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# Schoolbooks and textbook publishing.

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## Chapter 10

### Schoolbooks and textbook publishing

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During the nineteenth century the school book market in Britain responded to the rise of both formal schooling and public examinations, which created regular demand for books in specific areas.<sup>2</sup> The 1870 Education and 1872 (Scotland) Education Acts had made elementary education compulsory for children between the ages of five and thirteen, and in 1902 another Education Act introduced some state-supported provision of post-elementary or 'secondary' education. By 1913-14 the new grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales were annually admitting just over 60,000 children.<sup>3</sup> However, it was not until the end of the First World War that some form of secondary education became compulsory for all children. In 1911 the parliamentary report of the Consultative Committee on Examinations in Secondary Schools noted that more than eighty per cent of fourteen to eighteen year-olds received no education at all and recommended that children take public examinations at the age of sixteen.<sup>4</sup> To facilitate this, the Examinations Council was established in 1917 to administer School Certificate exams. However, when the Fisher Education Act (and the Scottish Education Act in Scotland) were passed in 1918 they only raised the school-leaving age to fourteen – with provision for it to be raised to fifteen on a yet-to-be-fixed date.

Even this limited expansion of schools was good news for British educational publishers such as Nelson, Longmans, Macmillan and Blackie after the traumatic years of the First World War. The war years had meant the loss of lucrative foreign markets, reductions in manpower, shortages and the deaths of some potential future leaders of the industry, for example Thomas Nelson III, who died at the Battle of Arras in 1917. The difficult economic conditions of the 1920s and early 1930s meant that plans to raise the school-leaving age were postponed indefinitely while cuts in government budgets were urgently sought. This led schools and publishers to focus on financial prudence, which meant that many textbooks were closely printed on poor-quality paper with few illustrations. Yet the educational market was particularly important for publishers during the years of the Depression, being one of the only guaranteed markets for books. It was therefore important for educational publishers to react quickly to any changes in government education policy in order to continue to sell their products into schools. At Thomas Nelson & Sons, for example, John Buchan (who, in partial mitigation of Thomas Nelson III's death, had become a company director in 1915, as well as an author and editor) brought Sir Henry Newbolt, with whom he had worked at the Ministry of Information during the War, into the

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<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for their support during the writing of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> For further information on educational publishing in the nineteenth century see Stray and Sutherland, 'Mass markets: education'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Consultative Committee on Examinations in Secondary Schools London: HM Stationery Office 1911 (Cd 6004).

company to act as editorial adviser in the educational field. Newbolt's 1921 report on the teaching of English in schools in England and Wales had called for the raising of the status of the subject and emphasized a love of English literature.<sup>5</sup> In response, Nelson's initiated new series under the editorship of Newbolt such as the *Nelson school classics* and the 1922 *The teaching of English* series.

In a similar way, the six reports produced by the Consultative Committees chaired by Sir William Henry Hadow between 1923 and 1933 were influential on the development of education and hence on the output of educational publishers. The 1926 report on *The education of the adolescent* recommended the separation of primary and secondary education (and the use of the term primary rather than the previous 'elementary') at the age of eleven and the establishment of two types of secondary school – 'modern' and grammar schools, with a more vocational and skills-based focus in the former – while the 1931 and 1932 reports recommended the division of primary-school education into infant and junior schools. Some publishers responded in a most literal way to these reports, with W. & R. Chambers producing a *No lumber* educational series in direct response to a call in the Hadow Report of 1931 to rid the curriculum of useless 'lumber'. Of most significance to the historian of educational publishing is the 1928 Hadow Report, *Books in public elementary schools*. The report listed forty-three recommendations, including greater expenditure on books in schools, the need for each school to have at least one library and that pupils should be encouraged in their reading and use of books. Recommendation 33 stated:

every pupil should be allowed, at least in school, to retain possession of all the books which he is constantly using, and that they should remain in his keeping until the end of the term or year in which he requires them ... older scholars from the age of 11 and upwards should in addition be encouraged to take books home ... books on certain subjects in which individual pupils have displayed special aptitude or interest might, towards the end of their school life, be given to them as a privilege or reward.<sup>6</sup>

From 1918 onwards the introduction of School Certificate and Higher School Certificate examinations helpfully established the core subjects that textbooks needed to cover. In addition, the curriculum of grammar schools was governed by Regulations issued by the Board of Education. For example, these Regulations established the requirement for both theoretical and practical science in secondary schools. The inter-war years saw much debate about the order and manner in which separate science subjects should be taught, and also attempts to widen the science curriculum by schoolmasters-turned-authors such as Frederick W. Westaway (Blackie) to include subjects such as astronomy, the history and philosophy of science and paleontology.<sup>7</sup> Science textbooks for those in the 'modern' secondary schools,

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<sup>5</sup> Newbolt, 'The Newbolt report'.

<sup>6</sup> Gillard, 'The Hadow reports: an introduction', in *The encyclopaedia of informal education* (2006) <[www.infed.org/schooling/hadow\\_reports.htm](http://www.infed.org/schooling/hadow_reports.htm)>. Accessed 13 September 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Brock and Jenkins, 'Frederick W. Westaway and Science Education: An Endless Quest'; Jenkins, 'E.J. Holmyard (1891-1959) and the historical approach to science teaching'.

meanwhile, tended to focus on the occupations it was assumed pupils would take up when they left school.

Despite the recommendations of the Hadow Reports for a child-centred and progressive curriculum, the majority of teaching between the wars was conservative and old-fashioned. In one way this was beneficial for publishers because they were able to reprint established titles with little revision. As the economic situation improved during the 1930s, however, textbook quality began to improve markedly. Developments in printing brought in important changes in illustration, typography and layout. The introduction of the lithographic printing process meant that illustrations no longer had to be printed on separate specially coated and expensive 'art' paper, but could be printed alongside text.<sup>8</sup> During the 1930s, under the guidance of E.W. Parker, Longmans built up a list of textbooks aimed at the public and grammar schools markets that were able to dominate their subject areas into the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>9</sup> These new titles had good production values, were competitively priced and written by scholars such as G.M. Trevelyan, whose *A social history of England* (first published in North America and appearing in Britain two years later in 1944) sold out its 15,000 printed copies before publication day.<sup>10</sup> The inter-war years were a particular boom time for geography and history textbooks, with an increasing popularity for both subjects at secondary level leading to a larger number of textbooks available, plus improvements in quality of illustration and the influence of a more 'scientific' approach from the universities.<sup>11</sup> The so-called 'new history' took a more 'bottom-up' approach, focusing on local and social history and the use of original sources. Magraw's *Stories of early modern times* published by Oxford University Press in 1932, for example, offered fifty illustrations in one hundred pages and included contemporary sources with questions at the end of each chapter to be answered by the pupils' own investigations.<sup>12</sup> There was also an attempt at catering for the less-able child with the editing from some textbooks (for example the *No lumber* series mentioned above) of the degree of factual detail.

### **The growth of overseas markets**

The years between the wars were important for the consolidation of overseas markets for educational publishers, particularly in the British colonies. To be successful in these regions publishers needed to adapt their products for local conditions and be willing to publish to the guidelines of individual governments. Oxford University Press produced textbooks strictly designed for the individual Departments of Education in the various provinces of India, with books being produced in Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.<sup>13</sup> Such overseas business was of a growing importance for OUP, which increasingly relied on its educational sales to colonial markets in Asia and later Africa to subsidise academic

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<sup>8</sup> Yglesias, 'Education and publishing in transition'.

<sup>9</sup> Briggs, *A history of Longmans*, pp. 391-4;

<sup>10</sup> Briggs, *A history of Longmans*, pp. 408-9

<sup>11</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*.

<sup>12</sup> Scotland, *The history of Scottish education*, p. 54.

<sup>13</sup> Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University press*, p. 200.

publishing at home.<sup>14</sup> In these regions OUP competed with companies such as Longmans and Macmillan. By the 1930s many companies had moved from the use of travelling sales staff to the establishment of complete branches in the colonies undertaking original publishing aimed at individual markets. Branches of Blackie & Son, the British India Publishing Company, Butterworth & Co. (India) and Longmans could be found in Calcutta while the entire business of producing schoolbooks in the four vernaculars in Bombay (Gujarati, Kannada, Konkani and Sindhi) had been awarded to Macmillan by government order.<sup>15</sup> By the 1930s indigenous textbook committees and boards of studies had been set up throughout India. It was largely to deal with such committees, and associated copyright problems, that the British Publishers Association set up its India Group in 1924.<sup>16</sup>

The inter-war period was also an important time for the development of English-Language Teaching publishing. Although educationalists stressed primary instruction in the mother tongue, in Africa in particular it was simply not possible to produce suitable educational materials in every language and dialect. Moreover, there was a belief amongst some in the colonies that education in the vernacular merely aimed at producing a subordinate workforce and to succeed children needed to be educated in English.<sup>17</sup> There was thus a growing market for both educational textbooks in English and books teaching English as a foreign language. Longmans worked with Michael West, an educator in Bengal who stressed the importance of reading for learning the English language, to produce their *New method* course from 1926 onwards. Laurence Faucett, a former missionary in China, worked with OUP to produce the *Oxford English course* from 1933. This series and OUP's 1935 *Rapid English readers*, also edited by Faucett, were well illustrated but tended to emphasise English culture, making few concessions to the culture of other countries.<sup>18</sup> A different approach was taken by the Longmans' series *Essential English for foreign students* (1938–42). Written by Charles Ewart Eckersley, a teacher at the Regent Street Polytechnic, who was dealing with the growing number of refugees arriving in Britain during the 1930s, the series stressed 'real' English, focusing on the immediate needs of those who were already in Britain and needed to conduct conversations in everyday English.<sup>19</sup>

### **Impact of the Second World War**

As the economy improved, a new date was set in 1936 for the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen – September 1939. The outbreak of the Second World War meant that this plan was quickly shelved and the education system suffered great disruption until 1945. Educational publishers' profits were damaged by the national emergency and related paper rationing, but in addition many found themselves physically on the front line – not only on the battlefield but also in their offices. Part of Blackie's Bishopbriggs works in Glasgow was turned over to the Ministry of Supply for the manufacture of twenty-five pound shells and aircraft radiators. The worst damage occurred on 29 December 1940 when the Luftwaffe's bombing during the London Blitz destroyed the area around Paternoster Row, including many firms'

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<sup>14</sup> Davis, 'Histories of publishing under apartheid'.

<sup>15</sup> Holman, *Print for victory*, p. 167.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, p. 394; Holman, *Print for victory*, p. 184

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

head offices and warehouses. Seventeen publishing firms were totally destroyed and the entire stock of three million books owned by the wholesaler Simpkin Marshall was burned (See Chapter XX). Overall it was estimated that twenty million books had been destroyed in the raid.<sup>20</sup> While Longmans had evacuated its editorial and administrative offices to the suburbs in 1939, the warehouse for all bound stock and the trade counter remained in Paternoster Row and thus overnight its catalogue of 6000 titles was reduced to only twelve. There was one positive outcome from the terrible destruction for the publishers – books that had been slow to sell could be allowed to go out of print and were not reprinted, which meant that there was no longer the requirement to pay War Risks Insurance on sluggish backlist titles taking up space in warehouses. Instead, publishers were able to make a fresh start using the insurance money to reprint titles that were still in demand. As Longmans stated in the introduction to their catalogue of educational works produced within three months of the raid: ‘it contains no book which ... did not on its recent and current sales justify immediate reprinting. Normally a Publisher’s school catalogue includes very many books which are slow sellers. There are no such books in the pages of this list’.<sup>21</sup>

Paper rationing was a problem for all publishers during the war, although educational books could be given priority by the Paper Controller and the Moberly Advisory Committee if the Publishers Association Educational Advisory Panel certified that a particular work was educational. Moberly was the Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University and his advisory committee mainly came from educational, academic and professional publishing, meaning that the Committee tended to favour those sectors.<sup>22</sup> Despite such support, the Publishers Association’s Education Group spent the war arguing for a greater allocation of paper for educational publishers. By May 1944 it was warning that demand for textbooks was higher than ever, particularly as evacuated schools started to return to the cities.<sup>23</sup>

### **A vocational trend**

Once peace had been declared, attention turned once more to planning for the future. The Butler Education Act of 1944 repeated many of the provisions of the 1918 Act, but went further. The school-leaving age was to be raised to fifteen as soon as possible – which happened on 1 March 1947 – and then, when it was deemed advisable, to sixteen. Secondary education was divided into three: grammar schools, taking around twenty per cent of all pupils; technical schools, taking around five per cent; and the new secondary modern schools, which would take the rest. Pupils took an examination at the age of eleven to decide which school they should attend. These changes offered new opportunities and challenges for educational publishers who had to offer a wider range of titles to cater for both an older age group and three different types of school.

As a result of the changes, post-1945 education became far more vocational in slant, although there was still an open market for publishers with no specifically approved or compulsory textbooks. There was a reaction against the traditional idea that certain

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<sup>20</sup> Stevenson, *Book makers*, p. 110.

<sup>21</sup> Copy of the reprint of the Introduction to Messrs Longmans’ catalogue of educational works, c. 1942, 55/33. Longman archives, University of Reading.

<sup>22</sup> Stevenson, *Book makers*, p. 117.

<sup>23</sup> Holman, *Print for victory*, p. 212.

subjects, such as Greek or Latin, were necessary as essential training for the mind and, as universities started to drop Latin as an admission requirement, emphasis on the Classics was reduced in favour of more 'relevant' subjects. This vocational trend was reinforced in 1963 by the Newsom Report *Half our future*, which looked at the education of average and below-average children, and the Scottish Brunton Report, *From school to further education*, both of which had a strongly vocational bias and urged the expansion of the curriculum.<sup>24</sup>

Publishers of reading schemes also found themselves challenged by the Plowden Report of 1967, which focused on primary schools. Series such as the Janet and John books, published in the UK by James Nisbet and Company since 1949, and the Peter and Jane books published by Ladybird from 1964 used similar 'look-and-say' keyword schemes which relied on the memorization of words through repetition. However, the Plowden report criticized the white, middle-class worlds of such schemes, which ignored the lived experiences of both working-class children and the growing numbers of children from immigrant families in British schools. Publishers such as Macmillan and Longmans responded to this criticism with series such as Macmillan's 'Nippers', produced in collaboration with children's author Leila Berg, and Longmans' Breakthrough to Literacy series. Karen Sands-O'Connor points out, however, that both the Plowden Report and the reading material that resulted from it consistently regarded both working-class and Black British readers as problems to be solved by the education system.<sup>25</sup>

### **Changes in overseas markets**

After the Second World War, publishers had to transform their old links with the colonies of the British Empire into new links with the emerging states of the British Commonwealth and beyond. Relationships with newly independent governments had to be established in order to keep access to these vast and lucrative markets, of which Africa's growing market for textbooks was key. From the late 1940s onwards, multinational companies in African countries began increasingly to change from the situation of merely selling textbooks produced outside Africa to one in which there were established branches or indigenized companies within individual countries. Thus Macmillan established itself in countries such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Ghana – where it signed an agreement to manage state educational publishing, an outcome hotly resented by its competitors.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile Longmans concentrated on Nigeria, praising that country's leaders for eschewing the idea of state publishing, and establishing an 'indigenous company' in 1965 using local managerial and editorial talent.<sup>27</sup> It followed this model in establishing companies in Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia.<sup>28</sup> After 1962 Longmans identified four specific policy objectives: to obtain a larger share of the British market; to create a new generation of book titles for overseas markets, including books by indigenous authors writing in their own language; to expand and develop ELT materials; and to employ indigenous staff

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<sup>24</sup> Scotland, *The History of Scottish education*, p. 180.

<sup>25</sup> Sands-O'Connor, Post-war education, reading schemes and race, *Children's publishing and black Britain, 1965-2015*, pp. 27-51

<sup>26</sup> Norrie, *Mumby's publishing and bookselling in the twentieth century*, p. 139.

<sup>27</sup> Briggs, *A history of Longmans*, pp. 413-16.

<sup>28</sup> Stevenson, *Book makers*, p. 191.

however and whenever possible in all overseas establishments.<sup>29</sup> However, as a special edition of the *Times Educational Supplement* pointed out in 1974, while sales and distribution departments were comparatively easy to indigenize, major editorial decisions still tended to be taken in London, and although there was a commitment to increase the amount of African and Asian authorship for books on these continents much of the proofreading was undertaken by freelancers in London.<sup>30</sup>

Tim Rix, who co-ordinated Longmans' overseas publishing, admitted to the *Times Educational Supplement* that they had particular difficulty balancing the need to have African names on the covers of textbooks with a problem in sourcing African textbook illustrators.<sup>31</sup> The success of these indigenised companies depended on being able to work closely with each government's ministry of education to produce materials specifically tailored for national markets. Davis explores what this might mean for a company in her analysis of OUP's relationship with the National Government in South Africa.<sup>32</sup> In 1953 the Bantu Education Act established government-controlled, separate black schools. While books for white schools were provided free, in black schools parents had to buy the books themselves. This offered a very lucrative market for OUP's Cape Town branch, which had converted from a sales office to a publishing branch in 1946. While it faced strong competition for the white schools market from Afrikaner publishers, there was less competition for the publishing of textbooks for the black schools. These books had to be approved by the Education Department and were subject to a number of restrictions relating to 'objectionable' material. Davis points out that the wider organisation of OUP called for the support of the academic publishing centre based in Oxford by the sales of the London-managed educational publishing wing, and particularly by OUP's overseas branches.<sup>33</sup> Thus OUP found itself in the situation that its academic publications at home, including liberal, anti-apartheid writings, were subsidised by sales within South Africa, a situation that became a growing PR problem in the UK until the dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s.

By the start of the twenty-first century several educational publishers were heavily invested in Africa. For example, in July 2011 it was reported that Macmillan owned or had a stake in companies in fifteen African countries, including Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana and Mozambique, although Macmillan Kenya was sold as part of a management buy-out at the end of 2010.<sup>34</sup> However, both Macmillan and OUP were forced to reassess their involvement in this market in 2011 in the wake of accusations of bribery and corruption relating to tenders. This was related to the introduction in the UK of the Bribery Act in July 2011, making UK companies liable for corrupt acts committed by agents or representatives anywhere in the world, with or without their knowledge. Both companies were investigated and fined by the Serious Fraud Office,

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<sup>29</sup> Briggs, *A history of Longmans*, p. 423.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Church, 'Turning the tables', *Times Educational Supplement* (14 June 1974), 36.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Davis, 'Histories of publishing under apartheid'.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Benedicte Page, 'Macmillan Education to move out of Africa', *Bookseller* (29 July 2011), <[www.thebookseller.com/news/macmillan-education-move-out-africa.html](http://www.thebookseller.com/news/macmillan-education-move-out-africa.html)>. Accessed 31 August 2012.



and in July 2011 Macmillan announced that it was walking away from its education business in east and west Africa.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Curriculum Development Movement**

Prior to the Curriculum Development Movement of the late 1950s and 1960s, change and innovation in the school curriculum had occurred gradually, sometimes at the instigation of a government or other body and sometimes in response to formal reports or publications such as *The teaching of general science* by the Science Masters Association in 1932.<sup>36</sup> However, a more conscious attempt to ‘renew’ the curriculum emerged in the late 1950s, initially fuelled by concerns that children were turning against mathematics and science in schools because of the way in which these subjects were taught. Starting with the work of the Physical Science Study Committee in the US and moving to the UK through organisations such as the Nuffield Foundation and the Schools Mathematics Project, the aim was to emphasise learning by discovery. The teaching of science and maths should become a process of enquiry where ‘learning’ would replace ‘being taught’.

In the UK the Curriculum Development project was led from the early 1960s by the Nuffield Foundation, the Schools Council, the Scottish Education Department and local education authority groups. The aim and, to a certain extent, achievement was that curriculum renewal would become a constant process led by such agencies. The impact of such developments on publishers was far-reaching, particularly with reference to the author/publishing relationship. Instead of textbooks written by individual authors, curriculum development occurred through teams, primarily established and funded through the agencies mentioned above. As the Educational Publishers Council indicated in 1977, if the research and development costs had been funded by publishers the published price of the resulting materials would have been too high.<sup>37</sup> Instead, after initiating and testing a project’s materials, the development agency would invite publishers to tender for the production and publication of the materials on a national scale. The publisher would then fund the production, marketing and distribution of the materials and pay a royalty to the development agency, which usually retained copyright. Publishers such as Chambers, which published the *Nuffield Mathematics Project* for the Nuffield Foundation, or Blackie, which joined with Chambers to publish *Modern mathematics for schools* for the Scottish Mathematics Group, had to learn to work within these new parameters.

The Curriculum Development movement, with its stress on personal experience and learning by discovery, soon spread to all subjects. Marsden discusses its impact on the teaching of geography and history in schools, noting a trend towards prioritising content less and process more.<sup>38</sup> In history this led to the ‘era’ or ‘patch’ approach as an alternative to traditional chronological history, focusing on particular periods in depth, such as the reigns of the Tudors or the Vikings, rather than attempting to present pupils with an overview of the whole coverage of history. As Marsden notes, there was a new emphasis on developing pupils’ historical skills, the use of original sources and the promotion of empathetic attitudes towards people in the past. In

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Educational Publishers Council, *Publishing for schools*, p. 41.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 46.

geography there was a movement away from statistical approaches and towards a 'more humanistic welfare geography' focusing on issues and case studies.<sup>39</sup> Textbooks began to contain a wide range of data sources such as maps, diagrams, graphs and photographs, to encourage pupils to create their own interpretations.<sup>40</sup>

A second phase of organised curriculum change commenced in the latter half of the 1960s. This phase focused on the notion of compensatory education. The Newsom (1963) and Plowden (1967) reports, which emphasised child-centred learning, had suggested that equality of educational opportunity was not enough to raise the educational attainment of all pupils. Under-privileged children needed to be given more help in the classroom. This led to the creation of mixed-ability groupings, with cooperation rather than competition stressed. The old teaching methods, based on one teacher using a set of thirty textbooks with a whole class of students, were replaced. Now classes might contain separate groups or even individual students working at different rates through a range of activities. There was an emphasis on independent study, projects and discussions. As Becher and Young argue, in such a situation classroom materials attained a position of central importance as essential resources and offered new opportunities for publishers.<sup>41</sup> In addition, publishers were required to produce a wider range of learning materials. Not only were individualised work books, work sheets and activity books needed, but the introduction of new technology to the classroom meant that publishers needed to produce material to be used on video and sound recorders. Thus teams of teachers and authors were joined by sound-recordists, camera operators and film-makers. Full-colour printing for school materials was introduced in the early 1970s – just as colour television arrived in many children's homes – and publishers began to facilitate information skills development, providing indexes and glossaries to help users navigate information. In a highly competitive market, attractive presentation started to count much more than it had done previously.

During the late 1960s much research was undertaken into readability, with an emphasis on the need for educational materials to be targeted at the child. Interest in legibility in schoolbooks was not new: in 1913 an influential report by the British Association for the Advancement of Science on schoolbooks and eyesight had offered advice on appropriate type size, typeface, line length and spacing between lines. In the 1960s, the amount of text was again reduced and more design and typographical features introduced into schoolbooks. Marsden notes the ubiquity of the use of the two-page illustrated spread in history and geography textbooks, with suggestions for activities, for a timetabled double lesson.<sup>42</sup>

Curriculum development proved to be a mixed blessing for publishers: it required investment either to develop the materials or to tender to publish those developed by the curriculum development agencies. The employment of the right people could also be important – for example, after the publication of the Newsom Report, John Newsom left his post as Director of Education in Hertfordshire to become a chief

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> Graves and Murphy, 'Research into geography textbooks'.

<sup>41</sup> Becher and Young, 'Planning for change'.

<sup>42</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 50

advisor at Longmans.<sup>43</sup> The Educational Publishers Council (EPC) was established in 1969 to raise the profile of school publishing and to lobby government and local councils for more spending on books. However, two reports on the state of educational publishing published in *Education and Training* to coincide with the formation of the EPC, warned that curriculum development offered opportunities that only publishers with large resources could embrace, and that the number of mergers between educational publishers might increase because of current pressures.<sup>44</sup> These rather downbeat accounts of the state of educational publishing also warned that continuous development and the enthusiasm of teachers for change meant that the average life of a textbook had now reduced from the comparative security of twenty to forty years before the War to less than seven or eight years. The reports drew a picture of a small group of innovative and wealthy houses benefiting from collaboration with the agencies leading curriculum development, with sizeable backlists and overseas markets enabling them to support the 'almost inevitable loss on new products in the first year',<sup>45</sup> and a larger group of vulnerable, older, medium-sized houses 'enslaved by ageing backlists they should sell while less committed newcomers steal in on a confused market'.<sup>46</sup> Such houses were described as not having sufficient money or marketing techniques to benefit from curriculum development, and being too deeply entrenched in educational publishing to move fully into more general publishing. The reports also pointed out that such publishers were competing not only with the larger houses, but also with newcomers to the field drawn by the possibility of financial reward, such as Macdonald Educational, which focused on the production of reference and topic books and held the Nuffield junior science contract.

Educational publishers also faced challenges from other sectors: a particularly successful product that emerged at this time was the Jackdaws, launched by the literary publisher Cape in 1963. These were collections of facsimiles of historical documents such as broadsheets, maps and visual materials contained in flapped foolscap wallets. These became so successful by 1966 that Cape established a separate company to publish them.<sup>47</sup> However, the content of Jackdaws were criticized as being of variable quality, with the reproduction of documents sometimes indecipherable and the quality of artwork poor.<sup>48</sup>

Thus educational publishing was completely changed by the curriculum development movement and associated changes in teaching methods. By 1975 the Bullock Report described a situation where schools had moved away from a reliance on basic course books, which could be printed in large quantities and so were comparatively cheap. Schools needed to purchase a greater variety of materials (not only books) to support individual and group work. These new materials tended to be more expensive since individual print runs were lower. The Educational Publishers Council (EPC)

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<sup>43</sup> See Briggs, *The history of Longmans*, pp. 422-7 for further information on Newsom's career at Longmans.

<sup>44</sup> Barlow, 'Educational publishers: enquiry 2'; and Beard, 'Educational publishers: enquiry 1'.

<sup>45</sup> Barlow, 'Educational publishers: enquiry 2', p. 270.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Stevenson, *Book makers*, p. 187.

<sup>48</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 68

attempted to make these challenges clear in its 1977 *Short guide to educational publishing*, which set out to answer questions such as ‘why are “topic” books often proportionately more expensive than the “complete” textbook?’ and ‘why is there considerable variation in the price of books of similar dimensions, length and appearance?’ and to convince its readers – school authorities, teachers and the government – that educational books still offered value for money.

### **Growing criticisms of the textbook**

One of the motivations behind the publication of the EPC’s pamphlet was the fact that from the late 1960s onwards textbooks – and indeed all teaching materials produced by publishers – were under attack. They were criticised by many proponents of curriculum reform for being irrelevant, if not positively harmful for the learning experience. They were also attacked for promoting a white, middle-class and patriarchal ideal. Critics argued that textbooks omitted to consider important issues of race, class and gender, thus reinforcing establishment ideologies.<sup>49</sup>

There had been complaints throughout the twentieth century about bias in textbooks, particularly the presentation of the point of view of the victor over that of the conquered, for example in the use of national and racial stereotypes. In the 1920s the Catholic Education Council protested about the ‘unsatisfactory’ character of history textbooks used in London County Council schools that over-emphasised the cruelties of ‘Bloody Mary’ whilst ignoring Tudor persecution of Catholics.<sup>50</sup> While the more obvious stereotypes had been removed from textbooks in the years after the Second World War, more subtle ones remained, particularly in the forms of bias, stereotyping and under-representation.<sup>51</sup> Hicks analysed geography textbooks available in schools in the late 1970s and found a distinct Eurocentric bias which meant that other people and places were measured (and found wanting) against Western European norms.<sup>52</sup> The depiction of ethnic minority groups as problem people living in problem places was increasingly condemned as negative stereotyping that did not take into account the responsibility of developed nations for their situation.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, as the EPC pointed out in its 1983 pamphlet *Publishing for a multi-cultural society*, outdated textbooks with their ‘defunct imperialist views of other cultures’ were still available in schools because budget cuts meant they could not be replaced by newer, better, materials.<sup>54</sup>

Gender bias in textbooks began to be discussed in the early 1970s. Feminist activists used content analysis to document both the under-representation of females in textbooks and gender stereotyping. Lobban’s 1974 study of six popular British reading schemes found that women and girls were almost solely involved in domestic activity and were not shown as active, inquiring individuals while a 1981 study of illustrations in geography textbooks found that men outnumbered women four to one.<sup>55</sup> Critics argued that since reading schemes were children’s first introduction to

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<sup>49</sup> Graves and Murphy, ‘Research into geography textbooks’.

<sup>50</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 136.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Hicks, *Bias in geography textbooks*.

<sup>53</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 142.

<sup>54</sup> Educational Publishers Council, *Publishing for a multi-cultural society*, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> Taylor, ‘Sexist bias in physics textbooks’; Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 142.

the written word and presented in an authoritative manner such depictions would influence the attitudes of the child. Reading schemes were also criticised for presenting a middle-class, suburban idyll far from the experience of working-class, urban children.<sup>56</sup> Criticisms focused particularly on the gendering of examples and illustrations in science textbooks, which tended to exclude female scientists from descriptions of the history of science and used fewer females in illustrations depicting active scientific investigation. It was argued that such bias was particularly problematic for developing countries, where school laboratory facilities might not be satisfactory and therefore textbook depictions were particularly relied upon.<sup>57</sup> Some defenders argued that to show male and female figures equally in the history of physics in a textbook would be to misrepresent science as it had been and still was.<sup>58</sup> Critics responded that publishers of science textbooks should show science both as it was and how it *should* be.

Publishers responded to such criticisms in a number of ways, for example by producing books of poems and songs drawing on Caribbean, African and Indian cultures; more use of non-standard English dialects in storybooks; moving from a Eurocentric to a world-centric perspective; and the development of books on subjects such as comparative religion. Guidelines and reports were issued by both publishers and professional associations,<sup>59</sup> for example the previously-mentioned EPC pamphlet *Publishing for a multi-cultural society* and its earlier pamphlet *Sex stereotyping in school and children's books* published in 1981, two years after the formation of a working party on the subject.<sup>60</sup> The aim of these pamphlets was to encourage publishers, writers and illustrators to review their approach in order to 'reflect more truly the social situation'. In both pamphlets, the EPC was keen to emphasise the need for more spending on school books to remedy the situation, pointing out that less than one per cent of the total education expenditure was allocated to books and that such low levels of spending meant that books that reflected outdated attitudes were retained in schools rather than being replaced by more suitable ones. The difficulty of finding suitable authors and translators with the appropriate background and experience was noted, as was the need for the examination boards to examine their racial and gender coverage. There were also suggestions that schools with a small multi-ethnic intake tended to ignore these issues. The issue of presenting both society as it *was* and as it *should be* was also discussed, with the EPC suggesting that publishers had actually published books ahead of demand and that there was a need for more cumulative social change before society caught up with them. This view was supported in 1986 by a report for the National Book League on books in the school curriculum which stated that many schools continued to use materials published over twenty years ago and that there was a reluctance to buy the more recent and less prejudiced books available.<sup>61</sup>

By the 1990s, according to the Education for All Monitoring Report of 2007, there had been some improvement in the representation of gender in textbooks

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<sup>56</sup> Davies, *Books in the school curriculum*, p. 79.

<sup>57</sup> Whiteley, 'The gender balance in physics textbooks'.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Blumberg, *Gender bias in textbooks*.

<sup>60</sup> Educational Publishers Council, *Sex Stereotyping in school and children's books*

<sup>61</sup> Davies, *Books in the school curriculum*, p. 77.

worldwide.<sup>62</sup> However, as the report pointed out, ‘second generation’ studies noted the persistence of gender bias in some areas, particularly stereotyping, and increasingly gender initiatives were marginalised by newer concerns, including the increased testing of pupils, a growing concern with ‘the boy problem’ (for example, poorer reading performance, lower high-school graduation rates, declining enrolments in post-secondary education), and a belief that gender equity had been achieved.<sup>63</sup>

Such criticism of textbooks, plus the earlier curriculum reform movement, led many teachers to dismiss the textbook as a useful educational tool. By 1986, Florence Davies’ report for the National Book League on books in the school curriculum, described a situation where textbooks had become thoroughly discredited with many teachers as a result of both the criticisms outlined above and of changing teaching methods brought about by curriculum development which emphasised teacher-produced materials rather than material ‘bought in’.<sup>64</sup> The arrival of the photocopier in schools from the 1960s onwards meant that teacher-produced materials were easier to produce and distribute in class. Davies’ report describes the national projects for curriculum development run by organisations such as the Nuffield Foundation and the Schools Council as being antagonistic towards textbooks, seeing them as representing an ‘authority’ view that threatened the provision of opportunities for children to use their imaginations. Textbooks were criticised as necessary evils and poor compromises between educational desirability and financial viability.<sup>65</sup> Marsden describes this as a specifically British anti-textbook ethos, comparing Britain to the United States where the focus was on teachers making informed choices of textbooks.<sup>66</sup> Davies’ survey found that extremely limited use was made of books in the classroom, as opposed to other resources. She related this to both a lack of funds and teachers’ negative perceptions of textbooks. Reading was perceived as a passive process and pupils in both primary and secondary schools had limited access to books apart from materials such as graded readers. Instead, classes relied on photocopied worksheets and pupils’ own notes either made from the teacher’s dictation or copied from the blackboard. The anti-textbook ethos identified by Davies illustrated why textbooks sales might be affected, leading to attempts such as the EPC’s pamphlet *A short guide to educational publishing* to publicise the good work of educational publishers and to campaign for more spending on books in schools.

### **A declining market**

By the mid-1970s publishers were also contending with the impact of inflation and the loss of some overseas markets. In June 1974 the *Times Educational Supplement* (TES) published a special edition to celebrate the 250th anniversary of Longmans. While part of the supplement celebrated the success of Longmans, with its turnover of £15 million a year, of which two-thirds came from overseas sales, the rest of the supplement was more pessimistic about the future of educational publishing, particularly in the UK, stating that ‘something is rotten in the state of educational publishing’, and warning that any boom that had accompanied curriculum

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<sup>62</sup> Blumberg, *Gender bias in textbooks*.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Davies, *Books in the school curriculum*.

<sup>65</sup> Sheldon, ‘Evaluating ELT textbooks and materials’.

<sup>66</sup> Marsden, *The school textbook*, p. 55.

development might well be over.<sup>67</sup> Galloping inflation and a serious shortage of raw materials had meant that the cost of paper most commonly used for schools publishing had risen by about fifty per cent over the previous year and was expected to rise by a further fifty per cent in 1974. Printers' costs had also risen by about twenty-five per cent. In addition, publishers faced competition from both abroad and within the UK. US publishers were competing for a share of British educational publishers' overseas markets. The establishment of indigenous publishing companies, some of which were state monopolies, in the former colonies also offered competition. Problems were also caused by the adoption of the Paris revisions to the Berne Convention on Copyright in 1971, under which developing nations were allowed to relax copyright laws to allow publication with permission of works for educational purposes. While the 1977 edition of the EPC's *A short guide to educational publishing* stated that forty per cent of British book sales were made overseas, with some educational publishers exporting over half their output, when the second edition was published in 1982 this figure had shrunk to thirty-three per cent.<sup>68</sup> At home, school and local authority resource centres had started undertaking their own publishing, undercutting educational publishers, and television companies were also now seen as major competitors. In 1972–3 the BBC and ITV produced over fourteen million copies for the schools market.<sup>69</sup> Such publications tended to be cheaper than those of educational publishers and associated with television programmes viewed in schools – although it was noted this fact also gave them a built-in obsolescence.<sup>70</sup> The *TES* also noted the recent and controversial closure of Penguin Education, established in the mid-1960s and praised for its innovative series such as *Connexions* and the *Penguin English project*, which aimed to break down the barrier between textbooks and 'real' books. Despite the support of eighty-seven leading figures who wrote to the *TES* deploring the closure, the textbook list was not making money and was abruptly closed down by Penguin's new parent company Pearson Longman in 1974.<sup>71</sup>

The *TES* made the point that even Longmans had only survived economic problems by its merging with the Pearson group of companies, and commented that any real identity that the company might claim to have had disappeared, symbolised by the death in 1972 at the age of fifty-six of Mark Longman, the last direct link with the founding family. Noting that the Pearson financial empire also included Westminster Press and the *Financial Times* as well as interests in fields as diverse as the Chateau Latour vineyard and Chessington Zoo, the supplement concluded that Longmans 'have chosen to develop a multiplicity of interests at the cost of their individuality'.<sup>72</sup> Longmans joined with Pearson in 1968 and the period between then and 1976 has been described as one of restructuring for the company when it ceased to be thought

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<sup>67</sup> Church, 'Survival of the fittest?', p. 34.

<sup>68</sup> Educational Publishers Council. *Publishing for schools*, second edition.

<sup>69</sup> Church, 'Survival of the fittest?'., p. 35.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Croall, 'Bound to succeed', *Times Educational Supplement* (9 June 1995) <[www.tes.co.uk/article.aspx?storycode=10539](http://www.tes.co.uk/article.aspx?storycode=10539)>. Accessed 31 August 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Alderson, 'At the sign of the ship', *Times Educational Supplement* (14 June 1974), 29.

of as a family concern and aimed to become more professional and competitive. In July 1970 Penguin merged with Pearson Longman.<sup>73</sup>

The example of Longmans demonstrates, as with other sectors, the growing role of large corporations in educational publishing in the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1950s many educational publishing houses were run by publisher-owners, such as the Longman or Macmillan families, but a wave of mergers and acquisitions from the early 1960s onwards meant that by the 1990s the publishing business as a whole was made up of a handful of large corporations, each an umbrella organisation for many imprints.<sup>74</sup> As Thompson describes, there were two phases of consolidation in educational publishing. Firstly, from the early 1960s to the early 1980s educational publishers became attractive to large corporations with substantial stakes in industries such as information, education and computing because it was hoped that the content they owned might be ‘repurposed’, for example through new technology such as computers. In the second phase educational publishers became attractive to corporations with an existing interest in publishing but based outside the UK and US, for example in Australia or Europe.<sup>75</sup> These corporations needed to grow through the acquisition of other publishing houses. Thus, in 1962 the Scottish educational publisher Thomas Nelson & Sons merged into the North American Thomson Organisation in an effort to sustain its educational publishing interests on a global scale. The new management separated the editorial and printing operations and the printing and binding division of the company, based in Edinburgh, was sold in 1968. In 1983 the colophon showing Thomas Nelson’s shop in Edinburgh was dropped from the imprint, and in 2000 Thomas Nelson merged with Stanley Thornes to form Nelson Thornes, part of the Wolters Kluwer group, which has its head office in the Netherlands.

### **A new National Curriculum**

The 1980s proved to be particularly testing for educational publishers as school budgets were squeezed throughout the UK. Report after report from organisations such as the Educational Publishers Council, the National Book League and the Book Trust found that schools were spending less on book provision. As the EPC pointed out in 1982, ‘The practical test of many officially sponsored curriculum materials is not “Do they do what they aim to do?” but “Can they be produced at a price schools can afford?”’.<sup>76</sup>

The Education Reform Act of 1988 introduced the National Curriculum, Ofsted, (the Office for Standards in Education), national testing of pupils at the ages of seven, eleven and fourteen, and local management of school budgets. Individual schools were given more responsibility for their own budgets away from local education authorities. This impacted negatively on book purchase as hard-pressed schools had to make decisions on which non-teaching costs to cut, making library and school books vulnerable. Schoolbooks exports, already suffering because of the strength of sterling, the continued growth of local publishing in developing countries and international competition, was also hit by the National Curriculum, making it more difficult to

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<sup>73</sup> Briggs, *A history of Longmans*, pp. 441-483.

<sup>74</sup> Thompson, *Merchants of culture*, p. 102.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.101-118.

<sup>76</sup> Educational Publishers Council, *Publishing for schools*, second edition, p. 45.



export books written specifically for English and Welsh schools (Scotland had its own 5-14 curriculum).

A response to concerns over a reported decline in educational standards and a reaction to the previous generation's child-centred approach, the 1988 National Curriculum was a subject-based and assessment-led curriculum that prescribed the content of what should be taught at all levels in schools. As a consequence, many backlist books became obsolete. For example, natural history books were suddenly no longer in demand because the subject had no official place in the curriculum.<sup>77</sup> The schools market thus became even more competitive and some publishers, such as E.J. Arnold of Leeds (founded in 1863), found themselves forced out of business altogether.<sup>78</sup>

In response to criticism, the National Curriculum was slimmed down by the Dearing revisions in 1995, but such instability and recurrent changes caused further problems for publishers, as the *TES* reported in June of that year, because schools stopped spending money on books for the eighteen months prior to the changes until they knew what would be in the revised curriculum. Publishers were then given only a few months to incorporate all changes before the revised curriculum was put in place.<sup>79</sup>

### **Changing governments – changing priorities**

A new Labour government was elected to power in 1997 with the promise that its priorities would be 'Education, Education, Education'. A massive increase in spending on books in schools followed to support its new National Literacy Strategy and the National Year of Reading (1988-89), which used schools and libraries to promote reading to both children and adults. In total, schools in the UK received grants amounting to £140 million between January 1998 and July 1999. According to the *Bookseller* publication *Book publishing in Britain*, sales to primary schools increased from £77 million in 1997 to £90 million in 1998.<sup>80</sup> Publishers of reading schemes and children's books did well because the money was focused on lifting reading attainment and reading for pleasure. However, industry observers suggested that other educational publishers suffered in comparison and, in particular, sales to secondary schools remained flat.

Educational publishers were also faced with the growing challenge of the digitisation of educational resources. Since 1981, when the Minister for Information Technology, Kenneth Baker, stated that his aim was to put a computer into every school, there had been political enthusiasm for the provision of computers and later Internet access for all schools. A Department for Education and Employment survey in 1998 estimated there were on average over one hundred computers per secondary school in England; one computer for every nine pupils.<sup>81</sup> Once schools had computers, there was a move towards the wider use of digital content in classrooms. In 2002 the Labour government introduced a funded initiative entitled Curriculum Online to create a

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<sup>77</sup> Diana Hinds, 'Pressed for time', *Times Educational Supplement Magazine* (1 March 2002).

<sup>78</sup> Stevenson, *Book makers*, p. 74.

<sup>79</sup> John Davies, 'Under the chariot's wheels', *Times Educational Supplement* (10 February 1995).

<sup>80</sup> Mitchell, *Book publishing in Britain*.

<sup>81</sup> Hayden, 'Subject discipline dimensions of ICT and learning.'

framework for electronic schools publishing. Schools were given e-learning credits to spend through the Curriculum Online portal, which was launched to provide schools with a shop window on publishers' digital resources. The initiative spurred participating publishers to develop their digital content, although the system faced teething problems. In September 2003 the *Bookseller* reported that out of the first tranche of funding worth £30 million, only £25m to £27m had been spent with a further tranche of £100 million needing to be spent by August the following year.<sup>82</sup> The e-learning credit initiative was particularly welcome to educational publishers, however, because 2002-2003 was a period of deep crises for the sector. Drastic under-budgeting by Local Educational Authorities in the wake of a redistribution of funds and higher than expected salary, pensions and National Insurance costs led to a serious spending crisis. Faced with the need to cut their budgets or lose teachers, schools chose to slash their spending on schoolbooks. Approximately ten per cent of the educational publishing industry's staff lost their jobs as a result.<sup>83</sup>

The e-learning credits initiative acted as a spur for publishers in a particularly dark time to digitize their resources, leading the EPC to state that the landscape of schools' publishing had been dramatically altered by the initiative.<sup>84</sup> However, further complications were introduced in early 2003 when the government approved plans by the BBC to create its own digital curriculum to be offered in parallel to Curriculum Online. The materials would be funded by licence-fee money and be offered free, thus limiting opportunities for paid-for material. The BBC did promise to spend half of its £90m budget for content with commercial suppliers and the government imposed limitations on the amount of material the BBC could produce focused on core subjects. Educational publishers joined forces with other publishers, the Booksellers Association, the British Educational Communication and Technology Agency and the British Educational Supplies Association to co-ordinate opposition to the BBC's plans. Publishers producing materials for Welsh and Scottish schools were particularly concerned because e-learning credits were not available in these countries, leading to fears that the BBC's resources would dominate the digital education market. The BBC Digital Curriculum – later known as BBC Jam – was launched in January 2007 and soon attracted 170,000 registered users. In March 2007, however, the BBC Trust suspended the service in response to the news that the European Commission had received complaints from publishing companies in the commercial sector that it was damaging their interests by supplying so much free material. The following May the BBC announced that it was axing two hundred jobs from its online education service. E-learning credits were scrapped in August 2008, leading the Publishers Association to call for schools to make proper allocations out of their own budgets to fund the purchase of e-learning resources,<sup>85</sup> although such budgets were also squeezed tightly by the economic conditions of the time. Other possibilities beginning to be explored included e-books, with the suggestion that an e-book reader would be much lighter to carry than a fully loaded school bag, although

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<sup>82</sup> Tom Holman, 'Back to school with a bump', *Bookseller* (4 September 2003).

<sup>83</sup> Tom Holman, 'Cuts cripple schools sector', *Bookseller* (9 September 2003).

<sup>84</sup> 'The £280m windfall', *Bookeller* (17 January 2003).

<sup>85</sup> Victoria Arnstein, 'Back to school', *Bookseller* (12 June 2008)

<[www.thebookseller.com/blogs/back-school.html](http://www.thebookseller.com/blogs/back-school.html)>. Accessed 31 August 2012.

the *Bookseller* warned in 2012 that the UK was lagging behind other countries in this area, for example the Taiwanese government's 'e-schoolbags programme'.<sup>86</sup>

### **Recent years**

By 2010 the EPC estimated that educational resources were worth at least £270m, perhaps as much as £370m, to the publishing industry, with textbooks making up around £150m (just over half) of this amount and digital materials around £65m (around one quarter). A Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition government came into office in 2010, meaning new educational policies and – in particular – a commitment to spending cuts. In November 2010 new funding arrangements for schools were announced by the coalition government in which previously separate funding streams were grouped together in a single grant. One of the early cuts instigated by the new government was the removal of the quango Becta – the British Educational Communication and Technology Agency – which had worked with the EPC in its campaigns against BBC Jam. By 2011 the Publishers Association was warning that schoolbook purchases had been hit by recent cutbacks and that they anticipated further cuts in 2012. At the same time, the coalition government announced sweeping changes to the curriculum with a return to 'conventional approaches to teaching'<sup>87</sup> and a refocusing on what was taught rather than how it was taught. The response of the EPC was to launch an advocacy campaign in autumn 2010 focusing on a study that showed that pupils in schools that spent more on professionally published resources, both printed and digital, improved faster than those in schools that spent less.

### **Conclusions**

Over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the market for educational publishers has been very susceptible to political and socio-economic forces. Educational publishers have had to respond not only to alterations in political ideologies but also to shifts in educational theory and practice. Publishers have needed to respond quickly to changes in government policy, and the relationship of publishers with educational reformers such as Newbolt and Newsom, who both later moved into educational publishing to put their theories into practice, demonstrate a close, if not symbiotic, link. The curriculum development reforms of the 1950s and 1960s urged a more child-centred curriculum while the 1980s brought in a more prescribed and assessment-led national curriculum. Both reforms impacted heavily on the products and the practices of educational publishers.

Over the century educational publishers have had to adapt to supply schools not just with textbooks but also classroom materials, audio-visual products, teachers' aids, software and related internet sites. While there remains an overseas market for educational publishers' products, materials have to be very market-specific, take into account local needs and local curricula, and be produced locally – all of which requires investment. Educational publishers therefore tend to be branches of larger multinationals. For these publishers, educational publishing can provide a solid and profitable list that can support more risky publishing. It is more difficult for new publishers to enter the market because of the requirement for investment and product

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<sup>86</sup> Sara Lloyd, 'Child benefits', *Bookseller* (5 March 2012)

<[www.thebookseller.com/blogs/child-benefits.html](http://www.thebookseller.com/blogs/child-benefits.html)>. Accessed 31 August 2012.

<sup>87</sup> 'Schools Bill boost for publishers', *Bookseller* (3 December 2010).

development before large sales can be achieved, although some smaller publishers have survived by identifying a niche market. Nonetheless, in 2011 the EPC listed forty-four members publishing educational resources, representing over eighty per cent of market turnover, demonstrating that educational publishing is still a healthy industry as we move into the second decade of the twenty-first century.