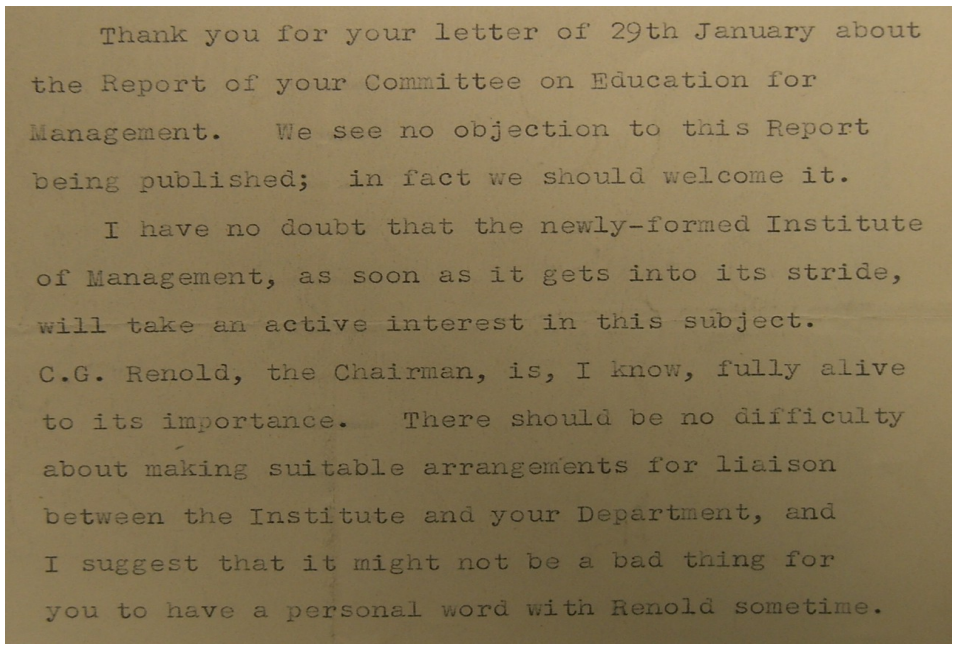
At the December 1946 meeting everything from the title of the report, to the specific meaning of individual words, as well as operational queries relating to the age of students and assessment procedures, were discussed. This was a large group of thirty-nine people. An internal MOE note (not dated or named) acknowledged the difficulty in getting to this point and praised Urwick and the Committee for its efforts.


Comment.

Congratulate Col. Urwick and Committee. Steered between Scylla and Charibdis remarkable way. Owe a debt of gratitude.

During this meeting the question over the role of the BIM in education for management still remained unclear but it was agreed that the chairman would discuss the matter with the BOT. Two pages of amendments to the report were agreed. When approved by the Minister the report would be published with endorsement from the professional bodies involved. The aim was for the new syllabuses to be implemented in September 1947.

In January 1947 Maud, the Permanent Secretary, asked if the BOT had any objection to publication of the Urwick Report. The short and succinct reply, from J. Woods, shown in full below, said very little. Other than suggesting liaison between the BIM and the MOE some time in the future, no further detail of a relationship is indicated. This would have been an opportune moment for the two departments, the MOE and BOT, to co-ordinate their involvement in management. There is no evidence at this point that this was planned in any formal sense. The letter from the MOE and the response from the BOT appear to comply with polite departmental etiquette but nothing more.

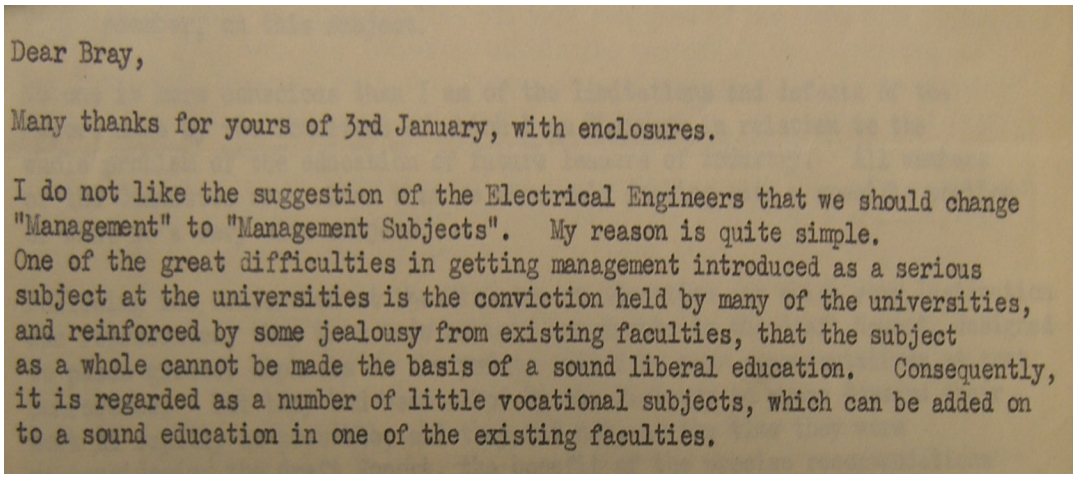


Thank you for your letter of 29th January about the Report of your Committee on Education for Management. We see no objection to this Report being published; in fact we should welcome it.

I have no doubt that the newly-formed Institute of Management, as soon as it gets into its stride, will take an active interest in this subject. C.G. Renold, the Chairman, is, I know, fully alive to its importance. There should be no difficulty about making suitable arrangements for liaison between the Institute and your Department, and I suggest that it might not be a bad thing for you to have a personal word with Renold sometime.

(Woods to Maud, 4th February 1947)

It might have been thought that the work of the committee was now almost done, but that was until the IEeng decided to make its presence felt. Apparently the education committee of the IEeng were unable to meet prior to the meeting of the Urwick Committee on the 5th December, so, despite being represented at and commenting at that meeting, they wrote detailing new amendments. One related to the core of what Urwick has been trying to achieve; an acknowledgment of education for management. Early in 1947 Urwick drafted a very detailed three page response for Bray to consider forwarding to the IEeng. Although polite in his use of language, his annoyance at this power play is clear. His short covering note to Bray evidenced his defence which started,

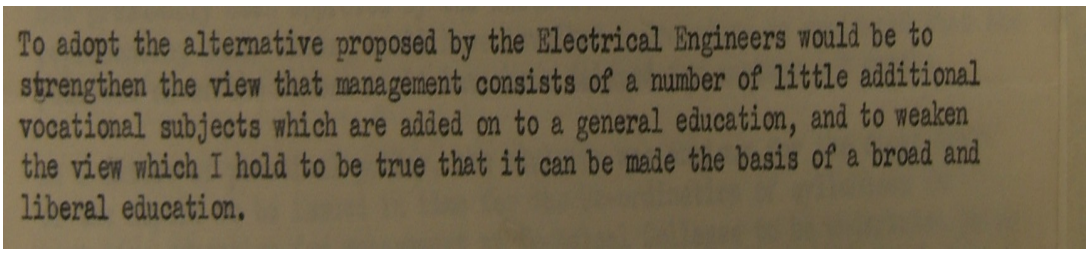


Dear Bray,

Many thanks for yours of 3rd January, with enclosures.

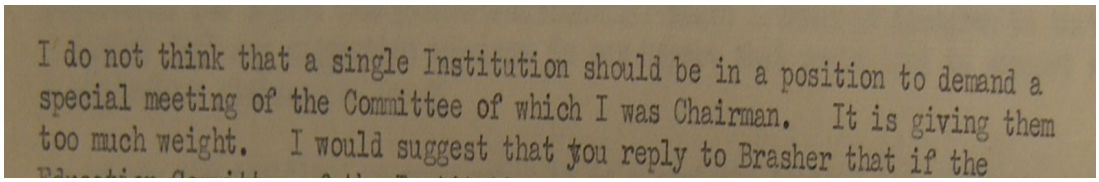
I do not like the suggestion of the Electrical Engineers that we should change "Management" to "Management Subjects". My reason is quite simple. One of the great difficulties in getting management introduced as a serious subject at the universities is the conviction held by many of the universities, and reinforced by some jealousy from existing faculties, that the subject as a whole cannot be made the basis of a sound liberal education. Consequently, it is regarded as a number of little vocational subjects, which can be added on to a sound education in one of the existing faculties.

And, the letter concluded,


To adopt the alternative proposed by the Electrical Engineers would be to strengthen the view that management consists of a number of little additional vocational subjects which are added on to a general education, and to weaken the view which I hold to be true that it can be made the basis of a broad and liberal education.

(Urwick to Bray 7th January 1947)

In their response, the MOE stated the involvement of representatives from the IEeng in the process. The IEeng would hear none of this and expected their amendments to be made; clear evidence of their perceived power. Letters passed between the MOE and the IEeng debating matters of detail about what was said and when and then subsequently acknowledged in the minutes. Bray suggested to Urwick that they should publish the report and exclude the IEeng from the list of bodies approving the report. Urwick agreed. In his first response to the IEeng, Urwick had suggested that he would be happy to discuss the report with them but when the IEeng requested a meeting with the Urwick Committee rather than just Urwick this equated to something far more formal. As seen in his response to Bray, Urwick saw this as another power play;


I do not think that a single Institution should be in a position to demand a special meeting of the Committee of which I was Chairman. It is giving them too much weight. I would suggest that you reply to Brasher that if the

(Urwick to Bray 17th February 1947)

As a compromise Urwick extended his previous offer and suggested that one or two members of the committee could meet with the education committee of the IEeng. What happened next is not documented in the file but the final report included the IEeng as one of the bodies in agreement with it. Debate with the IEeng had held up progress and it was not until the 26th March 1947 that a request was made for an initial print run of 10,000 copies. By now there was a paper shortage. The report was finally published on the 12th May 1947.

The IEeng was not represented on the Urwick Committee. It was noted in Table 3 that, in general, the committee represented those whose comments were published in the official minutes of the September 1945 preliminary meeting. The exceptions were the ICeng and the IEeng. The IEeng had the largest representation at the meeting of any of the professional bodies, Byng, Dunsheath, and Humphrey Davies. Byng had been part of the movement behind the production of the *Management Manifesto* in 1933. In 1944

he had been invited to discuss education for management at an FBI education committee meeting were he championed the inclusion of management subjects in engineering degrees (MSS.200/F/1/1/116). As commented on in section 4.3.3, the IEeng were of the opinion that management subjects for part-time technical college students should be at the post HNC level and in the final year of undergraduate study for full time university students. Against this background the IEengs objections to management as an entity in its own right can be rationalised. They sought to premise their discipline and the members of their professional body as future managers.

The documents of the Urwick Committee archived in ED46/959 present a picture of the roles of those involved and their influence on the process. It is a different story to the one that can be interpreted from the official report. There are many gaps in the file. Other than being listed on minutes, with the exception of Urwick, there is no trace of the committee members. Brech notes that much of the administration work for the committee was done by Urwick's own staff '*thus avoiding the Ministry's internal administrative bottlenecks*' (2002, p. 205) this might account for gaps in the MOE's file. Significantly, Urwick appears in control of the proceedings of the committee. This was not the smooth process that Brech suggested as noted in section 2.2.3.

The premise promoted by Urwick and forwarded by the MOE was that the syllabuses of the professional bodies were causing a problem for the colleges. Comments in the documents previously referred to show that this was not entirely true. Yes, better co-ordination would reduce administration of these courses but current demand was not significant enough to cause a problem. The MOE were aware that their involvement in this area of education had been uncoordinated but to date this had not caused a problem so there appeared little to warrant action. The MOE had plenty to contend with: the reforms of the 1944 Education Act, the demand for teachers, the rebuilding of schools, and actions following the Percy Report to name but a few. Urwick not only presented a perceived problem, he then proceeded to pressure the MOE into action. At the same time he presented himself as the man for the job with a solution that was already being progressed by the IIA in 1943 (see section 3.4). It was the work of the IIA and its potential growth rather than similar work already progressed by the CMA that Urwick publicised. Perhaps the first management guru, long before the term was invented, there is no doubt that Urwick's offer would have been difficult to refuse. Known in industrial, commercial and political circles he had both a name nationally and internationally. He had been actively promoting an administrative staff college (later to become Henley Management Centre) in the press, to politicians and the FBI. He lectured at meetings of professional bodies, conferences and universities. He authored

books on management and management techniques. Perhaps the MOE simply capitulated to Urwick's pressure.

I would suggest that instigating a government-backed committee on education for management was a means of gaining recognition for management as a subject, a cause Urwick obviously believed in. However, to be more specific, I believe this was part of a larger strategy to have management as a subject acknowledged by the universities. Urwick had shown himself to be a keen advocate of American business schools and postgraduate study of management. Also I believe the IIA wanted to assert itself, rather than the CMA, as the professional body associated with management studies. And, in the event, the Urwick Report did establish the concept of management as a subject.

4.4 The BIM and the Urwick Report

In the file of committee proceedings there was no evidence to suggest that the Urwick Report was directly associated with the BIM or part of the debates about commerce and technological education that were taking place at the same time. The Urwick Report appears to stand outside of other government concerns on education and on management. To consider if this was the case, in sections 4.4 and 4.5, documents relating to events before and during the time the Urwick Committee sat were examined to consider how and where education for management might otherwise have been and was being progressed. Given the chronological order of documents listed in Table 2, section 4.4 focuses on the Baillieu Report. This section discusses the memorandum on Industrial Management produced by the BOT to support the recommendations of the Weir Report for a BIM. It begins by considering the timing of events associated with the Urwick Committee and proposals for a BIM.

Timing is key to strategy and it is pertinent to consider why Urwick and for that matter the MOE did not wait until the BIM was established before launching a committee on education for management. Although the official committee to consider a central institute in management was not established until November 1945, by which time the Urwick Committee had already begun its work, in reality the notion of the institute and a provisional commitment to it had been established for some time, as evidenced in section 3.4. The final report of the Baillieu Committee published in March 1946 was concerned with the mechanics of the institute rather than whether it should be created;

that was a foregone conclusion as documents in government archives and journals show.

As noted in section 4.3.2, the MOE had commented on proposals for the BIM in September 1944 (ED46/959) and March 1945 (CAB124/87), just before an official proposal for the BIM was made at a meeting of a sub-committee of the War Cabinet Reconstruction Committee. The proposal followed recommendations made by a special committee of the *Business Members' Committee of the Industrial and Export Council* in February 1944 to Hugh Dalton president of the BOT (CAB124/87). The three man committee of Weir, Peter and Cunliffe had undertaken a major review of information, associations and individuals connected with management. Information from national and international sources from as early as 1927 had been collated including a proposal for a BIM dated 1931. Evidence was taken directly from the following:

- management organisations (including those that would later be represented on the Urwick Committee and the MRG),
- trade organisations (FBI and the TUC),
- individuals associated with management study and practice (including Urwick and Byng, see Appendix C for individuals),
- management consultants (including Whitehead and Bowie).

Reports were also submitted by professional bodies, some of which had also given evidence directly including the IIA, CMA and ILM. In short, this special committee had heard from individuals and professional bodies which subsequently played a role in the Urwick committee, the Baillieu Committee, the Newson Smith Committee, Hardman Committee, the Carr-Saunders Committee, the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce and the BIM (see Appendix D).

The final report of the Weir Committee was marked confidential so its contributors may not have seen it. It recommended that the BIM should have three functions, propaganda, research and education. The paragraph concerning education is given in full below. The role of the institute was one of liaison which might lead to a comprehensive system, a reference to a national system perhaps, of courses in management subjects. Similar aims to those that were reflected in the objectives of the IIA in 1943.

8. On the educational side, it would be for the Institute in consultation with the Board of Education, the Scottish Education Department and the universities, to consider what developments were needed from time to time in education in schools, technical and commercial colleges and universities. The Institute would be in a position to obtain the considered views of all ranks of industry concerning the most suitable form of management courses. It may well be that the development of a comprehensive system of training courses in management subjects, which would result from a growing demand from industry, would have far-reaching effects in the long run; but we consider it important to recognise the urgent need for the direct exchange of knowledge and experience between individuals. The Institute would take an active part in arranging conferences, discussion groups and visits to factories, both directly and through the affiliated organisations. This form of education would play a major part in raising the standards of management, particularly in the immediate post-war years when the need for achieving the highest competitive efficiency will be imperative.

(BOT 23rd February 1944, CAB 124/87)

A less formal form of education was to be knowledge sharing, elements of which were more akin to the function of propaganda listed previously as publications, lectures, and exchange of information. It is with this latter method that the BIM was eventually concerned with as will be discussed below. When this is considered alongside the comments made by the MOE, the small opportunity that might have been afforded for education for management slips between departments, overshadowed by the temptation offered by propaganda and immediate results.

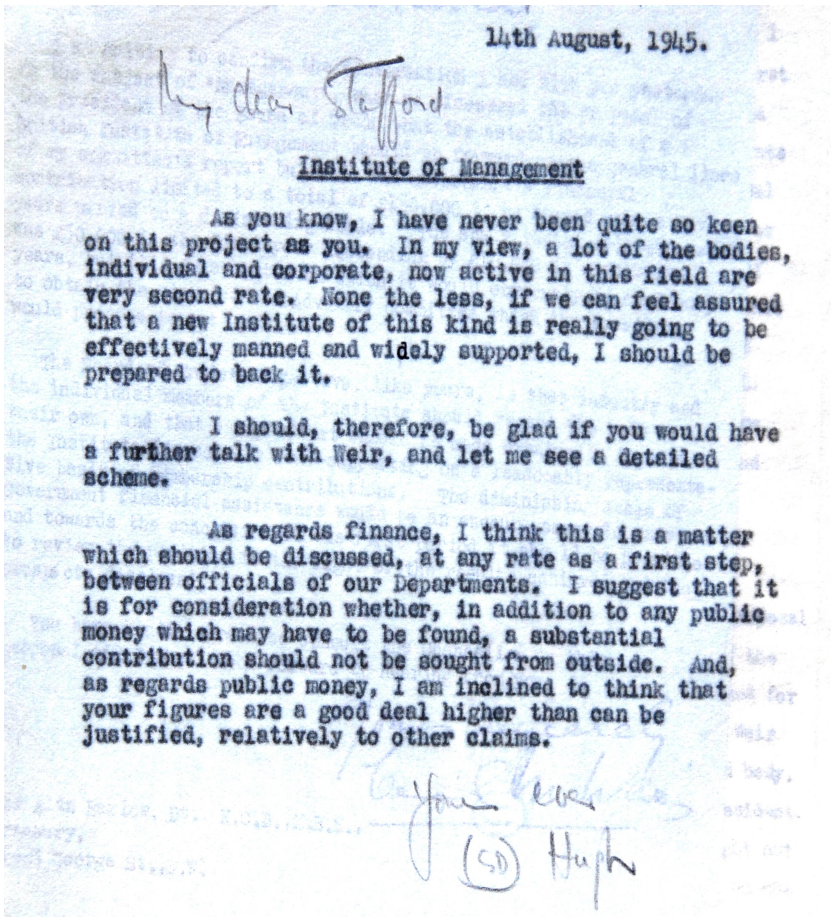
In September 1944 correspondence between the BOT and the Treasury show preparations for the Weir Report to be presented by the President of the BOT to the War Cabinet Reconstruction Committee and the sounding out of industry regarding contributions to a BIM (T 228/624). The latter will be discussed shortly, but it is the memorandum on *Industrial Management* that was presented with the Weir Report, that was of particular relevance to education for management. The memorandum set out the basic tenets of the BIM: propaganda, research and training. It confirmed the BOT's support for a BIM and that it was essential that employee and employer bodies were represented on its council (BOT 6th February 1945, CAB 124/87, pp. 1 -2). However, the memorandum presented a different interpretation of education to the one that became part of the final Baillieu Report.

(d) co-operate with the Education Departments and the Universities in providing long-term facilities for training in management subjects.

(BOT 6th February 1945, CAB 124/87, p. 1)

As this extract shows, this was a succinct version of what the Weir Report had recommended but it included the phrase '*long-term facilities'.* This was not the approach the BIM adopted. This memorandum had offered a second opportunity for the MOE to become involved with the BIM. As noted previously in section 4.4.2, comments on the Weir Report had been canvassed from government departments, including the MOE, in September 1944. In summary, opportunities for the MOE to be involved with the BIM were not progressed. It was short term propaganda and knowledge sharing through conferences that the BIM progressed rather than a strategy for long term facilities for education.

It was the issue of finance that dominated debate within government about the BIM in 1944 and 1945; the Treasury in particular were concerned with the financial implications of government support, a consistent issue over the next six years (see CAB125/87, T228/624, T222/210 and T228/625). Within the BOT, government association with the BIM and its perceived independence was also an issue. The option of supporting the current BMC as a professional management institute was suggested but rejected. Weir was adamant that it should be a new institute entirely. Not all government officials were keen on the idea of the BIM. In a letter to Stafford Cripps in August 1945, Dalton expressed his views on the current professional bodies associated with management and revealed a lack of interest in a BIM. Succinct and to the point the letter is shown in full;



14th August, 1945.

My dear Stafford

Institute of Management

As you know, I have never been quite so keen on this project as you. In my view, a lot of the bodies, individual and corporate, now active in this field are very second rate. None the less, if we can feel assured that a new Institute of this kind is really going to be effectively manned and widely supported, I should be prepared to back it.

I should, therefore, be glad if you would have a further talk with Weir, and let me see a detailed scheme.

As regards finance, I think this is a matter which should be discussed, at any rate as a first step, between officials of our Departments. I suggest that it is for consideration whether, in addition to any public money which may have to be found, a substantial contribution should not be sought from outside. And, as regards public money, I am inclined to think that your figures are a good deal higher than can be justified, relatively to other claims.

Yours ever,

(HD) Hugh

(Dalton to Cripps 14th August 1945, T228/624)

This view of the professional bodies was of a similar vein to that expressed by Hyslop in his MOE briefing note, prepared for Burness before the first meeting of the professional bodies to discuss education for management in September 1945. A report in the Board of Trade Journal (1945, Vol. 151, Issue no. 25567, p. 672) noted that government funds to establish the institute were already being considered and indicated that formal approval was to be sought. Such a comment from a government department journal effectively confirmed that both the institute and its funding had already been unofficially sanctioned, a number of months before the Baillieu Report made its recommendations. This was further confirmation, official this time, that the Baillieu Committee was a rubber stamp exercise.

When the Baillieu Report, proposing the institute, was finally published in March 1946 it was mainly concerned with the administrative workings of the institute, including the opportunity for other management associations to merge with the BIM. In part this was a reference to an expression made by the BMC to the Weir Committee that they would be prepared to do so (CAB 124/87). The BIM would then take over organising the British involvement in the International Management Conference which was what the BMC had been set up to do. With regards education the BIM would cooperate '*in the development of training and educational schemes*' (Baillieu Report 1946, p. 5) but it does not specify who with or how. In line with the practice of other professional bodies, it might have been assumed that membership and levels of membership would relate, in part, to professional examinations but details were vague, '*essentially the criteria should relate to the practical experience and success of individuals'* (ibid. p. 8). It goes on, *'or in other cases to potential managerial capacity'*, again vague but possibly presenting an option for initial membership based on a professional examination or possibly a degree. Other than trying to read between the lines there is little explanation of what these statements might mean.

In terms of propaganda, the BOT were keen for the BIM to produce a journal. In December 1948 the BIM launched the *Management Bulletin.* The structure of its first edition of twelve pages reflected the departments of the BIM namely:

- Information and research
- Education
- Examinations
- Press and publications
- Affiliation
- Membership
- Administration
- And secretariat

Initially each of the categories above was allocated the same amount of space in the journal. Despite gradually increasing in size, within a year it was thirty-two pages, the space devoted to education did not maintain an equal proportion compared to other areas. The format changed from a listing and information bulletin to more of a journal, predominantly made up of articles. References to education were to list examinations and courses. By 1951 it began to champion a postgraduate business school reflecting the recommendations of the AACP education for management report that it had sponsored.

Memoranda sent by the MOE to the BOT, before Urwick began his campaign with the MOE, had dismissed a potential opportunity to establish a definite educational role for the BIM on the grounds that it was not any of the business of the MOE. This clearly evidences the fact that the MOE did not see that it had any involvement in government strategy concerned with improving management. The BIM was established with government funding and was an example of government intervention to improve management and with it productivity. Unlike many professional bodies it was not established with levels of membership for individuals that could be achieved through a combination of experience and professional qualifications. Had this been the case education for management would have been part of the fabric of its constitution. Although the BIM potentially presented an opportunity to progress education for management it was not established as part of its remit.

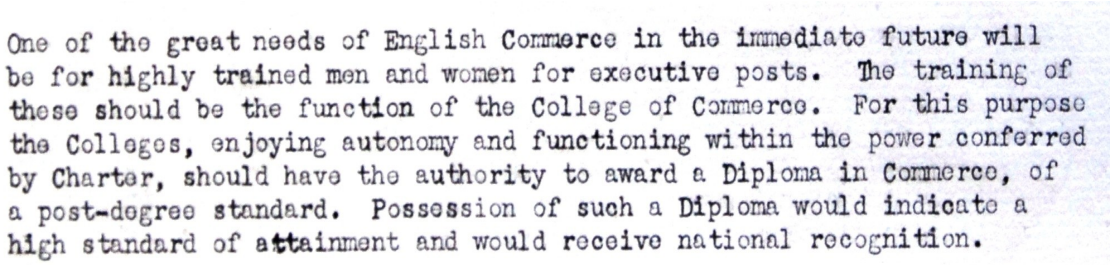
If management education was not part of the BOT's strategy then surely the Urwick Report was evidence that it was part of the MOE's strategy. To be part of a strategy it could be assumed that evidence of this should be found in other MOE reports. With this in mind, reports were reviewed to determine if management education was associated with other areas of education.

4.5 Locating management education in MOE strategy.

At the start of this chapter a number of terms related to management were used to identify different reports that might illustrate the government's approach to management education. This section looks for evidence of the MOE's strategy within these reports.

Commerce was a term that appeared in the title of two reports from the MOE; the Carr-Saunders Report and the Hardman Report. Both committees started their work after the Urwick Committee in June 1946 and September 1947 respectively; however, documents in MOE files (ED 46/375) evidences discussions from May 1945 related to education for commerce. These discussions started with reference to the Percy Committee which included recommendations for management studies and the creation of a National Council of Technology which the subsequent Hardman Report was concerned with. Shortly before the Percy Report was published, the *National Council for Commercial Education* (NCCE) sent a memorandum titled '*The Relations between Colleges of Commerce and the Universities*' to Butler, at the MOE, in May 1945 (26th May 1945, ED46/375). This they believed should be part of the Percy Committee's

consideration of the relationship of technical colleges to universities. The memo started with an explanation of the difference between the two. It stated that colleges of commerce provide '*direct training'* for commerce, whereas universities are '*concerned with general intellectual training, not specialised to any particular end '* (ibid. p. 1). Management courses, professional courses (accountants are included in this group), HNCs, HNDs, courses related to commercial functions (such as sales) and some degree courses in commerce and economics were all part of the remit of colleges of commerce. Degree courses were something of a grey area and there had been some interaction between universities and colleges. In general the universities had not concerned themselves with professional courses. This list had a number of areas of overlap with what would become the concern of the Urwick Committee. On page two of this three page memorandum was a positioning statement for the rationale of commerce at national level and the need for a postgraduate diploma. This looked remarkably similar to part of the premise for the Urwick Committee and its proposed solution.


One of the great needs of English Commerce in the immediate future will be for highly trained men and women for executive posts. The training of these should be the function of the College of Commerce. For this purpose the Colleges, enjoying autonomy and functioning within the power conferred by Charter, should have the authority to award a Diploma in Commerce, of a post-degree standard. Possession of such a Diploma would indicate a high standard of attainment and would receive national recognition.

(NCCE 26th May 1945, p. 2, ED46/375)

Although part of technical education, ultimately the NCCE saw commerce as an important special case requiring its own enquiry. Within four days of the letter being received Bray had written to Shelley to suggest the need for a committee, proposing the terms of reference. By the 1st June 1945 members of what would become the Carr-Saunders Committee were being suggested though it would be a year before the committee was formally instructed (ED46/375). In the summer of 1945, when Bray was contacted by Urwick, no connection is documented or suggested between the request from the NCCE and that of Urwick. Both are concerned with the technical and commercial colleges, the professional bodies and part of general discourses about education and future managers and leaders. Although much smaller in scope than the proposed review of commercial education, there were areas of overlap between the Urwick Committee with what would eventually become the work of the Carr-Saunders Committee. There was potential for education for management to be incorporated into the Carr-Saunders Committee as preliminary discussions in both areas took place at about the same time. Before the Carr-Saunders Committee was instructed, education

for management was an agenda item at two meetings (1st and 27th November 1945) of the commerce inspectors committee (ED 46/375). In the first instance a request was made on behalf of the Urwick Committee for information from the colleges, the second item referred to an invitation for Urwick to speak at a conference of teachers. No other comment is noted. Although the two committees were aware of each other, there appears to have been little, if any, co-ordination between them.

Given that the two committees appear to have areas of overlap, and were being discussed at the same time, the question arises as to why there were two committees. Why was education for management not included as part of the remit of Carr-Saunders? One explanation could be Urwick's insistence that problems were on the horizon which prompted the MOE into action. Another could be the perceived scope of the Carr-Saunders Committee, particularly its consideration of school leavers.

Whilst the Carr-Saunders Committee sat another committee related to industry and commerce was tasked with determining the structure of a National Council of Technology as recommended in the Percy Report. The Hardman Committee took just three months to recommend the setting up of a National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce (NACEIC) rather than a National Council of Technology. It recommended a council comprising of twenty-four members with at least four members from each of the following: Universities, Authorities, College teaching staff, employers and employees and two members from the MOE. Noting work by the Barlow Committee, the Parliamentary and Scientific Committee, the Council of Industrial Design and the FBI, the report concluded that;

> ..a national body is required which can advise on all questions bearing of education for industry and commerce including training for the professions, management and design in relation to industry and commerce. (Hardman Report 1947, p. 4)

Within this remit and in the make up of the proposed standing committee there was a definite attempt to bring representatives from industry, education and the government together. The council's function related to '*advanced stages of education*' (ibid. p. 4), and expanding on its scope management was again referenced:

> Technical and commercial education is a single whole from craftsmanship to management, and problems in different parts of the field are interdependent. (ibid. p. 4)

The proposal for the council clearly identified management as a part of the current debate about technology in the same way that the Percy Report had done previously.

But with regards to management studies it was the BIM that was endorsed and no reference was made to the role of the NACEIC. The BIM was seen as responsible for management education. However, in July 1948 the NACEIC advised that a sub-committee on education for management should be set up, as had been recommended by the Urwick Report. By November 1948 (ED46/739) a committee had been proposed which included Urwick. He turned down the offer of a place citing advice by his doctor to reduce his work load. Not able though to completely remain uninvolved he stated that he would be happy to read and comment on any papers the committee reviewed. The first meeting was held on the 17th March 1949 but only three of the committee attended: Myers (BIM); Wilson (Central Technical College Birmingham); and Harries (MOE representative). The committee agreed that the BIM should suggest ten members for the committee and the NACEIC another five. The minutes of the meeting included a list of current provision in all colleges; however, this was not discussed at the meeting. This appears to be the first and only meeting of the sub-committee. Letters in ED46/ 739, from the BIM, suggested agenda items for another possible meeting but by mid-1951 nothing has occurred. This suggests that industry did not appear to have any interest in supporting education for management. Of note too, is the lack of support, for whatever reasons, by those who had originally been interested in education for management through the work of professional bodies.

There appears to be little evidence to suggest that management education was part of a wider MOE strategy. The Urwick Report seems at odds with other MOE activity of the time expressed through official reports.

4.6 Implementation of the Urwick Report

By June 1947 the BIM had set up an Education Committee with Urwick as its chairman (ED 46/959). It would therefore appear that the stage was set for qualifications recommended by the Urwick Report to be associated with the BIM. Preparation for the implementation of the intermediate certificate began in part in September 1947 with some of the management bodies amending their syllabuses. Unfortunately the BIM were unable to administer the scheme as it was still in the early stages of development (this appeared to be the case for a number of years see T222/ 210, T228/ 625 and T228/ 624). The IIA was asked by the MOE to step in. By 1949 what had effectively been implemented was, in essence, the scheme proposed by the CMA before the war. Other professional bodies with management subjects in their examinations had yet to

implement the scheme. As noted, there was no administrative committee for the qualifications. The DMS was implemented in 1951. Although by then administered by the BIM, the award of DMS did not equate to membership of the BIM.

The Urwick qualifications were endorsed and, at the same time, undermined in the Carr-Saunders Report (1949, p. 48);

> Short courses should be provided by technical colleges for the benefit of persons now exercising the function of management who have not had the opportunity of formal training and who are unable to avail themselves of the long term courses of study under the scheme.

This raises a question as to who, then, would consider a long term, part-time course. Other than acting as a common qualification for the professional management bodies there would be no reason to take the qualification unless the student was already a member of one of the aforementioned bodies. The short courses the Carr-Saunders Report recommended appeared to be for those who had worked their way up through an organisation with no formal qualification. These had been identified in the fourth category of potential managers in the Urwick Report. When discussed previously, I had identified this as the group that had no reason to seek education. In a broader national context it was this group of current managers that were seen as in need of a quick fix from the perspective of the BIM in its 'educational' role. The short courses recommended by Carr-Saunders echo the same action. In summary, there was no perceived incentive to study for a DMS. There was no administrative framework for the qualifications. The early implementation of the qualifications proposed in the Urwick Report seemed doomed to failure.

4.7 Summary of findings

The focus of the analysis in this chapter has been the people, professional bodies and events related to the creation of the Urwick Report (1947). A narrative has been created from data sources archived by government departments. Reports from newspapers, comments in parliament, and references made to management education by the FBI and the TUC have also been referenced in an attempt to consider management education and the Urwick Report in a broader context. By using this method, I would argue, a different story to one interpreted from the published Urwick Report has been created; a richer narrative. This narrative illustrates the objective of the main actor in the story, Urwick, to have management acknowledged as a subject.

What this chapter concludes is that the Urwick Report established that there was a specific body of knowledge associated with management studies. This was the ultimate goal of Urwick who emerges from this story as the main actor. I have argued that the MOE established a committee to investigate education for management after pressure to do so from Urwick. The report categorised potential managers evidencing the view of Urwick and some of the professional bodies that future managers would be graduates and that management should be studied at postgraduate level. To this end the report discussed American methods of management education which was outside its original remit.

Documents discussed in this chapter do not provide evidence that the Urwick Report was part of the Labour government's strategy to engage with management during the early post war period through the actions of the BOT or the MOE. The Urwick Report was not initially associated with the BIM. Opportunities for management education to be part of broader government policy were not realised. During the post war period, the Labour government sought to engage in economic planning and social change. Improving industrial management by engaging with managers was part of this agenda. This was evidenced by the creation of the BIM. At the same time, expanding educational provision offered an opportunity for education for management to be considered as part of government policy concerned with higher technological education. Nevertheless opportunities were missed. A moment in time existed that could have reshaped management education. In hindsight, the realisation of the qualifications recommended by the Urwick Report, specifically the DMS, seems surprising. The qualification appeared aimed at a very small group of potential managers who did not have an incentive to undertake it. Implemented without a supporting administrative structure it appeared doomed to failure.

The narrative that has been created in this chapter will now be discussed with reference to the current literature and the research questions posed at the start of this thesis. The aim of the next chapter is to consider what this story of the past has to offer in terms of illuminating current debates about management education.

5 Conclusion

In light of the research findings, and with respect to the current literature discussed in chapter 2, this chapter discusses the contribution this thesis makes to the existing literature. To begin with I return to the aim and objectives for the thesis. I then consider the place of management education in post war proposals for education. Next, the theoretical framework which underpins the research is evaluated to assess how this history illuminates contemporary understandings of management education. Then, reflecting on the process of carrying out historical research in education, I return to my initial view of this methodological perspective and reframe this in the light of my experience. In concluding I reflect upon my search for the historical roots of my practice. Finally I consider how this narrative might be enriched by further research and contribute to the fields of history of education and history of management.

5.1 The Urwick Report, the DMS and their place in the history of management education.

This section starts by returning to the main tenets of the current literature. For each, a new interpretation of the contribution of the Urwick Report is proposed to demonstrate the various contributions to the current body of knowledge. Then, I detail how this study makes a contribution to the historiographies of higher education. The section concludes by considering the significance of the Urwick Report within the narrative.

In the existing historiography, management education has been discussed in relation to FECs (technical and commercial) in historiographies of technical education and as a part of the history of management. After the introduction of the MBA in Britain in 1965, management education became associated with literature relating to higher education. With very few exceptions (Argles 1964, Cantor and Roberts 1972), the Urwick Report and the introduction of the DMS was not acknowledged as a positive event in management education's history. When reference is made, it is usually to:-

- the low status of the technical colleges, operational difficulties and the low number of qualifications achieved in a particular period (usually prior to 1965) to emphasise its failure and/ or
- identify the Urwick Report as part of the Labour government's drive to improve productivity by engaging with management.

In the latter's case, the DMS is associated with the BIM from its creation. These main themes will be discussed in light of the findings of the research.

5.1.1 The DMS as a failure

To assess the potential success of the DMS it is appropriate to use criteria from the period. Venables (1955, p. 78) noted that for a vocational course to be a success it needed a number of criteria: (1) a clearly defined purpose; (2) defined stages to progress through; and (3) it should lead to an award '*which is generally accepted in the students' industry or profession and if possible in the community at large*'. The proposed qualifications in management studies did have a defined purpose and stages to progress through, but the problem was acceptance. As a qualification in general management, it was not associated with an industry. By its very nature it was meant to stand apart from any specific industry. Therefore the DMS needed to be associated with a professional body. The BIM afforded the DMS the opportunity to be associated with a profession. Hence the success of the DMS depended upon the success of the BIM. Attaining vocational qualifications associated with professional bodies in technical colleges was described by Cotgrove (1958, p. 154) as '*Diploma Hunting*'. The aim of study was to improve job prospects and job security. Therefore, demand for a diploma was tied to the perceived status of the professional body by industry and the student of the professional body associated with it. I would argue that to assess the success of the DMS without reference to the status of the BIM invalidates the analysis. A point to note here is that it is the BIM that is the focus of comment about management education before the introduction of the business school. This is a particularly apt point when assessing Wheatcroft's (1970) criticism of the DMS. The status of the BIM is not considered as a major influence on the success of the DMS, rather it is the number of students who have achieved the qualification that is of note. Whilst I would agree that the number of students completing a qualification is an indication of its success, it is not the whole picture. Assessment of the DMS that does not take into account the status of the BIM raises questions about the conclusions drawn. I now consider other aspects that contribute to the potential success of the DMS.

Courses associated with professional bodies were often studied part-time through evening classes. This method was a long slow route; for example an HNC took 5 years to complete and the drop out rate was high. The Urwick Report had assumed that the DMS would require attendance at college for two evenings per week over five years by students whose minimum age was 28 and who were in full-time work. Again using the

HNC as an example, Venables (1955, p. 239) noted that only 5% of students starting that course successfully completed it. There is no reason to assume that the drop out rate for the DMS would be any different to other part-time courses. According to Tiratsoo (1998, p.113), studying part-time, and in technical colleges that were under funded, gave the qualification '*a sense of amateurism*'. Add to this the lack of teachers, (Wilson 1992), and the potential for success was very low indeed. However, I would not describe the DMS as another '*great British failure*' (Tiratsoo and Tomlinson 1993, p. 115). On the contrary, it was a success because it continued to survive in spite of the circumstances described here and in chapter 4. The success of the DMS, at any time in its history, needs to be contextualised. A valid assessment can only be made in the light of comparable rates of completion of other qualifications in technical and commercial colleges at the time.

The status of the BIM would have been critical in determining the demand for the DMS. In turn, the success of the BIM was dependent upon the acceptance by industry and the public that management was a profession. There is a need here to consider the potential demand for management education. Although management was in transition, the size of organisations was increasing and structures were becoming more functionalised, family management still predominated. Where this had been successful, there would be no grounds to suggest anything needed to change and therefore no demand for management education. If family management had failed, it may have meant the collapse of the company and therefore there would be no requirement for management education. As evidenced in chapters three and four, the popular view of management was that managers were born and not made, therefore there would be no demand for management education. In retrospect it is, perhaps, surprising that the DMS survived long enough for criticisms of it to be made.

I have argued in this section that the historical success of the DMS can only be assessed in the light of criteria that were used at the time. Also, if success is judged by the number of qualifications awarded, then comparison must be made to the number of qualifications awarded in similar areas at the time. It is for these reasons that I would challenge the presentation of the DMS as a failure in the existing historical literature. The eventual administration of the DMS by the BIM in 1951 did connect the qualification with a professional body but it did not equate to a level of membership. It was not until 1957 that this became the case. The next section will consider the conclusions that others have drawn from the association.

5.1.2 The DMS and the BIM: representations of Labour's engagement with management?

As part of a history of technical education it is difficult to find mention of management education without reference being made to the BIM. It would be understandable to conclude that the DMS was a result of the work of the BIM. Venables (1955) neglects to mention the Urwick Report despite making references to management education in a number of chapters. This is because his focus is on the work of the BIM and the DMS' relationship to it. A similar conclusion is evident when management education is noted as part of a history of management (Wilson 1992, Tiratsoo and Tomlinson 1993). I would contend that, in the case of technical education, reference to the BIM could be expected. Technical education has been defined in a number of different ways and this has resulted in its origins being accredited to different decades (see Summerfield and Evans 1990, pp. 1-18). Certainly, by the late 1930s, technical colleges and professional bodies had developed a particular relationship with regards to the delivery of technical education that was associated with membership of a professional body. It is this relationship that explains why the literature on technical education and/or further education refers to the BIM when commenting on management education. What is of note in the literature is the assumption that a relationship between the BIM and the DMS, recommended by the Urwick Report, existed from the establishment of the BIM.

Management education has been identified as a representation of the post war Labour government's engagement with management. Tiratsoo and Tomlinson (1993, p. 111) cited the Urwick Report and the BIM as '*institutional aspects of Labour's concern with managerialism*'. In the case of the BIM, I would agree that it was evidence of the government's concern with management. This was expressed in the Weir Report (1944) and the subsequent Baillieu Report (1946). Government funding of the BIM endorsed its concern with management. The same conclusion applies to the Urwick Report if one or both of the following conditions are met; (1) an association with the BIM is assumed, (2) the report was part of a prescribed strategy instigated by the government. As will be discussed further in section 5.2, the data in chapter 4 has shown that there is no evidence to suggest that the BIM and the Urwick Report were part of the same government strategy. The Urwick Report was not instigated by government, but primarily by Urwick; and it was not initially associated with the BIM. Wilson (1992, p. 4) referred to the DMS as being '*a clear indication of the state's role in trying to professionalise the occupation of management*', evidence of the MOE's part in the government's engagement with management. This research has not found evidence that this was the case. My conclusion validates the observation made by

Brech (2002) that the timing of the Baillieu Report and the Urwick Report was a coincidence.

5.1.3 The Urwick Report and the DMS

The establishment of the first business schools and the importation from America of the MBA dominates the historiography of management education. I would argue that the existing literature, in the main, does not consider the part that the Urwick Report, the DMS and the technical colleges played in management education in England.

In recommending a qualification for practising managers with an associated body of knowledge that was not dependent on a particular industry, the Urwick Report identified management as a subject in its own right. It has been suggested that Urwick's view of management education was unchallenged. Tiratsoo and Tomlinson (1993, p. 114) noted that '*Urwick had little difficulty in securing widespread support for his view of management education'.* Depending on how '*widespread support*' is interpreted, I would both agree and disagree with this statement. Outside the committee and the British Management Review there appears to have been very little interest in management education. If no (or very little) response is seen as representing support for Urwick's proposal then I would agree with Tiratsoo and Tomlinson. Similarly the archived government documents of the Urwick Committee illustrated a lack of interest by some professional bodies and this too could be interpreted as support. However, the same cannot be said of the IEeng which challenged the very essence of what Urwick was proposing. In may well be that this power play by the IEeng resulted in the comment in the final report that professional bodies should *'confine specialised demands'* (Urwick Report 1947, p. 4). Support is evident from the IIA and the professional bodies who were part of the CMA. All of these had been working towards the same goal before the war. It would appear that a lack of interest in management education by the universities meant that its development in the technical colleges with respect to the professional bodies was not challenged.

Irrespective of whether it was supported or not, the institution and survival of the DMS is testament to the achievement of the Urwick Report in identifying a body of knowledge for management. Here was an opportunity created and seized by Urwick and expressed through his report. The research has highlighted that other opportunities to progress management education arose, but as will be discussed in the next section, these were not actioned.

5.2 The role of industry and government: A story of missed opportunities.

As noted in section 5.1, the opportunity to associate the Urwick Report and qualifications in management education with the BIM was not initially promoted by either the MOE or the BOT and there appeared a lack of co-ordination between the two departments. This operational issue does not seem particular to the MOE and the BOT. Aldrich et al. (2000) noted a lack of co-ordination between the MOL and the MOE in the post war period. Also of note is that no other government departments were invited to the preliminary meeting to discuss training for management on the 20th September 1945. In the introduction to the meeting it was stated that no other department had been invited as '*only educational matters were concerned'* (ED46/959 MOE 22nd September 1945, p. 1), evidencing Aldrich et al's (2000) findings that departmental boundaries were rigidly observed.

The MOE and BOT were not the only government departments that were in some way involved in management education. Government financial support for the BIM involved the Treasury and the MOL was involved in a proposal to the FBI. It proposed using the immediate qualification (CMS) as a course to introduce returning military personnel into industry. Rather than a part-time course over two years, the MOL proposed a 9 month full-time course. The FBI felt this was too long; additionally there appears to have been no possibility of financial support to act as an incentive for participants in the scheme. Unable to gain the support of government or industry, another potential opportunity to introduce a new generation of educated managers was lost.

Issues of co-ordination were not limited to interdepartmental exchanges. This research has evidenced examples within the MOE. The involvement of the, then, Board with the CMA to establish common subjects for a number of the professional management bodies in 1938 appeared to be 'forgotten' when considering plans for a meeting to discuss training in management in 1945. Admittedly a number of years had lapsed; however, it could have been expected that a record was made of a meeting that involved the Minister of Education with the CMA and representatives from the technical institutions. An internal memorandum, prepared by the MOE prior to its first meeting with the professional bodies to discuss management education in September 1945, concluded that the department's engagement with the area had been sporadic. The memorandum failed to note correspondence in March 1945 between the Minister of

Education, and the BOT regarding the BIM and the potential opportunity to co-ordinate management education.

These examples illustrate that a number of different government departments were tangentially involved in management education and there was no co-ordinated approach. The number of government departments involved in the technical institutions had been commented on by the Emmott Committee in 1927. Wheatcroft (1970) too made the same point but with specific reference to management education between 1945 and the mid 1960s. What this suggests is that the lack of a co-ordinated government approach to education was not unusual. In the case of management education, this research has illustrated that this was evident in events concerned with the Urwick Committee.

Although often mentioned in the same context as technical education in government reports, management education did not become part of general discourses promoted by the MOE concerned with technical education. The Percy Report (1944) made recommendations concerning management studies and presented the opportunity to establish a further government investigation into management education. In chapter four, I concluded that these recommendations were not progressed and were not used as a basis for the Urwick Report. This differs from Brech's (2002, pp. 197-202) interpretation of events. He identified the Percy Report as the prompt for the MOE to consider management education. My research found no evidence to support this claim. He went on to note that this coincided with discussions between the MOE, the ATI and the APTI about courses that had been suspended in 1939. A date of June 1945 is mentioned for these discussions. I believe that it was this meeting that Bray refers to in response to Urwick on the 5th July 1945 (ED 46/959). It was from this meeting that Bray concluded that the requirements of professional bodies were not causing a problem for the technical colleges. Brech's interpretation of this meeting is that concern was raised by the technical colleges and, as a result of this, at the same meeting it was agreed that a team, led by Urwick, was required to investigate the matter. This series of events is not supported by the data evidenced in chapter four. Brech's interpretation does not present Urwick as central to progressing management education with the MOE.

The importance of the Percy Report has been noted a number of times within the literature of technical education. Post war proposals concerning technological education have been attributed to it (Venables 1955). More specifically it has been acknowledged as the start of the significant period of growth in higher technological education (Silver 2007). It has also been identified as the start of the Labour

government's involvement in higher education policy (Bocock and Taylor 2003). Management education could have been progressed as part of the Percy Report. This was not the case. This was an opportunity for the MOE to include management education as part of a wider strategy concerned with higher technological education.

A further question remains with regards the Percy Report and the Urwick Report. Why was the opportunity the Percy Report's recommendations presented not exploited by the Urwick Committee? The data analysed has not provided the answer. Further research in the Urwick archive may provide an insight into Urwick's motives.

I have stated that the government's approach to management education lacked co-ordination. I shall now consider the professional bodies and in particular the relationship between them. The key roles here were played by the IIA and the CMA. These bodies had worked together before the war. The CMA had already established the principle that there were common subjects relating to management that could be shared between professional bodies. This could be described as a step towards the establishment of a distinct body of knowledge. It was the IIA that emerged as the dominant force after the war. The IIA published its objectives in 1943; these were remarkably similar to the subsequent objectives of the BIM. It could be argued that the IIA saw itself as the professional body for management. It was anticipated that there would be an increase in professional bodies associated with management functions. Potentially this could have diluted the IIA's membership. If Urwick's approach to the MOE is considered in this context it can be rationalised as a means to consolidate the IIA's position. This also provides a possible explanation for why Urwick did not acknowledge the work of the CMA. Urwick presented the IIA to the MOE as the dominant professional body. Urwick was a member of the IIA and had set up a management consultancy; his professional life was based on the premise that management was a profession. He therefore had a number of reasons to want to establish qualifications in management. He presented the MOE with a problem and presented himself as part of the solution. As the chairman of the committee tasked by the government to consider education for management, Urwick has been the lead character in this story. The investigation allowed Urwick the opportunity to define a management curriculum and a qualification purely in management studies.

5.3 Professional and policy processes at play

To consider why some of the opportunities discussed were not actioned an understanding of how education and industry interfaced is needed. In the main the MOE liaised with professional bodies. At a local level technical colleges did the same. Government opinion of the professional bodies was not high as is evident in internal documents generated by the BOT and the MOE. There was no dominant professional body for management nor was there one body which government thought capable of liaising with government. Irrespective of opinion, without a consolidated professional body, management, and therefore management education, did not have a voice with which it could communicate with government. Without a professional body, managers, who were not owner managers, were not represented as a consolidated group. Owner managers potentially had a voice through the FBI or BEC. Other managers could be represented through professional bodies with a different emphasis, such as those in engineering. The result was a fragmented management voice. Although detrimental to establishing management as a profession, it could be argued that this provided Urwick the opportunity to shape subsequent practice by establishing his view of management education with little opposition, rather than widespread support. Also, the timing of Urwick's approach to the MOE was fortuitous for two reasons. Firstly, as a consequence of the war, increased demand from returning military personnel could have been forecast against a limited supply of teachers within the technical colleges. This would have justified the concerns over provision that Urwick had put forward as the basis for his argument about the need for a government committee. Secondly, a blank canvas had been presented to further education by the 1944 Education Act.

The Urwick Report focused on one area of management education provided by technical and commercial colleges. It was justified by the MOE as a rationalisation of current provision but as evidenced by the research presented here; this was not wholly the case. It was not a result of '*considerable chaos*' created by the demands of professional bodies on technical colleges as noted by Wheatcroft (1970, p. 89). The analysis for this thesis considered the published Urwick Report before data from the MOE's archives. After reading the Urwick Report a justifiable conclusion would be that there was a problem in technical and commercial colleges. With some poetic license, Wheatcroft's conclusion can be rationalised. It is only by interrogating the unpublished sources that a different story emerges.

In a meeting with the MOE, the colleges did not perceive there was a problem with the provision they provided to the professional bodies. Nor, it would seem, did they see the

approach made by the MOE as an opportunity for them to be involved in developing management education. In its invitation to professional bodies to a meeting to discuss training for management in September 1945, the MOE considered management education to be part of its further education provision as part of the 1944 Education Act. Minutes of the subsequent meeting evidence that the MOE informed those at the meeting that they were intending to produce a pamphlet to send to LEA's with information of training for '*Industrial Management*' (ED46/ 959). Also, the MOE were considering whether a college specialising in education for management might be advisable. The meeting appeared to be about fact finding. This is not the rationale for the meeting according to correspondence between Urwick and the MOE in July 1945. Urwick was primarily responsible for instigating the need for a review by raising concerns with the MOE about provision in the technical and commercial colleges. He convinced the MOE that there would be a problem in the future and, if the MOE did not act now, it could reflect badly on them in the future. In this sense Urwick not only instigated a review but also limited it to the technical and commercial colleges. I would argue that his status, as a management expert and as a consultant to government departments during the war, not only gave him access to government but also validated his claims.

In terms of shaping practice, Urwick's goal was not just to establish management as a subject to be studied in technical and commercial colleges; ultimately his ambition was for it to be acknowledged in the universities. This aspiration was clearly evident in his letter to Bray in January 1947 (ED46/959):

> One of the great difficulties in getting management introduced as a serious subject at the universities is the conviction held by many of the universities, and reinforced by some jealousy from existing faculties, that the subject as a whole cannot be made the basis of a sound liberal education.

It is perhaps pertinent here to speculate why acknowledgement by the universities might have been so important to Urwick. As a management consultant, recognition of management as a profession was fundamental to Urwick's *raison d'etre*. Recognition of the subject by universities coupled with an established professional body was part of the process by which the profession would be established. This research has also illuminated debates concerning future managers. It was anticipated that future managers would be graduates and management a subject for postgraduate study. Although it is not within the scope of this research to determine if the work of the Urwick Committee contributed to the establishment of management as a subject within universities, I would argue that when management education is considered in historical perspective, the contribution of the Urwick Report should be fully acknowledged.

Government policy concerned with productivity and the rebuilding of the economy acknowledged the importance of management and the need to improve the quality of current management and create managers for the future. The initiation and provision of government funding for the BIM evidenced this. When considered with reference to the work of the BIM, management education was actioned through knowledge sharing, conferences, publications and propaganda. These activities can be categorised as short-term. The creation of the BIM presented an opportunity to establish management as a profession with associated qualifications. Neither industry nor the government appeared to subsequently want to progress this. I would argue that the professional and policy process at play at this time have also shaped subsequent practices.

Against a background of debate about managerial capacity and its relationship to productivity were proposals to increase the numbers in education at all levels, including universities and colleges (Hennessy 1992). Management education was referenced in government reports on technical education and commercial education. Described by Venables (1955, p. 210) as '*having its own body of knowledge, techniques and sanctions yet never wholly divorced from scientific, technical or commercial details*', management education, by its very nature, did not fit neatly into a particular area of education. This partially explains why outside of the universities references to management education, in the historiography of English education are sparse. Initially established in further education, management education subsequently became part of higher education. There is a historiography needing to be developed and this thesis is part of that.

Throughout the analysis, implicit references to levels of management and managers as future leaders have been made. I have noted debates about whether management education should be postgraduate and/or post-experience. I have also discussed its role in identifying and educating future leaders. What I have not done, and never intended to do, was to define levels of management (e.g. differentiating between terms such as supervisor, manager, executive manager or leader) or to consider management education with respect to these different levels. However, in analysing the Urwick Report, categories of managers were identified. I concluded that a group referred to as 'cadets' in the report were graduates who, I believe, Urwick perceived would be candidates for postgraduate education in a business school. This group has been the focus of subsequent literature on management education and universities. Essentially the DMS was aimed at non-graduates who had worked their way through the ranks. Here ,then, is what could be described as a two tier system of management

education, one within HE and the other, represented by the DMS, within FE. It is the latter that has attracted little attention in the literature. I would argue that ultimately the legacy of the Urwick Report is the DMS. The DMS continues to provide a route to qualifications in management for practicing managers who may not be graduates. It has a heritage that precedes that of the imported American qualification the MBA.

5.4 Illuminating current debates through a historical lens

The story that has emerged through this research is one that involved professional bodies, the government and educational institutions. Today professional bodies of particular professions, employer bodies such as the CBI and employee bodies, such as the TUC are still involved in conversations with government concerning the development of management. Continuities between the 1940s and the present are evident in these conversations. What this research has illustrated is the importance if management education is to prosper of a coordinated approach from government departments, education, industry and professional bodies.

Membership of a professional body today requires evidence of an individual's continuing professional development (CPD). In the case of managers this is seen as a major driver of improving quality and, according to Leitch (2006, p. 91), the focus of HE in this area should be expanded. Of note here is that this activity, irrespective of any classification in terms of postgraduate or post-experience education, is part of HE provision. Where management studies is part of a professional qualification a scenario exists that mirrors that of the early post war period. However, this is not a like-for-like experience. According to Wilson and Thomson (2006, p. 273), management in the 21st century has evolved to reflect an economic environment that differs greatly from the post war context. Globalisation and technology have created business models that require greater numbers of managers.

> What we can see is that there will be continuing pressures to add value to all economic processes, and that the main obligation to achieve this will be placed on management. Certainly, without an effective, professional management cadre a modern economy can not compete or grow. British management history attests to this truism.

Despite a different context, debates about management education today have echoes of the past. In his initial approaches to the BOE, Urwick's rationale for the importance of management education was, partially, related to the growing number of managers

that would be required. The number of managers appears still to be growing. Management education and its relationship to productivity continue to attract comment in government reports. It is over 40 years since the establishment of the first two business schools in England; today, business schools are an integral part of many universities. However, business schools are reported as being in crisis (Pfeffer and Fong 2002 and 2004) and there are calls for a re-think (Starky et al. 2004). Perhaps it might be time to consider the past to determine what lessons it might offer. What this research has highlighted is that a model was developed, and still exists today, to enable practising managers, irrespective of their previous academic background, to progress in management education. It was developed by industry for industry. That is not to say that it was/ is a perfect model, but it is a different model from that of the MBA which has been the focus of recent discourses concerning management education since the early 1960s and is the focus of current criticism.

In historical perspective, a moment existed that would have enabled the government, industry and the professional bodies to define management as a profession and potentially develop a new cadre of management in post war England. This moment was not seized.

5.5 History of education: An unattractive, forgotten or irrelevant field? (Lessons learned)

In my introduction I used a similar title to a section in which I expressed my views of how the history of education field appeared to a researcher in Education today. In light of my experience, I now discuss how and why my view has changed.

Using historical sources has been a rewarding challenge. The lessons learned relate to time and technique. Time spent preparing for an archive visit was vital. Completion of registration paperwork and pre-ordering of files saved valuable time. On an occasion when I did not do this, having waited for a day and a half, I had to leave an archive before a document was retrieved. When a file does appear there is a moment of anxiety and excitement. The documents inside, ordered by someone else's logic, torn, faded, hand written, (in my experience the latter being the worse case scenario, as invariably the hand writing was illegible), or neatly typed may, or may not be, what you are looking for. Unlike Rene Saran (1985), I found this engaging and not boring. It is very time consuming travelling to and from different archives. It can be expensive, in

time and money, and on-site document analysis is a slow process. However, the use of a digital camera, where permitted, enables an in-depth engagement with the data to be carried out off site and this was the method I adopted for part of the data collection. In total 456 images of individual pages were captured in this way. In some cases photocopies were taken. Fees and the process to obtain a photocopy varied from archive to archive. Fragile documents need care so photocopying may be a scheduled professional process, in one case this took over 24 hours. Where possible I would recommend digital data capture. Whilst each archive had its own peculiarities in terms of process, what was consistent was the high level of support provided by archivists. Relating the above to current literature, I do not believe there are enough examples of researchers discussing their experience of engaging with historical methods, particularly by those from different academic disciplines. The works of Saran (1985), Andrew (1985) and Purvis (1985) are examples that I have found particularly useful. The above may present a view of this methodological perspective as somewhat muddled. It is this that offers both a challenge and an opportunity to a researcher.

Although there is a lack of reference to historical method in general research methods textbooks, the last 10 years has seen an increase in literature concerned with research into history of education (see for example McCulloch and Richardson 2000, McCulloch 2004, Crook and Aldrich 2000). This literature offers an accessible introduction for the unfamiliar. It counteracts a view of the field as unattractive. Maintaining a presence through literature prevents historical method from being forgotten.

In the first draft of chapter one the heading used for this subsection appeared without the word irrelevant. Having noted that historical research in education, business and management studies was not popular, I was prompted by my supervisors to consider its utility, significance and impact: was it perceived as irrelevant? This prompt was a reminder that justifying the value of the approach goes beyond epistemological concerns. With respect to educational research, Ivor Goodson and Rob Walker (1991, p. xiii) note;

> The common reaction against work from a previous decade in educational research is in itself a symptom of deeper malaise, an obsessive presentism which takes each new reform of initiative as ‘news without precedent’.

They link presentism to usefulness. In my opinion the ‘*malaise*’ to which they refer is now even deeper and, I would suggest, not just a symptom of educational research.

‘History’ is currently enjoying mass media mainstream exposure but the same cannot be said for the popularity of historical method in practitioner research. Historical

research in educational settings is somewhat of a Cinderella, to adopt an expression previously used to refer to management education (Wheatcroft 1970, p. 121 and Wilson 1992, p. 1). To paraphrase Richardson (2000): what the history of education needs is audiences; different audiences for different purposes. It needs to attract an audience of policy makers by promoting its utility, significance and impact to encourage state funding for related research. An opportunity for this may be available through collaboration with the History and Policy Society. It clearly states its intentions; '*Connecting historians, policy makers and the media*' (www.historyandpolicy.org). To adopt the language of my subject specialism, historians of education need to find channels to market, they need a strategy. The success of a new breed of historians cum media presenters represents the targeting of another audience. During my research I have noted that the influence of media was well recognised by Urwick in promoting his cause. In addition to campaigning through the press and at conferences on the 9th October 1946 he made a thirty minute broadcast on the subject of *Dynamic Administration* on the BBC Third Programme. Urwick provides a lesson from the past on the importance of promoting his cause anywhere and to anyone.

5.6 History of education: But what's the point?

I admitted at the start of the thesis to knowing very little about the history of management education. Implicitly this research has been driven by my search for the intellectual, cultural, economic and political roots of my practice. It has illuminated policy processes at a particular time, with reference to management education and a particular report. This was a complex messy process, undertaken by a number of actors whose motivations were not always made explicit. It has illustrated that policy can be heavily influenced by a dominant individual. The significant role played by one man, Lyndall Urwick, was the surprise finding of the research. Irrespective of his rationale for doing so Urwick changed management education. Possibly unwittingly, he provided a model of education for a group of potential managers. These were not the potential managers of the future that Urwick had believed management education would be for.

This research has presented management education as a contested principle. In noting continuities and opportunities for change within this narrative, the research reflects the aims of what Lagemann (2000) describes as *'discipline history'*. Her justification for the practice is that it can present an argument from history about current problems. I

believe that the ideology that managers are born and not made still exists today and so, for some, there is no need for management education. In general, management is still not seen as a profession and achievement of a particular standard or membership of a professional body is still not required to practice. What I have learnt from this research is that the roots of my practice are founded in technical education in technical and commercial colleges. The management courses that I teach on, in a FEC today, were developed by industry for industry. These courses provided, and still provide, access to management education for non graduates. Management education was not purely concerned with improving productivity. An awareness of the history of debates concerning management education is of benefit to a practitioner of management education in the 21st century.

The principal theoretical perspective adopted in the research is that of a '*usable past*' (McCulloch and Richardson 2000, p.121). Management education is part of my interpretation of what it means to be a professional manager. These elements and the rationale for undertaking historical research are, for me, expressed in this quotation from Edward Brech (1999, p.1);

> The pursuit of management history can be interesting and valuable just as the acquisition of knowledge. There is, however, a far more significant objective in learning from our past. The story of the evolution of Britain's 'management movement' over the past century has demonstrated recurrent failure on the part of the practitioners (directors and managers alike) to understand and implement their inherent professional responsibility for the economic well-being of the community.

I have chosen this quotation from one of the main contributors to the history of management as it justifies the importance of learning from the past and, in part, mirrors the purpose of the approach discussed by McCulloch and Richardson (2000). This research straddles two separate academic disciplines, to paraphrase Alison Andrew (1985 cited in McCulloch and Richardson 2000, p. 15). Therefore, it seems appropriate to highlight its utility from both perspectives. According to Brech, the responsibility of the manager is for the community not the individual. This is an ideology of management, and one that I subscribe to. One of the criticisms of business schools is that they have created a generation of managers focused on individual gain, another ideology of management. This, it has been suggested, has played a part in the collapse of a number of organisations in recent years (Pfeffer and Fong, 2004). An historical perspective is needed to understand how management education has developed in this way and how it might have played a part in these events.

The series of events in this narrative are really only the opening chapters of a longer history of the DMS and its place in the history of management education (see Appendix B for an overview of events in the history of the DMS). Despite a subsequent campaign for it to be abolished in 1969 by James Platt, it is the longevity of the qualification that is testament to its success. The demand from students has justified its place in management education in academic institutions for over 50 years. The story of the DMS could offer further insights into management education.

In carrying out this research, I have learned that when management education is discussed, and an historical perspective is included, the view presented is often a particular one provided by a few key texts. Management education in educational institutions other than business schools is very rarely considered. As the time gap between when history is written, and the publication of the Urwick Report increases, reference to the first qualifications in management studies as part of that history diminishes. The Urwick Report, the first government sponsored report into education for management, is becoming forgotten. This could perhaps be rationalised if this period was a long one, but it is not. There is therefore an element of preserving a part of a story within this thesis and also of '*Publicizing the educational past*' (McCulloch 2000, p. 1).

The aim of this thesis was not to try and rewrite the early history of management education. It was not intended to be revisionist; however, this thesis has revised elements of previous presentations. Its aim was in some small way to make a contribution to the historiography of management education. To adopt phrases used by Goodson and Walker (1991, p. xiii) to justify historical research in education; the Urwick Report and the DMS are part of a '*hidden turn*' in management education and in terms of the existing literature, they seem to have been '*discarded in haste*'. The expectation that managers would be graduates may have fostered a two tiered system of management education; this hidden turn has yet to be explored.

The Leitch Review (2006, p. 38) estimates that by 2020 there will be a decrease in low skilled occupations and a 50% increase in high skilled occupations; included in this category is managers. If a campaign of improving management through management education is to be progressed, I would argue that events surrounding the Urwick Report, and the subsequent implementation of the DMS, offer some useful lessons from the past. Opportunities existed that, if actioned, could have significantly changed the education of managers in England. In this regard industry, education and the government were accountable. Without coordination between these groups and a

supporting administration it seems history may repeat itself. Perhaps what management education needs is a modern day Urwick.

5.7 Next steps in the research and future plans

I have commented that the significant role played by one man, Lyndall Urwick, in this narrative surprised me. Although identified as part of a *management movement* before 1939, Urwick was not the only potential candidate to chair a government committee into education for management. Indeed, in terms of the analysis carried out, Urwick was not a front runner. However, if Urwick's chairmanship is viewed with respect to his entire career, his contribution to management literature, his associations with national and international professional bodies and the long list of awards acknowledging his work, including an OBE, then there would appear to be little doubt that he was the man for the job (*The Times* 10th December 1983, p. 10, Who Was Who 1991 and Davenport-Hines 2004). Michael Roper has referred to Urwick as the '*father of professional management*' (1994 p. 52). Using letters, some unsent, drafts and final scripts of lectures and Urwick's publications, Roper (1999, 2001a and 2001b) presents a picture of Urwick as a man who saw his role in promoting management as a public service, part of his moral duty. His role in management history is analysed by Roper through Urwick's biography using theories of masculinity and cultural approaches. However, despite these recent contributions to scholarship there are still outstanding questions to be explored; why was the Percy Report not used to progress a study into management education? who and or what drove Urwick to progress the need for a government committee into education for management? why were qualifications in management studies not part of the BIM's constitution? With these questions in mind I plan to visit the Urwick archive at Henley Business School and the BIM archive at the Open University to progress my research.

An avid supporter and later staunch defender of the work of Taylor (post war business school academics in both America and England sought to 'de-bunk' Taylor and undermine classical management theory), Urwick sought to gain recognition and later retain a presence in the field of management by maintaining the memory of Taylor (Roper, 1999). There are those who now seek to maintain Urwick's memory. Before his death in 2006 Brech was writing a book on Urwick, a task which Andrew Thomson and John Wilson are in the process of completing. My work makes a contribution to the memory of Urwick and acts as the basis for future work. In part, this might include understanding how he positioned himself in the field of management studies to further

illuminate how Urwick influenced management practice. The socio-historical contribution to the field of education management and educational leadership made by Helen Gunter and Peter Ribbins (2000, 2002a, 2002b and 2003) using Bourdieu's theory of practice would act as a useful framework to this end.

As noted by Richardson (2000) there is also a need to consider audiences for my work. Carrying out historical research in education for management offers opportunities for it to be disseminated in the fields of history of education and history of management. In my review of the literature of history of education, I concluded that it appeared that the early history of management education in educational institutions appeared to have remained in a 'no man's land' between the historiographies of further and higher education until the creation of the business schools. The research presented here offers a particular narrative that I would argue has value in both these sub fields. The publication of Urwick's biography will hopefully act to remind historians of management of the work of Urwick. I plan to take advantage of any opportunity this might offer.

Finally this research contributes to the development of my own identity as both a practitioner of management education and as a researcher. I am aware that to encourage others I need to share my story (Bryan 2009). By promoting my experience of historical research in education I may encourage others to look beyond the warnings and see the opportunity this methodological perspective affords.

Others have concluded that the Urwick Report and its recommendations contribute very little to the history of management education. I would argue that this is incorrect. The Urwick Report and the DMS should have their contribution to the history of management education in England acknowledged. The historiography needs to be developed and this story contributes to that end.

6 Appendices

6.1 Appendix A: A brief biography of Lyndall Fownes Urwick, 1891-1983

Appendix A is entirely the work of Matthews and Boyns (2001, pp. 2 - 3) and includes their original references.

Lyndall Fownes Urwick was born on 3 March 1891 at Malvern, Worcestershire, the only child of Sir Henry Urwick and his wife Annis (née Whitby). He was educated locally in Malvern and then as a boarder at Boxgrove School, Guildford (1900-05), before entering Repton School (1905-10) from where he won an open history exhibition to New College, Oxford (1910-13). On graduating in 1913 with a second class degree in modern history, he joined the family glove-making firm of Fownes Brothers and Company (formed 1777), in which his father was a partner. During the First World War he joined the 3rd Worcestershire regiment in August 1914 as a second lieutenant. He saw action in 1914 at Mons, Le Cateau, Marne and Aisne, and in 1916 at Vimy Ridge and the Somme. He was awarded the Military Cross in 1917, was demobbed as a major in 1918, and received an OBE in the January 1919 Honours List.

On demobilisation Urwick returned to Fownes Brothers, of which he had been made a partner in 1917. Disagreements with the other partners led to him leaving Fownes Brothers at the end of 1920 following the collapse of negotiations over renewal of the partnership and, after several months of looking round for a suitable post, Urwick linked up with Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree. Urwick joined Rowntree, in the Spring of 1922, moving to York as an assistant to Oliver Sheldon in the Organisation Office. While at York he was responsible for developing a loose-leaf volume of standard instructions regarding organisational procedures, etc. Most significantly, in the latter part of 1926, Urwick, together with Seebohm and C.F. Merriam, chairman of British Xylonite, was instrumental in establishing the Management Research Groups, which brought together firms interested in new developments in management and organisation.

In September 1928 Urwick moved to Geneva to take over as director of the International Management Institute (IMI), an off-shoot of the International Labour Office (ILO). He retained this position until the Institute closed in December 1933, on the occasion of the withdrawal of funding by the (American) Twentieth Century Fund. Urwick developed close contacts with those advocating scientific management, both in America and throughout

Europe, and was closely connected with the International Committee for Scientific Management (or, as it is more usually known, CIOS – the Comité International d'Organisation Scientifique). In September 1934, having returned to London, Urwick joined forces with John L. Orr, a Scottish engineer and former sales manager of the British Bedaux Consultancy, to form an all-British management consultancy, Urwick, Orr and Partners Limited (UOP) of which he held the positions of chairman (1934-61), managing director (1945-51) and president (from 1961).

During the Second World War Urwick joined the embryonic Office Research Section of the Treasury, heading the first team of outside specialists advising the Treasury between 1940 and 1942, and was a member of the Mitcheson Committee on the Ministry of Pensions (1941-2). Between June 1942 and some time in 1944, Urwick assisted his old friend, Sir Donald Banks, in the organisation of the Petroleum Warfare Department. He ended his wartime involvement with the rank of Lieutenant- Colonel. On returning to civilian life in late 1944, Urwick set about expanding UOP and pushing the topic of management education. During the 1940s he became chairman of the Education Committee of the Institute of Industrial Administration (1944), chaired the Ministry of Education Committee on Education for Management (1945-46) which provided a strong impetus for management education and an integrated management syllabus, and chairman of the Education Committee of the British Institute of Management (where he was a joint vice-chairman from 1947-52).

Urwick was also a key figure in the establishment, in 1948, of the Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames (now known as the Henley Management College). In 1951, the year when he reached 60 years of age, Urwick resigned as managing director of UOP, but nevertheless spent two or three days each week in London discharging his duties as company chairman. He also continued to involve himself in lecturing at the company's training centre and presiding over UOP's twice yearly conferences. Also in 1951, Urwick was appointed as chairman of the Anglo-American Productivity Team on Education for Management which visited the USA.

Over the next few years Urwick was much in demand overseas and carried out lecture tours and undertook investigations into management related issues in a number of countries, most notably America and India. His international reputation was recognised in the 1950s and 1960s through the presentation of a number of awards, in many cases being the first Briton, or first non-native individual, to obtain such awards. Amongst the awards received by Urwick were: the CIOS International Gold Medal (1951); the Wallace

Clark International Management Medal for 1956; Fellow of the International Academy of Management (1958); the Henry Laurence Gantt Memorial Gold Medal (1961); and the Taylor key (1963).

Throughout his life Urwick was not only a keen advocate of scientific management and of management education, but also a prolific writer on these subjects. Even after retiring to the warmer climes of Australia c.1965, Urwick continued to both write articles and present lectures, including courses at several Australian universities, during the late 1960s and early 1970s. His last published work appeared in 1980, only three years before his death on 5 December 1983, at the age of 92, at Longueville, Sydney, Australia.

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6.2 Appendix B: A brief history of the DMS and related events

Date	DMS Event	Related Events
1945	Committee on Education for Management set up by the MOE	
1947	Above committee reports recommending a two tier qualification Enrolments on the first scheme. Ministry of Education ask the Institute of Industrial Administration to administer the scheme (BIM not ready)	Central Institute of Management set up (BIM) Administrative Staff College at Henley founded.
1948	BIM take over administration of the scheme	National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce set up (NACEIC)
1949		NACEIC sub committee on Education for Management created
1951	The diploma level part of the scheme is launched	AACP Education for Management Report
1952	Problems with the implementation of the scheme lead to confusion in the colleges. Informal meeting of NACEIC, BIM, UCG and one of colleges - unable to suggest recommendations.	
1954	Working party set up to review the above.	
1957	DMS renamed as 'The graduate examination of the BIM'	BIM and Institute of Industrial Administration merge
1958	Working party report but the report is not publicised until May 1959. Amendments to the DMS recommended.	McMeeking Report
1959		Ashridge Management College starts management courses
1960	Ministry of education circular 1/60 *The Future Development of Management Education and of Business Studies*, the DMS to be revised as postgraduate and a national diploma committee, the Joint Committee for the Award of Diplomas in Management Studies, to be established to oversee at a national level.	Foundation for Management Education (FME) set up
1961	New Diploma in Management Studies launched.	
1962	UK Advisory council of Education in Management produce the Management Studies in Technical Colleges Report notes problems with the progress of the DMS	
1963		Franks Report British Business School
1964	New examination requirements. Department of Education and Science	

	(DES) take over the administration and responsibility for external examiners.	
1965	UK Advisory council of Education in Management reports. Lower age limit for the scheme (23) abolished. Increase made in the minimum number of hours study for part 1.	Two business schools in London and Manchester established.
1966	BIM withdraw from the scheme.	
1967		NEDC investigation into Management Education, Training and Development
1968	Memorandum of objectives of the DMS published as part of The DMS 1961-1968	. Confederation of British Industries (CBI) create a Council of Industry for Management Education
1969		The Diploma in Management Studies written by J Platt published NEDC Report into Management Education, Training and Development
1970		Rose Report
1973		Regional Management Centres established. CNAA set up an internal Management Studies Board
1975		BIM survey Report on the DMS
1976	Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) take over the administration of the DMS from the Diploma committee within the DES	
1979	CNAA booklet issued Guidelines for Post Graduate Awards in Business and Management Education.	
1983		Business and technology education council (BTEC) set up
1986 -1987		Constable and McCormick report, *The Making of British Managers,* C. Handy, *The Making of Managers: A report on management education, training and development in the USA, West Germany, France, Japan and the UK*. Council for Management Education and Development (CMED) set up.
1988	MCI create 3 levels of management education; M1 – first level manager – CMS (NVQ 4) M2 – middle manager – DMS (NVQ 5) M3 – senior manager – MBA (NVQ 5)	Management Charter Initiative (MCI) set up (operating arm of CMED) and initially joins forces with the BIM but quickly separates as BIM wants to establish Royal Charter
1990	CNAA introduce a new Certificate in	*CNAA,* Notes of guidance for

	Management giving partial exception on the DMS. Revised criteria for accreditation on DMS less emphasis on competence.	the conduct of DMS courses.
1991	BTEC Certificate in Management	
1992	BTEC Diploma in Management	CNAA (1992) *Review of Management Education*, BTEC (1992) *National Vocational Qualification at Level 5 in management - Part 1: Guidelines*
1993		CNAA abolished.
2004	BTEC Diploma in Management Revised against National Qualifications Framework to level 7	
2006	Revised level implemented	

(Holmes 1993) (Brech 2002, pp. 217-376) (Platt 1969) (www.edexcel.com)

6.3 Appendix C: Notable individuals 1921 - 1943

Individuals identified by Brech as part of Management Movement (1928 – 1938) (2002, p. 716)	Names on Management Manifesto (MSS.200/B/3/2/ C698/3)	Gave evidence and/or attended meeting on industrial management (Weir Committee) held at BOT 1944 (CAB 124/87)	AEIC Members (AEIC 1919)	IIA membership listing (1943) (MSS.200/B/3/2/ C698/4)	Emmott Committee (1925 – 1927) (MSS.176B/T1/ 1/1)
E.A. Abbott	Lord Amulree		J. Knox	Davidson	R. Blair
B.C. Adams	H. Austin		C. McCormick	F. Joseph	B. Gott
J.A. Bowie	J.A. Bowie	J.A. Bowie	J.A. Bowie	J.A. Bowie	
H. Burbridge	T.D.Barlow		T. Radcliffe	H. Sankey	E. Harper
			A. Rowland Entwistle	A. Carr	C. Breton
E.S.Byng	E.S.Byng	E.S.Byng		E.S.Byng	
G. Chelioti		G. Chelioti			
E.T. Elbourne	W. Bragg		H. Benton	H. Macmillan	
	R. Woodman Burbridge		R. Woodman Burbridge	Greenwood	J. Guy
N. Kipping	J.M.Donaldon		A.Clarke	H Bunbury	A. Smithells
G. Hurford				A. Vaughan Cowell	P.Innes
	F. Goodenough		F. Goodenough		
F.W.Lawe	Hambleden		E. Holden	F. Gill	Mowat

Individuals identified by Brech as part of Management Movement (1928 – 1938) (2002, p. 716)	Names on Management Manifesto (MSS.200/B/3/2/ C698/3)	Gave evidence and/or attended meeting on industrial management (Weir Committee) held at BOT 1944 (CAB 124/87)	AEIC Members (AEIC 1919)	IIA membership listing (1943) (MSS.200/B/3/2/ C698/4)	Emmott Committee (1925 – 1927) (MSS.176B/T1/ 1/1)
K. Lee	F. Hodges		T. Knowles	G. Schuster	J. Yorke
		G. Marchand		G. Marchand	
	G. Harrison		N. Maclean		
R.W. Ferguson			R.W. Ferguson		R.W. Ferguson
H.W. Locke			P. Rockesby	L. Acland	W. Prescott
	C.G.Renold	C.G.Renold			
H.N Munro	C. Inglis		H. Roston	J. Bingham	
C. H. Northcott					
	P. Ionides			H. Broadbent	
		Leverhulme	Leverhulme		
A.H.Pollen	A.H.Pollen				
H. Quigley	A. Nathan		H. Sansome	T. F. Clark	
C. Robbins	J. Gibson Jarvie			C. Cronshaw	
	E. Percy		E. Percy		
G.A. Robinson	M. Webster Jenkins			J. E Currie	
J. Rodgers	D. Milne-Watson	A. Plant		K. Fenelon	
				H. Lesser	
T.G.Rose	T.G.Rose	T.G.Rose		T.G.Rose	
B.S Rowntree	B.S Rowntree	B.S Rowntree	A.S Rowntree		
H. Schofield			H Schofield	H. Schofield	H. Schofield

Individuals identified by Brech as part of Management Movement (1928 – 1938) (2002, p. 716)	Names on Management Manifesto (MSS.200/B/3/2/ C698/3)	Gave evidence and/or attended meeting on industrial management (Weir Committee) held at BOT 1944 (CAB 124/87)	AEIC Members (AEIC 1919)	IIA membership listing (1943) (MSS.200/B/3/2/ C698/4)	Emmott Committee (1925 – 1927) (MSS.176B/T1/ 1/1)
	P.L.D. Perry			G. Pryor	
S. Talbot	A. Pugh				
L. F. Urwick		L. F. Urwick		L. F. Urwick	
H.T. Weeks	J. Reith				
	S. Townsend	R. Pugh			
A.P. Young		A.P. Young			
	H. Whitehead	H. Whitehead		H. Whitehead	
	I. Salmon				
	Rutherford				
	G. Selfridge				
	J Stamp				
	W. Taylor				
	E. Williams				

6.4 Appendix D: Committee members and their association

Training for Business Admin 1945 (p. 12)		**Central Institute of Management 1946** (p. 4)		**Education for Management 1947** (p. 2)		**Education for Commerce 1949** (p. vi)	
Name	**Org/dept**	**Name**	**Org/dept**	**Name**	**Org/dept**	**Name**	**Org/dept**
Newsom-Smith		Baillieu	FBI	Urwick	IIA	Carr-Saunders	
Beevers	MOE	Bain	ICI ltd	Beevers	MOE	Anderson*	
Carruthers	Board of Trade	Chappell	BOT	Berger	CWA	Austin	
Hann	Union of shop ass, warehousemen + clerks	Courtauld	Courtauld Ltd	Farr	ISM	Crick	
Hooper	Lewis's Ltd	Edwards	Board of trade + Co-op ltd	Jones	ATI	Deakin	
MacEwen (f)	John Lewis Part	Ellerton	Barclays Bank	Montgomery	IMeng	De Paula	
McLean	London chamber of commerce	Garrett	Min of Lab+ Nat service	Northcott	CMA	Geddes	
Mathias	Retail Distributive trades conference	Hartley	B.O.A.C	Perkins (was Min of Ed but resigned)	ICI Ltd	Godwin*	
Palmer	Co-op union ltd	Haslett (f)	Elect Assc for women	Townsend Unable to attend	IOE	Hirst	
Parker	Min of labour + Nat Service	Holbein	Demolition + construction co	Maxwell-Hyslop Secretary	MOE	Mouat-Jones	
Piper	BEC	Leverhulme	BMC + Unilever Ltd			Jones	ATI
Ramsbottom	City of London	Marchand	IIA + Glass			Plant*	

	college		Manufact fed				
Schuster	Allied Suppliers Ltd	McKinstry	Industrial mgmt research assoc			Raynes	
Tennyson	FBI edu committee + Dunlop Rubber Co	Makins	Commercial Union Assurance ltd			Rees	
Tewson	TUC	Thomas	Morris Motors Ltd			Smith*	
Thomas	Nuffield Org	Pitman	Pitman + Sons ltd			Terry	
Grainger (f) Secretary	Min of Lab + Nat serv	Plant	Univ of London			*signed subject to reservations	
		Rogers	Brecknell Munro + Rogers Ltd				
		Dickson-Scott	Selfridges Ltd				
		Stephenson	Confed of shipbuilding + engineering unions				
		Towers	Edmundson Elec corp ltd				
		Wood	MOE				
		Weir	BOT + Min of supply				
		Onslow Secretary	BOT				
		Gleeson (f) Secretary	BOT				
		Forrester (appointed but resigned)	Enfield Cable Works				

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